ATHANOR XXIX

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY • DEPARTMENT OF ART HISTORY

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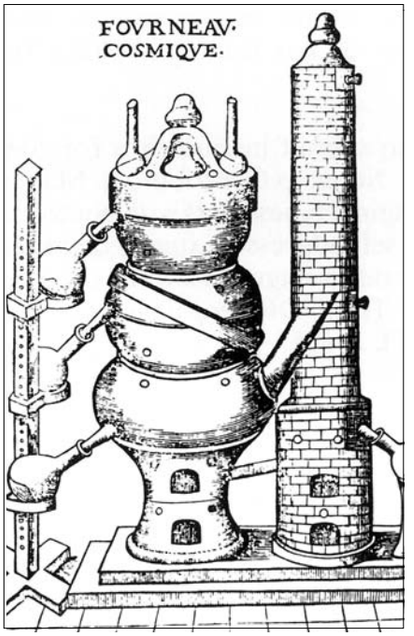

Cosmic oven or *Athanor* from Annibal Barlet,
Le Vray Cours de Physique,
Paris, 1653.

Front Cover: Luigi and Pietro Zandomeneghi, Monument to Titian, 1852, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, Italy.

ATHANOR is indexed in *Bibliography of the History of Art* and *ARTbibliographies Modern.*

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To obtain copies: ATHANOR is published annually by the Department of Art History as a project of the Florida State University Museum of Fine Arts Press. The issues are available for a suggested minimum donation of $10.00 to cover handling and contribute to subsequent issues; please request volumes through the Museum of Fine Arts, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306-1140.

The next Art History Graduate Symposium will be held in Fall 2011; 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), W.J.T. Mitchell, University of Chicago (2006); Michael Leja, University of Pennsylvania (2007); Pamela Sheingorn, City University of New York (2008); Alexander Nemerov, Yale University (2009); Richard Shiff, University of Texas at Austin (2010); and John T. Padetti, Professor Emeritus, Wesleyan University (2011). For details of date and for précis submission, please contact Professor Lynn Jones, Department of Art History, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306-1151.

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Athanor and the Museum Press

In 1980 Professor François Bucher (University of Bern, *Medieval Art*) asked Allys Palladino-Craig (formerly of the variorum editions of *The Collected Works of Stephen Crane*, 10 vols., Fredson Bowers, Editor, University of Virginia Press) to take on the responsibility of general editor and publisher of the first volume of *Athanor* (1981). Professor Bucher served as faculty advisor until his retirement. During that time, Palladino-Craig won several grants for the publication, and in 1994 established the Museum Press of the Florida State University Museum of Fine Arts with Julienne T. Mason as principal editorial assistant and graphic designer. From 1998-2002, Patricia Rose served as faculty advisor to this annual journal, which is a project of the Museum Press. From volume 26 to 27, Richard K. Emmerson, the Editor of *Speculum* from 1999 to 2006, served as co-editor of *Athanor.*

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Juan Eugenio De La Rosa was awarded the Günther Stamm Prize for Excellence at the 2010 Art History Graduate Student Symposium.

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ATHANOR XXIX

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Tauroctony: New Possibilities in the Worship of Mithras

Amy Yandek

On display in the Roman galleries of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York is a cast bronze plaque depicting a relief of the Roman god Mithras in the act of killing a bull (Figure 1).[1] The object is relatively small — when compared with other representations of its kind — measuring only about fourteen by twelve inches and is most likely from Italy. The museum dates it to the late second or early third centuries. This dating is assumed to be assigned for two reasons: this period is when Mithraism was at its height and the plaque is naturalistic in style, a characteristic that is often ascribed to the Antonine era. There is no other reason to limit the plaque's date or date of use to this period. The bull-killing scene — or tauroctony — is the most common visual representation related to the religion. It was central to Roman Mithraism. Generally, in this theme Mithras sits astride the bull wearing a Phrygian cap, a typical indication of the Eastern origin of its wearer. The god is either in the act of striking the bull or has just done so. The beast is associated with cosmic chaos, which was later replaced by celestial order after Mithras' heroic deed.

In the Metropolitan Museum of Art's tauroctony, Mithras is shown with the bull in accordance with the standard representations. In the upper left is a bust of Sol, and on the upper right is a bust of Luna. The god wears an Eastern-style costume of Phrygian cap, tunic, and leggings. He pulls back the nose of the bull as he plunges the dagger into its neck. A dog and a snake lap at the blood of the bull, while a scorpion snaps at its genitals. The busts of Sol and Luna in the top corners denote the cosmic setting.[2]

This scene represented the cult myth that is integral to what scholarship understands of Mithraic belief. The bull, which represents cosmic chaos, threatens life on earth through its existence. Mithras must therefore hunt it down and kill it. When the god finally overpowers the bull, he drags it into a cave before stabbing it. By killing the bull, Mithras both restores order and creates life, sometimes illustrated by a stalk of wheat growing from either the tail or the wound. Supporting the god in his work are two Greco-Roman symbols of abundance and rebirth: the scorpion and the snake.[3] Through this single action Mithras has offered salvation to mankind by providing life to sustain all creatures.

The cave where the bull-slaying occurs later becomes the *locus* of worship for members of the cult. Within the context of these mysteries, the mithraeum is an extension of the first mythical cave of Mithras, and therefore complements the tauroctony.[4] The place of worship mimics the setting from the actual deed of the god, thus, the killing of the bull reoccurs symbolically during each meeting of the cult. Often the tauroctony scene is depicted under an arch, alluding to this original cave, although this is not the case in the Metropolitan Museum of Art representation.

The religion's appeal lay in that fact that, in Mithraism, there were seven levels of initiation and any male who wished could become a follower of Mithras. Senior levels, or "grades," were not limited to people of means or power. This created a possibility for social mobility within each cult cell, which would not have been so attainable in life.[5]

Adding to the popularity of Mithraism was the fact that Mithras was seen as a savior figure to his followers. Through Mithras and his seven grades, the soul was thought to be able to attain a higher state of being.[6] Participating in the cult allowed one's soul to begin its ascent (back) to the heavens while still on earth.[7]

The image of the tauroctony itself was essential to Ro-

I would like to thank my advisor, Jane DeRose Evans, my parents, the FSU Art History department, and the students and faculty at Temple who provided valuable feedback on this paper.

1 Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.145.3.

2 Walter Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 83; Robert Turcan, *The Cults of the Roman Empire,* trans. Antonia Nevill (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 224.

3 Though it is unclear why exactly the scorpion does so, it is noted in the first century CE by Manilius (*Astronomica* 4.704-9) that each sign of the zodiac is associated with specific body parts and that the scorpion is associated with the genitals. *"Scorpius inguine regnat"* or "Scorpio rules the groin." On the snake see John Hinnells, "Reflections on the Bull Slaying Scene," in *Mithraic Studies*, ed. John Hinnells (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975), 2:295-98. On the scorpion see Hinnells, "Reflections," 298-300. In the Greco-Roman tradition the scorpion was a symbol of abundance and good fortune. The snake is "reborn" with the shedding of its old skin, etc.

4 Turcan, *Cults,* 218. See also Porphyry, *De Antro Nympharum* 6, trans. Robert Lamberton, *Porphyry on the Cave of the Nymphs* (Barrytown: Station Hill Press, 1983), 24-25.

5 Richard Gordon, "Mithraism and Roman Society," in *Image and Value in the Graeco-Roman World* (Great Yarmouth: Gailliard, 1996), 104.

6 Gordon, "Mithraism and Roman Society," 96-8; Burkert, 111-12.

7 Roger Beck, *The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 16; Gordon, "Mithraism and

man Mithraism. Roger Beck notes that it was one of the few characteristics that defined the worship of Mithras.[8] Without a tauroctony, one could not have a mithraeum. Yet, the objective of this discussion is to ask: could one have a tauroctony without a mithraeum? These cave-like spaces have generally been seen as integral to the worship of Mithras as has the worship of the god through the mystery cult. The possibility that this object was used in a traditional mithraeum cannot be ruled out, but there are several other potential functions that must be explored. These include its use in a domestic mithraeum, as an object for private devotion, or as a portable icon.

A first explanation for this plaque's existence is that it was simply an auxiliary piece of ornamentation in a mithraeum. The main niche icon was the focal point of the room, and therefore needed to be seen by all the members. The entire shrine is oriented towards the main niche icon, so if the Metropolitan Museum of Art plaque was used in a mithraeum, it is much more likely it served a secondary function.[9] This could mean it either decorated the wall of the main cult room or perhaps even another, less important area. The six holes in the relief, three on either side, imply that it was attached to a wall at one point. The size, though not uncommon by any means, would have been too small for the cult niche of a standard mithraeum.

Due to the lack of any inscription, especially since inscribed votive reliefs were commonly found in mithraea, one purpose that can be eliminated with confidence is that the relief was used as a votive object within a mithraeum. Of course, the dedicator may have inscribed cult furniture, stone altars, and reliefs with precautionary purposes or wishes.[10] Richard Gordon sees the dedicatory inscription as necessary within a group, such as a cult community, since it validates the individual's piety among his fellow worshipers. Within a more private context, however, the need for an inscription vanishes.[11] Therefore, it is plausible that this relief could have been used for personal devotion.

Before arguing this point, another type of mithraeum may be examined. Initially, during its heyday in the second and third centuries CE, the cult was not popular among members of the equestrian or senatorial ranks. This was partially because they did not wish to associate with the lower classes who participated in the mysteries, but also because these aristocrats tended to be more traditional in their religious choices, preferring the state cults of their ancestors.

However, Alison Griffith notes that, in the fourth century, adherents from the senatorial class would sometimes construct a private mithraeum in or on the grounds of their homes in Rome.[12] These domestic mithraea would have been used by the men of the senator's household, such as sons, servants, and perhaps even clients. On contemporary inscriptions, the senators mentioned as adherents are all named as *pater* or even *pater patrum*.[13] In these cases, mithraea were a family affair, confirming the patriarch's place at the top of his domestic hierarchy. Multiple senators would not have participated in the same cell because that would have undermined their individual authority. During the fourth century, paganism and the old ways were being gradually replaced by a burgeoning Christian empire. These men were faced with an increasing loss of both power and, with it, their traditions. The grade structure of Mithraism allowed them to continue, at least in their own small circles, a modified form of ancient Roman customs.[14]

In general, these domestic mithraea were reduced in scale from standard mithraea, since there seems to have been no set requirement regarding size, and smaller dimensions would have been more practical in a private home, especially within the urban limits of Rome itself. Whereas standard mithraea had permanent stone dining couches, domestic mithraea would have been more likely to have moveable decorations and smaller fixtures since no stone couches and little decoration have been found within them.[15] Private mithraea were more akin to *sacella*, a type of domestic shrine that has been found at Pompeii and other locations. These

Roman Society," 97. See also Porphyry *De Antro* 6.

8 Beck, *Religion of the Mithras Cult*, 21.

9 M.J. Vermaseren, *Die Orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), 99.

10 Gordon, "Mithraism and Roman Society," 98-99.

11 Richard Gordon "Small and Miniature Reproductions of the Mithraic Icon," in *Roman Mithraism: The Evidence of the Small Finds,* ed. Marleen Martens and Guy De Boe (Brussels: Het Toreke, 2004), 264.

12 Three such mithraea are the Via Giovanni Lanza mithraeum, the mithraeum of Nummi Albini, and that of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius. See M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), CIMRM 360, 395, 516. For more on these mithraea see also Allison Griffith, "Mithraism in Private and Public Lives of the 4th-c. Senators in Rome," *Electronic Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1 (2000): 2-6.

13 These inscriptions come from what was once a temple to the Magna Mater. It was thought to have possibly housed a small Mithraic shrine. Only inscriptions remain and the exact site is unknown. The inscriptions date to between 305-390 CE. See Griffith, "Mithraism in Private," 2, 8; and Jonas Bjøornebye, *"'Hic locus est felix, sanctus, piusque benignus'*: The Cult of Mithras in Fourth Century Rome" (PhD diss., University of Bergen, 2007), 70.

14 Griffith, "Mithraism in Private," 16-27. The last known reference to Mithras is on the epitaph of Kamenius from 385 CE. One pertinent example of the senatorial struggle with the loss of their pagan values is found in the third *relatione* of Symmachus from 384 CE, who wrote to Valentinian II requesting the return of the statue of Victory to the senate after its removal by the Emperor Gratian. For more on this see R.H. Barrow, *Prefect and Emperor: The Relationes of Symmachus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

15 Bjørnebye, "'*Hic locus est*,'" 67-68. An exception is the Gallo-Roman villa mithraeum in Switzerland. The building is large with a main cult area of about 30 x 30 feet. See Thierry Luginbühl, et al., "Le Mithraeum de la Villa d'Orbe-Boscéaz," in *Roman Mithraism* (see note 11), 109-133.

were separate rooms reserved for worship of specific deities.[16] Yet, there are so many small-scale tauroctonies that it seems impossible that they all came from private mithraea. Richard Gordon is one of the few scholars to address this problem, defining "small finds" as "archaeological finds whose information-potential is easily overlooked."[17] Gordon examines the reliefs compiled by M.J. Vermaseren in his 1960 *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* (CIMRM).[18] Of the two hundred and fourteen reliefs in this volume that are complete enough to study, Gordon places fifteen percent into the "small" category.[19] The Metropolitan Museum of Art plaque fits into this group as well.

Gordon sees these smaller-scale objects as far too common to be ignored and views the miniaturization of the Mithraic icon as the natural consequence of its privatization. Although he warns that it cannot be shown decisively that tauroctonies were used as personal icons in domestic settings, it is a sound possibility. In the *Corpus*, the only tauroctony proven to be from a domestic setting is from the Via Giovanni Lanza mithraeum.[20] After comparing these small-scale reliefs to the minimum size necessary to be used in an average mithraeum, Gordon concludes that the fifteen percent could have been used for private devotion.[21]

The nature of these smaller objects may have encouraged meditation and reflection to a greater degree than the larger items due to the necessity for the viewer to observe them at a closer range. Gordon adds that these small finds reveal that the mithraeum was not the single form of the cult that existed, as was previously thought, and that home worship may well have been quite common and may account on some level for the cult's prevalence over such a large area.[22]

The tradition of domestic worship was a part of everyday life in the Greco-Roman world: each family offered daily sacrifice to household deities known as Lares and Penates. By offering small portions of daily meals to the gods, the worshippers believed that the gods would ensure the protection and continuation of the family name.[23] Those who could afford them had domestic shrines dedicated to these household deities along with other gods of personal choice. The domestic mithraeum found on the Via Giovanni Lanza was a separate room, but the family also had a large traditional domestic shrine, or lararium, right outside the door leading to the mithraeum.[24] Being a devotee of Mithras did not preclude the worship of other gods.

In the ancient world, representations of deities were necessary for their proper worship: people believed that cult statues in temples were embodied by their respective gods. These statues were synonymous with the deity itself.[25] In a domestic context, household gods could take the form of wall paintings or three-dimensional objects; therefore, if an individual wished to worship Mithras outside of a mystery cult, a personal icon such as a painting, statuette or a small relief would have been requisite.

Due to the pervasiveness of these smaller tauroctonies, it should be noted that Franz Cumont in 1902 also believed that reliefs of this size could have been used, not only in the mithraeum, but also in the home.[26] Cumont suggested that these pieces were mass-produced by workshops because of a consumer demand for them. Although, in general, craftsmen would work when commissioned, some would have allowed stock to build up in cases of popular items.[27] If private devotion were a religious choice, surely there were inexpensive items readily available as well as finer pieces such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art plaque.

It is apparent that two potential locations for cult objects are the home and the mithraeum, but may there have been other possibilities? Epigraphic evidence shows that soldiers were devotees of Mithras, although the exact numbers may not be as impressive as usually implied.[28] It is unlikely that these men would opt not to practice their religion if their

16 George K. Boyce, *Corpus of the Lararia of Pompeii* (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1937), 18.

17 Gordon, "Small and Miniature Reproductions," 259.

18 Though this *corpus* is out of date, it is still the most complete catalogue. In personal correspondence with the author on March 13, 2010, Richard Gordon noted that an updated volume is anticipated in about three years.

19 Gordon "Small and Miniature Reproductions," 264-6.

20 Ibid., 264; CIMRM 357.

21 Gordon, "Small and Miniature Reproductions," 266. Gordon's statistics consider only reliefs and do not address the various Mithraic statuettes found throughout the empire or tauroctonies that were not included in Vermaseren's *Corpus*.

22 Ibid., 263, 266, 278.

23 For further information on domestic cults see D.G. Orr, "Roman Domestic Religion: The Evidence of Household Shrines," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der romischen Welt*, vol. 2, no. 16, pt. 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978), 1662-1570.

24 For more information about the mithraeum and lararium see S. Ensoli Vittozzi, "Le sculture del 'larario' di S. Martino ai Monti: Un contesto recuperate," *Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Communale in Roma* 95 (1993): 221-43; J. Calzini Gysens, "Mithra, Spelaeum (Via G. Lanza 128; Reg. V)," in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae,* ed. E.M. Steinby (Rome: Quasar, 1993), 3:260-1. The mithraeum was a lower room and outside the door leading to it was found a lararium with a statue of Isis-Fortuna and statuettes of Serapis, Jupiter, Venus, Mars, Hercules and Hekate, etc.

25 For a detailed discussion of Roman viewing see Jas Elsner, *Roman Eyes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

26 Franz Cumont, *Les Mystères de Mithras* (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1902), 180-1; Beck, *Religion of the Mithras Cult,* 21.

27 S.M. Treggiari, "Urban Labour in Rome: *Mercennarii* and *Tabernarii,*" in *Non-Slave Labour in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Peter Garnsey (Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1980), 55.

28 Yann Le Bohec, *The Imperial Roman Army* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1994), 250. Although we do have considerable epigraphic evidence for Mithraism (versus the Egyptian cults, for instance) being practiced by the army, it seems that these devotees are only repre-

legion were moving from camp to camp. In the impermanent situations of a campaign or other travel, there would have been no mithraeum available.

Though somewhat heavy, the Metropolitan Museum of Art plaque would have been ideal for transport. It would have been less likely to chip than stone, and unlike the few other existing bronze plaques which are extremely thin, it would have been able to withstand the perils of travel.[29]

Two tauroctonies found in Rome but made in the Danube region appear to support this theory. The first is stylistically attributed to Moesia Superior, but was found in the Shrine of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine.[30] Mithras is in the act of stabbing the bull with his two torchbearers to either side. He looks out at the viewer, which is common for tauroctonies from the region. The other, attributed to Dacia, has only the remains of the torchbearers and some auxiliary scenes along the top.[31] Its significance lies in its find spot — in the barracks of elite soldiers in Rome. It is reasonable to assume that a piece of property such as this could have been carried by its owner (or owners) over great distances and then used by him and other adherents until an actual mithraeum could be built in the new location. Additionally, it is possible that in some cases a mithraeum may never have been built, if there were not enough members to fill the grade requirements.[32]

Even if this were not the function of the Metropolitan Museum of Art plaque, there is no reason to suppose the relief could only have served as a secondary piece of ornamentation within a mithraeum. It could even have had various uses over its lifespan. This is proven by other examples such as at the Dura Europos mithraeum where stone reliefs from previous periods were maintained even after they no longer served as the main cult tauroctony.[33]

Owing to its value as a cast bronze and because of its importance as a devotional object, the owner would undoubtedly have treasured it, traveled with it, and meditated with it wherever life took him. Once his travels were completed or he arrived in a more permanent situation, the plaque could have been added to the cult objects of a Mithraic community.

If, however, the piece was used in a mithraeum from the beginning, it seems more likely that it functioned as an object of secondary ornamentation in a typical mithraeum or as a cult icon in a private domestic mithraeum. Yet, the lack of inscription implies that the most probable function of the relief was that it was an object of private devotion: domestic or portable or both. One may speculate that it could have been intended to travel. The holes may have been present from its inception, although they also might have been added once the plaque and its owner found a permanent home.

The existence of objects of this kind clearly implies that there may have been more than one way to worship Mithras: in a congregation with grades, in smaller groups, or even alone. These possibilities break with the earlier conviction that Mithras was only worshipped in a mithraeum and with the proper grade structure. Due to the new interest in and study of other smaller Mithraic objects, there are potential solutions to the mystery of its function that would not have been considered ten or fifteen years ago. The Metropolitan Museum of Art tauroctony is an ideal piece for exploring new hypotheses.

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sentative of a fraction of the enlisted men and that the traditional Greco-Roman deities were more popular. It is also impossible to determine the number of simple soldiers who may or may not have practiced Mithraism since the majority of the inscriptions come from low officers.

[29] For examples of other bronze tauroctonies refer to CIMRM 1216 and 1727.

[30] CIMRM 469; Gordon, "Small and Miniature Reproductions," 265; M. Hörig and E. Schwertheim, *Corpus Cultis Iovis Dolicheni* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), 233.

[31] Gordon, "Small and Miniature Reproductions," 265; E. Lissi Caronna, *Il mitreo dei Castra Peregrinorum* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), 36-37.

[32] Gordon "Small and Miniature Reproductions," 264-5.

[33] Susan Downey, "Syrian Images of Mithras Tauroctonos," in *Études mithriaques*, ed. Duchesne Guillemin Jacques (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 136-7; Gordon, "Small and Miniature Reproductions," 260n16.

Figure 1. Plaque of Mithras slaying the bull, mid-2nd to early 3rd century CE, mid-Imperial, Antonine or Severan Roman, bronze, 14 x 11 5/8 x 1 3/4 inches (35.6 x 29.5 x 4.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Klaus G. Perls, 1997 (1997.145.3) © The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Art Resource, New York, New York.

Embodiments of Heat in the Iconography of Highland Maya Effigy Funerary Urns

Kathleen McCampbell

The art history of the Maya has been an area of study for over a century. In that time, the majority of research has focused on art from Classic period (250 - 900 CE) Lowland Maya cities of southern Mexico, Belize, Honduras, and Northern Guatemala. In contrast, the art of the Highland Maya, from the mountainous regions of southern Mexico and southern and central Guatemala, has received considerably less attention. This paper rectifies that disparity to an extent by examining the effigy funerary urn as an important genre of Highland Maya art (Figure 1). This survey and analysis of fifty-five Highland urns represents the first systematic study of urn iconography.[1] Highland Maya effigy funerary urns represent a unique departure from earlier burial customs. These urns boast a complex and consistent iconographic program that includes jaguar deities, the Maize God, and the old god of the hearth, as well as skulls, spikes, and personifications of the earth. In order to demonstrate that the iconographic complex of Highland effigy funerary urns makes explicit the analogy that exists between Maya eschatology, the life cycle of maize, and the rebirth of the Maize God, this essay shows that heat, as represented in urn iconography by various jaguar deities and the old god of the hearth, was an important component in Highland Maya funerary practice.

As fire- and hearth-related entities, the jaguar deities and the old god of the hearth provide the heat necessary for the regeneration of the body, a conceptual process informed by observation of the life cycle of maize. These vessels are related to architectural tombs, domestic structures, and incense burners by virtue of their iconography and related conceptual significance. These urns condense the ideas embodied by these structures and objects, those of sprouting and re-birth, into a single ceramic vessel. Following a brief introduction to the genre, the parallel between the life cycles of the Maize God and humans is outlined. Next, the urns' pervasive heat- and hearth-related imagery is addressed, concluding with an explanation of how the embodiment of heat in the iconography of urns informs the function of these vessels.

Effigy funerary urns date to the Late Classic to Early Postclassic period, probably between 800 and 1100 CE, and were produced within the Guatemalan Highlands, most likely in the northern regions of the Departments of Quiche and Huehuetenango in the area surrounding Nebaj.[2] The urns that are the focus of this study were looted and are therefore without provenance. However, stylistically and iconographically similar examples have been recovered in situ from sites such as Nebaj.[3] The bundled bodies of elite members of the community were placed in the urns in a flexed position (Figure 2), and buried in temple structures or other ceremonially important locations.[4] Many of the urns retain traces of their original red, white, yellow, black and blue paint, evidence of their interment in an enclosed, protected space. Highland funerary urns are typically cylindrical in form, although square and rectangular examples have been recovered. Urns range in size from one and a half feet tall up to three feet tall and with diameters from approximately one to two feet, thus providing plenty of space for complete or disarticulated human remains.

Each ceramic urn is composed of two basic elements: a large decorated urn body and accompanying lid. Surviving lids are conical in form and regularly feature a jaguar. Modeled clay sculptural elements and painted imagery are the primary means of decoration. Many urns possess flanges on either side of the body and offer an extended space for such painting. The body is dominated by a central figure, typically a jaguar deity, the Maize God, or the old god of the hearth known as Huehueteotl in Central Mexico. Urns typically depict either the faces of deities, one usually emerging from the mouth of another, or solitary full-figured representations

[1] These fifty-five examples have been chosen based on their formal and iconographic similarities as well as their accessibility. Other examples are known to the author, but have been excluded to limit the scope of this essay. The urns discussed in this paper are in the collection of the Museo Popol Vuh in Guatemala City. For a detailed discussion of the urns and additional photographs, see Kathleen McCampbell, "Highland Maya Effigy Funerary Urns: A Study of Genre, Iconography, and Function" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 2010).

[2] Museo Popol Vuh Guidebook (Barcelona: Brustamante Editores, S.L., 2003), 53; Andrés Ciudad Ruiz, "La Tradición Funeraria de las Tierras Altas de Guatemala Durante la Etapa Prehispánica," in *Antropología de la Eternidad: La Muerte en la Cultura Maya*, ed. Andrés Ciudad Ruiz, Mario Humberto Ruz, and Ma. Josefa Iglesias Ponce de León (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Mayas, 2005), 94-96; and Maria Josefa Iglesias Ponce de León, "Contenedores de Cuerpos, Cenizas y Almas: El Uso de las Urnas Funerarias en la Cultura Maya," in Ruiz, et al., *Antropología de la Eternidad*, 224.

[3] Mary Butler Lewis, "Excavation Notes from Nebaj, Guatemala, 1941," n.d., Archives of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA.

[4] Ciudad Ruiz, "Tradición Funeraria de las Tierras Altas," 94-96; Ponce de León, "Uso de las Urnas Funerarias," 224.

(Figure 3). The variation in representations of deities on effigy funerary urns offers clues about the nature of these figures and the symbolic function of the urn in Maya burial practice. To contextualize this function, a brief discussion of the mythology surrounding maize is necessitated. As was previously emphasized, the Maize God serves as an intermediary for understanding how the life cycles of humans and maize are related.

The *Popol Vuh*, a sixteenth-century K'iche' Maya creation narrative recovered in Chichicastenango, a Highland town located little over twenty miles from present day Nebaj, records the discovery of maize and the creation of people.[5] The *Popol Vuh* recounts that human flesh and bone were formed from maize dough.[6] People, and thus the bones interred in funerary urns, are composed of maize or are equivalent to maize. References to maize in Highland Maya languages make explicit this connection between maize and the human body. In Tzutujil maize seeds are referred to as *muk* "interred ones," or *jolooma*, "little skulls."[7] Similarly the K'iche' word for a single ear of corn is *wi*, or "head."[8] Multiple references to the importance of heat and its relationship with maize, and thus humans, are given in the *Popol Vuh*. One example describes how the lives of the Hero Twins, a pair of important mythological characters, are analogous to that of the ears of maize that the Twins plant in the center of the home of their grandmother.[9] Although not explicitly stated, the maize is planted where the hearth would traditionally be located. The Twins state that the maize that grows there will inform their grandmother if they are alive or dead, depending on whether the plants sprout or dry up.

In Mesoamerican myth, birth and transformation often take place in dark, heated spaces, the most notable of which is the birth of the Maize God, whose life and death are understood through a comparison with that of maize.[10] The famed ceramic vessel known as the "Resurrection Plate" (Kerr Vessel 1892), depicts the Maize God's birth from the earth, which is represented by a large turtle (Figure 4). The heat and darkness that allow him to sprout or re-grow are illustrated in the flaming skull from which he is born. This skull includes an *ak'bal*, "darkness" sign, which forms its eye. Humans and maize are also understood to lead parallel lives as they undergo continuous cycles of birth, death, planting/burial, and re-growth. Bodies placed in urns may thus be understood within the context of the life cycle of maize. They have died and their bones, or seeds, have been buried, or planted, in the darkness of the urn, just as maize seeds are planted in a field and now require the heat necessary for regeneration. In urn iconography, this heat is provided by the depictions of jaguar deities and Huehueteotl, the old god of the hearth.

One of the most striking features of the iconographic program of effigy funerary urns is the frequent appearance of jaguar deities. There appear to be three different types of jaguars in this program, a naturalistic jaguar, and two other gods arbitrarily referred to as the Jaguar God of the Underworld and the Water Lily Jaguar. These three types of jaguars may essentially be one and the same, or at least different manifestations of the same idea, because they can be readily substituted for one another on urn bodies and lids.

The primary central figure on effigy funerary urns is the so-called Jaguar God of the Underworld (Figure 5). He is typically represented with jaguar ears and a twisted cord-like element between his swirled god eyes. Normally, this jaguar deity is shown emerging from the mouth of a reptilian creature, possibly a personification of the earth or the serpent from whose mouth the sun emerges (Figure 6). This particular deity is most often portrayed on urns that echo the shape of incense burner stands, with only a few exceptions.

5 Allen Christenson, trans., *Popol Vuh: The Sacred Book of the Maya: The Great Classic of Central American Spirituality, Translated from the Original Maya Text* (Winchester, UK: O Books, 2003). This essay relies on Allen Christenson's translations of the text. For a second translation refer to, Dennis Tedlock, trans., *Popol Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings* (New York: Touchstone, 1996). Scholars often use the *Popol Vuh* to explain imagery dating to as early as the Preclassic period. While this early imagery does support the idea that the mythological narrative recorded in the book has ancient roots, it is nevertheless problematic to apply a sixteenth-century text to monuments and objects that predate it by a millennium and are from a different area of the Maya world. Conversely, the effigy funerary urns are much closer in time and location to the *Popol Vuh*. The *Popol Vuh*, literally "Council Book," was recorded by anonymous K'iche' Maya in the middle of the sixteenth century. Sometime between 1701 and 1703 a Spanish friar named Francisco Ximénez made the only surviving copy of the K'iche' manuscript and translated it into Spanish. In addition to recording the gods' creation of people and the adventures of the Hero twins, the book includes the founding and history of the K'iche' kingdom.

6 Christenson, *Popol Vuh,* 195. In the third and final attempt to create people, maize found by animals in Paxil/Cayala Mountain is used to form human flesh and bone. The text reads, "[t]hus their frame and shape were given expression by our first Mother and our first Father. Their flesh was merely yellow ears of maize and white ears of maize. Mere food were the legs and arms of humanity, of our first fathers. And so there were four who were made, and mere food was their flesh."

7 Robert S. Carlsen and Martin Prechtel, "The Flowering of the Dead: An Interpretation of Highland Maya Culture," *Man* 26, no. 1 (March 1991): 28. See this article for more maize-related vocabulary and for an explanation of the concept of Jaloj-Kexoj, which is a process of ancestral transformation understood through observation of the agricultural process, thus further connecting humans with the life cycle of maize.

8 Christenson, *Popol Vuh,* 137.

9 Ibid., 160. Xmucane's house, like all Maya houses, is essentially a microcosm of the universe, with the four corners representing the points of the cardinal directions and the hearth being the world center. The dead are also often buried beneath the floor of the house, revealing yet another connection between humans and maize. For more on the house as a microcosm see, Michael D. Carrasco and Kerry Hull, "The Cosmogonic Symbolism of the Corbeled Vault in Maya Architecture," *Mexicon* 24, no. 2 (2002): 26-32.

10 Michael D. Carrasco, "From Field to Hearth: An Earthly Interpretation of Maya and Other Mesoamerican Creation Myths," in *Pre-Columbian Foodways: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Food, Culture, and Markets in Ancient Mesoamerica*, ed. John E. Staller and Michael D. Carrasco (New York: Springer, 2010), 616-621.

This is not surprising given that this figure appears with great frequency on Classic period incense burners, a context that emphasizes his relationship with fire and heat.[11]

David Stuart first suggested that this figure is associated with fire, citing the god's frequent association with fire-drilling rituals and appearance on ritual incense burners as evidence of the relationship.[12] Altar 5 from Tikal portrays two figures impersonating this deity as they open the tomb of a woman who had died eight years earlier.[13] Both figures are depicted with the twisted cord element between their eyes and the figure on the left has a jaguar ear above his ear spool. These figures are performing a fire-drilling ceremony meant to renew or restore something that has diminished over time, specifically heat.[14] The altar makes explicit this connection between burial and fire or fire ceremony. Additionally, Michael Carrasco has argued that San Antonio, the Ch'orti God of Fire and the Hearth, is a manifestation of this jaguar deity, further connecting this figure with heat and fire-related ritual.[15]

Nikolai Grube and Werner Nahm have demonstrated that a number of jaguar *way* characters, or spirit companions, are related to fire or heat.[16] One of these *way*, the *k'ak hix* "fire jaguar" is shown engulfed in flames on Kerr Vessel 5367, a polychrome ceramic vase (Figure 7).[17] Figures such as the *k'ak hix* often share characteristics with a jaguar frequently seen on urns, particularly the appearance of a vegetal element protruding from the forehead and a red scarf draped across the shoulders (Figure 8). The connection between fiery *way* figures and this jaguar, whose cranial protrusion resembles that of the Water Lily Jaguar, suggests that it, too, has connections to heat and fire. This jaguar and the Jaguar God of the Underworld, along with a naturalistic jaguar devoid of any forehead elements, are interchangeable within urn iconography. This suggests that these three figures are different aspects of the same idea. The old god of the hearth is also a part of this system of alternation.[18]

Previously, the existence of a Maya equivalent of Huehueteotl had not been proven. However, the appearance of the figure of an old god whose representation is interchangeable with that of jaguar deities now known to embody heat and fire, confirms that these deities, in particular the Jaguar God of the Underworld, are symbolically equivalent to the old god of the hearth. Huehueteotl, with his sagging, wrinkled face and missing teeth may be represented either emerging from the mouth of a saurian or in full-figure on urns (Figure 9). One urn depicts a triad of old gods and is especially significant, as it confirms this deity's identification as the equivalent of Huehueteotl. As the god of the hearth, Huehueteotl here embodies the three individual hearth stones. On Naranjo Stela 30, a ruler impersonating a jaguar deity and clutching a fire-drilling staff wears a headdress that includes the three hearth stones.[19] This suggests that jaguar deities may be associated with a very specific fire, that of the three-stone hearth of creation from which the Maize God emerged. This only further emphasizes the connection between jaguar deities, the old god of the hearth, fire, and heat.

On urns, the three jaguar deities and Huehueteotl are each depicted emerging from the mouth of a saurian earth creature, or as full figures in the exact same position and size on urn bodies. Although only a limited number of urn lids survive, it seems that each of these deities can easily replace one another as decorative elements on urn lids which adhere to no apparent pattern. These substitutions suggest that these figures are manifestations of the same idea: heat, fire, and the hearth. These figures, along with depictions of the Maize God and representations of skulls, ceiba spikes, and personifications of the earth place effigy funerary urns into the same larger conceptual category as tomb architecture and ceremonial objects like incense burners. These objects and spaces share this iconography and stress the importance of heat as a critical element in the process of birth and regeneration.

11 Prudence Rice, "Rethinking Classic Lowland Maya Pottery Censers," *Ancient Mesoamerica* 10, no.1 (Spring 1999): 36.

12 David Stuart, "The Fire Enters His House: Architecture and Ritual in Classic Maya Texts," in F*unction and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, ed. Stephen D. Houston (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998), 384-409.

13 Ibid., p. 407 and fig. 24.

14 Ibid., 384-409. See Stuart's essay for an explanation of *och k'ahk'* "fire entering" ceremonies and the Jaguar God of the Underworld's involvement. See McCampbell, "Highland Maya Effigy Funerary Urns," 53-54, for a further discussion of these ceremonies as they relate to effigy funerary urns.

15 Michael D. Carrasco, "The Mask Flange Iconographic Complex: The Art, Ritual, and History of a Maya Sacred Image," (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2005), 262-263.

16 Nikolai Grube and Werner Nahm, "A Census of Xibalba: A Complete Inventory of *Way* Characters on Maya Ceramics," in *The Maya Vase Book, Vol. 4*, ed. Barbara and Justin Kerr (New York: Kerr Associates, 1994), 687.

17 This figure is also found on K2942 and K3924. Also see the *ha hix* "water jaguar" (K771 and K791) discussed in Grube and Nahm, "Census of Xibalba," 690; and in Karl Taube, "The Jade Hearth: Centrality, Rulership, and the Classic Maya Temple," in Houston, *Function and Meaning*, 443. Another figure, the *k'intan bolay*, "sun center jaguar," who is listed in the text describing the birth of GIII in the Temple of the Sun at Palenque, is also related to this concept. See Carrasco, "Mask Flange Iconographic Complex," 128, 260-261; and Grube and Nahm, "Census of Xibalba," 687.

18 Mary Miller and Karl Taube, *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya: An Illustrated Dictionary of Mesoamerican Religion* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1993), 189. The old Aztec god of the hearth is traditionally shown in human form with sagging cheeks, missing teeth, a wrinkled face, and often a hunchback to emphasize his old age. His image is often found on incense burners from Central Mexico.

19 Taube, "Jade Hearth," 440. Taube also calls attention to Tonina Monument 74, which features a ruler with the three hearth stones in his headdress and a staff and costume similar to that on Naranjo Stela 30. Additionally, the fire-drilling staffs held in the hands of the rulers on both Sacul Stela 9 and Naranjo Stela 30 have three sets of three-knotted strips of paper tied to them.

The process of birth and re-birth is understood through a comparison of the lives of humans with that of maize and the plant's personification, the Maize God. As discussed, birth and transformation occur in dark, heated spaces. These urns, with bodies placed inside and literally surrounded by depictions of fire, would certainly qualify as such a space. By placing bodies in a vessel symbolically consumed by fire, the dead reference the birth of the Maize God out of the primordial hearth or hearth stones. As embodiments of heat, jaguar deities and the old god of the hearth, Huehueteotl, permit the urns to be symbolically heated forever, allowing the transformation of the body to take place and the life cycle of maize and the Maize God to be repeated in perpetuity.

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[*facing page*] Figure 1. Highland Maya effigy funerary urn with jaguar lid and urn body featuring the Jaguar God of the Underworld emerging from the mouth of a saurian, Late Classic period - Early Postclassic period, painted ceramic. Museo Popol Vuh, Universidad Francisco Marroquín. Author's photo.

[*above, left*] Figure 2. Diagram of a Burial Urn. Museo Popol Vuh, Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

[*above, right*] Figure 3. Highland Maya effigy funerary urn with jaguar lid and urn body featuring a full figured naturalistic jaguar framed by vertical bands of skulls in flange-like position, Late Classic period - Early Postclassic period, painted ceramic. Museo Popol Vuh, Universidad Francisco Marroquín. Author's photo.

[*right*] Figure 4. *The Resurrection Plate*, Kerr Vessel 1892, Late Classic period. Photo credit: Justin Kerr, courtesy of the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc.

Figure 5. Highland Maya effigy funerary urn with Jaguar God of the Underworld and ceiba spikes, Late Classic period - Early Postclassic period, painted ceramic. Museo Popol Vuh, Universidad Francisco Marroquín. Author's photo.

Figure 6. Highland Maya effigy funerary urn with Jaguar God of the Underworld emerging from the mouth of a saurian and skull flanges, Late Classic period - Early Postclassic period, painted ceramic. Museo Popol Vuh, Universidad Francisco Marroquín. Author's photo.

Figure 7. Kerr Vessel 5367 with the *k'ak hix* engulfed in flames, Late Classic period. Photo credit: Justin Kerr, courtesy of the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc.

[*left*] Figure 8. Highland Maya effigy funerary urn with Maize God lid and urn body featuring a jaguar with a forehead protrusion emerging from the mouth of a saurian and skulls in flange-like position, Late Classic period - Early Postclassic period, painted ceramic. Museo Popol Vuh, Universidad Francisco Marroquín. Author's photo.

[*above*] Figure 9. Highland Maya effigy funerary urn with three Huehueteotl figures, Late Classic period - Early Postclassic period, painted ceramic. Museo Popol Vuh, Universidad Francisco Marroquín. Author's photo.

Matthew Paris's Illustrated Life of Edward the Confessor: History for the Eyes and Ears of a Queen

Deirdre Carter

In his mid-thirteenth-century Life of Edward the Confessor, the English monk, author, and artist Matthew Paris created a remarkable fusion of history and hagiography. In both the text and illustrations of the manuscript, Matthew embedded the traditional account of the saint within a broader historical narrative, rejecting the hagiographic tendency to disassociate saints from the historical circumstances in which they lived.[1] The manuscript opens with a series of images depicting King Edward's predecessors and the state of the kingdom prior to his accession to the English throne in 1042.[2] In the first eight miniatures, Edward plays only a minor role in the narrative, which focuses on the violence and oppression caused by the invading Danes (Figures 1-4). The pictorial narrative then continues with the more traditional account of the saint's life, and later, after the death of Edward, Matthew returns to a more historically based narrative, omitting several posthumous miracles in favor of an account of the events leading to the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 (Figures 5-6).[3]

The blended narrative present in the Life of Edward the Confessor is crucial to the understanding of Matthew's unusual role as the author and artist of both historical chronicles and saints' lives. Nevertheless, scholars have yet to examine fully the importance and implications of his innovative approach, which departs from contemporary conventions of hagiographic and historical illustration. This paper explores the significance, function, and reception of the historical miniatures in Matthew's Life of Edward the Confessor. Consideration of the manuscript's intended audience indicates that this striking narrative cannot be dismissed as simply a chronicler's preoccupation with history or a hagiographer's desire to extend his account. Instead, Matthew carefully designed the manuscript in order to present Queen Eleanor of Provence, who was both the intended reader and a young woman from abroad, with a very special manuscript that suited her age, lineage, and status as an influential woman. Through the manuscript's tripartite *mise-en-page* and engaging historical sequences, Matthew created not only a spiritually affective hagiographic narrative, but also an accessible and entertaining, though sometimes biased, introduction to the history of England, the land in which Eleanor now reigned as queen.

Matthew's renown is based largely upon his work as a writer and illustrator of Latin historical chronicles, such as the *Chronica Majora* (Figure 7; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 26 and 16; and London, British Library, MS Royal 14.C.VII).[4] He also wrote and illustrated several narratives, including the Anglo-Norman verse life of Edward the Confessor.[5] Matthew's autograph manuscript has been lost, but most scholars agree that Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59 presents a later copy, and indeed the only surviving copy, of

This paper developed from my master's thesis, entitled "History and Hagiography in Matthew Paris's Illustrated Life of Edward the Confessor." I would like to thank Professors Richard Emmerson and Paula Gerson for their insightful comments and unwavering support.

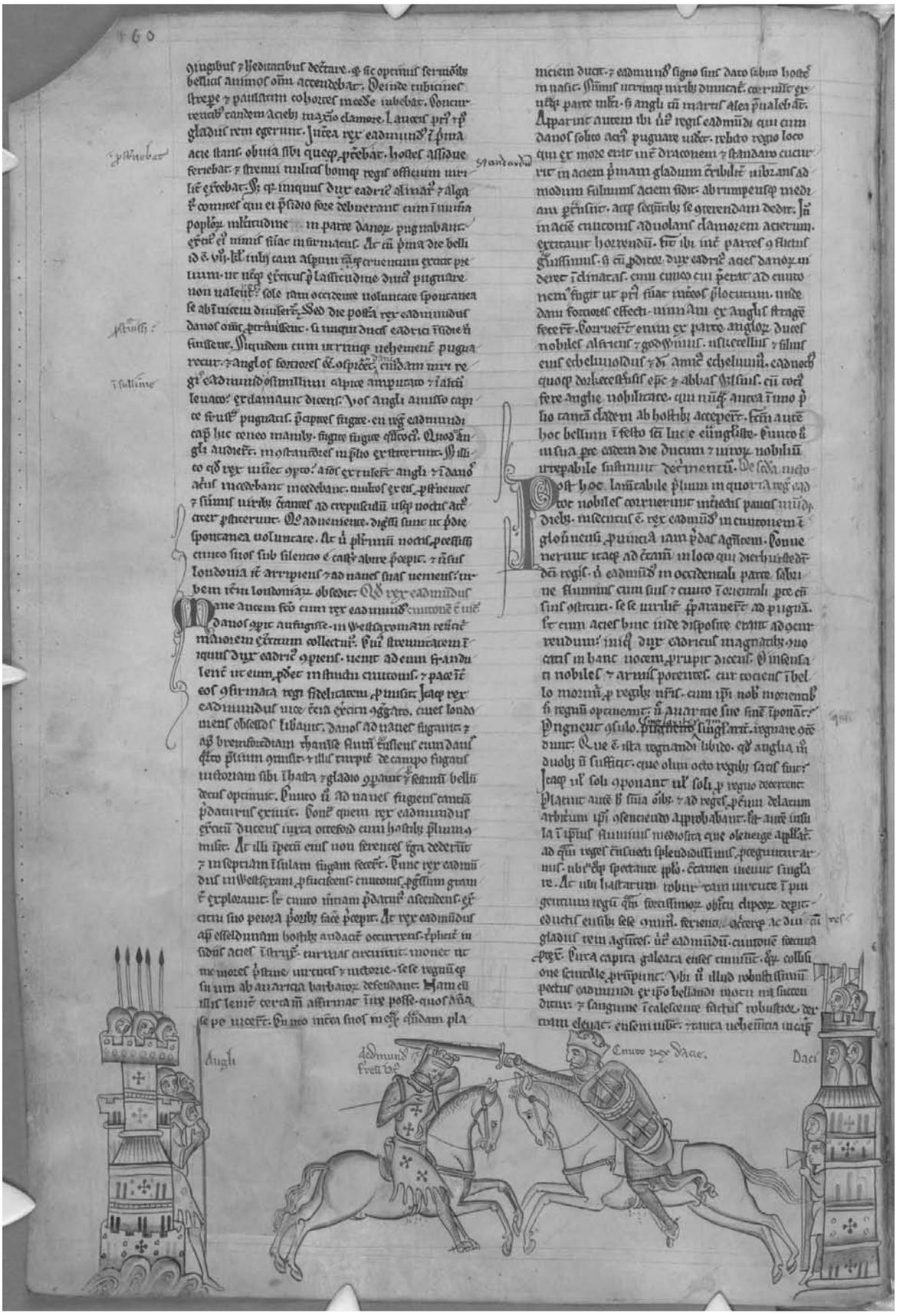
1 As stated by Hippolyte Delehaye, in most saints' lives "historical persons are deprived of their individuality, removed from their proper surroundings, and in a way isolated in time and space, so that their image in people's minds is an incongruous and unreal one." See Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints,* trans. Donald Attwater (New York: Fordham University Press, 1962), 19. Also see Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 36.

2 Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 340.

3 For discussions of the way in which Matthew's narrative differs from previous versions of the Life of Edward the Confessor, see Kathryn Young Wallace, introduction to *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1983), xxiii-xxix; and Paul Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries and Matthew Paris's Life of St Edward the Confessor," *Archaeologia* 109 (1991): 85-95. For a list of the manuscript's miniatures, see Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II), 1250-1285* (London: Harvey Miller, 1988), cat. 123. To view the entire manuscript online, see "Ee.3.59: The Life of King Edward the Confessor," Cambridge University Library, accessed 8 June 2011, http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/deptserv/manuscripts/Ee.3.59.

4 Matthew produced the *Chronica Majora* at St. Albans Abbey c. 1240-1259. According to Suzanne Lewis, the three volumes of the chronicle contain over one hundred and thirty tinted marginal illustrations, as well as approximately three hundred smaller and more abstract drawings. See Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the* Chronica Majora (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 443-458; and Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I), 1190-1250* (London: Harvey Miller, 1982), cat. 88 and 92.

5 The other illustrated narratives that are associated, sometimes controversially, with Matthew include a Life of Saint Alban (Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 177), a Life of Thomas Becket (Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire, England, The Wormsley Library, Becket Leaves), and the *Vitae duorum Offarum* (London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D.I). See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, cat. 61, 85, 87.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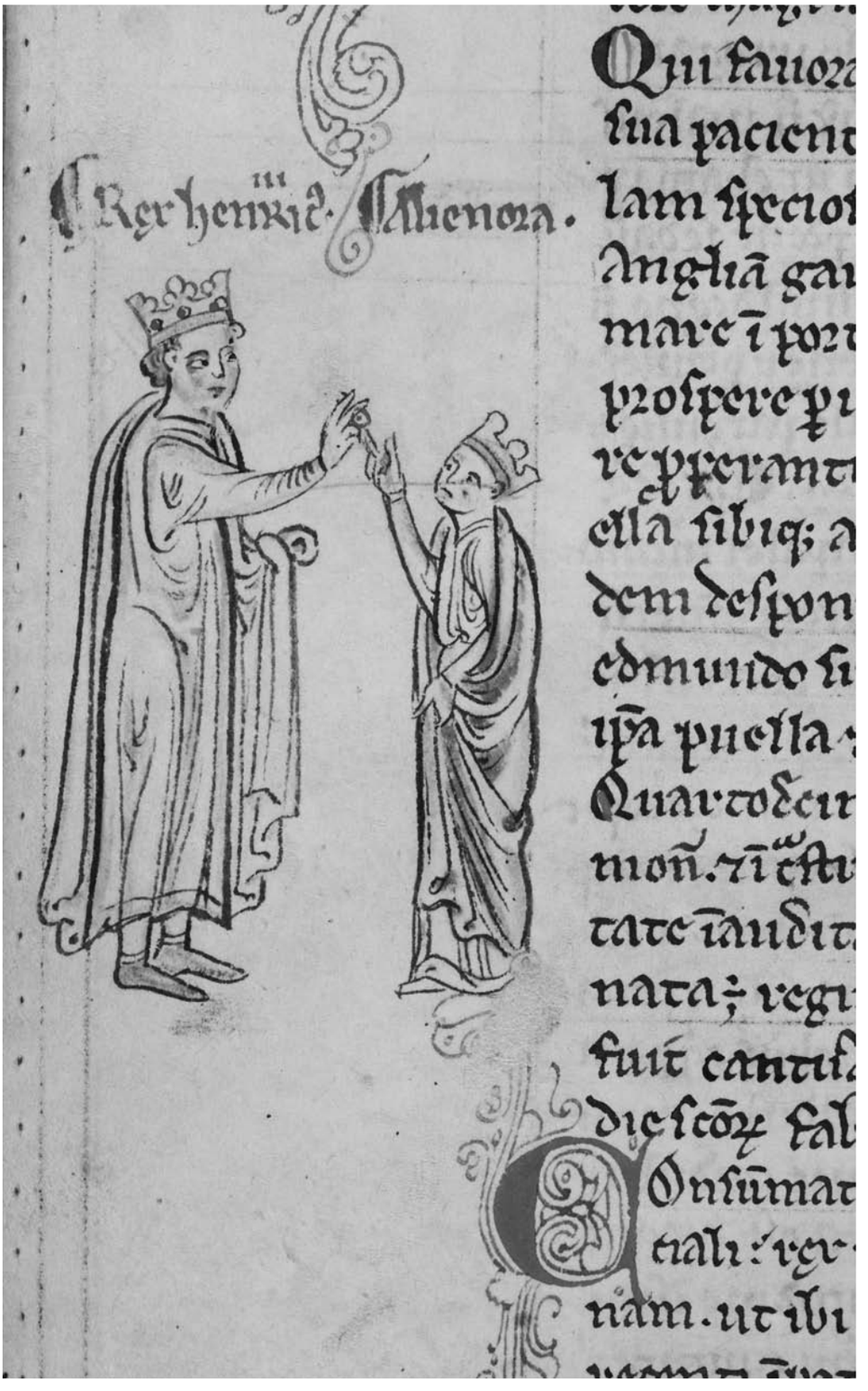

Figure 8. Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*: marriage of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, 1250-1259. London, British Library, MS Royal 14.C.VII, folio 124v © British Library Board, British Library, MS Royal 14.C.VII.

[*facing page*] Figure 7. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*: combat between Edmund Ironside and Cnut the Dane, *c.* 1240-1253. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 26, folio 80v. By permission of The Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

his original work.[6] The style of the Cambridge manuscript's sixty-four framed and tinted line drawings suggests that the extant copy was produced *c.* 1255-1260 at Westminster or in London.[7] Each page features one large miniature, which is placed above the poetic text and an abbreviated version of the story in rubrics (Figure 1). Together, these images form a lively pictorial narrative that develops and progresses with the turning of each folio. The textual narrative, entitled *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, includes a dedication, which states that the text and illustrations were originally designed and produced for Queen Eleanor of Provence, who married England's King Henry III in 1236. In the dedication, Matthew also explains that Eleanor's knowledge of Edward the Confessor was particularly important due to Henry's special affinity for the saint.[8] According to D.A. Carpenter, this statement indicates that the manuscript was most likely commissioned by Henry around 1236 in order to foster his young wife's familiarity with his favorite saint, a view that seems probable given Henry's patronage of other Edward-related works of art.[9]

This information regarding the manuscript's audience has led several scholars to speculate about how Matthew intended the manuscript to function. Studies by Cynthia Hahn and by Paul Binski imply that Matthew hoped to present his female audience with lessons that dealt primarily with the proper behavior for royal and courtly men.[10] Elsewhere, Binski has given greater consideration to the special needs of Eleanor, arguing that the manuscript provided this young foreign-born queen with an introduction to some of her new kingdom's most distinguished saints.[11] Although previous scholars have not explored the question of Eleanor's understanding of Matthew's historical additions, several studies have noted that the *Estoire* emphasizes the historical aspects of Edward's life. These scholars suggest that Matthew's decision to call his text an *estoire*, or history, rather than a *vie*, or life, is representative of the changes he made to the established version of the hagiography written by Aelred of Rievaulx in the mid-twelfth century.[12] Thelma S. Fenster and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne argue that Matthew emphasized the historical circumstances of Edward's life and death in order to stress the importance of maintaining legitimate rulership.[13] Despite its plausibility, scholars have yet to consider how this explanation relates to the specific needs of Eleanor, the manuscript's intended reader, rather than those of her husband, the king. This paper seeks to address this issue, exploring the ways in which Matthew manipulated the manuscript's writing, *mise-en-page*, miniatures, and text-and-image relationships in order to appeal to the needs and interests of Queen Eleanor.

Eleanor of Provence spent her childhood at her father's court in southern France, and it was here that she was shaped into the elegant and articulate young woman described in contemporary documents. In the last months of 1235, Eleanor traveled to England to prepare for her upcoming marriage to Henry III. On the day of their wedding in January 1236, she was twelve years old.[14] The representation of this event in Matthew's *Historia Anglorum* emphasizes Eleanor's youth, depicting her as a diminutive and timid figure standing

6 The poem and the design of the illustrations were first attributed to Matthew by M.R. James based on similarities to the images and texts found in Matthew's other manuscripts. More recent studies have almost unanimously accepted this attribution, although Nigel Morgan argues that scholars have been too eager to attribute such works to Matthew and suggests that the *Estoire* did not originate with Matthew Paris or at St. Albans. See M.R. James, *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1920), 17-34; and Nigel Morgan, "Matthew Paris, St Albans, London, and the Leaves of the 'Life of St Thomas Becket,'" *Burlington Magazine* 130 (1988): 95-96. For a more detailed discussion of this manuscript's attribution to Matthew, see Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 89-95; and Deirdre Carter, "History and Hagiography in Matthew Paris's Illustrated Life of Edward the Confessor" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 2009), 3-4, 59.

7 Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II)*, cat. 123; and Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 89.

8 Matthew Paris, *The History of Saint Edward the King*, trans. Thelma S. Fenster and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 54; and Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998), 1. For the Anglo-Norman text, see *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, ed. Kathryn Young Wallace (see note 3).

9 D.A. Carpenter, "King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult," *English Historical Review* 122 (2007): 885-886. Henry's veneration for Edward led to the creation of a new saint's shrine, multiple monumental images of the saint, and the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey, which had originally been built under Edward's patronage. See Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 88-89; and Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 49-53, 127-128.

10 Cynthia Hahn, "Proper Behavior for Knights and Kings: The Hagiography of Matthew Paris, Monk of St. Albans," *Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990): 244-247; and Paul Binski, "Reflections on *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei:* Hagiography and Kingship in Thirteenth-Century England," *Journal of Medieval History* 16 (1990): 340-348.

11 Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 61.

12 Ibid., 57; Françoise Laurent, "'A ma matere pas n'apent de vus dire...': *La Estoire de seint Aedward le rei* de Matthieu Paris ou la 'conjointure' de deux écritures," *Revue des Sciences Humaines* 251 (1998): 127; and Thelma S. Fenster and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, introduction to *The History of Saint Edward the King,* by Matthew Paris (see note 8), 1-3. Also see Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 92; and Peter Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Inventing Vernacular Authority* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1999), 211, 220-221.

13 Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 18-25. According to Scott Waugh, support of the post-Conquest kings' legitimacy as rulers of England was a common feature of the hagiographic and historical accounts of Edward's life. See Scott Waugh, "The Lives of Edward the Confessor and the Meaning of History in the Middle Ages," in *The Medieval Chronicle III: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Doorn/Utrecht 12-17 July 2002,* ed. Erik Kooper (New York: Rodopi, 2004), 203.

14 Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 1, 4-7, 13-16.

before the commanding presence of her husband (Figure 8; London, British Library, MS Royal 14.C.VII).[15]

Several aspects of the Life of Edward the Confessor's text and *mise-en-page* indicate that Matthew carefully considered the ways in which he could present this young queen with a manuscript that would satisfy her needs and interests. Although Aelred's Latin prose life, the *Vita Sancti Edwardi*, served as the primary textual source for the *Estoire*, Matthew composed his own version of the life in vernacular poetry.[16] By doing so, Matthew created a narrative that was accessible to Eleanor, a lay reader who does not seem to have had a full command of Latin, even as an adult. As a vernacular poem, Matthew's text would have appealed to the tastes of readers of romance literature, a genre with which the young Provençal woman would likely have been familiar.[17] In addition, vernacular historical narratives were particularly popular among continental women living in England, and Matthew may have seen the *Estoire* as a way to present the queen with an abbreviated version of this type of text.[18] Eleanor later owned a *Roman de Guillaume le Conquerant*, which suggests that her interest in vernacular histories, and in the historical events depicted in the Life of Edward the Confessor, continued throughout her lifetime.[19]

After arriving in England, Eleanor may have faced some period of time in which she was unfamiliar with Anglo-Norman, but Matthew provides evidence that the manuscript's *mise-en-page* was designed to ensure that Eleanor could still enjoy the *Estoire*'s narrative.[20] After relating the death of Edward, Matthew includes a brief prayer, in which he says: "For laypeople who do not know how to read, I have also represented your story in illustrations in this very same book, because I want the eyes to see what the ears hear."[21] This statement indicates that Matthew intended the manuscript's audience to view the miniatures while someone else presented the text orally, which was a common way to experience literature throughout the Middle Ages.[22] As noted by Victoria B. Jordan, the *mise-en-page* of this manuscript reveals Matthew's desire to appeal to an audience that could understand spoken Anglo-Norman but could not necessarily read it.[23] By placing each large miniature above the corresponding passages from the poem and rubrics, Matthew ensured that Eleanor's eyes could, in fact, see what her ears heard.[24] It is possible that she also viewed this manuscript privately, and the *mise-en-page* would have facilitated this experience as well. The pictorial cycle enabled Eleanor to enjoy Matthew's story either alone or in the company of others, regardless of her ability to read Anglo-Norman. Moreover, by including both *tituli* and rubrics, Matthew would have enabled the young queen to read an abbreviated version of the story as she developed a greater understanding of the vernacular. As Eleanor gained a full command of the language, she could then enjoy the pictures, the poem, and the rubrics or any combination of the three and could also select a different combination for each sitting.

Given Eleanor's youth, the *Estoire*'s pictorial cycle may have served as the most accessible of the manuscript's multiple versions of the narrative. That Matthew realized this is suggested not only by these images' status as the longest surviving pictorial cycle of Edward's life, but also by the miniatures' engaging narrative format, which would have further enhanced Eleanor's ability to comprehend the progression from one scene to the next.[25] Although it was not uncommon for artists to use narrative imagery to illustrate hagiographic subjects, Matthew's use of a highly narrative format for the

15 According to Richard Vaughan, the *Chronica Majora*'s detailed description of Eleanor's coronation ceremony at Westminster Abbey suggests that Matthew may have attended this event. See Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 2-3; and Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, vol. 3 (London: Longman, 1876), 336-339.

16 Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 5-6, 32, 41. In his Life of Saint Edmund of Abingdon, Matthew acknowledges the benefits of writing in the vernacular, stating that Anglo-Norman was better understood by the laity and clerics alike (ibid., 32).

17 Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 6-7. Also see Hahn, "Proper Behavior," 240.

18 Diana B. Tyson, "Patronage of French Vernacular History Writers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Romania* 100 (1979): 185-202.

19 John Carmi Parsons, "Of Queens, Courts, and Books: Reflections on the Literary Patronage of Thirteenth-Century Plantagenet Queens," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 176. It is tempting to suggest that Eleanor of Provence's interest in William the Conqueror may have been inspired by the *Estoire*'s account of the Norman Conquest, but there is no way to know whether or not that was the case.

20 The French spoken at the court of Eleanor's father was a dialect of Occitan, which was quite different from Anglo-Norman. See Howell, *Eleanor of Provence,* 6.

21 Matthew Paris, *History of Saint Edward*, 105.

22 Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II)*, 96; Victoria B. Jordan, "The Multiple Narratives of Matthew Paris' *Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*: Cambridge, University Library MS Ee.iii.59," *Parergon* 13, no. 2 (1996): 91-92; and Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 28-29. For a further discussion of the importance of visual and aural reception to medieval audiences, see Richard K. Emmerson's discussion of the Trinity Apocalypse, another mid-thirteenth-century English manuscript. Richard K. Emmerson, "Framing the Apocalypse: The Performance of John's Life in the Trinity Apocalypse," in *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*, ed. Elina Gertsman (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 51-52. Both Joyce Coleman and Ruth Crosby have also discussed the importance of aural reception in the Middle Ages, and Crosby states that "the masses of the people read by means of the ear rather than the eye, by hearing others read or recite rather than by reading to themselves." See Ruth Crosby, "Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 11 (1936): 88; and Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

23 Jordan, "Multiple Narratives," 92.

24 The manuscript measures 11 x 7.6 inches, and each miniature covers roughly one half of a page, ensuring that multiple people could view it simultaneously. See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II)*, 94.

25 Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 89.

Life of Edward the Confessor's historical miniatures was exceptional.[26] At this time, historical subjects were rarely illustrated, for most bookmakers considered such manuscripts unworthy of the costly and time-consuming artistic treatment accorded to religious texts. Matthew's inclusion of an extensive cycle of marginal images in the *Chronica Majora* was groundbreaking, but even these images differ significantly from those in the Life of Edward the Confessor.[27]

A comparison of the miniatures in the *Chronica Majora* with those in the *Estoire* sheds light on the way in which the narrativity of the latter's historical illustrations would have affected Eleanor's viewing experience, while also having important implications for medieval historical illustration more generally.[28] In the *Chronica Majora*, Matthew visually represents history as a sporadic series of unrelated events that lack the narrativity of a cohesive story. Unframed drawings are scattered throughout the margins, frequently separated by many unillustrated pages of text. In the lower margin of a page from the *Chronica Majora*, an isolated image of a battle between Cnut and Edmund Ironside in the year 1016 stands alone (Figure 7). The narrative format of the illustrations in the Life of Edward the Confessor, however, creates a very different depiction of this event (Figure 2). Here the battle is squashed into a single framed miniature along with scenes depicting the subsequent truce between the two kings and the later murder of Edmund Ironside. What was an isolated marginal scene in the *Chronica Majora* is contextualized by the *Estoire*'s framed miniature, becoming a single, if crucial, component of a larger narrative rather than a lone iconic representation of an event. By placing a sequence of related historical episodes side-by-side, Matthew presents not only an exciting narrative, but also a coherent historical narrative. Thus, it is only within his saints' lives that this great medieval chronicler was able to break free of the chronicle's narrative limitations and to represent history in a cohesive visual format. Because contemporary bookmakers and patrons typically considered chronicles to be unworthy of even minor artistic embellishment, Matthew may have viewed his hagiographic manuscript as a safe venue in which to continue experimenting with new formats of historical illustration and, indeed, with a format that would suit the needs of Eleanor of Provence.

In her role as queen of England, Eleanor would need to possess some knowledge of earlier English history, and Matthew's illustrations, writing, and *mise-en-page* guaranteed that she had an accessible textual and pictorial account of some of the major events from the later Anglo-Saxon period. The narrativity of the miniatures may have made this learning process especially enjoyable, but the cohesiveness of Matthew's narrative, in both words and images, would have further enhanced Eleanor's ability to understand the historical events portrayed. As mentioned, in this respect Matthew departed from the medieval chronicler's approach to recording history, as represented by his own *Chronica Majora*. Whereas chronicles tended to adhere to a comprehensive and strictly chronological framework that lacked focus, narrativity, and closure, the *Estoire* presents a coherent and focused account of history in which historical episodes were selected based upon their relevance to the intended narrative.[29] By creating a concise historical narrative, Matthew provided Eleanor with an intelligible account of events that he felt were particularly significant and presented them in a way that suited the needs and, perhaps, the attention span of the young queen.

Among the historical episodes represented in the Life of Edward the Confessor, Matthew lavished special attention on the events leading to the Norman Conquest. Although one could argue that Matthew's inclusion of these events was simply the most logical way to lengthen his hagiography, there are reasons for believing that he had more specific motives for portraying the Conquest in Eleanor's manuscript. The text's favorable representation of William the Conqueror certainly supported the legitimacy of the post-Conquest kings of England, but Matthew's historical manuscripts demonstrate that he also consistently acknowledged the magnitude of the Conquest's impact on the English people.[30] In the *Flores Historiarum*, Matthew severs English history at the year 1066, discussing the post-Conquest period only within the second volume of the text. In the *Historia Anglorum*, he omits the pre-Conquest period altogether.[31] The *Estoire*'s description of the events leading to the Conquest was not simply translated and adapted from a single historical work; it was carefully compiled from a variety of historical texts, suggesting that Matthew gave considerable thought to the way he presented

[26] For an extensive study of narrative hagiographic illustration, including discussions of Matthew's Life of Edward the Confessor and Life of Saint Alban, see Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*.

[27] Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris,* 19, 36-37.

[28] For a more detailed discussion of the differing artistic approaches that Matthew took in the creation of his hagiographic narratives as opposed to his chronicles, see Carter, "History and Hagiography," 13-25.

[29] Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris,* 11; Antonia Gransden, *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1992), 199-201; and Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," in *On Narrative*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 5, 16.

[30] The importance of the Norman Conquest is, of course, abundantly clear to modern scholars, but it was not until later in the twelfth century that English historians began to consider the Norman Conquest as "the great fracture." Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (New York: Hambledon and London, 2004), 119. Also see Rebecca Reader, "Matthew Paris and the Norman Conquest," in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Honor of Barbara Harvey,* ed. John Blair and Brian Golding (New York: Clarendon Press, 1996), 119n5.

[31] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles,* 119; and Reader, "Matthew Paris," 119n5. Rebecca Reader also notes that in the *Chronica Majora,* 1066 marks the beginning of Matthew's inclusion of rubricated page headers and illustrations of shields in the margins.

this momentous event to Eleanor.[32] Perhaps he hoped to provide her with a definitive account of the Conquest in order to shape her understanding of the events that led to the political complexities of her own time.

Discrepancies between the Life of Edward the Confessor's visual and textual narratives demonstrate that Matthew did, in fact, present Eleanor with a particular, and personal, retelling of the historical circumstances that frame Edward's saintly life. The pictorial cycle subtly reveals Matthew's Anglo-Saxon sympathies, whereas the poetic text and rubrics depict foreigners, and the Normans in particular, in a more positive light.[33] On folio 30 verso, Harold Godwinson, Earl of Wessex, is crowned king of England after the death of Edward (Figure 5). Although he places the crown on his own head, Harold does not appear especially villainous in this image or in others. The poetic text and rubrics, however, portray him much more negatively. The rubric beneath the coronation scene says that Harold "wrongfully"[34] seized the crown, and the poem even states that, prior to the saint's death, "Harold thought it was high time for Edward to die!"[35] According to the poetic text, Edward posthumously appeared to Harold in several dreams and visions, warning him to keep his earlier promise to recognize William the Conqueror as the rightful king, but Harold simply mocked the saint.[36] These admonitions, however, never appear in the pictorial narrative, and given Matthew's decision to emphasize references to vision in many other instances throughout this manuscript, the omission of these posthumous warnings from the miniatures is perplexing.[37] Therefore, although the images pay little attention to William the Conqueror and portray Harold in a moderate light, the textual accounts demonize the latter as a dangerous usurper whose misdeeds must be righted by William's invasion.[38] Like several other episodes illustrated in the manuscript, the pictorial narrative of the Conquest reveals Matthew's own more anglicized vision of history. Thus, the text certainly would have pleased members of the royal family, but the images reflect a more ambiguous attitude toward foreigners and their role in English politics.

During much of his career as a chronicler, Matthew boldly tested the boundaries of propriety by openly criticizing various kings, popes, and foreigners, and it was only in his later years that he revised and erased some of the *Chronica Majora*'s more offensive passages.[39] Given the fairly early date of Matthew's autograph copy of the *Estoire*, it is possible that this pictorial cycle represents another instance in which Matthew, as a younger man, refused to suppress his own opinions and biases. He may have hoped that the differences between the texts and images were subtle enough to go unnoticed by most readers, but substantial enough to influence someone like the young Eleanor of Provence, who might be expected to rely on the pictorial narrative rather than its corresponding texts. In particular, it seems that Matthew wished to provide the queen with a lesson regarding the legitimate rule of England. Matthew's attention to issues of usurpation and the impact of foreigners on English politics may reflect lingering tensions wrought by relatively recent events in English political history. In the mid-twelfth century, Stephen of Blois seized the English crown from Henry I's daughter, Matilda. Their struggle for the throne resulted in a civil war and the accession of King Henry II, whose own sons and wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, revolted against him in 1173-74 with the support and encouragement of continental forces.[40] Therefore, Matthew may have intended for the *Estoire* not only to teach Eleanor about English historical events that he felt were particularly significant, but also to inspire the young queen to regard England's cultural heritage and the impact of its complex and shifting alliances with greater respect than some of her husband's forebears had done in the past.

Matthew's historical additions to the Life of Edward the Confessor do not merely extend his hagiographic account of Edward's life: they form a crucial component of the narrative and allowed him to push the boundaries of the hagiographic genre in order to appeal to his intended reader, Queen Eleanor of Provence. Nevertheless, these historical additions do not diminish the *Estoire*'s ability to function as a powerful hagiographic narrative. By grounding Edward's saintly life within a specific and identifiable historical context, Matthew enhanced the sense that Edward had once existed as an earthly individual but was now a heavenly saint whose life of charity, piety, and faithfulness could be emulated

32 Reader, "Matthew Paris," 122-123.

33 For a more detailed discussion of the pictorial cycle's negative depiction of foreigners such as the Danes and the Normans, see Carter, "History and Hagiography," 22-23, 40-43, 52-53.

34 Matthew Paris, *History of Saint Edward,* 106.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid., 109, 111-112.

37 Noting the many images in which Edward cures blind men and experiences visions, Binski states that Edward was "pre-eminently a miracle worker for the eyes." See Binski, *Westminster Abbey,* 146. I have found that references to vision—whether by means of optical sight, dreams, or divine visions—appear in a majority of the manuscript's miniatures. Matthew uses these instances of sight and insight to emphasize Edward's status as a charitable, peaceful, and pious king, as well as a powerful saint.

38 Reader has shown that Matthew's texts consistently depict Harold as a tyrannical usurper and William as pious and deserving of the crown, although Matthew harshly criticizes William's brutality towards the English during his reign from 1067 to 1087. See Reader, "Matthew Paris," 127-128. For Binski's discussion of the *Estoire*'s portrayal of various members of the Godwin family, see Binski, "Reflections," 341-343.

39 Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 117-124.

40 Jim Bradbury, *Stephen and Matilda: The Civil War of 1139-53* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1996), 1-25; and John Schlight, *Henry II Plantagenet* (New York: Twayne, 1973), 137-148. Also see Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 18-19.

by viewers such as Eleanor of Provence.[41] The success of Matthew's blended narrative is indicated by the fact that his original manuscript was later copied. Evidence suggests that the surviving copy may have been owned by Eleanor of Provence's daughter-in-law, Eleanor of Castile.[42] At the time of her marriage to Edward I in 1254, this younger queen had spent her twelve years of life in Spain with her family, and it is tempting to imagine that Eleanor of Provence's fond memories of her own manuscript led her to commission the extant copy on the occasion of her son's marriage to a young woman from abroad.[43] In the end, Matthew presented Eleanor with a compelling depiction of English sainthood and English history and showed that he understood his audience and the ways in which both history and hagiography could best serve its needs.

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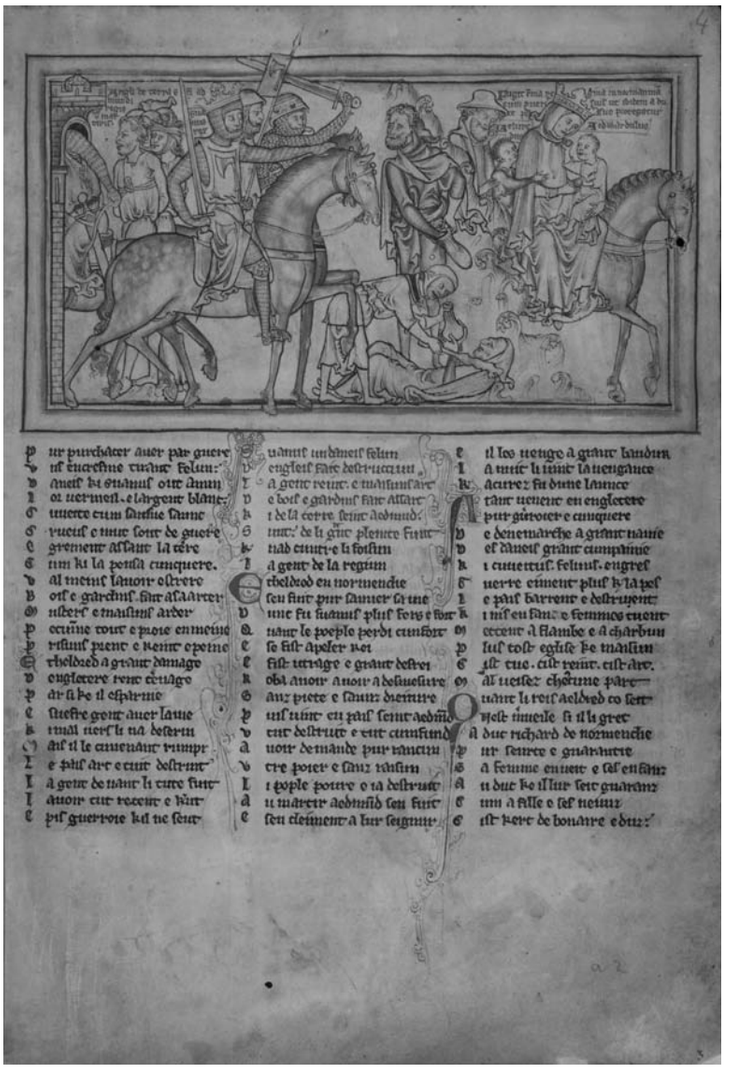
[41] In discussing the need for hagiography to provoke a spiritual response, Evelyn Birge Vitz states that the more historically oriented saints' lives of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance mark the point at which hagiographers "lost sight of this central purpose of hagiography." See Evelyn Birge Vitz, "From the Oral to the Written in Medieval and Renaissance Saints' Lives," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 113. I suggest, however, that this greater sense of authenticity would have heightened Eleanor's response to Edward and his life and provided an especially powerful model for emulation. The notion that history could affect its viewers in such a way is strengthened by the increasing value placed on history during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See M.-D. Chenu, "Theology and the New Awareness of History," in *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, trans. and ed. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968), 162-201. Also see Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 307-316.

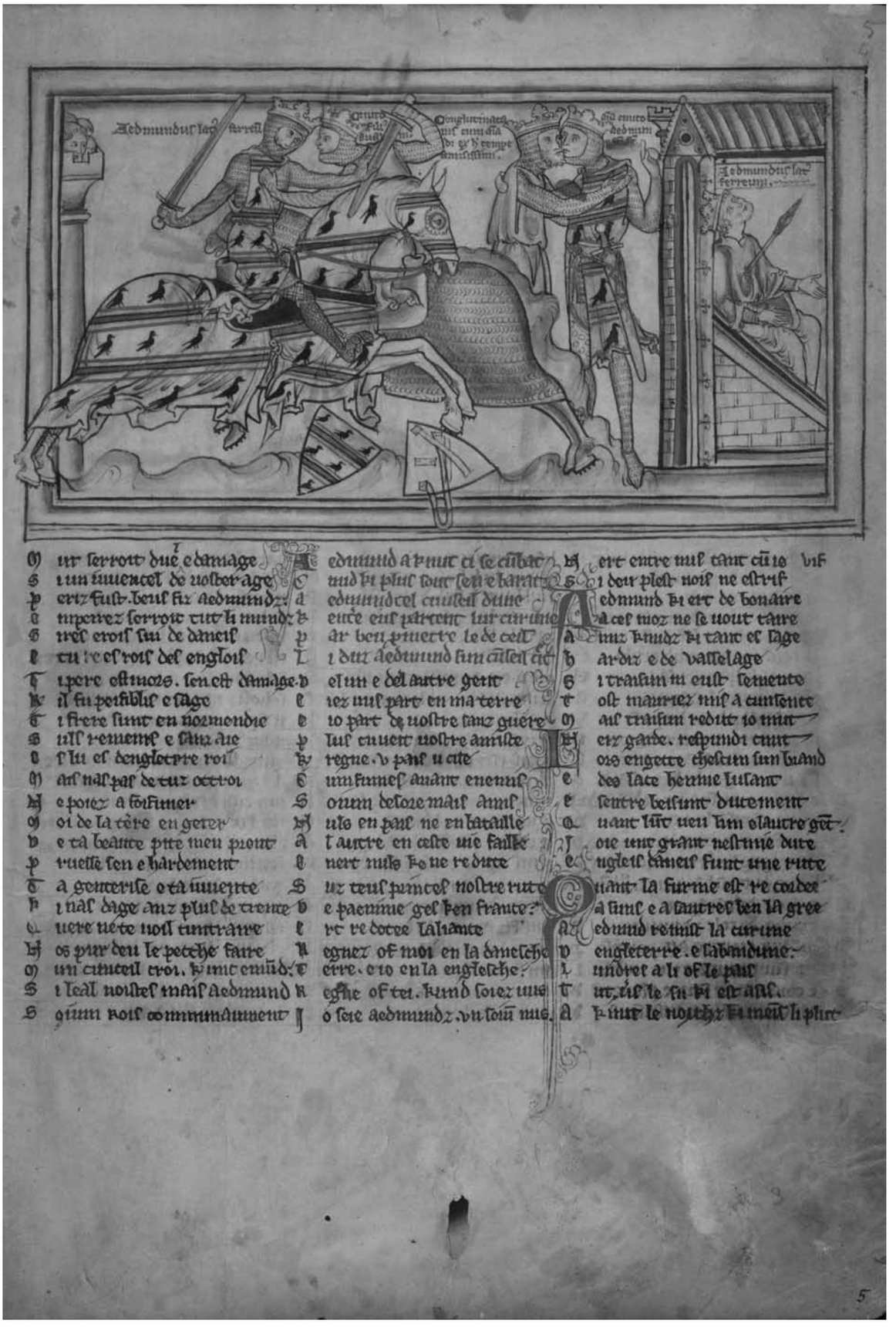
[42] Binski, "Reflections," 339-340; Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 96-97; and Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 27-28.

[43] John Carmi Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 9-16.



[*left*] Figure 1. Life of Edward the Confessor: King Sweyn oppresses the English people; Queen Emma flees to Normandy with her sons Edward and Alfred, *c.* 1255-1260. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 4r. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

[*facing page*] Figure 2. Life of Edward the Confessor: Edmund Ironside fights Cnut; the kings embrace; death of Edmund Ironside, *c.* 1255-1260. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 5r. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.



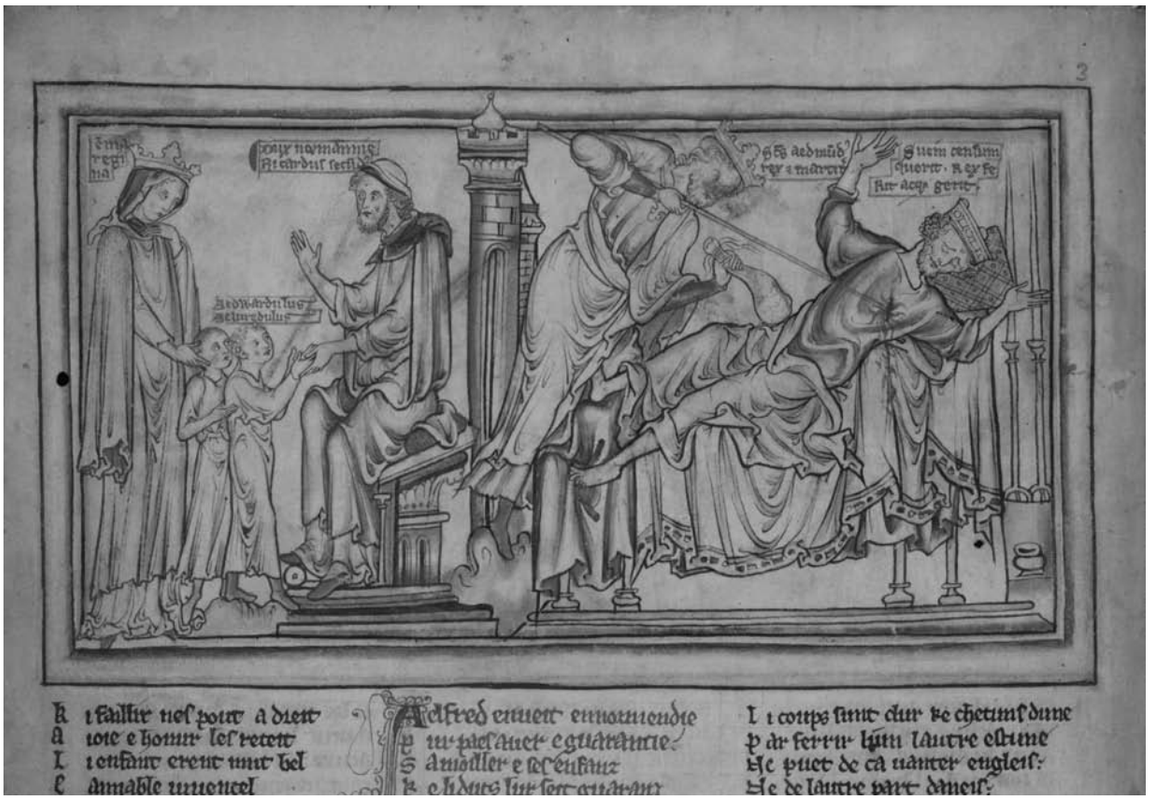


Figure 3. Life of Edward the Confessor: Edward and his family arrive in Normandy; death of Sweyn, *c.* 1255-1260. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 4v. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

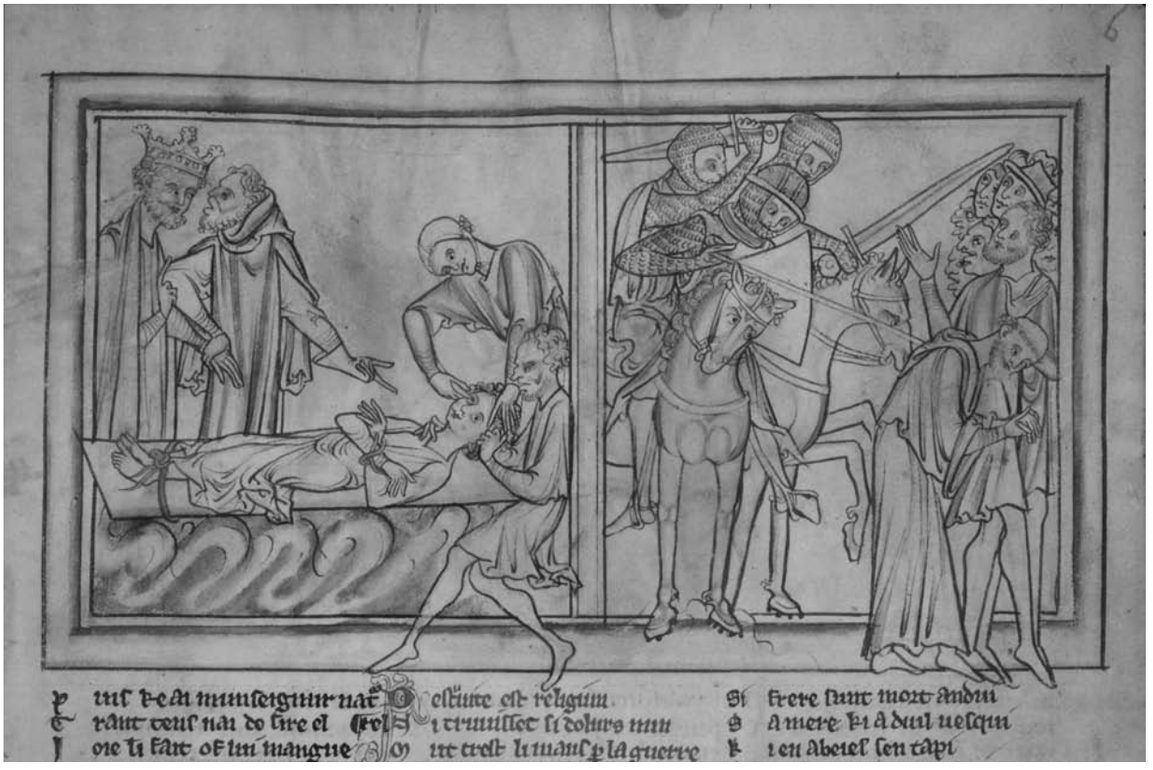


Figure 4. Life of Edward the Confessor: Harald Harefoot oversees the torture of Alfred; oppression of the English people, *c.* 1255-1260. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 6r. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

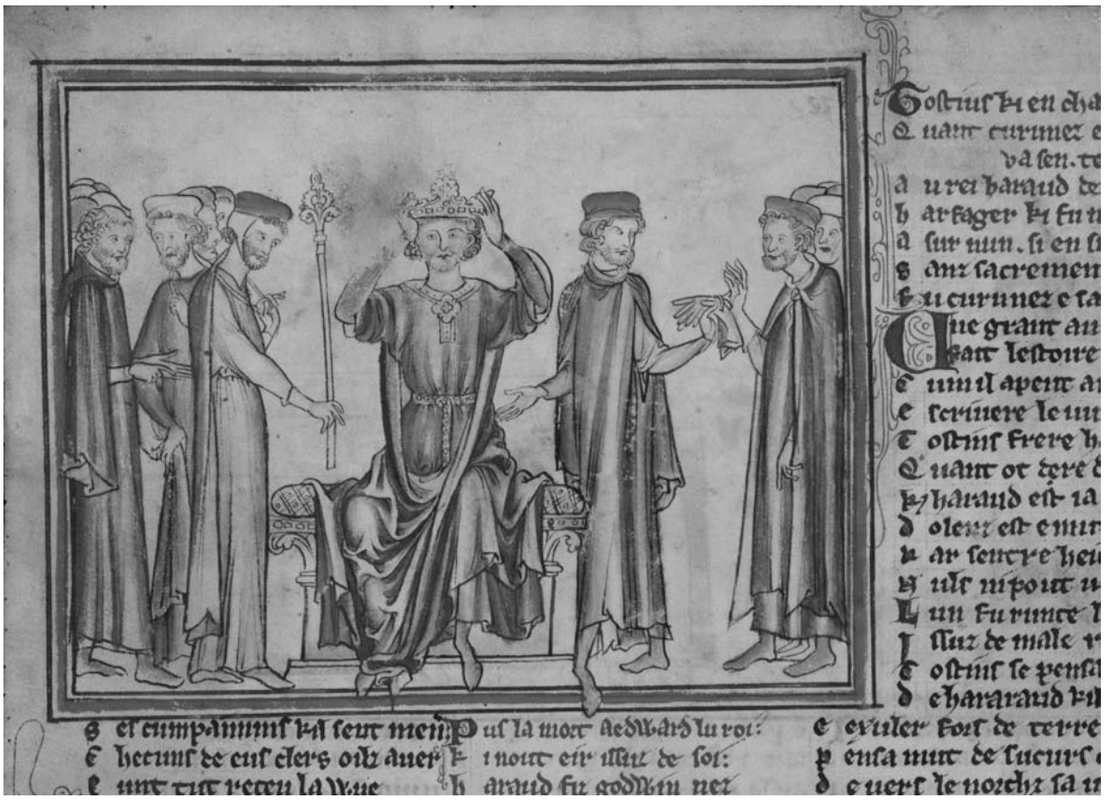


Figure 5. Life of Edward the Confessor: Harold Godwinson crowns himself, *c.* 1255-1260. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 30v. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Figure 6. Life of Edward the Confessor: the Battle of Hastings, *c.* 1255-1260. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 34v. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Dürer, Metallurgy, and Social Mobility

Andrew Robert Keast

This paper seeks to understand Albrecht Dürer's use of the metallurgical arts as an agent of social mobility. On at least two occasions late in his career, Dürer arranged for Nuremberg artisans to render his likeness on a commemorative medal. Two surviving medals — one cast by Hans Schwarz in 1520 (Figure 1) and another by Matthes Gebel in 1527 (Figure 2) — represent not only Dürer's efforts at documenting his likeness for posterity, but also Dürer's knowledge of the medium's possibilities for enabling and affecting social mobility. At the turn of the sixteenth century, Nuremberg's status as a free imperial city within the Holy Roman Empire made it both a center for the production of luxury objects and a nexus of political and intellectual life. The city's status often allowed the former to enable the latter. Medals, plaques, and other metallic objects produced at the Nuremberg workshops of Schwarz and Gebel were in high demand at the time of the production of Dürer's medal portraits.

Aside from a small number of catalogue entries and reviews of select medals and coins in private collections, the social dimensions of portrait medals from this time and place remain largely unexplored: Georg Habich's 1906 study of German medals is the canonical example; Maximiliaan Martens has written on the social self-representation of artists in the Low Countries of the fifteenth century; Johann-Christian Klamt has discussed artisan self-portraiture in relation to social status in northern Europe; regarding German portrait medals specifically, William Milliken has written of the large demand from the burghers of Augsburg and Nuremberg throughout the sixteenth century, and of the tremendous competition among medalists in that time for burghers' commissions; Jeffrey Chipps Smith has written on the iconographic and social origins of portrait medals in southern Germany, discussing the roles of humanists Konrad Peutinger and Willibald Pirckheimer, artisans Hans Burgkmair and Hans Schwarz, and the emulation of Italian and Imperial Roman models in the development of the portrait medals.[1]

Social mobility in northern Europe took multiple forms, one of the most prominent in the scholarly literature being education. In the late medieval and early modern periods, university education was both a means and an agent of social mobility. Education was a means of mobility in that it allowed entry into a specific professional field — such as law or medicine — which brought one financial benefits. Education was also an agent of mobility in that it allowed one greater prestige within a specific social sphere. Such prestige in turn often stemmed from social performance. Between 1570 and 1620, for instance, the city of Prague accorded the rector of its university the power to promote teachers to positions in larger cities based on their performance.[2]

Like early modern education, individuals were able to use the production of luxury objects toward similar ends. As agents of social mobility, portrait medals were specific to a social structure. One can distill a framework — within which to view Dürer's particular social structure — from the writings of medievalist David Herlihy, social theorist Max Weber, and historian M.L. Bush. Herlihy has criticized the

The idea for this essay originates from discussions led by Dr. Catherine B. Scallen in a 2007 graduate seminar on Albrecht Dürer and Hans Holbein the Younger at Case Western Reserve University. Dr. Charles Burroughs of Case Western and Jon Seydl of the Cleveland Museum of Art offered unique advice regarding the metallurgic arts. The art history faculty and graduate students at the University of Arizona — namely Dr. Pia F. Cuneo, Dr. Julie Plax, Emily Cammack, and Miranda Metcalf — offered many comments and suggestions that informed this essay significantly. The art history faculty and participants of the 28th Annual Graduate Student Symposium at Florida State University — namely Dr. Jack Freiberg, Dr. Paula Gerson, Dr. Lauren Weingarden, Kathleen McCampbell, Brianne Cohen of the University of Pittsburgh, and Yelena Kalinsky of Rutgers University — also offered comments that informed this essay.

1 Georg Habich, "Studien zur deutsch Renaissancemedaille" *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 27 (1906): 13-69; Maximiliaan P.J. Martens, "The Position of the Artist: Salaries and Social Mobility," in *Showing Status: Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Wim Blockmans and Antheun Janse (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 387-414; Johann-Christian Klamt, "Artist and Patron: The Self-Portrait of Adam Kraft in the Sacrament-House of St. Lorenz in Nuremberg," in Blockmans and Janse, *Showing Status*, 415-443; William M. Milliken, "German Portrait Plaques of the Sixteenth Century," *Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin* 15, no. 7 (1928): 154, 156; Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "A Creative Moment: Thoughts on the Genesis of the German Portrait Medal," in *Perspectives on the Renaissance Medal*, ed. Stephen K. Scher (New York: Garland, 2000), 177-199; and Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance c.1520-1580: Art in an Age of Uncertainty* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 323-5.

2 Paul F. Grendler, "The Universities of the Renaissance and the Reformation," *Renaissance Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (2004): 9-10. See also Rab Houston, "Literacy and Society in the West" *Social History* 8, no. 3 (1983): 269-293; and Jacques Revel, "The Uses of Civility," in *The History of Private Life*, ed. Roger Chartier (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 3:183.

notion of medieval society as one of noble estates where social mobility is either discouraged or not possible. Weber wrote extensively on the distinction between classes and estates. According to Weber, the social positions for members of a particular class were defined by market activity, and the social positions for members of an estate were defined by honors conferred, arbitrarily, by others. For Weber, one's *Lebenstil*, or "lifestyle," revealed one's social position. Therefore, property and consumption conferred status.[3] Bush wrote of nobility in the early modern period. According to the author, nobility was not always a birthright, and social structures of the nobility admitted new members, including commoners. One way a commoner could acquire nobility was by acquiring the conventional trappings of nobility — usually a manorial estate or an "appropriate occupation."[4]

At the turn of the sixteenth century, Nuremberg was in a unique position to allow this type of social mobility to take place. Until 1349, the city was beholden to the medieval guild system. It was in that year that the craftsmen's rebellion took place, causing the city to abolish their artisan guilds. Beginning in the latter half of the fourteenth century, Nuremberg's city council controlled the production of luxury objects. However, the city's merchant class and nobility controlled the council. It was also in the latter half of the fourteenth century that Nuremberg began to experience an increase in metalworkers. The city's council rolls of masters record an increase from 74 masters in 1429 to 165 masters in 1496.[5] Further, Nuremberg was a free imperial city, which owed no political allegiance to any lordship — only the Holy Roman Emperor. Due to these circumstances, one could therefore view Nuremberg as a city offering "appropriate occupations" whereby a commoner could acquire a certain *Lebenstil* through consumption of the luxury arts.

How did Dürer do this? Medals such as those containing Dürer's portrait are what were known as *Schaumünzen*, or "show coins." These medals had no commercial value and were not intended as monetary currency.[6] Schaumünzen were typically larger than a commercial coin but could still be held in one's hand, and usually depicted the profile or quarter-length portrait of a sitter. While the exact number of original casts of each medal containing Dürer's portrait is unknown, metallurgists tended to produce *Schaumünzen* in small quantities. Several extant medals from the 1510s and 1520s containing portraits of humanists, princes, and wealthy patricians from southern Germany survive, which suggests a rise in popularity for the medium in that time among an exclusive audience.

Portrait medals made throughout the 1510s and 1520s in Germany were conducive to social mobility for at least two reasons. The first reason for this is that unlike a wall painting or most large-scale sculpture, a medal is not site-specific; the physical portability of the object and viewer scrutiny of the portrait featured on the object are both inherent in its design. The second conducive aspect to social mobility is that unlike a coin, a medal had no monetary currency save the value of the raw material from which it is cast; therefore, an alternate purpose for the object is also inherent in its design and is also closely associated with the emulation of classical culture in the Italian peninsula. Portrait medals had been common in Italy well before they first emerged in Germany. A small bronze relief of Leon Battista Alberti from the 1430s (Figure 3) that portrays the artist in the fashion of a Roman patrician attests to this fact.

Each medal was the product of a process that involved the drawing of an image, the carving of a wood model, the fashioning of a cast from that model, and the casting of a metal alloy. When one reviews the entire process from start to finish, one must acknowledge that Dürer's efforts amounted to only a small part of this process: specifically, the commission of the medals. By the 1520s, Dürer had established himself throughout southern Germany and abroad as an accomplished draughtsman and printmaker. His relationship to the metallurgic arts (or to sculpture as a whole), however, was limited. Dürer was the son of a goldsmith and received training in the practice of metalworking from his father as a youth. Dürer collaborated with Nuremberg goldsmiths Ludwig Krug and Hans Krafft the Elder, and preliminary drawings for these collaborations exist.[7] Dürer's early training and collaborations suggest that he could have executed the casting of the medals himself. The reasons why he did not do this are topics of speculation. Metalworking requires a larger amount of workshop space relative to that needed for printmaking or painting, as well as a rudimentary knowledge of the chemistry of metal alloys. Dürer may not have had these resources at his immediate disposal.

Nevertheless, Dürer saw the work of both Hans Schwarz and Matthes Gebel at the Imperial Diet of Augsburg in 1518, and in 1519 may have planned at least one self portrait in metal form.[8] The medal portraits of 1520 and 1527 were not cast by Dürer, but by Schwarz and Gebel, respectively. Hans

3 Max Weber, "Class, Status, Party," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. and trans. Hans Heinrich Gerth and C. Wright Mills (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946), 186-7.

4 David Herlihy, "Three Patterns of Social Mobility in Medieval History," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 3, no. 4 (1973): 624; M.L. Bush, "An Anatomy of Nobility," in *Social Orders and Social Classes in Europe since 1500: Studies in Social Stratification*, ed. M.L. Bush (London: Longman, 1992), 26-7.

5 William D. Wixom, "The Art of Nuremberg Brass Work," in *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg, 1300-1550*, ed. Ellen Schultz (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 76-7.

6 Jeffrey Chipps Smith describes the difference between a coin and a medal at this time and place in *German Sculpture*, 322.

7 Smith discusses Dürer's experience with sculpture at length in "Dürer and Sculpture," in *The Essential Dürer*, ed. Larry Silver and Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 83-6.

8 Smith speculates that Hans Burgkmair, Jakob Fugger, and others also would have shown their portrait medals to Dürer while visiting Augsburg in "Creative Moment," 182.

Schwarz was a woodcarver and medalist from Augsburg. He trained as a sculptor under his uncle Stephan Schwarz in 1506, and perhaps learned portraiture in the studio of Hans Holbein the Elder. He eventually arrived in Nuremberg, where he worked briefly from 1519 to 1520. Art historians tend to view Schwarz as the artisan responsible for the "breakthrough" of the portrait medal in southern Germany. This breakthrough is due primarily to Schwarz's clientele, the most prominent among them being members of the Imperial Diet at Augsburg,[9] which is also ironic in that Schwarz had no training in metalwork, and likely collaborated with the goldsmith Krug while at Nuremberg.[10] Yet Dürer had specifically requested that Schwarz carry out the casting of the 1520 medal. An excerpt from Dürer's journal documenting his visit to the Low Countries dated to September 1520 alludes to this request.[11]

The original drawing for the 1520 medal is lost. While fewer portrait medals by Schwarz's hand survive, over 130 of his sketches for those medals do. One could therefore assume that Schwarz made the original drawing himself.[12] A pearwood model by Schwarz, likely based on this drawing, for the 1520 medal survives (Figure 4). Thus, one could argue that Dürer had no technical influence on the appearance of the medal, and, consequently, place him more securely in the role of patron. One can view Dürer's patronage, then, as an attempt to acquire the trappings of nobility.

The 1527 medal was executed by Matthes Gebel, a silversmith, goldsmith, and sculptor. He probably came from Wiener Neustadt near Vienna and acquired citizenship in Nuremberg in 1523. Gebel was prolific, having produced over 350 objects in his workshop. He was also popular and had carried out commissions for elite patrons, including members of the Imperial Diets at Speyer in 1529 and at Augsburg.[13] A letter from Andreas Rüttel to Willibald Pirckheimer dated to 1530 mentions this particular medal as the work of Gebel.[14]

The fact that correspondence between prominent figures such as Rüttel and Pirckheimer mentions the production and authorship of portrait medals is significant for both the medium and for humanist culture in southern Germany. Humanist circles both in Germany and Italy strove for autonomy and exclusivity, which would occasionally manifest itself in writing. The writing of national histories was common in Europe by the fifteenth century, and the translation of Roman histories, such as Julius Caesar's *Gallic Wars* and Tacitus' *Germania* into German, was common by the turn of the sixteenth century. Christine Johnson has argued that numerous German translations of Tacitus' *Germania* contain embellishments that heighten the social or intellectual status of northern Europeans. Larry Silver has remarked on humanist Conrad Celtis' efforts to establish German cultural autonomy at the turn of the sixteenth century through his *Germania generalis*, which first appeared in 1500, and noted the way in which Dürer's *Self-Portrait*, also of 1500, implies a new sense of nationalistic confidence.[15]

Dürer strove for German cultural autonomy in his writing as well, and this is evident in both his written correspondence to Willibald Pirckheimer and what would eventually become the introduction to his posthumously-published *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion* ("Four Books of Human Proportion"). In the written correspondence, Dürer alluded to the status of the Venetian artist and compared it to that of the German artisan, favoring the former. This admiration for the heightened status of the Venetian artist is evident in Dürer's writing: "This art of painting is made for the eyes, for the sight is the noblest sense of man. Some I know will be curious about these matters because they have neither seen nor heard of such things in our land before."[16] In the

[9] Smith, *German Sculpture*, 399; Peter Volz and Hans Christopher Jokisch, *Emblems of Eminence: German Renaissance Portrait Medals, the Age of Albrecht Dürer* (Munich: Hirmer, 2008), 29; *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg* (see note 5), 474.

[10] Smith, "Creative Moment," 181, cites *Des Johann Neudörfer Schreib- und Rechenmeisters zu Nürnberg Nachricthen von Künstler und Werkleuten daselbst aus dem Jahre 1547 nebst der Fortsetzung des Andreas Gulden*, ed. Georg W.K. Lochner (Vienna, 1875), 124-125; and Volz and Jokisch, *Emblems of Eminence*, 29.

[11] A reproduction of Dürer's journal appears in *Dürer schriftlicher Nachlass*, ed. Hans Rupprich (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956), 1:157. The excerpt reads: "Jch hab 2 gulden an gold dem Hans Schwarczen für mein angesicht beÿ den Fockrischen von Antorff in einem brief geng Augspurg geschickt." See also Hermann Maué, "Hans Schwarz, Medal of Albrecht Dürer," in *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg* (see note 5), 417.

[12] *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg*, 474; Giulia Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist* (London: British Museum, 2002), 84.

[13] Volz and Jokisch, *Emblems of Eminence*, 129; *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg,* 473.

[14] A reproduction of the letter appears in *Dürer schriftlicher Nachlass*, 3:458-9. The excerpt reads: "..ut illa effigies etiam numo aereo exprimatur, quemadmodum Alberti Dureri, laudatissimae memoriae hominis, imago exculpta est; id autem commodissima fiery poterit, si tu Matheum illum statuarium, qui Durerium fecit, ad te vocaveris ac rem diligenter ei, ut soles, demandaveris." See also Hermann Maué, "Matthes Gebel, Medal of Albrecht Dürer," in *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg* (see note 5), 420.

[15] Ingrid D. Rowland addresses written polemics of Humanists in Germany toward those in Italy in the late fifteenth century in "Revenge of the Regensburg Humanists, 1493," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25, no. 2 (1994): 307-322. Also see Christine R. Johnson, "Creating a Usable Past: Vernacular Roman Histories in Renaissance Germany," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 40, no. 4 (2009): 1076, 1086; Larry Silver, "Germanic Patriotism in the Age of Dürer," in *Dürer and His Culture*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger and Charles Zika (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 40-1, 49. Silver also cites Dieter Wuttke, "Dürer und Celtis. Von der Bedeutung des Jahres 1500 für den deutschen Humanismus: Jahrhundertfeier als symbolische Form," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 10 (1980): 73-129.

[16] Albrecht Dürer, "Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion," in *A Documentary History of Art*, ed. Elizabeth Gilmore Holt (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 312.

same document, Dürer also discussed how painters residing in the "German nation" were "in need of instruction."[17] These writings suggest that Dürer saw his craft as one whose practitioners might use as a means of acquiring elevated status, or at least use as an agent of social mobility.

Patrons used *Schaumünzen* as agents of social mobility by acquiring and displaying them, and by spreading and enhancing the reputations of the portrait subject — whether it was their own portrait or portraits of others. As handheld objects, they would have functioned in a manner similar to prints. Like portrait medals, prints were portable and meant, in many instances, to be held close to the face and scrutinized. The accumulation of prints for use in initiating conversation between members of learned circles, such as Dürer's engraved portrait of Willibald Pirckheimer from 1524 (Figure 5), was common at this time. We know that Hartmann Schedel, the author of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493, collected prints in order to decorate the books in his library. Prints were sought after by numerous consumers, and not necessarily for their primary functions.[18]

The movement of *Schaumünzen* among nobles and intellectuals throughout southern Germany took place through a complex social exchange. Like prints, Schwarz's medals passed between members of Nuremberg society.[19] A bronze medal from about 1520 by Peter Vischer the Younger of Johannes Stabius, an Austrian historian and mathematician, illustrates this social exchange. We know that Stabius came into contact with Emperor Maximilian I in Vienna in 1497 and accompanied him to Nuremberg in 1512. It was at Nuremberg that Stabius collaborated with Albrecht Dürer on the design of the Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I. Hermann Maué has suggested that Vischer's portrait medal of Stabius is perhaps based on a design by Dürer.[20] Whether the design of Vischer's medal was specified by Stabius — who sought to emulate the design in his own portrait — or by Vischer — who would have had several design templates from which to work — is unknown. Nevertheless, the collaboration between Dürer and Stabius — and Dürer's possible design influence on Stabius (or Vischer) — reflects a social exchange between the two men.

One might even say that the medal reflects a social relationship between Dürer and Stabius. Dürer's social relationships with German humanists were also many and are well documented. In his *Libellus de laudibus Germaniae* of 1508, Christoph Scheurl described Dürer as "cheerful, friendly, pleasant, and imbued with a high sense of propriety, for which he is greatly admired by all esteemed citizens."[21] In the foreword to his 1532 edition of the *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion*, Joachim Camerarius wrote of Dürer: "His manner of conversation was so pleasant and appealing, that his listeners regretted more than anything else his ceasing to speak."[22] The 1520 medal contains an inscription that reads similarly to Dürer's accolades: ALBERTVS.DVRERVS. NORICVS.PIC.OM ("Albrecht Dürer, Nuremberg painter, of all these the greatest").

Writings such as those by Scheurl and Camerarius suggest to the reader a humanist culture preoccupied with social status. Jacques Revel has framed the earliest decades of the sixteenth century as a time of tremendous effort to control "social intercourse" and a preoccupation with self-representation. One can therefore interpret objects such as the portrait medals as a collective index of civility.[23] Further, Scheurl and Camerarius's descriptions of Dürer suggest the self-representation and demeanor of a courtier as Baldesar Castiglione describes one in his *Book of the Courtier*, published in 1528. Castiglione's book contains a speech attributed to Gaspare Pallavicino, which implies the accessibility of noble culture: "I do not believe that nobility of birth is necessary for the courtier…we should all be of the same character, since we all had the same beginning; nor would anyone be more noble than another."[24]

By examining individual workshop practices, humanistic aspirations, and the social structure of this time and place, one arrives at a better understanding of the relationship between Nuremberg medalists and their patrons — and that relationship's bearing on the social mobility of a Nuremberger such as Dürer — at the start of the sixteenth century. The absence of guilds, the cultivation of humanist and intellectual circles, and the new social functions attributed to media over the course of the previous century allowed Dürer to place himself in the role of patron rather than artisan, and in the role of noble rather than commoner.

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17 Ibid., 313.

18 See the early passages in Peter Parshall, "Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (1994): 7-9.

19 Volz and Jokisch, *Emblems of Eminence*, 44.

20 Hermann Maué, "Workshop of Peter Vischer the Younger, Medal of Johannes Stabius," in *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg* (see note 5), 406.

21 Christoph Scheurl, *Libellus de laudibus Germaniae* (1508). The excerpt is reproduced in Peter Strieder, *Albrecht Dürer*, trans. Nancy M. Gordon and Walter L. Strauss (New York: Alaris, 1989), 366.

22 Joachim Camerarius' foreword to *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion,* reproduced in Strieder, *Albrecht Dürer*, 366.

23 Revel, "Uses of Civility," 167, 182-4.

24 Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. George Bull (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), 55.

Figure 1. Hans Schwarz, *Portrait Medal of Albrecht Dürer*, 1520, bronze, 2 3/16 inches diameter. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, MED 9401.

Figure 2. Matthes Gebel, *Portrait Medal of Albrecht Dürer*, 1527, bronzed lead, 1 1/2 inches diameter. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, MED 8987.

Figure 3. Leon Battista Alberti, *Self-Portrait*, *c.*1435-1450, bronze, 13 1/2 x 20 inches. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, Kress Collection.

Figure 4. Hans Schwarz, *Model for Portrait Medal of Albrecht Dürer*, 1520, pearwood, 2 3/10 inches diameter. Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig.

Figure 5. Albrecht Dürer, *Portrait of Willibald Pirckheimer*, 1524, engraving, 7 1/2 x 4 13/16 inches. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund 19.73.119.

Image as Relic: Moretto's Funerary "Portrait" of Angela Merici

Anna Goodman

In 1540, il Moretto da Brescia painted a bust-length representation of Angela Merici on the occasion of her death.[1] Moretto's picture shows the holy woman's corpse seated upright against a dark background. Located in the Oratory annex of the church of Sant'Orsola as late as 1758, the work has since been lost.[2] Thankfully, there are extant copies in Brescia's Centro Mericiano (Figure 1) and Casa Sant'Angela,[3] as well as in the sacristy of the Duomo of Desenzano.[4] Scholars largely agree that the copy at the Centro Mericiano is by Moretto himself. Additionally, the painting is reproduced in Domenico Cagnoni's 1768 engraving (Figure 2), published in a life of Angela Merici by Carlo Doneda.[5] This paper will explore the ways in which Moretto's inventive image type, and copies of it, satisfied the needs of Angela Merici's newly founded Company of St. Ursula in the years immediately following her death.

Angela Merici was a female mystic from the north Italian town of Desenzano.[6] She spent nearly twenty years in Brescia, serving as spiritual guide to the townspeople and establishing her atypical female religious order, the Ursulines. Merici's Company of St. Ursula allowed unmarried women and widows to lead a life devoted to Christ while remaining a part of the secular world.[7] This was achieved through an inspired arrangement in which widows served as spiritual mentors to unmarried virgins. The Company of St. Ursula emphasized virginity, education, and personal union with God. It welcomed women of all ages and social classes, who continued to live at home while observing their religious responsibilities.[8] Perhaps most radically, the Company was characterized by a female autonomy not found in sixteenth-century convents, which were commonly under surveillance from a male authority, such as a bishop or prior.[9] In 1535, Merici received ecclesiastical approval to gather into a community the informal group of women under her spiritual care. Thus, she established the Ursulines with herself as mother-general, only to pass away a mere five years later.

Prior to her death, Merici dictated her simple Rule to close friend and chancellor, Gabriel Cozzano, and named her successor as mother-general of the Ursulines, Lucrezia Lodrone.[10] Yet the qualities that made Merici's Company so original and attractive to the women of Brescia, its autonomy and individualism, required a charismatic leader. Ultimately, the Ursulines' reliance on Merici's guiding hand left them vulnerable after her death, both from within the group and from without. Societal anxieties about uncloistered virgins coincided with dwindling numbers in the Company as many original members left to marry or take the veil. Additionally, in 1545 Lodrone attempted to impose standard attire within

1 Also in 1540 Moretto executed a horizontal panel featuring the dead Merici in a supine position. This panel covered her sarcophagus, which was interred under the Church of Sant'Afra. Unfortunately, Merici's tomb, and Moretto's painted panel, were destroyed in an Allied bombing in 1945. Both paintings are discussed in Pier Virgilio Begni Redona, *Alessandro Bonvicino: Il Moretto da Brescia* (Brescia: Editrice La Scuola, 1988), 540-542; and Pier Virgilio Begni Redona, "Ritrattro funebre di Sant'Angela Merici," in *Alessandro Bonvicino: Il Moretto*, ed. Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua (Brescia: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1988), 127-128. One cannot discount the idea that these paintings were based on a death mask of Merici, though no record of such a mask exists. This notion is suggested in Antonio Cistellini, *Figure della riforma pretridentina: Stefana Quinzani, Angela Merici, Laura Mignani, Bartolomeo Stella, Francesco Cabrini, Francesco Santabona* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1948), pl. 2.

2 Angelo Facconi, Archivio Segreto Vatican, S. C. Rituum, Processus 340, fol. 701. In Luciana Mariani, Elisa Tarolli, and Marie Seynaeve, *Angela Merici: contributo per una biografia* (Milan: Ancora Milano, 1988), 202-203.

3 Begni Redona, "Ritratto funebre," 540.

4 Ibid., 541.

5 Carlo Doneda, *Vita della B. Angela Merici dal Desenzano, Fondatrice della Compagnia di Sant'Orsola* (Brescia: Giambattista Bossini, 1768).

6 For the most recent and thorough account of Angela Merici's life, see Mariani, Tarolli, and Seynaeve, *Angela Merici*.

7 Angela Merici's spirituality is explored in Charmarie J. Blaisdell, "Angela Merici and the Ursulines," in *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation*, ed. Richard L. DeMolen (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994), 99-137; Cataldo Nero, ed., *Angela Merici: Vita della Chiesa e spiritualità nella prima metà del Cinquecento* (Caltanissetta: Salvatore Sciascia, 1998); Gianpiero Belotti, ed., *Angela Merici: La società, la vita, le opere, il carisma* (Brescia: Centro Mericiano, 2004); Querciolo Mazzonis, *Spirituality, Gender, and the Self in Renaissance Italy: Angela Merici and the Company of St. Ursula (1474-1540)* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007).

8 Mazzonis, *Spirituality, Gender, and the Self*, 29-30. Ursulines were expected to attend Mass daily and to confess and take communion monthly. Additionally, the Company met as a group once a month for spiritual discussion.

9 Ibid., 31-34.

10 Ibid., 198-99.

the Company, straying from what many felt were Merici's true intentions for the Ursulines, causing a schism within the group that lasted until 1559.[11] The Company of St. Ursula only remained united and relatively unchanged from 1540-45, a mere five-year period following Merici's death.

At the passing of such an important figure, the commissioning of a posthumous portrait was to be expected; however, Moretto's painting is not a standard portrait at all. Customarily, a funerary portrait depicts the deceased looking their best, in the peak of health, and most importantly, *alive*. Moretto, conversely, depicts Angela Merici's corpse, dressed in the habit of a Franciscan Tertiary, the white head-covering of which effectively acts as her burial shroud.[12] The plain, dark background and unembellished treatment of Merici's habit help focus the viewer's attention on her face which Moretto takes pains to describe with unflinching accuracy. The artist faithfully records how facial muscles slacken in death, causing Merici's mouth to droop disturbingly on the left side. Her unseeing eye, barely visible through a half-closed lid, affirms the lifelessness of her body. She returns the viewer's gaze, yet she sees nothing.

The painting most closely resembles a death mask, in that it accurately records the features of an individual postmortem. Contemporary sources indicate that death masks were common during the early modern period. Giorgio Vasari, in his life of Andrea del Verrocchio, notes their affordability and consequent ubiquity in fifteenth-century Florence.[13] Cennino Cennini, in his *Il Libro del'Arte*, provides instructions for mask casting, further indicating their prevalence.[14] Eric MacLagan too, in his article "The Use of Death-Masks by Florentine Sculptors," noted the widespread use of the form in the fifteenth century.[15] MacLagan contends that most death masks were used to create inexpensive terracotta busts that depicted the deceased with open eyes.[16] Surviving examples of death masks used for display show that the faces were painted and reworked to give the appearance of life.[17] For example, two late fifteenth-century terracotta busts likely modeled from death masks, pictured in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* (September 1923) portray a man and a woman with open eyes and lifelike polychromy.[18] According to Vasari, such busts as these were displayed on domestic façades and interiors.[19]

While some death masks were reworked and displayed in the home, others served as models for more polished portraits. Such is the case with a death mask of Battista Sforza (Figure 3),[20] who is rendered in a marble portrait bust by Francesco Laurana from *c*. 1474 (Figure 4) and a painted portrait by Piero della Francesca from *c*. 1472 (Figure 5).[21] These posthumous works show the sitter as youthful and attractive, in contrast to the lifeless features and skin of Battista's death mask. While Laurana and Piero use the mask's facial structure as a guide for their representations, more unsightly effects of death are smoothed away in their formal depictions of the deceased.[22] These examples make clear that paintings and sculptures made from death masks were not only idealized, but also given a lifelike appearance through applied color and facial expression.

Moretto's representation of Angela Merici participates in the same memorializing function as a death mask, yet differs greatly in intent. The painting neither offers the illusion of life, nor was it a tool for the creation of more conventional portraiture. Instead, Moretto's painting was an end in itself. Quite radically the artist has invented a new type of painting in which the sitter is depicted after death in a finished work. That Moretto intended the painting to be a finished composition cannot be doubted in light of its being hung by the Church of Sant'Orsola, and the subsequent production of several copies.

The creation of a work so unique in its subject, unrefined surface, and faithful copies may be understood by examining the historical moment. Merici's death occurred in the middle of a sixty-five year period Peter Burke has called the "crisis of canonization."[23] Indeed, the Church did not canonize a single saint from 1523 to 1588, perhaps hoping to avoid

11 Ibid.; Gabriella Zarri, "Ursula and Catherine: The Marriage of Virgins in the Sixteenth Century," in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance*, ed. E. Ann Matter and John Coakley (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1994), 198-199.

12 Mazzonis, *Spirituality, Gender, and the Self*, 14.

13 Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori: nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. Rosanna Bettarini (Florence: Sansoni, 1966), 543-44.

14 Cennino Cennini, *Il libro del'arte o Trattato della pittura*, ed. Fernando Tempesti (Milan: Longanesi, 1975), 146-52.

15 Eric MacLagan, "The Use of Death-Masks by Florentine Sculptors," *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 43, no. 249 (December 1923): 302-304.

16 Ibid., 303.

17 Ibid.

18 Luitpold Dussler, "Unpublished Terra-Cottas of the Late Quattrocento," *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 43, no. 246 (September 1923): 128-131.

19 Vasari, *Le vite*, 544.

20 This death mask from 1472 is now in the Louvre's collection.

21 For Piero della Francesa's portrait, see Carlo Bertelli, *Piero della Francesca*, trans. Edward Farrelly (New York, 1992), 224; and Ronald Lightbown, *Piero della Francesca* (New York: Abbeville Publishers, 1992), 230, 234. For Francesco Laurana's portrait bust, see Chrysa Damianaki, *The Female Portrait Busts of Francesco Laurana* (Rome: Vecchiarelli Editore, 2000), 55-63.

22 The illusionistic quality of Laurana's marble bust would have been greatly accentuated by polychromy, which unfortunately no longer remains.

23 Peter Burke, "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800,* ed. Kaspar von Greyerz (London: German Historical Institute, 1984), 45-55.

the negative publicity of Protestant criticism.[24] Still, the Ursulines fostered Merici's cult, buoyed by phenomena such as miracles and divine light surrounding her incorruptible remains.[25] Even without official sanction, the Company of St. Ursula accorded their leader the reverence due a saintly intercessor. Such behavior was by no means exceptional. It was this same spirit that had given rise to the cults of countless local saints throughout the peninsula since the early Christian era, try as the Church might to extinguish these devotional fires.[26] Traditionally, the locus of a saint's veneration was a shrine housing relics, potent remnants of the holy person's earthly life. Relics could also conveniently be dispersed to numerous sites, so devotees farther afield might be granted access to their sanctity. Due to the ill-timed Protestant threat, and the Church's reticence in granting canonization during this period, the Company of St. Ursula was deprived of a saint and of a saint's relics. Rather, Moretto's painting acts as a surrogate for Merici's relics, allowing her followers to effectively "possess" her body.[27]

Of course, Moretto does not depict his subject's full body here.[28] Instead, the artist truncates Merici's figure to bust length, a compositional choice which, in tandem with his cadaverous sitter, is surely a play on the reliquary bust. The utter strangeness of picturing a corpse seated in an upright position is far more understandable as reference to the reliquary bust tradition. In addition, by using the bust-length format, Moretto links his subject to her religious exemplar, St. Ursula, whose polychromed wooden reliquary bust was famously displayed in Cologne.[29] The renown of the St. Ursula bust was increased by the translation of the relics of many of her ten thousand virgin companions in similarly-styled reliquaries.[30] These distinctive busts became closely associated with the saint's hagiography, which so greatly inspired Angela Merici. Contemporaneous Italian examples of painted wooden reliquary busts, such as that of St. Fina from San Gimignano (Figure 6), closely resemble their northern counterparts, providing humble examples of female religiosity closer to home.

Despite the Renaissance obsession with portrait likenesses,[31] reliquary busts generally eschewed such specificity,[32] instead presenting saints as universal exemplars through generalized facial features. Scott B. Montgomery notes the idealized faces of the reliquary busts made at Cologne, and convincingly argues that the busts of the holy virgins lack distinguishing features as a means to foster group identity, even though each bust is labeled with a particular saint's name.[33] The reliquary bust of St. Fina, too, portrays a generically pretty young woman with whom any female worshiper might identify. In contrast, Moretto paints a highly individualized rendering of Angela Merici's face. While Moretto's composition formally connects Merici to female religious of the past in keeping with reliquary tradition, his realistic depiction of the deceased's physiognomy satisfied contemporary norms of funerary portraiture. Moretto further upsets genre distinctions by depicting Merici's *dead* body, subverting the traditional role of a reliquary head as signifying the saint's "living" presence.[34] Montgomery, in his article "Fashioning the Visage of Sainthood," notes how the open eyes and parted lips of the reliquary bust of Beata Umiliana de' Cerchi (Figure 7) fostered a sense of reciprocal communication between the viewer and the object of their veneration, as if she might at any moment move to speak.[35] The wooden reliquary busts of the holy virgins of Cologne similarly gaze out at the viewer, creating a visual dialogue with the faithful. In Moretto's painting, Merici's postmortem state frustrates such an interaction, emphatically denying

24 Ibid., 45.

25 Giovan Battista and Nazari De Sayani, *Le justificazioni della vita della Reverenda Madre suor Angela Terzebita* (Mariani, n.d.), 595-602.

26 For further discussion of the tension between local cult-making and ecclesiastical control, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 30-33.

27 Like holy relics, this painting could be replicated to facilitate reverence at multiple sites concurrently. Begni Redona suggests that the Ursulines commissioned a copy of Moretto's painting each time a new Company was established, though he provides no documentation to support this supposition. Begni Redona, "Ritratto funebre," 540.

28 Moretto did, in fact, paint Angela Merici's full corpse in a supine position on a wooden panel used to cover her sarcophagus (cf. note 1). The Accademia Carrara in Bergamo holds a copy from *c.* 1600-1610 now attributed to Bartolomeo Cesi. See Dell'Acqua, *Alessandro Bonvicino*, 127.

29 For information on St. Ursula's hagiography and the discovery and display of her relics at Cologne, see Joan A. Holladay, "Relics, Reliquaries, and Religious Women: Visualizing the Holy Virgins of Cologne," *Studies in Iconography* 18 (1997): 67-118.

30 Ibid., 78-85.

31 See Irving Lavin, "On the Sources and Meaning of the Renaissance Portrait Bust," in *Looking at Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, ed. Sarah Blake McHam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

32 Scott B. Montgomery, *St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins of Cologne: Relics, Reliquaries and the Visual Culture of Group Sanctity in Late Medieval Europe* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 64. Donatello's reliquary *Bust of St. Rossore* from *c.* 1424 is a notable exception and is highly individualized. See Anita Moskowitz, "Donatello's Reliquary Bust of Saint Rossore," *Art Bulletin* 63, no. 1 (March 1981): 41-48.

33 Montgomery, *St. Ursula*, 64.

34 Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, 86-105. Peter Brown discusses at length the devotional understanding of *praesentia* as regards saints' relics.

35 Scott B. Montgomery, "Fashioning the Visage of Sainthood: The Reliquary Bust of Beata Umiliana de' Cerchi and the Holy Portrait in Late-Medieval Florence," in *Italian Art, Society, and Politics: A Festschrift for Rab Hatfield,* ed. Barbara Deimling, Jonathan K. Nelson, and Gary M. Radke (Florence: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 38.

her living presence, but instead stressing the holy woman's presence in the hereafter, where she acts as intercessor on behalf of her followers.

Reliquaries like that of Beata Umiliana de' Cerchi were displayed in the church, and sometimes processed, on feast days. These activities made the reliquary public, visually accessible to any worshiper who participated in the day's events. This inclusiveness is reflected in the outward gaze of the figures, inviting active exchange with the worshiper. Conversely, Moretto's painting and its copies were displayed in less-trafficked areas, where only a select audience, *i.e.* clergy, confraternities, and members of the Company itself, would see them. Anabel Thomas, in her book *Art and Piety in the Female Religious Communities of Renaissance Italy,* discusses the types of religious imagery that were more commonly found in "private" spheres of a religious community, as opposed to images displayed to the general public, finding that depictions of contemporary females were generally kept out of common areas.[36] The modes of decorum that required the safety of clausura for sixteenth-century virgins included protection from visual violations as well. Although Angela Merici was a remarkably public figure in Brescia during her life, it is understandable that such an unguarded portrayal of a holy woman as Moretto's painting necessitated restricted viewership. In Moretto's treatment of Merici's face he focuses almost grotesquely on the more unpleasant effects of death, such as sagging flesh and exposed eyeball. This unidealized depiction of a religious female challenged contemporary notions of propriety, and would not have been suitable for public view. Ironically, by portraying Merici thus, Moretto succeeds in suggesting an intimacy between his subject and the viewer. As we behold the remains of the holy woman, we are privileged attendants at her deathbed.

Moretto also created a sense of veracity and immediacy through his painterly application of thick, unblended brushstrokes, as though he quickly captured Merici's features before she was interred. Moretto gently models Merici's visage with soft light, respectfully describing the familiar features of this revered figure. It is in representing her garment that Moretto abandons his careful observations, and indicates folds of fabric with almost amateurishly applied swaths of brown paint. There is no true sense of a human form beneath the wide curving lines of unmodulated pigment that make up Merici's robe. The seemingly unfinished surface suggests that the artist had neither the time nor inclination to idealize or fictionalize Merici's appearance. Moretto here modifies his usual style of precise brushwork to produce a heightened communion between viewer and subject. A comparison of the painting with his other portraits underscores just how calculated is Moretto's depiction of Merici. In the artist's portrayals of women such as *Woman in White* (Figure 8), he adheres to conventions of sixteenth-century Italian portraiture. His sitter is finely attired and artfully arranged. The painting is characterized by a close observation of detail and a tightly-worked surface. In contrast, Moretto uses a painterly and abbreviated style in his depiction of Angela Merici, a method unique in his oeuvre and charged with meaning. Ultimately, the marks Moretto makes are what give the painting "life." Just as the face provided by a reliquary bust enlivens the enclosed relics in the eyes of believers, Moretto's expressive technique helps Merici's followers establish a feeling of communion with their lost loved one.

This idiosyncratic depiction of Angela Merici shows Moretto's purposeful manipulation of conventional portraiture and his own style in an effort to satisfy the needs of the Ursuline order. The Company had relied too heavily on their founder's leadership, which left them ill equipped to carry on after her death. Moretto paints for them a representation not of the woman whose legacy they struggled to sustain, but of her physical remains. In this, the Ursulines carried on a tradition of veneration with links to early Christianity, and most profoundly, to their order's namesake. Emphasizing the emptiness of Merici's mortal body, Moretto's work instructs its viewer to seek Merici's intercession in the celestial realm. Through copies of the painting, Ursulines were able to tangibly extend that promise of intercession anywhere their members gathered.

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[36] Anabel Thomas, *Art and Piety in the Female Religious Communities of Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 126-27.

Figure 1. Moretto da Brescia, *Funerary Portrait of Angela Merici*, 1540, oil on canvas, 45.7 x 57.2 cm. Centro Mericiano, Brescia.

[*above, left*] Figure 2. Domenico Cagnoni, *Portrait of Angela Merici*, 1768, engraving, *Vita della B. Angela Merici da Desenzano*.

[*above, right*] Figure 3. Francesco Laurana (attributed to), *Funerary Mask of a Young Woman: Battista Sforza (?)*, 1472, painted terracotta, 19.2 x 12.8 x 47 cm. Louvre, Paris, RF 1171. Photograph courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, New York, New York.

[*right*] Figure 4. Francesco Laurana, *Bust of Battista Sforza*, *c*. 1474, marble. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence. Photograph by George Tatge, 2000, courtesy of Alinari / Art Resource, New York, New York.

Figure 5. Piero della Francesca, *Battista Sforza, Duchess of Urbino*, 1465, tempera on wood, 47 x 33 cm. Uffizi, Florence. Photograph courtesy of Erich Lessing / Art Resource, New York, New York.

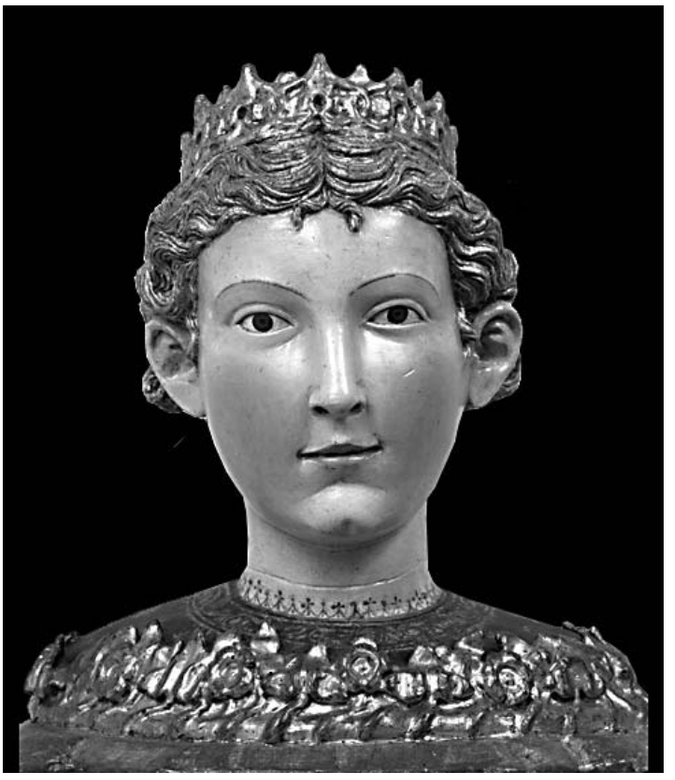

Figure 6. Attributed to Mariano d'Agnolo Romanelli, reliquary of St. Fina, *c*. 1380-90, polychrome wood. Museo Diocesano, San Gimignano.

[*above*] Figure 7. Portrait bust of Beata Umiliana de' Cerchi, Santa Croce, Florence. Photograph courtesy of Alinari / Art Resource, New York, New York.

[*right*] Figure 8. Moretto da Brescia, *Portrait of a Lady in White*, *c*. 1540, oil on canvas, 106.4 x 87.6 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Photograph courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Permanent Devotion: Carlo Rainaldi and the *Quarantore* as Precursor to Santa Maria in Campitelli

Iara A. Dundas

In the Jubilee year of 1650 the architect Carlo Rainaldi designed and constructed a devotional theatrical set for the *Quarantore*, or Devotion of the Forty Hours, for the Jesuit church of Il Gesù in Rome. At the conclusion of the Devotion, the set was dismantled and its parts recycled. Twelve years later the foundation stones were laid for the church of Santa Maria in Campitelli, Rainaldi's first major solo commission.[1] A comparative look at the extant print of the *Quarantore* and the interior of the church reveals striking visual parallels, suggesting an immediate link between the two designs (Figures 1 and 2). This relationship has been noted in the past by only a few scholars, but while it has been suggested that the *Quarantore* influenced only the high altar of Santa Maria in Campitelli, this paper will argue that the impact of the ephemeral stage Rainaldi completed for the Gesù was far greater.[2] By suggesting that the *Quarantore* may have acted as a large-scale model for Rainaldi's subsequent construction, Santa Maria in Campitelli thus becomes, formally, an expanded and monumentalized version of the 1650 *Quarantore* – an ephemeral devotion made permanent.[3] Moreover, by studying both the circumstances of the commission for the church and the history behind the Forty Hours Devotion and its associated ephemera, it becomes clear that Rainaldi's church is not only formally but also symbolically linked to the *Quarantore*, commissioned as a votive offering to the Virgin in an effort to combat the plague of 1656.

In the seventeenth century the Renaissance tradition of festal ephemeral structures turned to the monumental and the dramatic in an unprecedented manner. Patrons, religious and secular alike, took to commissioning the most prolific and renowned artist-architects of the age for the design of these temporary theatrical sets, often referred to as *apparati*. Gianlorenzo Bernini frequently participated in the creation of ephemera and Andrea Pozzo included designs for the *Quarantore* in his treatise on perspective; Carlo Rainaldi was no exception in this regard. Born in 1611, Rainaldi was truly of the Baroque generation. Like other architects before him, he was trained as such by his likewise employed father, Girolamo Rainaldi, who was architect of the Palazzo Pamphilj on the Piazza Navona between 1645 and 1647.[4] The two Rainaldis worked collaboratively on a variety of major commissions, but so-called "minor" works, such as the *Quarantore* for the Gesù, were the works of the younger with architectural assistants.[5] Of the many works, following the elder Rainaldi's death in 1655, Santa Maria in Campitelli was the first instance in which Carlo Rainaldi worked independently on a major commission and, given the conditions of the project, it is somewhat appropriate that Rainaldi should return to a type of construction with which he had already experimented in the Gesù *Quarantore*.

Theater and spectacle pervaded much of what characterizes the Baroque period, and the *Quarantore* was itself

1 John Varriano, *Italian Baroque and Rococo Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 131-135.

2 This relationship has been most notably mentioned by Marcello Fagiolo dell'Arco. Marcello Fagiolo dell'Arco, *L'effimero barocco* (Rome: Edizioni De Luca s.r.l., 1977). This stance is modified slightly in the follow-up publication but the connection remains the same, explicated in its entirety in one sentence: "L'apparato per le Quarantore al Gesù…un antecedente sicuro per la chiesa di Santa Maria in Campitelli iniziata sei anni dopo." Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, *La Festa barocca* (Rome: Edizioni De Luca s.r.l., 1997), 2:88. For the previous quotation, there is no additional information in the respective footnote.

3 Martine Boiteux also argues that the ephemeral architecture of the *Quarantore* had an impact on permanent architecture but her focus is, like Fagiolo dell'Arco, on a somewhat smaller scale than I suggest. "Les apparats crées pour mettre en scène la devotion nouvelle des Quarante Heures, introduite à la fin du XVI^{e} siècle, sont les architectures éphémères qui ont eu l'effet peut-être le plus important sur les architectures durables." Martine Boiteux, "Le Bernin, les fêtes et l'architecture éphémère à Rome au début du XVII^{e} siècle," in *Bernini dai Borghese ai Barberini: la cultura a Roma intorno agli anni Venti*, eds. Olivier Bonfait and Anna Coliva (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2004), 86.

4 Girolamo Rainaldi's oeuvre includes numerous other commissions. For the most extensive biographic discussion of the Rainaldis, see Furio Fasolo, *L'opera di Hieronimo e Carlo Rainaldi (1570-1655 e 1611-1691)* (Rome: Edizioni Ricerche, [1960?]). However, Fasolo glances over C. Rainaldi's *Quarantore*, calling it only an "apparato." For a more comprehensive discussion of the 1650 *Quarantore* for the Gesù see Fagiolo dell'Arco, *L'effimero barocco*, 70-71; slightly differing, though abbreviated, information can be found in Per Bjurström, "Baroque Theater and the Jesuits," in *Baroque Art: the Jesuit Contribution*, ed. Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (New York: Fordham University Press, 1972), 99-110.

5 "Fra il 1644 e il 1650 Carlo opera in prestazioni professionali minori: così dicasi per l'arco trionfale di Innocenzo X al Campidoglio, per una 'apparatura' per feste in Piazza Navona a per una, analoga sistemazione dell'interno della Chiesa del Gesù; queste ultime due sono del 1650." Fasolo, *L'opera di Hieronimo e Carlo Rainaldi*, 104.

transformed from a relatively simple candlelit devotion into a sumptuous *spettacolo*.[6] The Devotion of the Forty Hours was one of the most important liturgical services of the Counter Reformation, introduced to Rome by St. Philip Neri. With origins in the Middle Ages, the *Quarantore* of the seventeenth century developed into a major theatrical event.[7] The premise of the devotion is the veneration of the Host before which clergy would pray for a period of forty hours — forty being the duration (in days) of the biblical Flood, the number of days during which the Israelites wandered the desert before receiving the Commandments, the length of time during which Jesus fasted and battled temptation from the devil, and finally, perhaps most significantly in this case, forty is the number of hours during which the body of Jesus Christ lay interred in the Sepulcher.[8] Because the veneration of the Host was central to this commemorative devotion, the *apparato* became the most important part of the ephemeral decorations, for in the *Quarantore* the *apparato* built around the high altar was a complete theatrical spectacle that transformed the church from nave and choir into auditorium and stage, requiring no dramatic action on the part of actors — only the participation of the worshippers in the Devotion.[9] The Eucharist itself was elevated and illuminated within the elaborate altar decoration and would remain so for forty hours while the clergy rotated before it in a sequence of perpetual prayer. At the conclusion of the Devotion, the *apparati* were generally dismantled and destroyed.[10] The Devotion was preceded by a Mass and was accompanied by music, illuminations and perfumes so as to appeal to all the senses — "a conception rooted in the Council of Trent's declaration that those hearing appropriate settings of sacred words would be 'ravished by a longing for heavenly harmony and by contemplation of the joys and the blessed.'"[11] The ritual of the perpetual prayer itself as an aspect of the Devotion has remarkable parallels with the circumstances under which the church of Santa Maria in Campitelli was commissioned. In 1656 a plague made its way to Rome from Naples during the first year of Alexander VII's pontificate. In an effort to combat the pestilence the Pope "called on the people of Rome to pray for divine aid and ordered that the Blessed Sacrament should remain exposed in two churches in the city everyday."[12]

The festivities in which various performances and spectacles of the age could be found were both secular and religious. Events were held throughout the year, but it was the Carnival season which produced some of the more elaborate stages for dramatic spectacle and also saw the Church responding to its secular competitors with their own brand of sumptuous theater.[13] Sacred theaters, into which the *Quarantore* may be classified, were organized by religious bodies (e.g. the Jesuits) at specific moments throughout the liturgical year "designed to divert but also to overawe and control the common populace through the use of visual spectacle."[14] It is within this context of Carnival and its associated spectacles that the Forty Hours Devotion took on a particularly sumptuous monumentality.[15] The relationship at this time, however, between theater and religion was more than just a competition for the attentions of the laity and it is more than just a form of entertainment. Both theater and religion are, in their most basic form, concerned with another world; they differ in that religion makes the so-called "other world" accessible through belief and faith, whereas theater offers a view into another world through the willing suspension of disbelief on the part of the spectator.[16] The Sacred Theater was important as part of the Catholic Reformation, and religious plays and theatrical devotions performed a sort of public service, drawing people back to the church during times when they were prone to engage in debauchery and

6 "The Italian word *spettacolo* is used to refer to theater in the broadest meaning of the English term; it refers not only to the building (*teatro*) or the play (*drama, commedia, tragedia*), or to the stage design and stagecraft (*scenografia*) but to the entire production." Mark S. Weil, *Baroque Theater and Stage Design* (St. Louis: Washington University Press, 1983), 10.

7 Mark S. Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," *Journal of the Warburg and Cortauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 218, 222.

8 Renato Diez, "Le Quarantore: una predica figurate," in *La festa a Roma: dal Rinascimento al 1870*, ed. Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco (Turin: Umberto Allemandi for J. Sands, 1997), 84.

9 Weil, "Devotion of the Forty Hours," 218-19.

10 Documents exist which indicate that Cardinal Francesco Barberini recycled stage sets and theatrical machines from those he had commissioned for new spectacles, including elements of the *Quarantore apparati* designed by Pietro da Cortona and Gianlorenzo Bernini. Frederick Hammond, *Music & Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage Under Urban VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 129.

11 Hammond, *Music & Spectacle*, 151-152.

12 Joan Barclay Lloyd, "The Medieval Church of Santa Maria in Portico in Rome," *Romische Quartalschrift fur Christliche Altertumsckunde und Kirchendgeschichte Freiburg i. Breisgau* 76 (1998): 95.

13 Public diversions during Carnival were reminiscent of events held throughout the year yet with a lesser degree of refinement. Hammond includes a list of the typical Carnival activities: masquerades, games, races, jousts, real and mock hunts, and water battles. Hammond, *Music & Spectacle*, 124. The Carnival season typically lasted from December 26 to Shrove Tuesday. Joanna Norman, "Performance and Performativity: Baroque Art and Design for the Theater," in *Baroque (1620-1800): Style in the Age of Magnificence*, ed. Michael Snodin and Nigel Llewellyn (London: V&A Publishing, 2009), 144.

14 Norman, "Performance and Performativity," 144.

15 It is important to note, too, that many anti-Carnivalesque *apparati* were erected in the Gesù throughout the seventeenth century in part because of the church's proximity to the Corso where many of the Carnival festivities were traditionally held. Diez, "Le Quarantore," 88. See also Boiteux, "Le Bernin," 78.

16 Hans-Jürgen Diller, "Religion, Theater, and the 'Other World,'" in *Theater and Religion*, ed. Günter Ahrends and Hans-Jürgen Diller (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1998), 25-26.

general disorderly behavior, but also more generally in the post-Tridentine world in which these theaters proliferated. The otherworldly qualities of the religious theater brought Catholic miracles and the saints' lives into the contemporary realm, closing the separation between God and His followers; and by 1656 with the advent of the plague, the theater took on a new role in the communications between this world and the next, with the Pope enacting a devotional cycle reminiscent of that performed in the *Quarantore* so that the people of Rome might seek the Virgin's intercession against the epidemic.

Although the Devotion of the Forty Hours dates back to the Middle Ages, the form in which the devotion is presented in the seventeenth century is markedly different. What was once the veneration of the Host behind a semi-transparent veil illuminated with a few candles became, after the Council of Trent, a sumptuous and elaborate performance adapted to combat the profane festivities of Carnival by using the formal language of the secular ephemeral stage.[17] One source specifically cited by scholars as a secular, theatrical influence for the *Quarantore*'s *apparati* is Andrea Palladio's Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza (Figures 3 and 4). The Teatro Olimpico's stage is marked by permanent sets which provide the audience with specific perspectival vistas visible through grand arched openings. The forced perspective of the receding theatrical structure is a technique used in a number of *Quarantore* sets in order to place greater emphasis on the Host and to give a greater sense of depth to the transformed choir, a technique used by Rainaldi in both his works under discussion.

By the arrival of the Jubilee year of 1650, the Jesuits, and the Gesù more specifically, had developed a reputation for particularly elaborate and sumptuous *apparati*. Rainaldi's *Quarantore* was no different, as is evident in his etching of that same work (Figure 1).[18] The stage was thematically constructed, a setting for the Sacrifice of Solomon as illustrated by the static figures in the earthly realm of the stage below the elevated Host. The stage is compositionally divided between the Host in glory above and a narrative which prefigured the Eucharist in the space below.[19] The inscription included in the print details not only what the image is, but that it was meant to depict Solomon's Sacrifice while also providing the date of February 26, 1650.[20] Evident here is Rainaldi's architectural training, having incorporated a greater degree of the classical architectural language into the design than previous *apparati*. A series of paired columns surmounted by rounded arches extend the auditorium / nave into the choir, dissolving the boundary between the stage and the audience of worshippers. Evident here, too, is the synthesis of architecture with a heavenly *Gloria*, a form first introduced to *Quarantore* designs by Bernini when he designed and constructed one for the Devotion in the Pauline Chapel in 1628. Encased within the *Gloria*, the Host sits high above the faithful engaged in the act of veneration. With the consecrated Host housed in a golden tabernacle, suspended within an illusionistically new architectural space, the unveiling of the *apparato* at the commencement of the Devotion would have revealed the transformation of the traditionally sacred space of the choir into the manifestation of heaven as it enters the earthly realm[21] — an illusion which also emphasized the Transubstantiation, a concept established by the Council of Trent that the physical presence of the body of Christ is found in the Eucharist.[22]

There are two parts to the illusion produced by Rainaldi's *Quarantore*, consisting of the colonnades and the trompe l'oeil effects. With the former, the paired columns telescope the perspective and optically deepen the space beyond the actual depth of the choir. This would have been done using the same techniques as in Palladio's Teatro Olimpico, mentioned above. The upward slope of the stage as it moves away from the audience combined with the way the walls taper inward to narrow the back space of the stage result in the same telescoping effect that we see in Rainaldi's *apparato*. (Figure 4). The trompe l'oeil completed the illusion by bringing the sacred into the world of the spectator. Rainaldi's *Quarantore* was like all known *apparati* in that it was completely fictive; the structure itself would have taken weeks to build and would have been made of wood over which veneers in stucco or papier-mâché were applied.[23] Thus the columns merely looked like marble. The clouds and angels would have been painted stucco and the figures below that make up the narrative of Solomon's Sacrifice would have also

17 Diez, "Le Quarantore," 90.

18 It is important to note that the etching is by Rainaldi himself since this lends a greater sense of certainty that the structure depicted is how it might have appeared in reality. I make this note here because Andrea Pozzo, in his treatise on perspective, included designs for the *Quarantore* and indicated the omission of theatrical effects (such as clouds) for the sake of clarity in depicting the architectural structure of the *apparato*.

19 Weil, "Devotion of the Forty Hours," 235.

20 The inscription reads as follows: Teatro eretto nella Chiesa del Gesù di Roma nella quinquagesima l'anno santo M.DC.L. Alla Santità di Nostro Sig.re Papa Innocentio Decimo, Beat.mo P're. Il Presente Disegno rappresenta nel'Teatro fatto erigere quest'anno Santo dalla Nobile Congregat.ne dell'Assunta nella Chiesa del Giesù di Roma. il Sagrificio di Salomone. È perche l'Opera è stata fatta in honore del Sig.re Iddio. così e di dovere che il Disegno sia dedicato al somo suo Vicario. Gradisca dunque V.B. questo effetto del mio ossequio se bene in picciolo contrasegno della grande obligat.ne che le devo; e prostrate à suoi Santiss.mi piedi. Con ogni riverenza baciandoglieli. Humilissimam.te me le inchino. Roma il 26 feb.o 1650. / Eques D. Carolus Rainaldus inventore delineavit et incidit. Della Santità V'ra hum.o devot.o et obligat.mo servo D. Carlo Rainaldi Cav.re de SS.ti Mauritio e Lazzaro.

21 Diez, "Le Quarantore," 91.

22 Boiteux, "Le Bernin," 86.

23 Weston-Lewis Aidan, ed., *Effigies & Ecstasies: Roman Baroque Sculpture and Design in the Age of Bernini* (Edinburgh: Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1998), 163; Boiteux, "Le Bernin," 86.

been sculpted (Figure 5). The *Quarantore* had always been a static spectacle of special effects, illuminations and music; it was the audience in the act of prayer that would complete the theater of the devotion. The figures in Rainaldi's etching are therefore not static depictions of actors on a stage, nor are they figures inserted into the print for the sake of scale; these figures were, in fact, veritable props for the *Quarantore*. The immobile scene allows the spectator to contemplate and imagine how the story progressed, thereby entering into a direct communication with God and His eternal glory.[24] With the inclusion of the above two illusionistic effects, the seventeenth-century *Quarantore* was built so that the entire choir was transformed by the theatrical construction. Doing so also provided the architect with a large-scale, fully-engineered model; in Rainaldi's case, the 1650 *Quarantore* in the Gesù was the model for what would later be manifest in the construction of Santa Maria in Campitelli.

Despite having this large-scale model available, the process of designing and completing the church was less than straightforward, requiring various site-specific accommodations and changes from the original plan, including the location. Although the construction of the church was completed relatively quickly, reaching that point was somewhat circuitous. It was, indeed, the 1656 plague which served as the impetus for the commission. In an effort to combat the pestilence, Pope Alexander VII called for the Sacrament to be exposed so that the people of Rome might pray for the Virgin's intercession;[25] the Sacrament was to be exposed in two Roman churches each day, forming a city-wide perpetual prayer that parallels the Forty Hours Devotion, substituting Carnival for a deadly epidemic. The church of Santa Maria in Portico was especially popular after the papal call to prayer since it was home to a miraculous icon of the Virgin.[26] In a matter of weeks the Pope had the church closed, fearing the spread of contagion amongst the crowds of Santa Maria in Portico. By November of the plague year, permission had been granted to the Roman Senate to rebuild the church in Portico, "as a votive offering for protection against the plague and a more honorable and worthy setting for the icon."[27] Everything was seemingly in place to finalize plans with the architect when early in 1657, Alexander VII, after having visited the church in Portico, declared the location unsuitable for what was intended to be a votive offering. Instead, the commission was shifted to the nearby site of Santa Maria in Campitelli — a church which had been completed as recently as 1648. Rainaldi and his assistants had already completed a number of plans and drawings for the church when the change was made, one of which included a plan for an oval-shaped church reminiscent of Bernini's Santa Andrea al Quirinale; nevertheless, new plans for the church were made and the title of Santa Maria in Portico was transferred to the church in Campitelli in 1662, the same year the foundation stones were laid.[28] Therefore, the official name of the church is Santa Maria in Portico in Campitelli.[29]

Having acquired a new site for his project, Rainaldi ambitiously tried to tie the architecture to the program — a church that would commemorate a miraculous cessation of the plague through devotional prayer. It was natural that he returned to his *Quarantore* of 1650. Rainaldi's use of the *Quarantore* for commemoration of the plague epidemic was not an isolated instance. Rainaldi's cousin and assistant, Domenico Rainaldi, was one of the collaborators in the 1650 design.[30] In 1658, Domenico designed his own *Quarantore* entitled *The Plague Chased from Rome by Saints Peter and Paul and other Saints*.[31] It is evident that around the time Rainaldi was given the commission to rebuild the church in Campitelli, rather than in Portico, the connection between the Devotion of the Forty Hours and the 1656 plague was being made elsewhere; it is therefore reasonable to assert that Rainaldi, especially given the involvement of his cousin, would have made the same connection and returned to his earlier ephemera to fulfill the commission.

The plan for the church as it exists today was finalized early in 1663, although construction of the nave did not commence until a decade later.[32] Work began first on the façade and the sanctuary simultaneously while the nave of

[24] Boiteux, "Le Bernin," 87; Diez, "Le Quarantore," 92; Karl Noehles, "Teatri per le Quarant'ore e altari barocchi," in *Barocco Romano e Barocco Italiano: il teatro, l'effimero, l'allegoria*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Rome: Società editrice G. Gangemi, 1985), 91.

[25] Lloyd, "Santa Maria in Portico," 95.

[26] Also like the *Quarantore* and other Roman festivals, this cycle of prayers to the Virgin against the plague was advertised in printed form. It is noted by Lloyd that the priests of Santa Maria in Portico distributed leaflets printed with prayers to the Virgin against the plague and a description of the famous icon, including a list of miracles attributed to it. This, no doubt, was a contributing factor to the church's popularity at the time. Ibid.

[27] Ibid., 96; Rudolf Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi and the Roman Architecture of the Full Baroque," *Art Bulletin* 19 (June 1937): 278-83.

[28] The original building at Santa Maria in Campitelli had been commissioned in 1619 by Pope Paul V and was finally consecrated in 1648. Lloyd, "Santa Maria in Portico," 96; Varriano, *Italian Baroque and Rococo Architecture*, 135-136. Wittkower states that the oval plan for Santa Maria in Campitelli was not abandoned for the current longitudinal plan until after the ceremonial burial of the foundation stone in 1662. Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi," 285-286.

[29] Often, as in this paper and in many of the secondary sources on the subject, Rainaldi's church is known simply as Santa Maria in Campitelli, thus favoring the original name for the church at the final location.

[30] Weil, "Devotion of the Forty Hours," 236.

[31] Ibid., 244.

[32] Wittkower provides a chronology for the execution of the plan, "Carlo Rainaldi," 289. Also note that Domenico's plague-inspired *Quarantore* dates to the early years of the commission for Santa Maria in Campitelli, before the plan was finalized in 1663.

the old church in Campitelli remained intact.[33] Originally the plan had been to enlarge the extant church at the site, but this, too, was modified in favor of building a sumptuous church from the ground up. The plan itself is unique in form in that is it not the centrally-planned church that gained new popularity and appreciation in the seventeenth century, nor was it the traditional Latin cross of so many Roman basilicas (Figure 8). Like the *Quarantore*'s origins in northern Italy, the church is likewise northern in form; in relation to its Roman neighbors, like the Gesù, Santa Maria in Campitelli replaces the traditional side aisles with a series of deeply-recessed lateral chapels, albeit lacking in uniformity.[34] Moving toward the apse, a series of successively paired composite and fluted columns lead to the crossing. The transept is shallow to the point of near non-existence while the crossing itself is supported by columns and is surmounted by a large dome, the base of which is ringed with windows that allow the natural light to stream into the sanctuary, picked up by the gilt bronze of the tabernacle that continues to house the icon inherited from Santa Maria in Portico.

It is this gilded tabernacle that is the visual focus of the church, in the same way that the tabernacle housing the Eucharist was the visual focus of the *Quarantore*. Using a perspectival trick reminiscent of the Teatro Olimpico and other secular stages, the paired columns which support the crossing arches direct the spectator's eye directly toward the choir — a trick which is especially apparent to anyone looking into the church from the entrance;[35] it is precisely from this viewpoint that the vision of Rainaldi's *Quarantore* comes to its full realization. Further analysis of the ground plan reveals that the arrangement of the columns produces a telescoping effect to the viewer entering the church. Accounting for the optic range of the average person's visual periphery, the columns which support the crossing arch contract the space and draw the focus to a single point: the miraculous icon. Like the linear perspective developed and perfected in the Italian Renaissance, virtual orthogonal lines can be drawn so that the lines converge on that single point (Figure 9). This effect was enhanced by the illumination of the church interior, all carefully controlled — from the placement of windows to the use of color — to accentuate the main altar.[36]

One final visual parallel between Rainaldi's church and the *Quarantore* remains to be discussed. In Rainaldi's etching, just beyond the third pair of columns and partially visible underneath the floating clouds and putti upon which rests the Host, is what appears to be the presence of a dome (Figure 6). Though slightly modified in the final plan, Santa Maria in Campitelli also has a dome preceded by a progression of three sets of columns across the nave (Figure 9). Close inspection of the etching reveals that the arch surmounting the third pair of columns features sculpted rosettes like those on the church's corresponding crossing arch (Figure 7), further emphasizing the relationship between the Santa Maria in Campitelli and Rainaldi's own *apparato*.

Scholars in the past have noted the connection between the ephemeral and the permanent; often this relationship resulted in the ephemera taking inspiration from earlier monuments. In the case of Carlo Rainaldi's *Quarantore* for the Gesù, it is the ephemeral that provides the inspiration for the subsequent monument of Santa Maria in Campitelli. The visual parallels between the two structures are numerous — more so than had been previously suggested. In most cases, the ephemeral works in Carlo Rainaldi's oeuvre were largely ignored by scholars; where they were discussed, it was only in the most cursory fashion. What resulted was scholarship that argued for the complicated amalgamation of disparate elements that influenced the church's final design. This paper maintains that the earlier work was the inspiration for Rainaldi's church — an idea made all the more plausible when considering that the *Quarantore*, the print that documents it, and the church are the work of the same architect. The key component to the history and context under which Santa Maria in Campitelli was commissioned is marked by the entrance into Rome of the plague in 1656. This fact, considered alongside the devotional parallels between the *Quarantore* and the prayers for the Virgin's intercession in the process of the church's history, make it clear that Santa Maria in Campitelli is a monumentalization in stone of the earlier *apparato*. The perpetual prayer of the Devotion of the Forty Hours has, in Santa Maria in Campitelli, been made permanent.

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[33] This paper focuses more specifically on the ground plan and interior of the church. For more on the façade see ibid., 290-295; and Nathan T. Whitman, "Roman Tradition and the Aedicular Façade," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 29 (May 1970): 108-123.

[34] Varriano does point out that Santa Maria in Campitelli is not entirely unique to Rome, but that it is simply "more familiar" in northern Italy. Varriano, *Italian Baroque and Rococo Architecture*, 134.

[35] Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi," 298; The optical effects produced by the indentation of the columns marking the entrance to the crossing area is a technique reminiscent of secular stage sets, where the wings are not parallel to each other, but rather are progressively moved inward in an attempt to produce the perception of greater depth.

[36] Varriano, *Italian Baroque and Rococo Architecture*, 137-138.

Figure 1. Carlo Rainaldi, *The Sacrifice of Solomon*, engraving of *Quarantore* for Il Gesù, Rome, 1650, Coburg.

Figure 2. Carlo Rainaldi, choir view, Santa Maria in Campitelli, 1662-67 © Scott Gilchrist/Archivision, Inc.

Figure 3. Andrea Palladio, Teatro Olimpico, view of the permanent stage setting, 1580-86, Vicenza, Italy. Photograph courtesy of Scala, Florence / Art Resource, New York, New York.

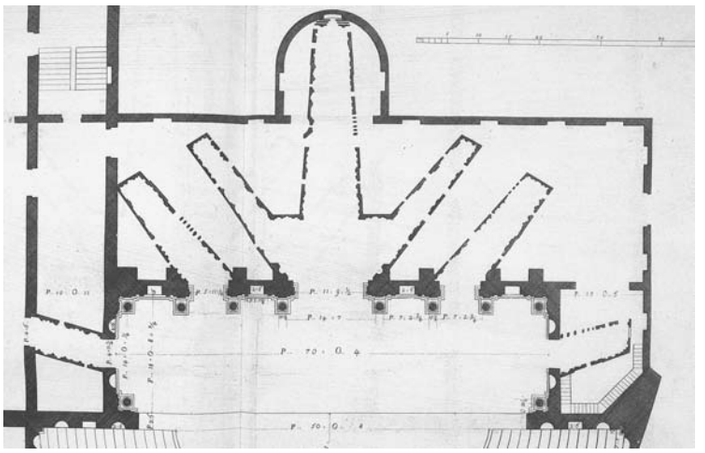


Figure 4. After Andrea Palladio, Ottavio Bertotti-Scamozzi, View of the Teatro Olimpico, cropped plan of the stage, 1796 (publication), engraving © Scott Gilchrist/Archivision, Inc.

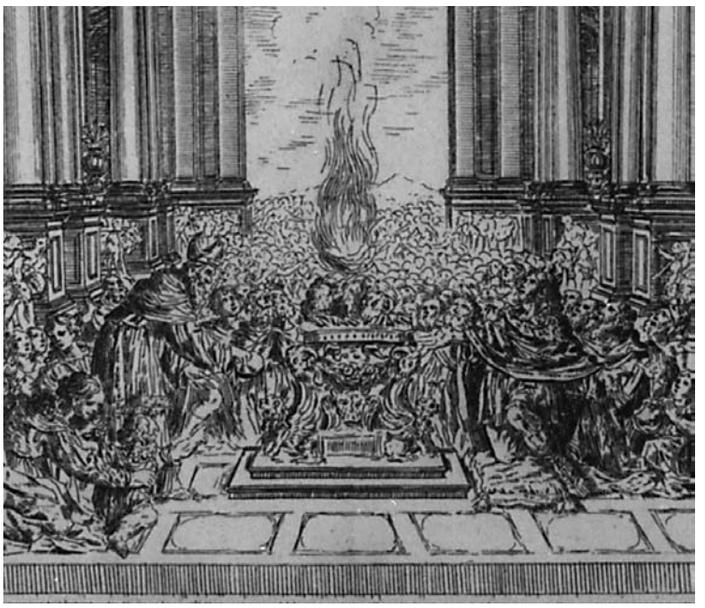


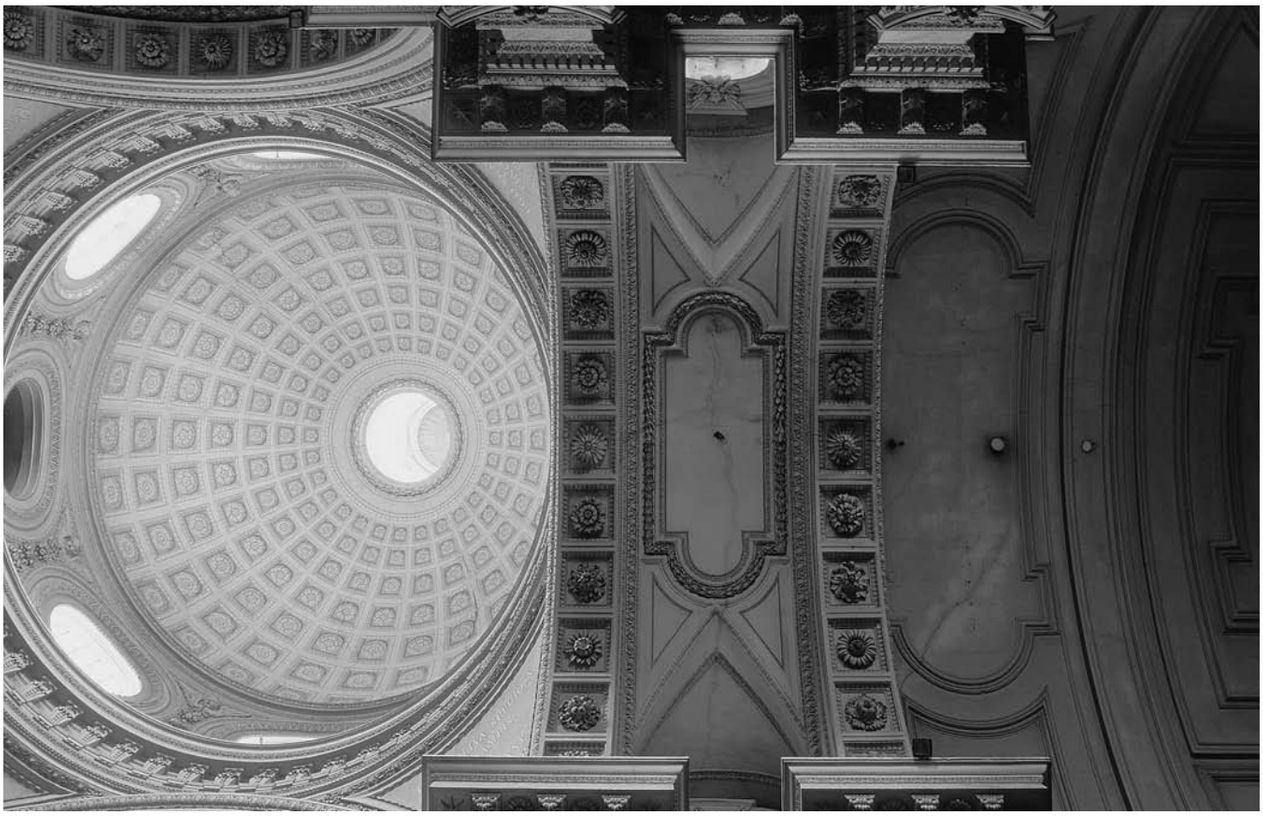
Figure 5. Carlo Rainaldi, detail of *The Sacrifice of Solomon*, engraving of *Quarantore* for Il Gesù, Rome, 1650.

Figure 6. Carlo Rainaldi, detail of *The Sacrifice of Solomon*, engraving of *Quarantore* for Il Gesù, Rome, 1650.

[*facing page, top*] Figure 7. Carlo Rainaldi, view of crossing arch and dome, Santa Maria in Campitelli © Scott Gilchrist/Archivision, Inc.

[*facing page, bottom left*] Figure 8. Giulio Magni, plan of Santa Maria in Campitelli, 1911-13 (publication), ink on paper.

[*facing page, bottom right*] Figure 9. Giulio Magni's plan of Santa Maria in Campitelli with author's orthogonals and column pairs labeled.



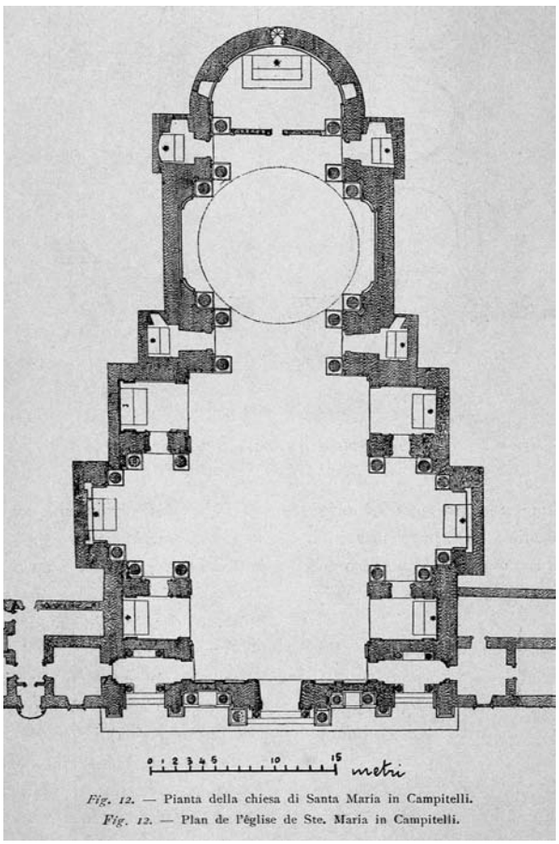
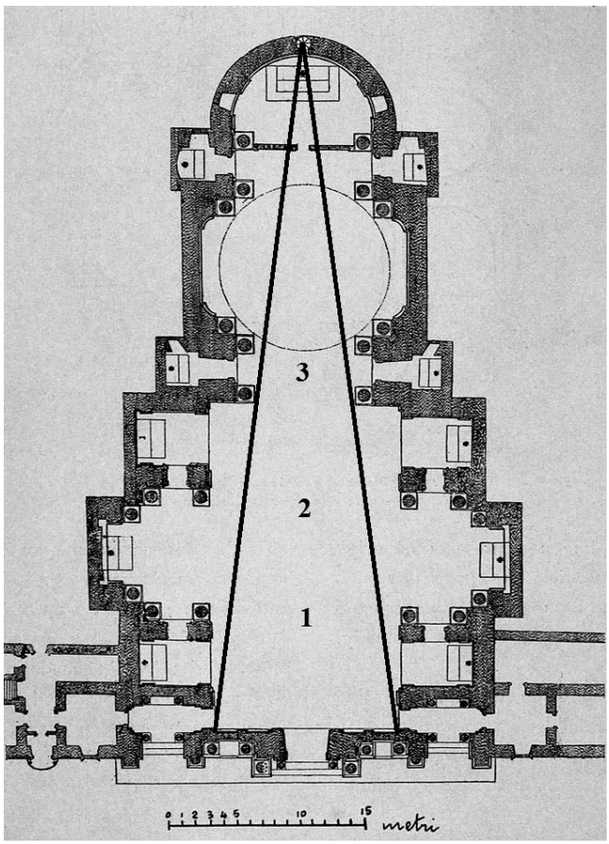


Fig. 12. — Pianta della chiesa di Santa Maria in Campitelli.
Fig. 12. — Plan de l'église de Ste. Maria in Campitelli.



Painting Instruction: C. W. Eckersberg and Artistic Labor in the Danish Golden Age

Leslie Anne Anderson

Until the appointments of Professors Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg (1783-1853) and Johan Ludvig Lund (1777-1867) in 1818, the ossified curriculum of the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts officially consisted of sketching plaster casts of antique statuary, *écorché* sculptures, and artificially-illuminated male models assuming heroic poses.[1] During their tenure at the Academy, however, the two professors introduced supplementary tuition in painting from life under natural light — a practice assimilated by Eckersberg and Lund in Jacques-Louis David's Paris studio.[2] In addition, private instruction under Eckersberg inaugurated *plein-air* sketching excursions and specialized tutorials in the science of linear perspective. Thus, Eckersberg's years at the Academy represent a distinct pedagogical shift that privileged the direct observation of nature over the imitation of antiquity.[3]

Coinciding with Eckersberg's curricular expansion, students of the mid-1820s and 1830s depicted artistic labor in sketchbooks, intimate portraits called *Freundschaftsbilder* ("friendship pictures"), and large-scale paintings intended for public exhibition. Interestingly, this subject matter was most popular among the first generation of students enrolled in the Davidian life classes, particularly Wilhem Bendz (1804-1832), Christen Christensen (1806-1845), Albert Küchler (1803-1886), Martinus Rørbye (1803-1848), and Jørgen Sonne (1801-1890).[4] In addition, Eckersberg's private pupils — Constantin Hansen (1804-1880), Christen Købke (1810-1848), Wilhelm Marstrand (1810-1873), Adam Müller (1811-1844), Jørgen Roed (1808-1888), and Frederik Sødring (1809-1862) — made significant contributions to this genre as both painters and subjects.[5] Shown at work or posed in the studio, these artists are often surrounded by a carefully selected sampling of tools and instructional aids. In this examination, it is argued that such artistic accoutrements reference the respective methodologies of the sitters, who typically subscribed to Eckersberg's artistic program. More specifically, these objects often allude to and celebrate the Academy's new auxiliary instruction.

Avoidance of primary documentation and relevant historical context characterize the few existing studies devoted to this subject matter.[6] Mogens Nykjær's *Pictures of Knowledge: Motifs in Danish Art from Eckersberg to Hammershøi* traces common motifs in Danish nineteenth-century painting to their proposed source — the contemporary intellectual milieu. He suggests that studio portraits by Bendz and Købke reflect the artists' proficiency in the Neo-Platonic writings of Dane Adolph Wilhelm Schack von Staffeldt (1769-1826), particularly his poem "In Canova's Workshop."[7] Yet, Staffeldt's name remained obscure even after the publication

1 Before graduating to the Academy's Plaster School, students demonstrated competency by copying prints.

2 Lund studied under David from September 16, 1800, until April 1802. Eckersberg spent about one year in the studio, from September 9, 1811, until October 20, 1812.

3 Preceding the faculty's interest in nature at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, the Munich Academy adopted a new maxim to "study from nature," as opposed to 'imitating antiquity' in 1809. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present* (New York: De Capo Press, 1973), 211-212.

4 Philip Conisbee, "Ordinariness and Light: Danish Painting of the Golden Age," in *The Golden Age of Danish Painting*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Kasper Monrad (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1993), 38. In this essay Philip Conisbee defines *Freundschaftsbilder* as "friendship pictures, usually mutual portraits exchanged as gifts" (ibid). However, many similar works were not exchanged as gifts — they were intended for public display at the Academy's annual exhibition and, thereafter, purchased by the Royal Picture Gallery (now Statens Museum for Kunst). Thus, this term is problematic and I will approach it with caution, using it in the strictest sense. Emma Salling lists the names of the first nine students to sign up for the daytime classes in 1822/23. They are as follows: H. F. Møller, A. Küchler, C. Goos, J. Sonne, J. Nordhoff, J. G. Wichmann, C. Christensen, M. Rørbye, and W. Bendz. Emma Salling, "Modelstudiet i Eckersbergs professortid," in *Den nøgne guldalder: Modelbilleder — C. W. Eckersberg og hans elever*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Annette Johansen, Emma Salling, and Marianne Saabye (Copenhagen: Hirschsprung Collection, 1994), 32.

5 Bendz, Küchler, and Rørbye also received private instruction in Eckersberg's studio.

6 Here, I refer to broad studies of the genre. Though exhibition catalogue entries discuss these images, the works are typically examined in isolation, or more precisely, through the lens of the exhibition's overarching theme. On rare occasions, catalogue entries reference similar works and note the popularity of this subject matter during the Danish Golden Age. Yet, they do not account for the emergence of the genre in this region. Further, Klaus Lankeit's pioneering study of *Freundschaftsbilder* omits any discussion of Danish studio portraits, focusing solely on German examples. Klaus Lankeit, *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romantik* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1952).

7 He specifically proposes that the works of the two artists function as demonstration pieces for Staffeldt's conception of the "fundamental dualism" of nature and art. Mogens Nykjær, *Kundskabens Billeder: Motiver i dansk kunst fra Eckersberg til Hammershøi* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1991), 75-105. Inspired by the German Romantics

of his magnum opus *Digte* in 1804, and Bendz's surviving letters bear no mention of the poet nearly three decades later. Nykjær appropriately conveys the profundity of these paintings. However, a convincing theoretical analysis of Bendz's and Købke's imagery would require sufficient evidence of their personal alignment with such ideas.

Jens Peter Munk's article "Artist Portrait — Self Portrait: The Golden Age Artists' Social and Cultural Self-Understanding, When Portraying Themselves and Each Other" posits that Danish studio pictures reveal artistic self-awareness, although this thesis is not fully articulated.[8] Instead, the meritorious feature of the article is the establishment of the genre's key typological divisions. Examining a broad sampling of works, Munk identifies the various settings and some of the basic components depicted in these images.[9] However, he does not define the significance of recurring motifs in relation to the changing climate of the Academy.

This study aims to situate Danish scenes of artistic labor within the environment that was typically portrayed — the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts at Charlottenborg Palace. In addition to pictorial evidence, relevant source material sheds light on the chief events and academic techniques employed during this decisive period in the institution's history. Of particular utility are Eckersberg's dry, but methodically maintained *dagbøger*, or diaries, which chronicle the fulfillment of his professorial duties. In addition, a biographical sketch, penned by his daughter Julie, describes the practices and enumerates the contents of his atelier. Casually posed models bathed in natural light function as a signifier of Eckersberg's pedagogical introductions. Of course, studies of nature served only as the basis for final, idealized compositions. Thus, the history painter's maulstick becomes the signature tool of his students, despite their frequent pursuit of the "lesser" genres. This implement facilitates the final stage in Eckersberg's artistic process — the transformation of the real into the ideal. Finally, the function of these images will be explored. At times, they commemorate shared artistic ideology; however, at other times, the imposing scale and intended audience suggest that they honor the Academy's new pedagogical inclusiveness.

In April 1822, Lund and Eckersberg lobbied on behalf of their students' education at the meeting of the Academy Assembly.[10] Citing insufficient access to models and their pupils' general lack of technical proficiency, the professors proposed an elective course in painting from life.[11] The purpose of the course was twofold, exposing students to the nuances of natural light on the human form, and instruction in the application of color. Initially, the supplementary tuition was held regularly during the mornings of the summer holidays. Six months later, following the official approval of Prince Christian Frederik, later King Christian VIII (1786-1848), the classes took place during the "off-hours" of the regular academic schedule.[12] Nine enthusiastic students from the Life Studies and Plaster Schools registered for the debut session, which occurred regularly in the years that followed. Unfortunately, a paucity of documentation on this extracurricular program hinders a complete understanding of its content and the exercises employed.[13] However, we know that the Academy ensured the students' access to natural light. A "painting window" was installed in the program's provisional home, the School of Life Studies and the Plaster School.[14] Additionally, Eckersberg often administered instruction from his personal studio, which boasted three sizeable bay windows overlooking Kongens Nytorv ("King's New Square").

Tieck and Wackenroder, Schack von Staffeldt's poetry was rediscovered at the end of the nineteenth century. During his own time, however, Schack von Staffeldt's name was eclipsed by the popularity of Adam Oehlenschläger. Svend Birke Espegård, review of *Digte*, by Adolph Wilhelm Schack von Staffeldt, *Books Abroad* 43, no. 2 (Spring 1969): 271. Similar theoretical interpretations of Bendz's work have also been offered by Søren Kjørup and Henrik Wivel; however, the three scholars fail to establish a convincing link between German Romantic philosophy and the artists under consideration. Søren Kjørup, "Guldalderforskningens paradigmer — eksemplificeret på et maleri af Wilhelm Bendz," *Meddelelser fra Thorvaldsens Museum* (1994): 115-123; Henrik Wivel, "Professor of the Undiscovered Sciences: On Wilhelm Bendz' Portraits of Artists and the Thoughts on Them at the Time," in *Wilhelm Bendz: A Young Painter of the Danish Golden Age, 1804-1832*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Marianne Saabye (Copenhagen: Hirschsprung Collection, 1996), 21-30.

8 Jens Peter Munk, "Kunstnerportræt — Selvportræt: Om guldalderkunstnernes socielle og kulturelle selvforståelse, når de portrætterer sig selv og hinanden," *Meddelelser fra Thorvaldsens Museum* (1994): 103-113. Munk's article expands on a cursory treatment of the subject matter in Kasper Monrad's *Everyday Pictures*. Kasper Monrad, *Hverdagsbilleder: Dansk Guldalder - kunstnerne og deres vilkår* (Copenhagen: Christian Ejlers, 1989), 141-146.

9 Munk divides his article into short sections, which contain little or no analysis. Under the heading of "Artists' Attibutes," he tersely states, "It is common to portray the artist through his work tools. Bendz's solution is clever. [In *Interior from Amaliegade with the Artist's Brothers* (c. 1829)], he is not present with his two brothers in their parents' living room in Amaliegade, but his tools are — paper posted on a drawing board and a stool, which reference his outdoor studies." Munk does not expound on that observation or cite the source of such accoutrements, but, instead, transitions to another category of depiction — the portrayal of the artist's bohemian lifestyle. Munk, "Kunstnerportræt — Selvportræt," 108.

10 Salling, "Modelstudiet i Eckersbergs professortid," 31. Though Lund drafted the official letter to the President, Salling suggests that the proposal was a joint endeavor, since Eckersberg wrote a note in support of the request. The two artists shared the responsibility of leading the elective courses and, beginning in 1824, they received annual bonuses as compensation for their additional workload.

11 Ibid. Lund's letter underscores the lack of preparation that the Academy's students received in painting and other evaluation criteria for the gold medal competitions.

12 Ibid. Prince Christian Frederik served as president of the Academy.

13 Ibid., 32.

14 Ibid.

Early studio portraits of Jørgen Sonne, Carl Edvard Sonne (1804-1878), and Niels Peter Holbech (1804-1889) reveal the impact of this new emphasis on natural light.[15] As seen in Rørbye's sketch *Academy Interior with Artists Painting and Drawing* (Figure 1), the sitters clearly recreate the conditions of the classroom, or Eckersberg's private atelier, within the confines of their personal workspaces. Bendz presents a sunlit Holbech (Figure 2) leaning on a drawing board. Direct light on an artist's face is often interpreted as reflecting the Romantic notion of divinely ordained creativity; however, an examination of this portrait's setting points to its topical significance at the Academy.[16] On Holbech's left, stands an accessible anatomical model — a plaster cast of Andreas Weidenhaupt's *écorché* sculpture (original 1772). The *écorché* was an established instructional tool of the Academy's curriculum. As Jon Whiteley noted, "plaster casts were typically studied by artificial light under the classical paradigm."[17] Here, Holbech rejects the traditional practice. In addition, the relationship between nature (i.e., sunlight) and the ideal (i.e., the *écorché*) references a pedagogical dialectic that may also be noted in Blunck's *The Copperplate Engraver Carl Edvard Sonne* (Figure 3).[18] Facing an open window, the eponymous figure executes trial prints of Gerard ter Borch's *Seated Girl in Peasant Costume* (*c.* 1650, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).[19] Prints of paintings by the Danish Neoclassicist Nicolai Abildgaard (1743-1809) and Christian August Lorentzen (1746-1828) hang opposite the window, counterbalancing the new practice with representations faithful to the Academic tradition.[20] Similarly, Blunck juxtaposes the window and a tabletop *écorché* in his portrait of Jørgen Sonne (Figure 4), the older brother of the aforementioned printmaker.

Jørgen, an aspiring battle painter and one of the original enrollees of the auxiliary program, studies the drapery of a military uniform on a lay figure. In an 1822 letter to Prince Christian Frederik, Lund emphasized the need for instruction in rendering drapery, which was likely addressed in the professors' programs.[21] Additionally, scholars have failed to note that this figure is a homemade *Gliedermann*, a traditional studio prop used since the Renaissance, fashioned out of some cloth and a musket.[22] This point bears significance in relation to Eckersberg's method. Julie Eckersberg states that her father's studio contained a "big *Gliedermann* that stood in the corner near the door."[23] Thus, these early portraits suggest that the young artists assimilated the instructor's methods soon after the supplementary instruction commenced. Substituting an *écorché* and a makeshift *Gliedermann* for hired models, Holbech and Jørgen Sonne tailor the professors' recommendations to suit their personal studio practices.

After the conclusion of the first extracurricular course, two participants from the Plaster School — Bendz and Rørbye — graduated to the traditional model school of the Academy. To the students, the transition from the supplementary Davidian life classes to those in the official curriculum was regressive. Turning a critical eye toward the tuition of the Academy's life class, Bendz and Rørbye portrayed their experiences in public and private formats, respectively. Scholars have interpreted Bendz's *Life Class at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts* (Figure 5) as a commentary on the ascendancy of ordinary subject matter over the genre of history painting.[24] Noting the elevated servant who has captured the attention of "several of the pupils," this analysis demonstrates a keen understanding of the Danes' waning interest in history painting as a result of their grave financial situation (following the Napoleonic Wars) and the concurrent establishment of the Copenhagen Art Association in 1825.[25] Undoubtedly, Eckersberg's instrumental role in the development of this alternative exhibition venue facilitated

15 It is not stated whether Holbech joined the official or auxiliary life schools; however, we know that he trained under Eckersberg from 1824. Kirsten Nannestad, "N. P. Holbech," *Kunstindeks Danmark & Weilbachs Kunstnerleksikon*, accessed 5 May 2010, http://www.kulturarv.dk/kid/VisWeilbach.do?kunstnerId=544&wsektion=uddannelse.

16 Kasper Monrad interprets the light on Holm's face as a reference to the source of his artistic inspiration. Kasper Monrad, "Portrait of the Painter Christian Holm, 1826," in *Golden Age of Danish Painting* (see note 4), 55; While scholars note the prevalence of sunlit rooms in the Golden Age, no attempt has been made to tie its frequency to Eckersberg's initiatives.

17 J. J. L. Whiteley, "Light and Shade in French Neo-Classicism," *Burlington Magazine* 117, no. 873 (December 1975): 771.

18 Carl Edvard Sonne and Blunck were pupils of Johan Ludvig Lund. Thus, both artists were exposed to his views on the importance of natural light in an artist's workspace.

19 Lene Bøgh Rønberg states that C. E. Sonne created a print of the Gerard ter Borch painting. Lene Bøgh Rønberg, "The Copperplate Engraver C. E. Sonne, c. 1826," in *Two Golden Ages: Masterpieces of Dutch and Danish Painting*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Lene Bøgh Rønberg, Kasper Monrad, and Ragni Linnet (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2001), 159.

20 Monrad states the prints were made by "the aging master [of the] field, Johan Frederik Clemens (1748-1832)." Kasper Monrad, "Portrait of the Copperplate Engraver Carl Edvard Sonne, ca. 1826," in *Golden Age of Danish Painting* (see note 4), 68.

21 Salling, "Modelstudiet i Eckersbergs professortid," 31.

22 Conisbee identifies this object as "a grotesque dummy" and "a scarecrow." Conisbee, "Ordinariness and Light," 38.

23 Julie Eckersberg and Emil Hannover, *Julie Eckersbergs optegnelser om hendes fader C.W. Eckersberg med en indledning af Emil Hannover* (Copenhagen: Fagskolen for boghaandvaerk, 1917), 26; Peter Michael Hornung and Monrad speculate that Eckersberg's *gliedermann* (no longer extant) was an upholstered doll, in the French style. Peter Michael Hornung and Kasper Monrad, *C. W. Eckersberg — dansk malerkunsts fader* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Palle Fogtdal, 2005), 288.

24 Kasper Monrad reaffirms an interpretation offered by Mogens Nykjær in the late 1970s. Monrad, "The Life Class at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, 1826," in *Golden Age of Danish Painting* (see note 4), 58.

25 Monrad, "Life Class," 58.

a leveling of the genres at the Academy. One may agree with Nykjær and Kasper Monrad on this point. It should be noted, however, that only one student cranes his neck to observe the servant's routine maintenance, and he is not sketching.[26]

Clearly, Bendz's primary message addresses the artificiality of the practice.[27] The central figure draws our attention to the unnatural light source — a row of oil lamps. In addition, his stance mirrors the awkwardly contorted model who assumes the professor's prescribed pose for that week.[28] A preparatory sketch (Figure 6) for the painting reveals a more pointed take on this contrived arrangement. Dangling from a noose, a shadow cast by the model signifies the imagined death of classical pedagogy. Similarly, *Artists Drawing a Model* (Figure 7), from Rørbye's 1825-1826 sketchbook, depicts the model emulating the pose of Abildgaard's *Wounded Philoctetes* (1775; Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen).[29] However, instead of paying homage to the canonical Danish painting, Rørbye questions its veracity. His model does not exhibit the bodily tension of the wounded hero, but is shown with a drawing implement in hand, sketching to alleviate boredom.

In addition to the classicized pose, Bendz and Rørbye challenge the Academy's dependence on Weidenhaupt's *écorché* sculpture. Used as a model of ideal anatomy since the eighteenth-century, the small plaster *écorché* is relegated to the background in these works. Bendz suggests the tool's uselessness on its distant perch, while a lack of functional fixedness permits Rørbye to use it as a visor stand.

The most provocative elements of these compositions are the life class's attendees. After its display at the Academy's annual exhibition, art historian Niels Laurits Høyen (1798-1870) famously attributed the discussion elicited by Bendz's painting to the recognizable figures in the composition.[30] As an official statement of ideological emancipation, Bendz inserts a self-portrait with his back turned to the model, in the left foreground of the composition (Figure 5). On the right, another figure, perhaps Rørbye, engages the viewer with direct eye contact. Students converse and a relative few sketch fervently, embracing the classical method. Based on the identified figures in *Life Class at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts*, this paper suggests that Rørbye's sketch depicts Holm, working assiduously, Bendz posed defiantly, and the artist himself, holding a sketchbook (Figure 7).[31] These works were probably inspired by Eckersberg's own *Satire of the Model School at the Academy* (1805; Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen), which caricatures Lorentzen admonishing a student.[32] All three pictures challenge the institutionalized methodology and anticipate each artist's increasingly aggressive promotion of new techniques.

For Bendz and Rørbye, tuition in the Academy's Model School reaffirmed their dedication to Eckersberg's pedagogy. In an entry dated May 5, 1827, the professor's *dagbøger* tersely notes that Bendz entered his atelier.[33] Rørbye sought additional private instruction from him two years prior, and another member of the inaugural life class, Küchler, became a pupil in 1826. Coinciding with their return to Eckersberg, Bendz, Rørbye, and Küchler executed studio portraits that examine the relationship between the instructional aids of the classical method and the live model. In paintings of Eckersberg's protégés, the representation of natural light remains important, but traditional props, namely the ubiquitous *écorché* and plaster casts of antique statuary, are now marginalized in favor of the live model.

Rørbye's *Portrait of C. A. Lorentzen* (1827; Private Collection) is, however, an important exception to this depiction. Painted under the tutelage of Eckersberg, Rørbye situates his former professor in the studio, pausing mid-composition. The contents of his space — antique statuary — allude to his old-fashioned artistic emphases. Two years earlier, Lorentzen's *Model School at the Academy* (Figure 8) distilled his methodology into three equal facets, which are represented by the *Medici Venus*, the *écorché*, and two idealized nudes. He upholds tradition, gesturing to the *écorché*, while his students gaze at the live models. Perhaps as a result of his conservative outlook, the senior professor acquired the nickname "Gamle Lorentzen," or "Old Lorentzen," in contemporary correspondence between faculty members and in Eckersberg's private *dagbøger* entries.[34] The ageist moniker

[26] This student is seated to the right of the ladder, in the first row.

[27] Monrad, "Life Class," 58. Monrad suggests Bendz's dissatisfaction with the life class, but he does not view this work as the beginning of a trajectory of paintings that reference the Academy's pedagogy.

[28] Professors took turns selecting the model's pose. Salling, "Modelstudiet i Eckersbergs professortid," 29.

[29] This sketchbook contains twenty-three drawings, many of which depict studio life at the Academy. According to the Statens Museum for Kunst, this particular sketch has never been published.

[30] This painting was also exhibited at the 1826 exhibition. Monrad, "Life Class," 58.

[31] The proposed identities of these figures are based on the physical likenesses previously identified in Bendz's painting. In *Life Class at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts*, Holm is depicted in the right foreground, wearing a visor.

[32] Munk suggests that Eckersberg's sketch was a model for Bendz's painting. Of course, one can also see the influence of Eckersberg's work on Rørbye's sketch, which probably predates Bendz's composition. Munk, "Kunstnerportræt - Selvportræt," 105; Eckersberg's sketch was inspired by a textbook for visual artists by Johann Daniel Preissler. Published in the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries, the textbook was used at many institutions, including the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts. Erik Fischer, *Tegninger af C. W. Eckersberg* (Copenhagen: Den Kgl. Kobberstiksamling, Statens Museum for Kunst, 1983), 153.

[33] C. W. Eckersberg, *C. W. Eckersbergs dagbøger, 1810-1853*, ed. Villads Villadsen (Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 2009), 1:250.

[34] The entry is dated February 12, 1826. Eckersberg, *C. W. Eckersbergs dagbøger*, 1:250. The popularity of the nickname "Gamle Lorentzen" may also be noted in a letter to Bertel Thorvaldsen sent from Christian Horneman in Copenhagen. Christian Horneman to Bertel Thorvaldsen, Copenhagen, 4 May 1829, no. 2944 of 4845, The Thorvaldsen Letter Archives, Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark. Very little

may be interpreted as a barb directed at practices that Eckersberg, and others, deemed passé. Thus, Rørbye's portrait offers a critical view of his former professor, consistent with the sentiments of Eckersberg.

Paintings by Bendz and Küchler question the instructional merit of antique statuary. Küchler's *A Girl from Amager Selling Fruit in a Painter's Studio* (Figure 9) depicts a produce vendor from the titular farming island being escorted into Bendz's studio by fellow painter Holm. The subject is anecdotal and likely refers to the rising popularity of genre painting; however, the activities of this working studio should not be overlooked. Situated next to the window, Bendz paints from life, while the horrified expression of *Laocoön* reacts to the incoming sunlight. The prominence of the anti-classical semi-nude model relative to the peripheral placement of the *écorché* further underscores Bendz's breach of traditional methodology.

Similarly, in *The Sculptor Christen Christensen Working from Life in His Studio* (Figure 10), the artist's comment is coded in the language of art history. Here, Christensen employs a hired model to assume a pugilist's pose. A cast of *The Borghese Fighter* rests within his line of sight, but he purposefully avoids the figure and sculpts from life, instead.[35] A comparison between a preparatory sketch (1827; The Hirschsprung Collection, Copenhagen) and the final painting reveals that the sculpture was added after the picture's initial conception. In addition, casts of traditional apotropaic figures — Medusa and a lioness — safeguard their primacy in the Academy's curriculum by attempting to ward off the incoming sunlight in the final composition. Against the far wall, the *Medici Venus* averts her gaze from the modern practice.[36] Not surprisingly, Christensen participated in the first session of the daytime life classes and, thus, his artistic ideology is aligned with that of Eckersberg. However, in the 1830s and the early 1840s, the supplementary life-class methods were folded into the official curriculum. For instance, the Academy soon employed male and female clothed models of all ages and instituted painting classes.[37] Works by Ferdinand Richardt (1819-1895) and Heinrich Nickelsen (1819 - *c.* 1845) suggest that new, unidealized figures supplanted antique statuary and *écorché* casts as the preferred models in the official classes of the Life School, as well as the private studios of Eckersberg's pupils.[38]

To Eckersberg, sketching from life under natural light was a fundamental artistic tool. The works yielded from this exercise permitted the artist to execute a more ideal conception of nature. Omitting perceived imperfections and rendering the final composition with exactitude, permitted the realization of what Eckersberg dubbed the "fundamental image."[39] Consequently, the expected finish of each composition may account for the prevalence of maulsticks in these images. Often associated with history painting, the maulstick may generally serve as an emblem of technical virtuosity, as in portraits of genre painter Bendz (Figure 9).[40]

In addition to signifying the final stage of Eckersberg's process, the maulstick assumes new meaning within a broader historical context. Denmark entered a period of great fiscal uncertainty following the Napoleonic Wars. The monetary promise of a professional career in art was particularly bleak due to diminished court patronage, fewer institutional travel grants, and a relative handful of independent buyers. The genre of history painting was perhaps the most greatly affected of all the disciplines. From Eckersberg's receipt of the Great Gold Medal in 1809 until Blunck's award in 1827, the prestigious travel stipend was not conferred.[41] Undoubtedly, students perceived the waning viability of a career in this genre.

Eckersberg's progressive methods and affiliation with the Copenhagen Art Association attracted many students who demonstrated their commitment to his artistic ideology through the production of intimate *Freundschaftsbilder*. At times, these students emphasized the legitimacy of their efforts by appropriating the history painter's maulstick and monumentalizing their artistic labor.

Encouraging the efforts of the young artists, The Royal Collection acquired many Danish studio portraits during this period.[42] By the late 1830s and early 1840s, however, the Danish economy rebounded and the need to promote

has been written about Horneman (1765-1844), but it is known that he lived at Charlottenborg and worked as a miniaturist.

35 Ejner Johansson, "The Sculptor Christen Christensen Working from Life in His Studio" in *Wilhelm Bendz* (see note 7), 90.

36 The repositioning of the *Medici Venus* is noted in the monographic exhibition catalogue devoted to Bendz. Ibid.

37 Salling, "Modelstudiet i Eckersbergs professortid," 41. In addition, Eckersberg hired nude female models for his private lessons on three occasions in the 1830s and 1840s.

38 Please see Ferdinand Richardt's *A Painting Studio at Charlottenborg* (*c.* 1839; Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen) and Heinrich Nickelsen's *The Academy's Painting School* (1841; Private Collection).

39 Marianne Saabye, "Mellem Ideal og Virkelighed: C. W. Eckersberg og modelstudiet," in *Den Nøgne Guldalder* (see note 4), 18.

40 Købke's *Portrait of Wilhelm Bendz* was extremely popular among Eckersberg's students. Købke gave one of three versions to Eckersberg. Marstrand and Roed later copied the image. Ejner Johansson, "Christen Købke *Portrait of Wilhelm Bendz*" in *Wilhelm Bendz* (see note 7), 203-206.

41 Monrad, "Ditlev Conrad Blunck," in *Golden Age of Danish Painting* (see note 4), 66.

42 At the Academy's annual exhibition in 1826, The Royal Collection purchased Blunck's *The Copperplate Engraver Carl Edvard Sonne* and *The Battle Painter Jørgen Sonne*. They also acquired Bendz's *A Young Artist* [Ditlev Blunck] *Examining a Sketch in a Mirror* (1826; Statens Museum for Kunst) and *Life Class at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts*. In addition, they purchased Bendz's *The Sculptor Christen Christensen Working from Life in His Studio* in 1827, and Küchler's *A Girl from Amager Selling Fruit in a Painter's Studio* in 1828.

alternative instruction was no longer a pressing concern. Nonetheless, the paintings of these years bear witness to the transformations in pedagogy introduced by C. W. Eckersberg, which, although they were controversial at the time, were gradually incorporated into standard practice by subsequent generations of Danish artists.

The Graduate Center, City University of New York

Figure 1. Martinus Rørbye, *Academy Interior with Artists Painting and Drawing* (from a sketchbook), *c.* 1825-1826, pencil, pen, black ink, brush, brown wash, 7 1/8 x 4 1/2 inches. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.

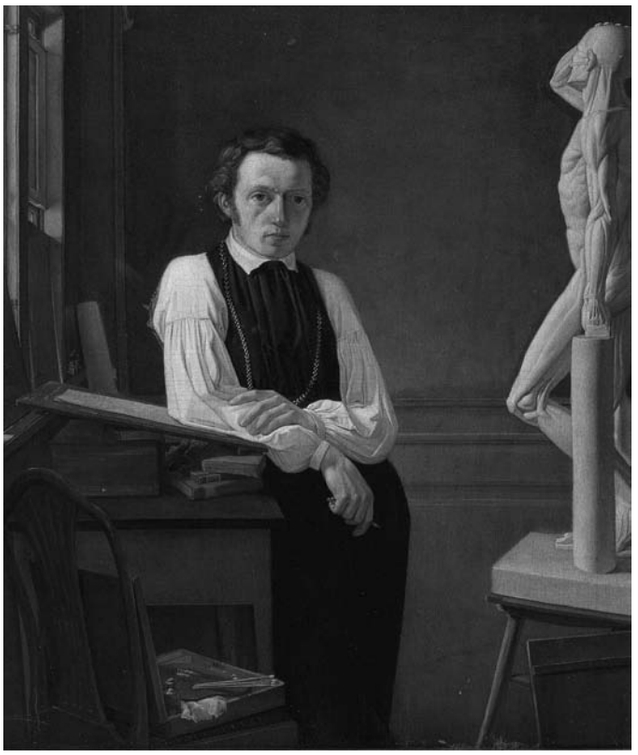


Figure 2. Wilhelm Bendz, *The Painter Niels Peter Holbech, c.* 1824, oil on canvas, 31 3/4 x 27 inches. Fuglsang Kunstmuseum, Toreby.

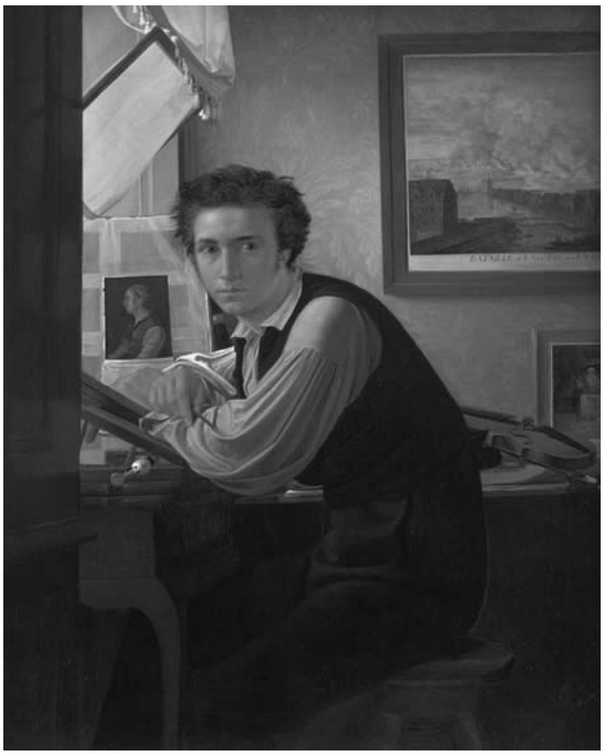


Figure 3. Ditlev Conrad Blunck, *The Copperplate Engraver Carl Edvard Sonne, c.* 1826, oil on canvas, 27 3/8 x 22 inches. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.

Figure 4. Ditlev Conrad Blunck, *Battle Painter Jørgen Sonne*, *c.* 1826, oil on canvas, 47 7/8 x 39 3/4 inches. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.

Figure 5. Wilhelm Bendz, *The Life Class at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts*, 1826, oil on canvas, 22 3/4 x 32 1/2 inches. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.

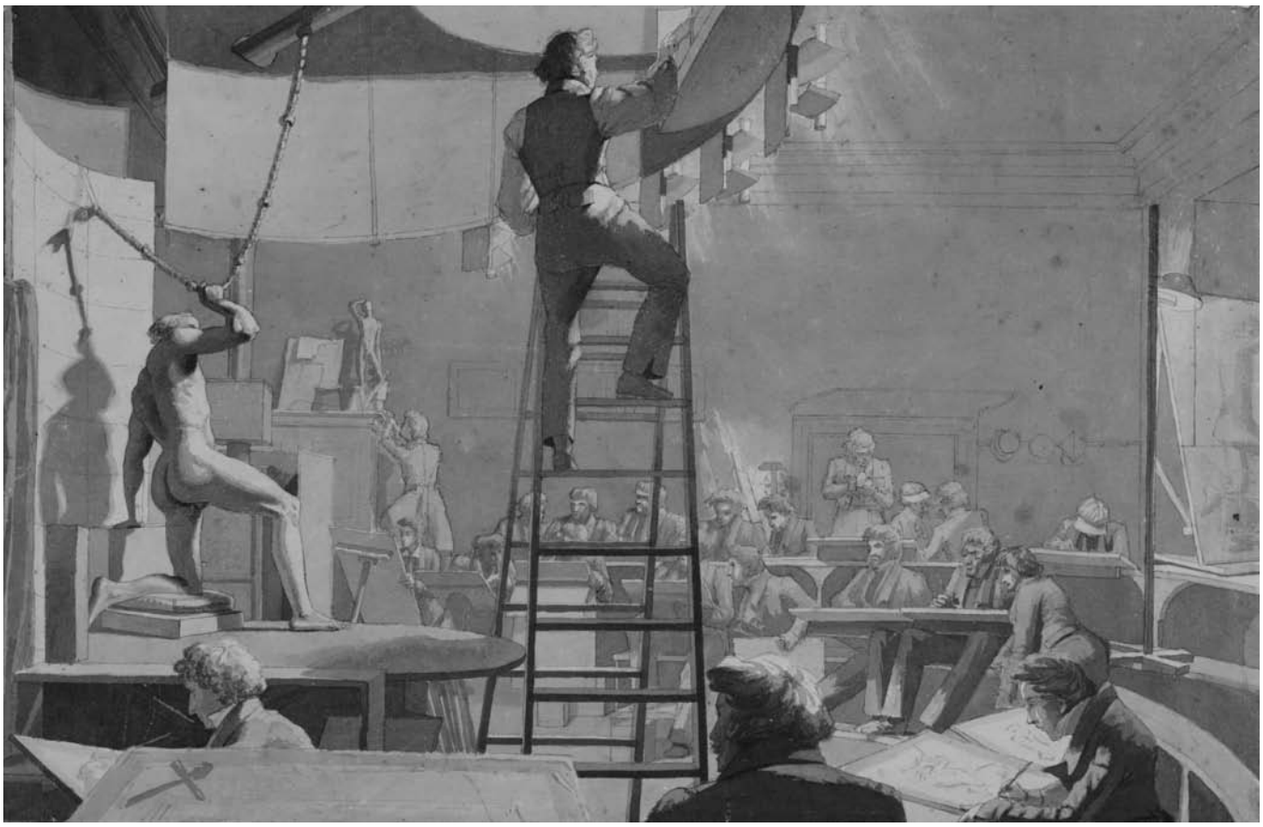
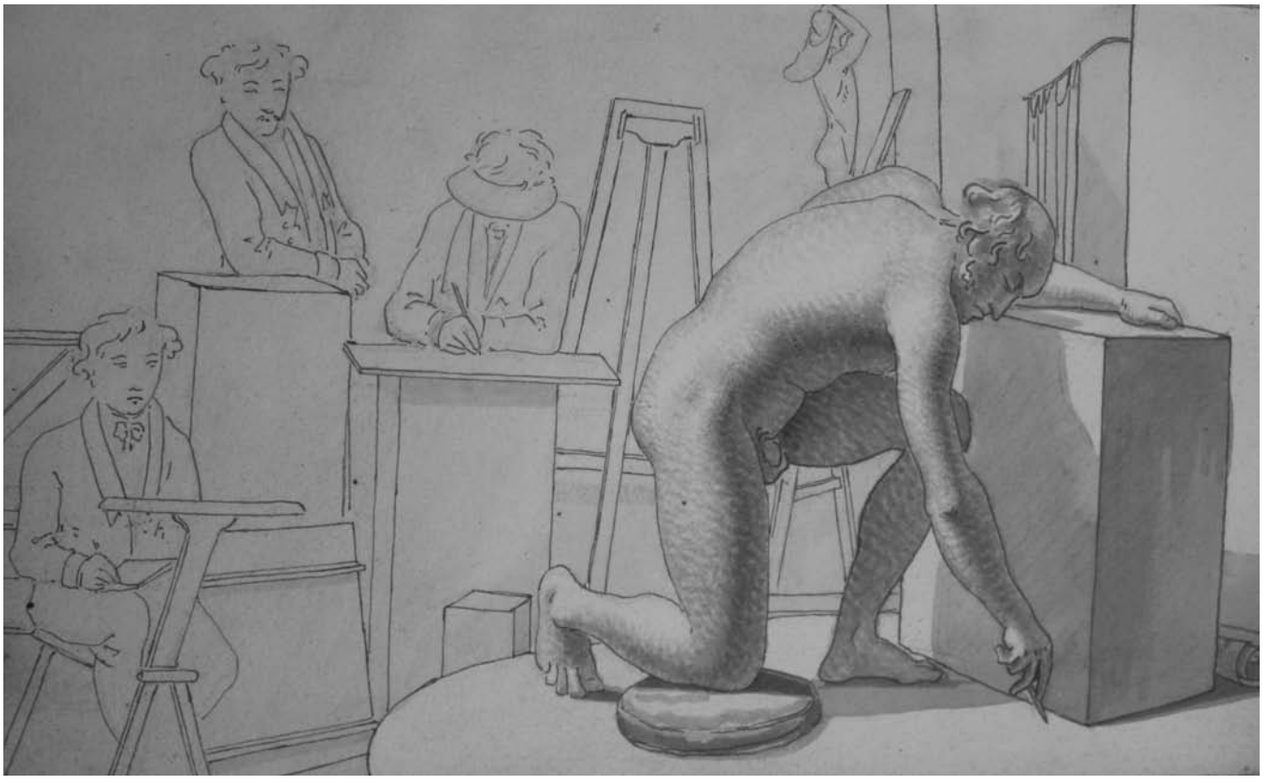


Figure 6. Wilhelm Bendz, *The Life Class at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts*, *c*. 1826, wash drawing, 12 x 18 3/4 inches. The Hirschsprung Collection, Copenhagen.

Figure 7. Martinus Rørbye, *Artists Drawing a Model* (from a sketchbook), *c*. 1825-1826, pencil, pen, black ink, brush, brown wash, 7 1/8 x 4 1/2 inches. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.



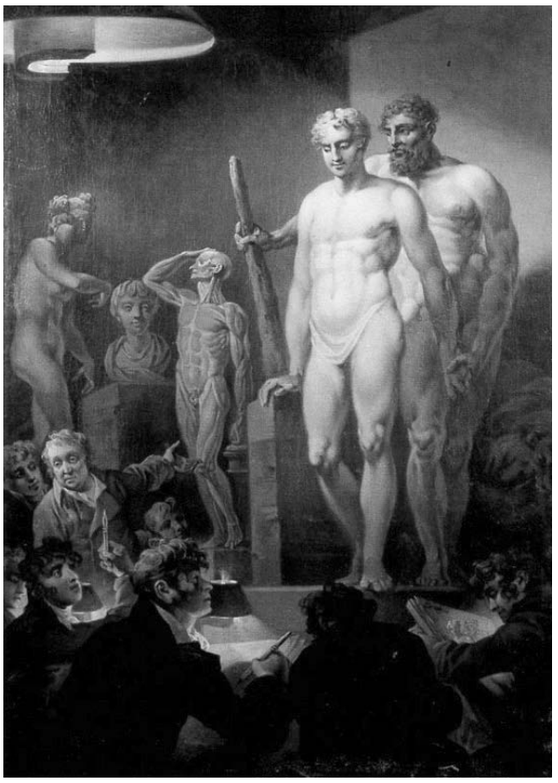


Figure 8. Christian August Lorentzen, *Model School at the Academy*, 1825, oil on canvas, 34 1/4 x 24 inches. The Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle, Hillerød.

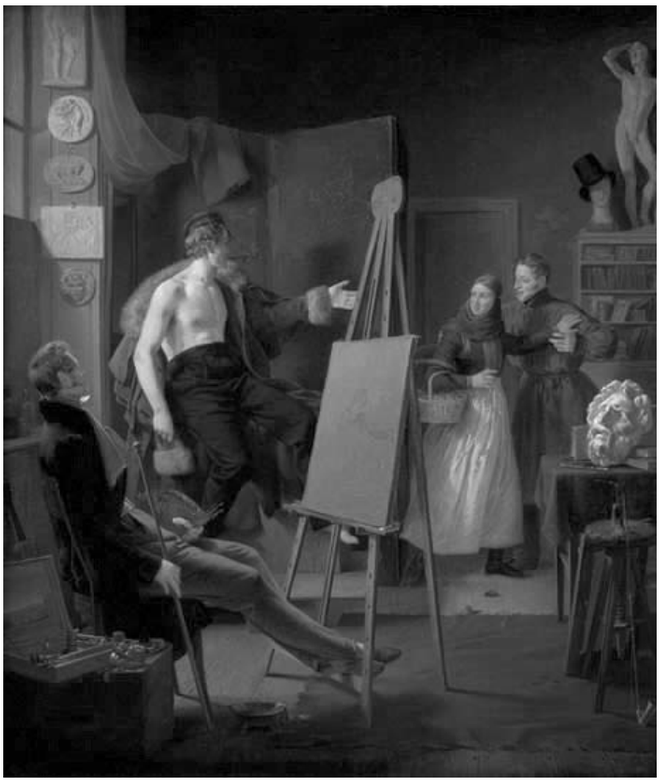


Figure 9. Albert Küchler, *A Girl from Amager Selling Fruit in a Painter's Studio*, 1828, oil on canvas, 28 x 23 7/8 inches. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.

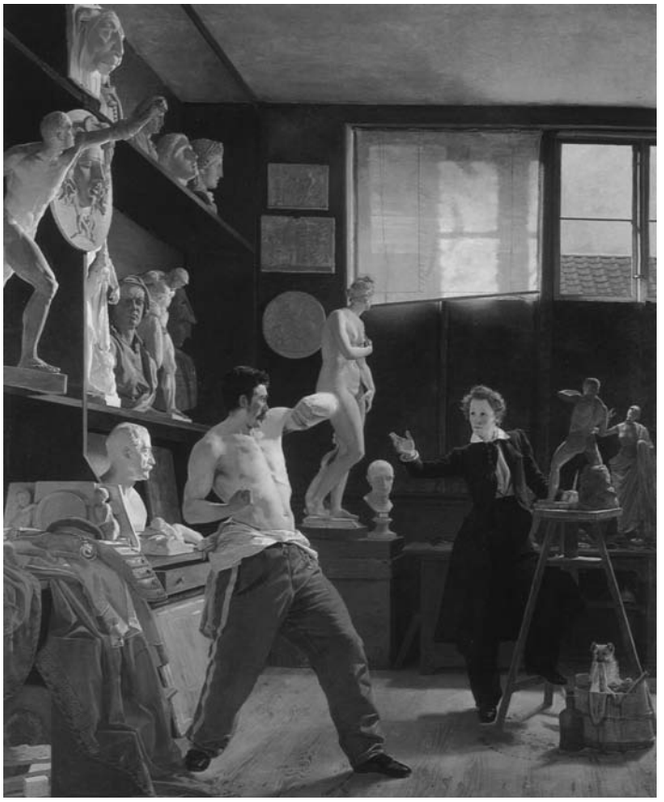


Figure 10. Wilhelm Bendz, *The Sculptor Christen Christensen Working from Life in His Studio*, 1827, oil on canvas, 74 3/4 x 62 inches. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.

In Paint, Stone, and Memory: The Tomb of Titian and the Habsburg Dynasty

Juan Eugenio De La Rosa

In Carrara marble of the finest quality, and across the nave from his own *Ca' Pesaro Madonna*, the seated figure of Titian — old, bearded and dressed in simple, elegant robes — commands a liminal space unifying stone and paint, past and present (Figure 1). Stoic and ripe with age, the painter's directed gaze to the painting bridges the gap between his Renaissance self and its memory, and his new identity as Habsburg ambassador in nineteenth-century post-Republic Venice. His legacy, painting — now memorialized in stone — embodies a new intermediality, echoed by and reinforcing the flux of history in nineteenth-century Italy. Erected in honor of the famed Venetian during the mid-nineteenth century under Habsburg patronage, the tomb of Titian is an important statement of Austrian claim to Venetian identity and space. The artists charged with its completion — Luigi, Pietro and Andrea Zandomeneghi — produced an important re-articulation of imperial politics through their inclusion of important reproductions of select religious works by Titian. More importantly, the monument they produced was in essence an effort to reconfigure not only the reality of history in Venice, but also its possibilities as art and its power to transcend medium and a spatial-temporal context.

After a long and prosperous career as the first true international artist of the Italian Renaissance, Titian died in 1576.[1] His body was buried underneath the Altar of the Crucifix at the Church of the Frari, in Venice; the Altar remained largely unchanged for more than 200 years. Shortly after the fall of the Venetian Republic to Napoleon in 1797, the Habsburg Dynasty came to power and controlled the Serenissima until 1866.[2] Emperor Ferdinand I of Austria first visited Venice in 1838, and decided to commission a large-scale mausoleum in honor of Titian at his original burial site (Figure 2).[3] No other Venetian artist from the Early Modern period was awarded such honor by the ruler of the newly founded Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, and Ferdinand's choice is, in fact, not surprising at all. The Habsburgs' relationship to the geographical region that is Venice was mediated in part by Titian and his work for the kings of Spain, Charles V and his son Philip II (among other members of the Habsburg House), during the sixteenth century.[4] He spent the second half of his career as the court painter for the Spanish royalty while living in Venice, producing paintings for the Habsburgs with Venice as the creative birthplace of Austrian authority and visual self-representation. Titian was, in essence, a courtier at large with a considerable degree of autonomy and opportunity for experimentation. Such experimentation would inevitably come to infuse the articulation of his own funerary monument in nineteenth-century Venice.

The man chosen for the task of creating a monument worthy of Titian was Luigi Zandomeneghi, a student of Antonio Canova, and director of the Accademia at the time of the commission in 1843.[5] His sons — Pietro and Andrea — helped complete the project after he died. The monument was dedicated in 1852, shortly after a brief revolt which brought power back to the Venetian people between 1848 and 1849.[6] The result was a towering triumphal arch upon an elaborate pedestal surrounded by an iron balustrade. At the center is the figure of Titian, deified and classicized, bearing little resemblance to the man actually buried at the site. To his left stands a Diana of Ephesus, also identified as

1 Carlo Ridolfi, *The Life of Titian*, trans. Julia C. Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 138.

2 Between 1797 and 1815, Venice was interchangeably under the control of Napoleonic France and Habsburg Austria until the city finally became part of the Austrian Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia in 1815. R.J. Rath, *The Provisional Austrian Regime in Lombardy-Venetia, 1814-1815* (Austin, 1969), 1-3; David Laven, "The Collapse of the Venetian Republic and the Experience of Foreign Domination," in *Venice and Venetia under the Habsburgs, 1815-1835* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 29-30. See also Amable de Fournoux, *Napoleon et Venise, 1796-1814* (Paris: Fallois, 2002); Alvise Zorzi, *Napoleone e Venezia* (Milan: Mondadori, 2010); Paolo Preto, *Il Veneto Austriaco, 1814-1866* (Padua: Signum/Fondazione Cassamarca, *c*. 2000).

3 Margaret Plant, *Venice, Fragile City: 1797-1997* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 105.

4 The classic text on the relationships between Titian, Venice and the Spanish Habsburg court during the sixteenth century is Fernando Checa, *Tiziano y la Monarquia Hispanica: Usos y funciones de la pintura veneciana en España (siglos XVI y XVII)* (Madrid: Nerea, 1994).

5 Francesco Beltrame, "Contratto," in *Cenni illustrativi sul monument a Tiziano Vecellio: aggiuntevi la vita dello stesso e notizia intorno al fu professore di scoltora Luigi Zandomeneghi* (Venice: P. Naratovich, 1852), 121-122.

6 Venetian statesmen Daniele Manin was the leading figure against the Habsburg regime in Venice during the "Risorgimento," and especially the defeat of the Austrians in 1848-49. The classic text on the subject is Paul Ginsborg, *Daniele Manin and the Venetian Revolution of 1848-1849* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

Universal Nature, revealed by the artist as he pulls at the cloth which envelops the figure.[7] To his left is the Genius of Knowledge, half nude, winged, youthful, and holding a book; at the figure's feet, an owl. To their left and right, these figures are flanked by personifications of Architecture, Painting, Graphic Art, and Sculpture (Figure 3).[8] At the base of the monument, two winged figures hold a laurel wreath encircling the inscription "Titian for Ferdinand I, 1852."[9]

At the base of the altar on each side and flanking the pedestal are two men holding tablets. On the left is an old man holding a tablet with an inscription memorializing Titian's knighthood in 1533 (Figure 4). On the right is a youthful man. His tablet commemorates the commission of Zandomeneghi's monument to Titian in 1839 (Figure 5). Both figures personify the passing of time, framing the temporal context of the monument literally at the beginning and conclusion of the sculptural narrative articulated by Luigi, Pietro, and Andrea Zandomeneghi.

Five religious paintings by Titian of Venetian fame were chosen by the tomb's artist and patron to be reproduced in low relief as part of the sculptural program for the mausoleum. Three of them form the background to the sculpted figures of Titian and the previously noted personifications. Commanding the central axis of the monument behind Titian, and extending towards the top of the triumphal arch is the *Assumption of the Virgin* — the Frari's own main altarpiece (Figure 6), and one of Titian's most famous Venetian paintings in the nineteenth century.[10] On the left is the *Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr*, whose original is now destroyed but a copy exists at its original site in S. Giovanni e Paolo (Figure 7).[11] On the right is the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, whose original is now at the Church of the Jesuits (Figure 8). Towards the top, on the architectural façade of the triumphal arch are two other important carvings of religious paintings by Titian. The first, on the left, is the *Pietà* (Figure 9), and the second, on the right, is the *Visitation* (Figure 10). These five paintings by Titian are especially important in the reconfiguration of history, memory, time, and space with respect to Venetian identity as articulated by the artists Luigi and Pietro Zandomeneghi. They work in tandem with the rest of the monument to produce important cultural messages of political weight, as well as embody transference of paint to stone across a milieu of tangible space, memory, and historical time.

Between the artistic context of the Frari and the stone paintings of the Zandomeneghis stands the body of Titian and his personification in marble at the site of his alleged burial. Two most important paintings for the artist's career were commissioned for the space: *The Assumption of the Virgin*, and the *Ca' Pesaro Madonna*.[12] At the time of the mausoleum's commission, the *Assumption* had been moved to the Accademia as one of the main attractions to be seen by visitors to the city and was given its own special space there as one of the most important paintings in the building.[13] The *Ca' Pesaro Madonna* remained in situ. Thus, the inclusion of the *Assumption* in the tomb of Titian expresses not only a desire to memorialize the talent and success of the famed Titian in stone, but more so, it embodies a will to replace the altarpiece with its image — its design — on stone. The fact of Titian's original burial site beneath the Altar of the Crucifix provided the artists and patron of the monument with the necessary context to recreate an altar space not only for the *Assumption* and the artist's other devotional paintings, but for Titian himself, and established a newly conceptualized devotion to the image of the artist buttressed by religious/devotional imagery as supporting "documentation" justifying his presence as a figure among saints, doges, and divine beings in the religious and artistic context of the Frari church.

The conversation between paint and stone, however, did not begin with Ferdinand's commission of Titian's tomb in the mid-nineteenth century. During his tenure as court painter for the Habsburg Kings of Spain in the sixteenth century, Titian completed two important devotional panels for Charles V and Philip II. *Ecce Homo* (1547) was the first, and was taken to Charles V at Augsburg in 1548.[14] The medium of the painting is oil on slate. It was transported to the king's retirement at Yuste and paired with a *Madonna* on wood by Miguel Coxie. After the death of Charles V, his son Philip paired the same Christ on stone painting with Titian's *Mater Dolorosa*, on marble, and made them into a diptych, as the artist had originally intended for both panels.[15] They were

7 Zygmunt Wazbinski, "Tiziano Vecellio e la 'Tragedia della Sepoltura,'" in *Tiziano e Venezia* (Vicenzia: N. Pozza, 1980), 260-265.

8 Plant, *Venice, Fragile City*, 105; Philipp P. Fehl, "At Titian's Tomb," in *Decorum and Wit: The Poetry of Venetian Painting: Essays in the History of the Classical Tradition* (Vienna: IRSA, 1992), 314-315.

9 Translations of Latin inscriptions on Titian's monument are the author's. See also Fehl, "At Titian's Tomb," 315.

10 Mary Potter Knight, *The Art of the Venice Academy, Containing a Brief History of the Building and Its Collection of Paintings, as well as Descriptions and Criticisms of Many of the Principal Pictures and Their Artists* (Boston: L.C. Page, 1906), 160-163. See also Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 80-81.

11 *The Martyrdom of St. Peter* by Titian (c. 1526-30) was accidentally destroyed in a fire in 1867 and was replaced by a copy produced by Carlo Loth (1691). Patricia Meilman, *Titian and the Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 201-202. See also G. Ewald, *Johann Carl Loth 1632-1698* (Amsterdam, 1965), 42.

12 Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian: I. The Religious Paintings* (London: Phaidon, 1969), 74-76, 101-103.

13 *The Assumption of the Virgin* was the namesake of the Salla dell'Assunta at the Accademia, where it was held as the most important painting of the room, and where it remained until the early twentieth century (c. 1918). See Knight, *Art of the Venice Academy*, 161-168.

14 Filippo Pedrocco, *Tiziano* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2000), 205; Wethey, *Paintings of Titian*, 86-87.

15 Wethey, *Paintings of Titian*, 115-116; Checa, *Tiziano y la Monarquia Hispanica*, 249-250.

moved to Philip's personal prayer room at the Alcazar Palace.

It was important for King Philip II that the *Dolorosa* be painted on stone as well, though the reasons for this are not articulated in extant correspondence between the King and Titian. However, Philip must have desired to commission a religious program of devotion as a diptych that would unify its ideological message and devotional purpose through material cohesiveness and uniformity. This idea of the image painted on stone carried over through the Habsburg line into the nineteenth century and the commission by Ferdinand I of Austria, where a conscious choice was made by him and the Zandomeneghis to re-present Titian's devotional paintings on stone. Once removed from the originals, however, the reproductions achieved an incomplete memorial of the artist's work. By necessity, the shift from paint to stone removed what many considered Titian's trademark as a leading figure in the Italian Renaissance tradition of painting: color, and his application of paint.

What Ferdinand and the Zandomeneghis chose to privilege was the image — the concept, reducing the agency of the artist and removing his signature hand from the works in stone. In this way, the authorship of the artist's talent, or rather, its authority became unquestionably Austrian. Moreover, the paintings reproduced on relief shifted the focus of the monument away from the vicissitudes of painting and centered more on the devotional content of the image program. The intended devotional response to the monument, however, was surreptitiously crafted to accommodate the wants of the Habsburg Empire in important ways. Though the monument indeed celebrates the genius of Titian and his seminal works in a Venetian context, it embodies a devotional site to Austrian presence and power in one of the most important religious sites at the Serenissima through one of its most important artistic ambassadors in the early modern period. Moreover, the reduction of *colorito* to stone is a statement not only on Titian's authority and style, but also on an entire tradition of Venetian painting which came to define the artistic pulse of the Republic during the Renaissance, and to set it apart from the Florentine tradition of other Italian masters like Michelangelo.

Zandomeneghi's towering monument to Titian is crowned by a large sculpture in the round of St. Mark's lion, bearing a shield with the emblem of the Habsburg Empire. Directly below him is the figure of Titian, briefly interrupted by the architectural frame of the triumphal arch and reproduction of the *Assumption*. Around his neck, the famed Venetian wears a chain with a medal bearing the same Habsburg coat of arms. The emblem is that of the Habsburg Empire, and not the Austrian Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, further distancing Titian from his Venetian roots and reinforcing his international character.

Tensions within the monument are clear between the Venetians' own memory of Titian during the nineteenth century and the one sought and created by Habsburg patronage. Carlo Ridolfi's biography of the artist in the seventeenth century produced a peculiar literary image of Titian's death and funeral; the author described the event in detail that was characterized as an opulent homage to the painter. A monument conceptually similar to Zandomeneghi's was articulated by the Venetian writer, including the sculptural personifications of the visual arts. Already in Ridolfi's description of the design for Titian's funerary monument is a willingness to memorialize the artist using a variety of media in communication with each other, including painting, fabric, and sculpture within the context of a church. Ridolfi describes part of the monument in the following manner:

> At the center of this tribute will stand the bier trimmed with black cloth and decorated with gold as they wish, on which will rest the statue of Titian dressed as a knight with his gilded sword at his side and spurs on his feet. It will be possible to ascend to this statue by four stairways enclosed by balustrades that in like manner encircle it, which terminate in pedestals that will support eight figures in stucco.[16]

The social circumstances caused by the plague in Venice did not allow Ridolfi's description of Titian's funeral to become a reality. However, his *Life of Titian* must have certainly informed much cultural activity in memory of Titian after the Renaissance and during the nineteenth century, and remains an important element of influence with respect to the construction of Zandomeneghi's monument to the artist.

The nineteenth century was passionate about the artistic output of Golden Age Venice. Besides Titian, other Renaissance artists celebrated by post-Republic Venetians included figures like Tintoretto, yet Titian remained at the forefront.[17] Emperor Ferdinand I was interested in Venetian themes and was quick to exploit them upon his ascension to the throne of Lombardy-Venetia. He commissioned Michelangelo Grigoletti to complete a version of Titian's *Assunta* for the cathedral of Esztergom, the seat of the Catholic Church in Hungary, and dedicated to the Virgin of the Assumption (Figure 11). In 1833, Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Hesse painted the *Death of Titian*: at the height of the plague the funeral procession passes by the Palazzo Ducale, and the body of Titian is depicted carried upon a hooded catafalque above the corpses of plague victims. In 1861, following the inauguration of Titian's tomb in the Frari, a Piedmontese artist, Antonio Zona, painted a young Veronese showing Titian a folio of drawings on the Ponte degli Paglia. Foreign writers also took Titian as their subject. Alfred de Musset wrote a short work about Titian's son, *Le Fils du Titien*, published in *Revue de Deux Mondes* in 1838, shortly before the monument's commission and around the time of Ferdinand's first visit to Venice. *Der Tod des Tizians*, or "The Death of Titian," was published in 1892 by Hugo von Hofmannsthal. It was in this climate of reverence to Titian that the artist's tomb was

[16] Ridolfi, *Life of Titian*, 139.

[17] Plant, *Venice, Fragile City*, 104-105.

made by Luigi Zandomeneghi and his sons.

Ferdinand of Austria's commission of Grigoletti's copy of Titian's *Assunta* for the Eztergom basilica speaks to a Habsburg commitment to visual self-representation — politically and religiously — through Titian's designs. Reduced to the image, without its painterly qualities, it is Titian's reproducible genius that is appropriated by the Habsburg House as a strategy of imperial claim to cultural and spatial ownership of Venetian creativity. The Austrians infiltrated a milieu of rhetoric surrounding the memory of Titian and transformed it as a means to appear reverent to the artist and the cultural consciousness of nineteenth-century Venetians. Furthermore, the commission of Titian's tomb solidified, quite literally, the Austrian's vision of Venetian identity and history as a fluid phenomenon mediated and defined by the authorship and authority of the Republic's most well-known artist, once removed. Such mutability is made evident through the negotiation established between Titian's experimentation with paint and stone as a marker of his relationship to the Habsburg kings of Spain, and the Austrian's continued interest in shifting the divide between painting and sculpture, past and present, and finally, here and there.

Southern Methodist University

Figure 1. Detail of Luigi and Pietro Zandomeneghi, Monument to Titian, 1852, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, Italy. Author's photo.

[*facing page*] Figure 2. Luigi and Pietro Zandomeneghi, Monument to Titian, 1852, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, Italy.


TITIANO
FERDINANDVS
MDCCCXII

Figure 3. Detail of Luigi and Pietro Zandomeneghi, Monument to Titian, 1852, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, Italy. Author's photo.

Figure 4. Detail of Luigi and Pietro Zandomeneghi, Monument to Titian, 1852, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, Italy. Author's photo.

Figure 5. Detail of Luigi and Pietro Zandomeneghi, Monument to Titian, 1852, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, Italy. Author's photo.

Figure 6. Detail of Luigi and Pietro Zandomeneghi, Monument to Titian, 1852, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, Italy. Author's photo.

Figure 7. Detail of Luigi and Pietro Zandomeneghi, Monument to Titian, 1852, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, Italy. Author's photo.

Figure 8. Detail of Luigi and Pietro Zandomeneghi, Monument to Titian, 1852, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, Italy. Author's photo.

Figure 9. Detail of Luigi and Pietro Zandomeneghi, Monument to Titian, 1852, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, Italy. Author's photo.

Figure 10. Detail of Luigi and Pietro Zandomeneghi, Monument to Titian, 1852, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, Italy. Author's photo.

Figure 11. Michelangelo Grigoletti, *Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (after Titian), *c*. early-to-mid 19th century, Esztergom Basilica, Hungary. Author's photo.

Lady Killers and Lust-Murderers: The *Lustmord* Paintings of Weimar Germany

Stephanie Bender

In May of 1919, George Grosz exhibited his painting *Der Kleine Frauenmörder,* which translates to "The Little Lady Killer" (Figure 1). The painting offers us a representation of a crime in progress: a bald, bearded man is shown in profile and mid-step, with a bloody knife in his right hand. His body is torqued and his right arm is crossed over his torso as though he has just slashed his victim. The knife is shown in a suggestively phallic position, and the man's genitals are revealed in the contours of his pants. The perspective of the room appears tilted, with the wine bottle and potted plant pitched as though disturbed by the violent energy within the room. The female figure seems caught in mid-air, and the stability of the room is upended in a whirl of angles and shadows. She is nude but for a blue sash and stockings, and her face is bruised and her throat cut. Her body has been partly disassembled; her arms are missing and her legs are hidden from view behind her attacker. In Grosz's pseudo-cubist urban setting, her skewed reflection is suggested in a mirror or reflective window, which abuts against another window that shows either the silhouette of an onlooker or the reflection of the killer, along with a red crescent moon. Another male silhouette lurks in the shadows to the left of the canvas, and two green orbs, suggesting streetlights, hover in the upper right corner of the picture plane, marking this crime as one set in the city.

The same year as Grosz's exhibition, Otto Dix painted *Der Lustmörder (Selbstporträt)*. This painting (Figure 2), which is now lost or destroyed, is also of a male figure in a bedroom attacking a female victim. In Dix's painting, the room is stabilized, though a chandelier swings pendulously, and the victim's bleeding body parts are strewn across the space. Dix's title translates as "The Lust-Murderer: Self-Portrait," and it has been noted that the furniture was copied from that within the artist's Dresden apartment.[1] The grinning, clean-shaven Dix-as-Lustmörder wears a dapper, tweed suit. Just as Grosz's villain, he, too, is splattered with blood, caught in the midst of his butchering. To the killer's left, our right, a marble-topped desk supports an atomizer bearing Dix's signature as well as a severed leg, and a vanity mirror reflects a bed, suggested as sharing the viewer's space. Dix has taken care to graphically articulate both the genitals and reproductive organs disemboweled from the woman. As if to emphasize his complicity in this horrific crime, Dix's red handprints literally mark the canvas, pressed specifically onto the woman's body parts.

During the years following World War I, and until the consolidation of the Nazi party in 1933, paintings and drawings of butchered, semi-nude women proliferated in the art galleries and publications of the Weimar Republic.[2] This phenomenon coincided with the sensationalized serial killings of women and children by men who were known as — among other names — *Lustmörders*. *Lustmord*, a term derived from criminology and psychology, was the label assigned to this sensational genre.[3] The Weimar *Lustmördes* clearly bother modern scholars, who are faced with the challenge that Weimar critics failed to comment on how these paintings represented the disfiguring of women. The misogyny of these works, uncommented upon in their own time, has become the central focus of much modern *Lustmord* scholarship, which ultimately defines this treatment

This paper is a further exploration of ideas presented in my 2010 master's thesis, and would not have been possible without the guidance and support of Dr. Adam Jolles. I would also like to thank the staff of *Athanor* and the Department of the History of Art at Florida State University for the opportunity to present my research, with a final thanks to my husband and family for their unending love and support.

1 Beth Irwin Lewis, "*Lustmord*: Inside the Windows of the Metropolis," in *Women in the Metropolis: Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture*, ed. Katharina von Ankum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 220.

2 *Lustmord* enjoyed a curious ubiquity in German culture. The term was initially proposed by philosopher Richard von Krafft-Ebing as a condition describing one afflicted with degenerate sexuality. Within just a few decades, it encompassed an entire artistic and literary genre. The application of the term in Germany during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries varied, depending on the decade and the nature of the crime. Criminologists and psychologists often understood *Lustmord* differently, and once *Lustmord* entered the cultural sphere, other new and varied meanings accrued among artists, writers, and the general public.

3 Richard von Krafft-Ebing popularized the term *Lustmord* in the late 1880s, and in 1905, criminologist Erich Wulffen published *Der Sexualverbrecher* (The Sex Criminal), which included a chapter on *Lustmord*. Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis with Especial Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct*, trans. Charles Gilbert Chaddock (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis, 1894); Erich Wulffen, *Der Sexualverbrecher: Ein Handbuch für Juristen,Verwaltungsbeamte und Ärzte* (Berlin: Groß-Lichterfelde, 1910). The earliest application of the term to a work of art seems to have been by Grosz, with his 1913 drawing *Lustmord*, published in *George Grosz, 1893-1959: A Selection of Fifty Early Drawings*, exhibition catalogue (New York: Peter Deitsch Fine Arts, 1968).

of the female form as implicit attacks on the so-called New Woman, a name given to middle- and upper-class women pushing against the traditional roles and restrictions imposed upon them by society.[4]

This discussion seeks to bridge the gap in criticism by arguing that Weimar *Lustmord* paintings, such as those by Grosz and Dix, differ from other media in which *Lustmord* proliferated: cinema, literature, and reportage. After discussing psychological and criminological interpretations, this paper will focus on a comparison between literary and painted representations of *Lustmord*. The differences lie in the presence and role of the *Lustmörder,* and the way in which women are depicted as victims. This discussion posits that the charge of misogyny is too limiting as an explanation of these Weimar paintings. The question is why these paintings differ from *Lustmord* of other media, and how further contextualization of these works may offer a more complete understanding of these paintings.

Lust-murder is a foreign and ambiguous word for non-Germans. It began as a criminological term describing a certain category of crime and type of criminal.[5] The prototypical *Lustmörder* developed in the form of the serial murderer of prostitutes who populated the Whitechapel district of London in 1888. Jack the Ripper, to quote Colin Wilson, "inaugurated the age of the sex crime."[6] Sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing, writing in 1894, discussed *Lustmord* not as a crime, but as a perversion derived from sadistic urges. Krafft-Ebing describes *Lustmord* as "lust potentiated as cruelty," and his study emphasizes what is done to the corpses of victims after having been killed, primarily identifying cannibalism as a motive for *Lustmord*.[7] He also offers another explanation for the butchery of *Lustmord* victims, in which "the sadistic crime alone becomes the equivalent of coitus."[8] This explanation, rather than a cannibalistic drive, became a key aspect of later *Lustmord* studies and art.

Criminologist Erich Wulffen also wrote on *Lustmord* in the ensuing decade, and his book *Der Sexualverbrecher*, or *the Sex Criminal*, which is laden with gruesome crime scene photographs, seems to have been well known among Weimar Germans.[9] Wulffen's analysis of *Lustmord* is linked to German law, and his focus is on the actual crimes. He emphasizes that *Lustmord* is an act in which the violent attack and killing of a victim replaces, or facilitates, sexual climax for the assailant.[10]

Otto Dix and Rudolph Schlichter both used photographs from Wulffen's text as guidelines for their own *Lustmord* subjects. Both artists vary their derivation to a degree, keeping the basic positioning of the victim's body, but altering aspects of interior details and the position of the viewer to the crime. Dix chose one of the most horrific images in Wulffen's text as his model, and takes liberties in his representation (Figure 3).[11] He has given his victim boots and stockings, and placed a gag in her mouth. The most pronounced alteration of the scene is a pair of copulating dogs in the foreground, suggestively positioned below the woman's gaping and bloody womb. This etching was one of eight in a series titled "Death and Resurrection," all of which include a gruesome death scene and a suggestion of rebirth.

The images that Dix and Schlichter chose to copy are revealing: of the approximately fourteen crime scenes pictured in Wulffen's study of *Lustmord*, only four are of adult women murdered in an interior, and both Dix and Schlichter used one of these four as their model. The other crimes recorded by Wulffen are of murders committed in what appear to be rural exterior settings, surrounded by grass, hay, or woods, and five of the fourteen crime scenes were of children. That Dix and Schlichter chose *Lustmördes* of women killed in interior settings aligns with the manner in which nearly every Weimar *Lustmord* painting was depicted: an adult female, often signified as a prostitute, as the victim set within an urban interior.

The city as setting for this crime is important to *Lustmord* of other media, but is nuanced in very different ways that are significant to the figures of the victim and the killer. The fantastic and mystery novels by Weimar authors Robert Musil, Hanns Heinz Ewers, Karl Hans Strobl, and Hugo Bettauer

4 Brigit S. Barton has analyzed the *Lustmord* compositions of Grosz, Dix, and their contemporaries as critical responses to the corrupt German bourgeoisie, while Dennis Crockett explains the works as resulting from the brutalizing effect of war on the veteran-artists. Brigit S. Barton, *Otto Dix and Die Neue Sachlichkeit 1918-1925* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981); Dennis Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism: The Art of the Great Disorder 1918-1924* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999). Beth Irwin Lewis has linked *Lustmord* representations to misogynistic responses to the "New Woman" and the "Woman Question," and Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius has published studies on Grosz and Dix's *Lustmördes* that reveal multiple layers of political and gendered discourse within the works. Beth Irwin Lewis, *George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971); Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, *Im Blickfeld: George Grosz, John, Der Frauenmörder* (Hamburg: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1993). Maria Tatar has produced the most recent and extensive study on the subject in English in which she concludes that the works amount to "murder committed in the mind of the artist," Maria Tatar, *Lustmord: Sexual Murder in Weimar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 15.

5 Krafft-Ebing and Wulffen use the term to categorize those acts of murder in which women and children are killed through a particular combination of desire (*Wollust*) and cruelty (*Grausamkeit*).

6 Stephen Kern, A *Cultural History of Causality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 151.

7 Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis,* 62-8.

8 Ibid.

9 Wulffen, *Der Sexualverbrecher,* 454-92.

10 Ibid., 454.

11 The crime scene photograph of the *Lustmord* of a Viennese prostitute is figure 9 from Erich Wulffen, *Der Sexualverbrecher*, 455.

that feature *Lustmord* are varied in their setting.[12] The action is depicted in a variety of settings from cities and bourgeois interiors to Gothic castles and Pompeian ruins, though, the former was often established as a "rational" space contradicted by the mysterious latter.[13] In other words, the city is suggested as the rational, male sphere and the archeological ruins and rural areas as the mysterious, female sphere.

Rationality is an important aspect of literary representations of *Lustmord*, and the suggestion of the metropolis as a rational sphere is linked to the role of the male protagonist.[14] The male figure is depicted as intellectual and cultured, and even though he commits *Lustmord*, it is because his rational foundation has been somehow destroyed.[15] The manifestation of this violence, this monstrosity that overtakes the rational male, is rooted in the feminine and consequently lashes out at women.[16]

When the *Lustmörder* is not depicted as the rational male in these novels, he is depicted as possessed by monstrous transformation into a vampire or werewolf. This reference to the *Lustmörder* as a supernatural half-human is paralleled in news reportage of serial *Lustmörders*, like Peter Kürten, who was dubbed the *Vampir von Düsseldorf*, and Fritz Haarmann of Hannover, similarly titled a vampire and a werewolf. Jay Layne calls this tendency in literature and reportage the "monster metaphor," which gives a clear distinction between the human and monstrous.[17] The use of this metaphor separates the killer from humanity to mark him as *other*.[18]

Artistic representations of *Lustmord* differ from these literary works in both their emphasis of setting and their treatment of the *Lustmörder* and victim. The literary sequestering of the rational to the urban environment in *Lustmord* settings is contradicted by artistic representations of the crime. For painted *Lustmörde*s, the city was imperative as setting, and suggested as a dangerous space that threatened the bodies of women.

In 1917 George Grosz wrote a poem titled "Berlin, 1917," part of which reads:

> Gloomily the overcoat flaps at the pimp's bones,
> Back bent, brass knuckles fixed,
> Descending with a sharp Solingen knife
> Deep into tenements
> Into fur shops and silk houses
> Or coal cellars
> Afterwards one sometimes finds a bloody
> Piece of taffeta or a wool stocking
> Or the bill with a handprint.[19]

Grosz's poem alludes to a *Lustmord*. The assailant is a hunch-backed pimp, armed with brass knuckles and a kitchen knife. Grosz provocatively describes the deathblows, "Descending … deep into tenements/Into fur shops, and silk houses/Or coal cellars."[20] The tenement apartments and fur shops initially suggest a metropolitan setting, but the phrase "silk houses" clues the reader that these buildings are symbols for the victim's body.[21] The female body has become the city, its unique architecture, and man's violation of his own civilized status. The "coal cellars" subtly implies the womb of the woman so often eviscerated during the crime.

It has been noted that the apartment, streetlights and shadowy voyeurs of Grosz's *Der Kleine Frauenmörder* imply a metropolitan setting. Heinrich Maria Davringhausen's 1917 *Lustmord* also displays the dangers of city living (Figure 4). In an obvious quotation of Manet's *Olympia*, a nude woman reclines on a bed in an apartment bedroom. The potential *Lustmörder* peers out from underneath the bed to look at a pistol on the table, foreshadowing the violence to come. A large window that occupies nearly one-fourth of the canvas reveals through its distorted frames the shadow-filled and ominous metropolis outside. Overhead, a jagged lightning bolt between storm clouds emphasizes the danger.

Otto Dix's gruesome *Lustmord* painting of 1922 also emphasizes its city setting (Figure 5). The furniture is the same Biedermeier furniture of his 1920 self-portrait copied from Dix's Dresden apartment.[22] Here, a woman's unnaturally large and eviscerated corpse is sprawled across a bed and onto the floor, and a chair is toppled over before her. The violence done to her genitals is repeated in the mirror on the wall, and blood stains nearly everything in the bottom-right quadrant of the painting. This appalling crime scene, with the upended corpse and chair, and the disheveled, bloody sheets, is juxtaposed with the bourgeois furniture, and es-

[12] Robert Musil, *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften: Erstes Buch Kapitel 1-80,* ed. Adolf Frisé, Gesammelte Werke 1 (1930; repr., Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1978); Hanns Heinz Ewers, *Vampir: Ein verwilderter Roman in Fetzen und Farben* (1920; repr., Berlin: Sieben Stäbe Verlags-und Druckerei-Gesellschaft, 1928); Karl Hans Strobl, "Das Aderlaßmännchen," in *Lemuria: Seltsame Geschichten,* Galerie der Phantasten 4 (1909; repr., München: Georg Müller, 1917); Karl Hans Strobl, "Die arge Nonn,'" in *Lemuria: Seltsame Geschichten,* Galerie der Phantasten 4 (1911; repr., München: Georg Müller, 1917); Hugo Bettauer, *Der Frauenmörder* (1922; repr., Vienna: R. Löwit, 1926). Jay Michael Layne discusses these novels and their representations of *Lustmord* versus news reportage of the crime in his dissertation "Uncanny Collapse: Sexual Violence and Unsettled Rhetoric in German-Language Lustmord Representations, 1900-1933" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2008).

[13] Layne, "Uncanny Collapse," 60-67.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., 118.

[18] Ibid., 119.

[19] George Grosz, *Gedichte und Gesänge, 1916-17* (Litomysl: Josef Portman Verlag, 1932), quoted in Lewis, *George Grosz,* 204.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Lewis, "*Lustmord*," 220.

pecially with the empty street visible through the window. The empty, eerily still city beyond is on a direct diagonal axis with the *Lustmord*, forming a pyramid with the body and the mirror that reflects its wound, suggesting the metropolis as a necessary component of the crime. Unlike the Weimar novels that often depict the city as a rational, male-gendered space, the city within these paintings is a predatory entity paralleled with — and an affront to — the female form.

The painted *Lustmord*s also emphasize their killers very differently from their literary contemporaries. The *Lustmörders* of Dix, Grosz, and Davringhausen are not supernatural, and seem to blend the rational bourgeois gentleman with a sadistic and irrational killer. Dix and Grosz both depict their *Lustmörders* in suits and ties within middle class dwellings. Both assailants are caught in the midst of their crime, teeth gritted and brows furrowed as they slash and sling their victim's body. There is no suggestion of a forced suspension of rationality, perhaps implying that the potential for murder lies in every man.

Davringhausen's 1919 *The Dreamer* articulates this suggestion (Figure 6). As in the two paintings just discussed, Davringhausen's central figure is a *Lustmörder*. The Dreamer is well dressed, sitting in his apartment, and depicted as imagining a romantic moonlit excursion. Beside him lays a bloody razor, and behind him, a beheaded woman lies extended on his bed. The painting is subtly divided in half, with the right side of the canvas depicting the happy vision and a day-lit window, and the left containing the murder weapon, the corpse, a darkened window angled up towards a night sky with crescent moon, and a curiously-positioned vacant and blood-red cityscape directly above the victim's body. While the male figure is aligned with the beach paradise, the headless female is paralleled with the sinister city street, reinforcing the connection of the metropolis to the female body. The Dreamer is centered in the picture plane, sharing both halves of the canvas, and thus straddling the fence between rationality and bloodthirsty irrationality. The manner in which these paintings deny the positioning of *Lustmörder* as monstrous other can be understood, and — this paper suggests — was understood during the Weimar Republic, as a satirical commentary on mankind as a whole, manifested in a disillusioned society that had witnessed its own brutality during the First World War.[23]

The woman as victim in the Weimar *Lustmord* paintings also figured differently from that of the literary representations. Newspaper reportage of these crimes often began with a crime scene in which the victim reads as secondary to the descriptions of the horrified spectators, and the atrocity of the crime itself. These articles devolved into a hysterical fascination with the killer and determining his identification.[24] Weimar literary representations seem to often follow a similar formula, in which the killer is of primary interest and drives the plot, while the female victims act as props to the hideous acts of these monster-men.[25] The climax of the murder is often missing from these works, and many begin with the discovery of the corpse, as is formulaic for the detective novel.[26]

Artistic representations of *Lustmord* treat the female victim differently. When the victim and killer are shown together, the action of the painting often depicts the climax of the murder. More importantly, the female form is of central importance to nearly every painted *Lustmord*. This is significant to the artistic tradition of the female nude, whether the reclining nude, in the tradition of Titian, Ingres and Manet, or the fragmented nudes of ancient Greece and Rome. Dix, Grosz, and Davringhausen all studied in Academies, at least briefly, and understanding these paintings as continuations and transformations of the academic female nude is a relationship seldom pointed out by scholars, but one certainly worth mentioning.[27] In post-World War I Germany, which was populated with war cripples and daunted by social and economic unrest, these broken and disturbing figures were perhaps understood as forms appropriate to their times.

It is assuredly this centrality and violent treatment of the female form that has led scholars to determine these paintings as attacks on the so-called New Woman.[28] Indeed, that a painting of a murdered and butchered woman went without apparent comment during the Weimar Republic, even when read as satirical, seems to reflect the patriarchal nature that governed Western society. Otto Dix has been especially subject to charges of misogyny. Maria Tatar has regarded Dix's focus on mutilated female genitalia as a visual and virtual attack on women, relating this attention to a kind of womb-envy.[29] This line of argument neglects Dix's apparent celebration of the fecundity of all women, including his wife, a theme he painted often. Such an understanding is also supported by Dix's depiction of life's extremes — life *and* death, as thematic polarities inseparable from each another

[23] Other scholars have recognized Grosz's *Lustmord* canvases as satirical and reflecting the trauma of the First World War. See Lewis, *George Grosz*; and Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*.

[24] A few examples are "Kommt Licht in das Dunkel? Spuren des Düsseldorfer Mörders? Zusammenhang zwischen der Ermordung der Breslauer Kinder Fehse und den Jetzigen Untaten?" *8-Uhr Abendblatt*, 12 November 1929; H. R. Berndorff, "Der Ort des Grauens: An der Haniel-Mauer," *Vossische Zeitung*, 19 November 1929, "Lustmord an einem achtjährigen Mädchen," *Kölnische Zeitung*, 9 February 1929; Abend-Ausgabe, cited in Layne, "Uncanny Collapse," 28-32. Layne does provide examples in which this is not the case, citing examples where reporters are especially affected by their encounter with the corpse.

[25] Layne, "Uncanny Collapse," 130-158.

[26] Roger Callois, *The Mystery Novel* (Bronxville, NY: Laughing Buddha Press, 1984), 3.

[27] Hoffman-Curtius, *Im Blickfeld*, 38-40.

[28] Lewis discusses *Lustmord* and the "woman question," or the burgeoning woman's movement related to the figure of the New Woman in Europe, "*Lustmord*," 202-32.

[29] Tatar, *Lustmord*, 80.

— which govern Dix's oeuvre, and are notably pronounced in his *Lustmords*, such as his 1922 "Death and Resurrection" series. Although there is much in Dix's *Lustmörde*s to justify a highly misogynist reading, this reading can also be suspended if analyzed in a new context. Dix's appropriation of *Lustmord* as subject matter is curious, indeed, but not proof of his hatred of women. In fact, it could be argued that his wife, Martha, was the embodiment of the New Woman. Though a self-portrait of a murderer, *Der Lustmörder* is not autobiographical.

In conclusion, the ubiquitous Weimar *Lustmord* paintings are problematic works that challenge a modern reception. Especially challenging is the lack of comment by Weimar critics on this display of the ruined and ravaged female body. Yet, these paintings are rich with contextual references: in explicating but a few ways in which these paintings differ from other *Lustmord* manifestations, and in challenging the limitations of a purely feminist reading of these works, it is possible to examine the misogyny of such paintings as not an ending point, but a beginning. To reduce these complicated and multivalent paintings to the status of chauvinistic attacks is to view them from an overwhelmingly anachronistic perspective that belies their original context; such a position is a failure to explore the implications of these problematic representations.

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Figure 1. George Grosz, *Der Kleine Frauenmörder*, 1918, oil on canvas, 66 x 66 cm. Private collection. Art © Estate of George Grosz / Licensed by VAGA, New York, New York.

Figure 3. Otto Dix, *Lustmord*, 1922, etching, 27.5 x 34.6 cm, Albstadt, Städtische Galerie Albstadt © 2010 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

Figure 2. Otto Dix, *Der Lustmörder (Selbstporträt)*, 1920, oil on canvas, 170 x 120 cm, lost © 2010 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

Figure 4. Heinrich Maria Davringhausen, *Der Lustmörder,* 1917, oil on canvas, 119.5 x 148.5 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, München © Renata Davringhausen c/o Leopold-Hoesch-Museum & Papiermuseum Düren.

Figure 5. Otto Dix, *Lustmord*, 1922, oil on canvas, 165 x 135 cm, lost © 2010 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

Figure 6. Heinrich Maria Davringhausen, *The Dreamer*, 1919, oil on canvas, 120 x 119 cm. Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt © Renata Davringhausen c/o Leopold-Hoesch-Museum & Papiermuseum Düren.

El Árbol de la Fraternidad: Afro-Cuban Symbolism, Political Performance, and Urban Space in the Early Cuban Republic

Joe Hartman

The *Parque de la Fraternidad Americana* (Park of the American Brotherhood) in Havana, Cuba, is a multivocal urban landscape conditioned by multiple audiences in dialogue, whether black, white, local, or international (Figure 1). If we consider the urban space as writing, a social text whose meaning becomes clearer when one reflects on its manifold readers, the ceiba tree planted in the center of the *Parque*, entitled *El Árbol de la Fraternidad* (Brotherhood Tree), emerges as a complex visual theme in the urban environment of the early Cuban Republic (Figure 2).[1] The tree communicated multiple interwoven messages when it was integrated into Havana's urban space during the later 1920s, such as Pan-American fraternity, national identity, and Afro-Cuban cosmology.

The ceiba tree was planted in the center of the *Parque de la Fraternidad Americana* by President Gerardo Machado y Morales on February 24, 1928 (Figure 3).[2] It was placed in the center of a circular stone platform elevated by three steps. Surrounded by a bronze circular grill, or *verja,* designed by the architect Cesar E. Guerra, it was reminiscent of a Neo-Classical palisade fence with a plinth made of marble from the *Isla de los Piños*. The fence was cast by the American company Darden-Beller Bronziers.[3] The emblems of all twenty-one American nations present at the Sixth Annual Pan-American conference held a month earlier in Havana on January 16, 1928, adorned the top of the fence.[4] A quote from José Martí was also etched around the upper edge of the fence's circumference, which eloquently called for unity among the American nations (Figure 4).[5]

Together these visual elements communicated an international message of Pan-American fraternity, which was symbolized through the ceiba tree planted in the park's center. The ceiba tree in *El Parque* was also distinguished locally by the fact that the first Mass and the founding of Havana allegedly occurred underneath a similar ceiba tree in *La Plaza de Armas* (Figures 5-6).[6] A Neo-Classical monument entitled *El Templete* (The Little Temple) was built in

The author would like to thank his advisers Paul Barrett Niell and Mickey Abel for all their hard work and sage advice throughout the construction of this text and the Art Education and Art History department at the University of North Texas, the College of Visual Arts, and the Toulouse Graduate School for generous financial and academic support. Many thanks also go to the faculty, audience, and presenters at the 28th Art History Graduate Symposium at Florida State University for their invaluable feedback and advice.

1 The notion of the city as writing comes from Roland Barthes, "Semiology and the Urban," in *Reading Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Niel Leach (New York: Routledge, 1997), 166-172. In this essay, Barthes reminds us of Victor Hugo's old intuition: the city is writing. I use this literary metaphor to consider the city as a social text, focusing on the multiple readers that condition the meaning of the space/text. While Barthes writes this essay as a post-structuralist, his theories are informed from his early structuralist period. I would therefore nuance this semi-structuralist framework with Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of *dialogism*. In his study of the novel, Bakhtin notes that the world is defined by multiple voices in dialogue, a phenomenon he refers to as *heteroglossia*. The notion of multiple voices in dialogue, conditioning the meaning of the novel according to differences in place and time, can be extended to the Cuban city, which is also heterogeneous by nature. See Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994); terms are discussed in glossary format pages 423-434.

2 This is noted in Jean-François Lejeune, "The City as Landscape: Jean Claude Nicholas Forestier and the Great Urban Works of Havana, 1925-1930," trans. John Beusterein and Narisco G. Menocal, *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 22 (1996): 151; and Jorge Oller Oller, "Grandes Momentos del Fotoreportaje Cubano: La Inauguración de La Plaza de la Fraternidad Americana," *Cubaperiodistas.cu.*, accessed 26 Feburary 2009, http://www.cubaperiodistas.cu/fotorreportaje/26.html. It is also covered in local newspapers, such as *Diarìo de la Marina* and *El Heraldo de Cuba*, where it is featured on the front page of the February 25th editions in 1928.

3 The provenance of the marble, the name of the architect, and the name of the American company is taken from Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, *Colleción Facticia #18: Bustos* (Havana: Biblioteca del Museo de la Ciudad de Havana, n.d.), 245. The Darden Bronzier's emblem is also etched into the side of the fence gate.

4 The phrase *Por la Paz* (For the Peace) also appears above a plaque placed on the fence gate featuring the names of the officials present at the conference.

5 The quote reads as follows: *Es la hora del recuento y de la marcha unida y hemos de andar en cuadro como la plata en los raíces de los Andes. Los pueblos no se unen sino con lazos de amistad, fraternidad, y amor.* (It is time to recount and walk united; we have to walk bound together like silver in the roots of the Andes. [For] the people will not unite unless there are bonds of friendship, brotherhood, and love.) Author's translation.

6 The alleged origin of Havana is common knowledge. A description of the ceiba tree and the monument erected in its honor can be found in several sources, such as Paul Barrett Niell, "The Emergence of the Ceiba Tree as a Symbol in the Cuban Cultural Landscape," *Cultural Landscapes* 1, no. 3 (2009): 89-109. In the records of the Biblioteca del Museo de la Ciudad de Havana (City Museum Library of Havana) one can also consult *El Templete: Documentos y Antecedentes Historicos, Existente en el Archivo de Este Ayuntamiento* (Havana: Obsequio del *Municipo*, 1913); and Miguel Mariano Gomez, *El Primer Centenario del Templete* (Havana, 1928). In addition to other ceiba trees in Havana, the tree

Figure 5. *Columbus Memorial Chapel- El Templete, Habana, Cuban Card Co. No. 28*, Building constructed 1828, postcard *c.* 1930, Havana, Cuba. Courtesy of the University of Miami Libraries Cuban Heritage Collection.

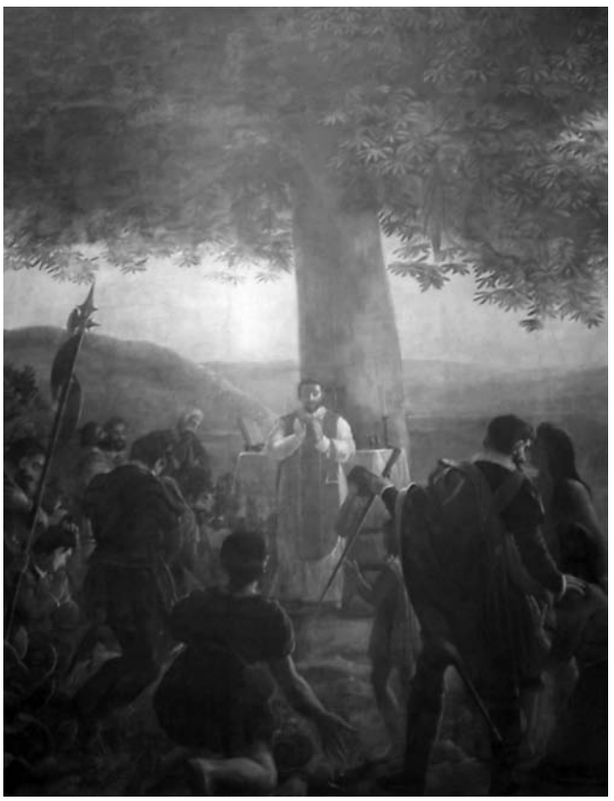
Figure 6. *Columbus Memorial, Havana, Cuba*, building constructed 1828, photo *c.* 1900-1930, Havana, Cuba. Courtesy of the University of Miami Libraries Cuban Heritage Collection.

[*facing page, top left*] Figure 7. View of north-south transversal axis in line with *Capitolio* in the *Parque de la Fraternidad Americana*, 2010, stone pathway, Havana, Cuba. Author's photograph.

[*facing page, top right*] Figure 8. View of east-west transversal axis in line with *La Fuente de la India* in the *Parque de la Fraternidad Americana*, November 2010, stone pathway, Havana, Cuba. Author's photograph.

[*facing page, bottom left*] Figure 9. Jean-Baptiste Vermay, *Primera Misa* (*First Mass*), *c.* 1827, oil on canvas. Photograph courtesy of Paul Barrett Niell.

[*facing page, bottom right*] Figure 10. Jean-Baptiste Vermay, *Primer Cabildo* (*First Cabildo*), *c.* 1827, oil on canvas. Photograph courtesy of Paul Barrett Niell.



1828 to honor this tree, nearly one hundred years before the tree in the park was planted. Like the colonial tree and Neo-Classical monument in *La Plaza de Armas,* the ceiba tree in *El Parque* was distinguished by its spatial association with two local monuments in the new republican city. The tree was planted on a transversal north-south axis with the city's Neo-Classical *Capitolio* (Capitol building, Figure 7).[7] The metallic, at that time unfinished, dome of *El Capitolio* was reminiscent of the United State's Capitol building in Washington, D.C. It towered over the *Parque* and marked the central hub of power in the emerging modern metropolis of Havana. On the transversal east-west axis, the tree was also planted in line with *La Fuente de la India* (The Fountain of the Indian, Figure 8). The Neo-Classical fountain was considered symbolic of the Cuban nation and was created in 1831 with white marble by the Italian sculptor Giuseppe Gaggini.[8] The current orientation of the *fuente*, facing north toward the *Capitolio,* was enacted the same year the *Parque* was built in 1928.[9]

The general form of the *Parque* conceived as a square configuration followed the shape of the old colonial *Campo de Marté* (Field of Mars) on which it was built.[10] Its Neo-Classical design was evident in the stone pathways that rectilinearly divided the green space according to the four cardinal directions. The directionality of the pathways encouraged Havana's pedestrians to move toward the central axis of the *Parque*, which, in combination with the circular platform, the bronze palisade fence, and the ceiba tree, facilitated the circumambulation of the central space. The marrying of architecture and urban space with natural forms, such as the ceiba tree, reflected stylistic influences from the French Beaux-arts and the American City Beautiful and Park movements popular at the time.[11]

As well as matching modern styles in the later 1920s, the planting of the ceiba tree in *El Parque* and President Machado's inauguration ceremony communicated multiple messages to local and international audiences. To an international audience, the inauguration ceremony symbolized fraternity between the twenty-one American leaders present at the conference, including the United States President Calvin Coolidge.[12] Locally, the inauguration of the *Parque* was an essential part of a campaign to redefine Cuba as a nation, to build national and civic solidarity among its diverse citizens. As such, the *Parque* was one of several new sites inaugurated within forty days of the conference. Other sites included the esplanade of the *Avenida de las Misiones*, the extension of the *Malecón*, the *Plaza del Maine*, and the great staircase of the University.[13]

The massive building campaign was headed by an emerging and imminent French architect, Jean Claude Forestier, who worked with a team of local and French engineers and designers. Forestier was commissioned in 1926 by President Machado and Cuba's secretary of works Doctor Carlos Miguel de Cespedes.[14] The works commissioned by Machado and Cespedes were an initial step toward transforming Havana from a colonial city into a republican metropolis. The ceiba tree and *El Parque* were thus part of a larger national agenda that affected urban space and visual representations in the Cuban Republic.[15]

The use of the ceiba tree in the *Parque*, informed by

in *El Parque* may have been associated with a ceiba tree located in Santiago de Cuba, where U.S. and Spanish officials signed a peace-treaty in 1898 that eventually resulted in Cuba's political sovereignty. The ceiba tree in Santiago de Cuba was also surrounded by a similar bronze *verja*. For more on this tree see Alberto Boix, "Asi es Cuba," in *Cosas de mi Tierra* (1950), accessed 3 October 2010, http://www.guije.com/cosas/cuba/paz.htm.

7 See Capitolio (HAVANA), *Libro Del Capitolio [With Illustrations]* (1933). This text is an exhaustive illustrated survey of this building and its construction. The book discusses pride in its construction based on the fact that not only did the *Capitolio* resemble the classically inspired Capitol building in Washington, D.C., but it was actually slightly taller.

8 For more on *la fuente* see Martín Zequeira, María Elena, and Eduardo Luis Rodríguez Fernández, *La Habana: Guía de Arquitectura = Havana, Cuba: An Architectural Guide* (Havana: Ciudad de Havana, 1998), 139; and Joaquín E. Weiss, *La Arquitectura Colonial Cubana* (Havana: Letras Cubanas, 1979), 341, 362-363. It should also be noted that in the decades following the inauguration of the *Parque* several busts of important American leaders, such as Abraham Lincoln and Simon Bolívar, were added to the design. For more on these later additions see Roig, *Colleción Facticia*, 245.

9 This fact regarding the fountain's orientation is noted on a plaque in front of the structure in Havana; it is also noted in Fernando Davalos, *Mi Habana Querida* (Si-Mar: South America, 1949), 103.

10 Several authors discuss this colonial space. A review can be found in Weiss, *La Arquitectura Colonial Cubana,* 205-208. The space is mentioned in relation to the *Parque,* which was known as *La Plaza de la Fraternidad* when it was constructed. See Yamira Rodríguez Marcano, *La Plaza de la Fraternidad Americana* (Havana: Casa Editora, 2006), taken from http://www.somosjovenes.cu/index/semana20/vincammart.htm (accessed 10 December 2010). Marcano also points out that the formation of the *Parque* is circumscribed by the four roads that surround it: *Monte*, *Dragones*, *Prado,* and *Amistad*.

11 These movements are discussed in Rachel Carley, *Cuba: 400 Years of Architectural Heritage* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1997), 128-182.

12 Calvin Coolidge's participation is discussed in several sources including Lejeune, "City as Landscape," 151; and Marcano, *La Plaza*. U.S.-Latin American relations were a huge topic at the conference. The Sixth Annual Pan-American conference was held, in part, to settle some ambiguous political theory — the unanimous respect of every nation's independence and the financial support given to the military occupation of Nicaragua by the U.S. For more on the conference see Orestes Ferrara, *El Panamericanismo y la Opinión Europea* (Paris: Editorial "Le Livre libre," 1930). It is interesting to note that, given the tenuous U.S. relations, one might consider the ceiba tree as a Pan-Latin American symbol, since it does not grow in the cold northern regions of the United States.

13 Lejeune, "City as Landscape," 151.

14 Ibid.

15 For more on the theory of national representation and the formation of early national traditions see Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terrance Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 5.

colonial patterns, became symbolic of the Cuban nation in Machado's tree planting ceremony at the 1928 inauguration of the *Parque*. This national symbol was also conditioned by populations of African descent in Cuba who perceived it as sacred, a fact that has hitherto been given little attention by art historians. This essay proposes to reveal a link between Afro-Cuban symbolism and President Gerardo Machado's use of the ceiba tree in *El Parque,* planted according to Forestier's design, which shows that the tree was a multivocal sign intended to build national and civic solidarity for multiple audiences in Havana's urban landscape. This study, therefore, focuses primarily on the multiple religions that affected the visual culture of the Cuban city — especially those associated with its vast Afro-Cuban population.

The religious practices of what Homi K. Bhaba might term Havana's "margins and minorities" were certainly well known during the twentieth century.[16] Through a long process of cultural transformation, which involved both slavery and Catholic hegemony, Afro-Cuban religion shifted from African practices, mainly in West and Central Africa, to a uniquely Cuban belief structure.[17] Recent anthropological and ethnographic studies of the three Afro-Cuban religions, Santería, Palo Monte, and Abakuá, reveal that the religions use a "hybrid" symbolic repertoire often characterized as "syncretic," or reflecting multiple cultural influences, especially European Catholicism and African cosmology. The observation of "hybridity" and "syncretism" should be tempered by the fact that the Afro-Cuban religions are not simple systems of belief. These religions have evolved and transformed through time and context following a process Cuban ethnographer Fernando Ortiz described as "transculturation."[18] Two cultures do not combine and remain distinct over time. One cannot simply separate the "African" elements from the "European" elements in the Afro-Cuban religions. Rather, meaning in the Afro-Cuban belief structure is based on coexisting transcultural influences that may sometimes conflict, resulting in the loss of culture, but often comingle, resulting in new cultural forms of representation. The ceiba tree can be seen as a new cultural representation in Cuba. This notion is reinforced by the fact that ceiba trees are

As Eric Hobsbawm astutely notes, traditions are most often invented when rapid transformation in society "weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed." Hobsbawm also points out that old traditions were often used for new purposes to invent tradition in the early national context. The ceiba tree, connected to colonial, Afro-Cuban, and Pre-Colombian identity, served as a symbol of old traditions, which were thus used for new purposes, as a symbol of the Cuban nation. On that note, it is important to point out that the tree in *El Parque* designated a new center of power outside the old city walls (the *extramuros*), separate from the tree in *La Plaza de Armas* which marked the old military power center inside the city walls (the *intramuros*).

For more on national representations in Cuba see also Louis Pérez, Jr., *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality, and Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 9. Pérez, Jr., discusses U.S. influence on Cuban representations, such as *El Capitolio*. These representations affected Cuban culture because, as he points out, "culture exists as a system of representation, signifying practices and institutions from which nationality is derived and acted out."

16 Homi K. Bhaba, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 302-308. Bhaba discusses the "margins and minorities" as the borders of the nation that circumscribe its formation.

17 The transcultural context in which the Afro-Cuban religions emerged, especially those of the Congo and Yoruban West-Africa, was closely tied to the history of slavery and the sugar boom between 1790 and 1870. African culture was introduced to Cuba through the slave trade. Traditions and religions from particular regions of Africa, despite the oppressive and brutal reality of the slave system, were somewhat preserved throughout the colonial period, though they were altered significantly. Many scholars have rooted the emergence of Afro-Cuban religions to the colonial organization of Diaspora communities into *cabildos de nación*. *Cabildo*s were government-sanctioned aid organizations, which were divided according to the distinct African cultures that existed in Cuba's slave population. The *cabildos* were structured hierarchically, in a similar manner to a European monarchy. Each *cabildo* elected a king and queens. In 1898, after the Spanish-American War, the *cabildo* system ended, but Afro-Cuban groups still organized themselves into *casas* (houses) or *casa-templos* (house-temples) during the republican era (1902-1959). The "house temples," while perhaps still controversial among Cuba's whites, were places of worship for practitioners of Afro-Cuban religions in the early twentieth century. It is in this context that we can situate the emergence of what we identify as Afro-Cuban religions today. George Brandon, *Santería from Africa to the New World: The Dead Sell Memories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 52. The notion of Yoruban and Congo influence due to the slave trade is discussed by numerous authors. These Yoruban and Congo derived practices vary greatly in Cuba and accounts may differ. For more information on these various practices consult Christina Ayorinde, "Santería in Cuba: Tradition and Transformation," in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, ed. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 209-231; Miguel Barnet, *Afro-Cuban Religions,* trans. Christine Renata Ayorinde (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2001); Judith Bettleheim, ed., *Cuban Festivals: A Century of Afro-Cuban Culture* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2001), 1-39; Giulio Blanc and Gerardo Mosquera, "Cuba," in *Latin American Art in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Edward J. Sullivan (London: Phaidon, 1996); Brandon, *Santería*, 1-8, 9-36, 37-78; David H. Brown, *Santería Enthroned: Art, Ritual, and Innovation in an Afro-Cuban Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Mary Ann Clark, *Santería: Correcting the Myths and Uncovering the Realities of a Growing Religion* (London: Praeger, 2007), 31-44, 95-115; Mercedes Cros Sandoval, *Worldview, the Orishas, and Santería: Africa to Cuba and Beyond* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 83-92; Arturo Lindsay, ed., *Santería Aesthetics in Contemporary Latin American Art in the Twentieth Century* (London: Phaidon, 1996), 120-135; Juan Manzano, *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba Recently Liberated,* trans. R.R. Madden (London: Thomas Ward, 1840); Michael Mason, *Living Santería: Ritual and Experiences in an Afro-Cuban Religion* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002); Eurgenio Matibag, *Afro-Cuban Religious Experience: Cultural Reflections in Narrative* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996); Gerardo Mosquera, "Africa in the Art of Latin America," *Art Journal* 51, no. 4 (Winter 1992), 30-38; Fernando Ortiz, "The Afro Cuban Festival 'Day of the Kings,'" trans. Jean Stubbs, in Bettelheim, *Cuban Festivals*.

18 Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco & Sugar* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1947), 97-103. Ortiz' theory of "transculturation" developed largely in oppostion to Melville Herskovits' theory of "acculturation." Herskovits believed two cultures exposed to each other over time will combine, but, in the same sense, remain distinct. See Melville Jean Herskovits, *Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1941).

venerated in all three Afro-Cuban religions and respected by a wide range of citizens on the island.[19]

The reverence for *la ceiba* in Cuba is evident from ethnographer Lydia Cabrera's extensive field work with Afro-Cuban religious groups beginning in the 1930s. In her 1954 text *El Monte, s*he begins her chapter on the ceiba tree by pointing out the possible existence of a *culto a la ceiba* (a Ceiba Cult),[20] which is not solely African. She notes that if you ask a *guajiro* (a white, rural Cuban farm worker) about *la ceiba* he will say that it is blessed, that it is the most sacred and largest tree of the world, and that it is the Virgin Mary's tree. It does not abate, hurricanes will not fell it, and lightning will not burn it.[21]

Cabrera further observes that with equal fervor, both in past and present, Catholic and African saints have gone to and lived in the ceiba tree. Her Afro-Cuban "informants," mostly practitioners of Palo Monte and Santería — *paleros/as* and *santeros/as* — describe a vast array of *orishas* (Afro-Cuban divinities) that are associated with the tree. Iroko, a sacred African tree and an *orisa* (equivalent to an *orisha* in Yorubaland), is most often linked with *la ceiba*. Both trees have a have similar form, namely a buttressed trunk, which is likely the reason why African descendents in Cuba have elevated the ceiba to a sacred status. Also, Changó, the most prevalent *orisha* or deity in the Afro-Cuban pantheon associated with the Catholic Santa Bárbara, is often connected with the ceiba tree in folktales.[22]

The list of Afro-Cuban divinities living in the ceiba tree goes well beyond Iroko or Changó. Indeed, the lore and mythology of the ceiba can appear inexhaustible. For purposes of this study, it is important to note the sanctity associated with planting the ceiba, which will inform our understanding of Machado's ceremony following the Sixth Annual Pan-American Conference and the tree's use as a central design element in the park conditioned by Afro-Cuban cosmology. In Palo Monte rituals, for example, planting a ceiba tree is not just germinating a seed. Rather, the act of planting a ceiba is like a sacrament.[23] The ceremony for this sacrament entails four individuals bringing earth from four distinct territories that correspond to the cardinal directions, a fact that, while perhaps coincidental, appears visually evident in the quadrilateral design of the *Parque*. They then baptize the soil with prayers, blood, eggs, and other religious materials. For Palo Monte the best day to plant these trees is November 16, the day of Aggayú, the father of Changó.[24] Interestingly, the day for planting the tree also corresponds to the same date that Cubans ritually circumambulate a famous ceiba tree in *La Plaza de Armas* three times counterclockwise at the spot where the city was putatively founded on the same day in 1519.

The ceiba tree in *La Plaza de Armas* is a prime example of the tree's multivocal signification in Havana's urban history. A Doric Neo-Classical structure entitled *El Templete* was erected under Spanish Bourbon rule in 1828 to commemorate the ceiba tree in *La Plaza de Armas*.[25] Inside the cella of *El Templete* there are three paintings created 1826-1828 by French

[19] For more on the Afro-Cuban religious veneration of the tree see anthropologist Migene Gonzáles-Wippler, *Santería: The Religion* (New York: Harmony Books, 1982), 135. Wippler notes *santeros/as* (followers of Santería) have identified six main uses for *la ceiba*: the trunk is often used to cast spells, particularly those with malevolent intent; the bark is used for tea and medicinal purposes; the shade attracts spirits and gives strength to spells; roots are used for offerings and blood sacrifice; the earth around the tree is used in "black" magic rituals; and the leaves of the tree are often used for medicinal and ceremonial purposes — including love spells.

See also ibid., 242. Wippler states that the ceiba is likewise an important site for sacrifice and magic in Palo Monte/Mayombe, a religion that is believed to have originated via Congo slaves of the Bantu language family in West Africa. To become a *palero*/a — a practitioner of Palo Monte — initiates must sleep under the ceiba tree for seven days. Palo Monte has two main tenets: the veneration of ancestors and belief in the powers of nature. Both of these tenets pertain to *la ceiba*, which is also considered a home to spirits and a great source of power in nature. Palo Monte priests thus manipulate the ceiba as an *axis mundi* to manifest power (*aché*) in the phenomenal world.

Finally, the tree is important in Abakuá, a fraternity that likely originated from similar fraternal organizations in Nigeria. From Lydia Cabrera, *El Monte: Igbo, Finda, Ewe Orisha, Vititi Nfinda: Notas Sobre las Religiones, la Magia, las Supersticiones y el Folklore de los Negros Criollos y el Pueblo de Cuba* (Miami, FL: Ediciones Universal, 1975), 205, we know that *Ñañigos***,** practitioners of Abakuá**,** perform outwardly violent rituals around the ceiba tree, including the sacrifice of a goat, because they believe the tree is a representation *del Omnipotente* (of the omnipotent) or *de la Majestad Divina* (of the divine majesty.) While information on Abakuá may be limited in comparison to Santería and Palo Monte, it is important to note that the ceiba tree carries religious meanings and ritual uses for each of these traditions. One can truly call the ceiba a multivocal signifier producing multiple interpretations for all three Afro-Cuban religions.

[20] Cabrera, *El Monte*, 149.

[21] Ibid., 149-194.

[22] Ibid. Also see Rómulo Lachatañeré, *Afro-Cuban Myths*, trans. Christine Ayorinde (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers), 2005.

[23] Cabrera, *El Monte*, 179. The text literally reads: *se sacramenta con la ceiba* (one performs the sacrament with a ceiba tree). It is interesting to note that, just as sowing the tree is sacred, felling it is damning; see ibid., 192-193. The fear of destroying a ceiba tree is so great that one of Cabrera's "informants" admits that they would prefer to live a life of misery and leave their children to starve than cut down a ceiba. Another "informant" relates a tale of a man who felt his own limbs being sliced as he cut into the tree. Others warn that ceiba trees *se vengan* and *no perdonan* — revenge and never pardon — those who cut them down; one who does fell a ceiba will witness his or her loved ones' deaths. The notion of the tree as a vengeful power is corroborated by travel accounts from nineteenth-century chroniclers such as James Macfayden. Macfayden observed of the ceiba tree in Jamaica that "even the untutored children of Africa are so struck with the majesty of [the ceiba tree's] appearance that they designate it the *God-tree*, and account it sacrilege to injure it with the axe; so that not infrequently, not even fear of punishment will induce them to cut it down." This quote can be found in James Macfadyen, *The Flora of Jamaica; A Description of the Plants of That Island, Arranged According to the Natural Orders* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1837), 92.

[24] This is noted in Cabrera, *El Monte*, 179.

[25] For information on *El Templete* and the surrounding area, including a stone-shell pillar commissioned in 1754 by Governor Cagigal de la Vega, see Niell, "Ceiba Tree as a Symbol," 89-109.

Neo-Classical painter Jean-Baptiste Vermay, first director of the Academy of San Alejandro in Havana and a student of Jacques-Louis David (Figures 9-10).[26] The images made to honor this locale depict the ceiba tree at the founding and first Mass of Havana. They show a dialogically informed civic history, with white slave owners, native converts, black slaves, freed-black-men, and representations of important Cuban officials such as Bishop Juan José Diaz de Espada, who commemorated the site in the nineteenth century.

Espada's effect on the ceiba tree's modern meaning is important to note. According to Fernando Ortiz, in 1942 when José Antonio Aguirre, then Basque president, saw the ceiba and *El Templete* he noted a striking similarity to the Tree of Guernica in Spain.[27] He implied that the ceiba tree and *El Templete* were "a signal and monument" for Cuban independence in Havana, just as the Tree of Guernica and the Neo-Classical *Sala de Juntas* (Meeting Room), built in its honor, were a national symbol of freedom for the Basque region. Espada, a Basque descendent who was influential in *El Templete*'s design, may have been playing a *jugarreta* (a dirty trick) with the captain generals of Cuba; he was using *la ceiba* as a signifier whose meaning was tied to the Tree of Guernica and independence. The multivocality of the symbol was nuanced by the fact that the Neo-Classical form of *El Templete* was also part and parcel of Bourbon colonial policies for reform, order, classicism and *buen gusto* (good taste) that continued well into the nineteenth century.[28]

In summary, the ceiba tree in Havana's urban spaces has historical and multivocal significance for Cubans. The architect of the *Parque*, Forestier, must have been aware of these multi-layered meanings when he conceived its design. It stands to reason that the multiple narratives attached to the tree likewise affected President Machado's inauguration ceremony, especially in terms of nationalism. Use of Afro-Cuban symbols, such as the ceiba tree, was evidently connected to a rising sense of national identity in the early Cuban Republic. In other American nations, like Mexico, the "Indian" served as a symbol of the ancient past that legitimized the nascent Republic.[29] Unlike other American nations, however, most of Cuba's Taíno Amerindians were killed from disease and forced labor after Spanish occupation.[30] In lieu of a living native culture, black modes of expression became the vehicle of protest against colonial narratives and foreign domination. Thus we see the global rise of the *afrocubano, negrismo*, and *negritúde* movements during the twentieth century, which affirm African heritage despite the prejudice of many whites on the island who would consider such practices to be backwards and shameful.[31] Through symbolism, politicians could avoid negative connotations associated with blatant "witchcraft," while still appealing to a population that was strongly affected by Afro-Cuban religion and well versed in its representations.

With this in mind, let us return to the case of President Gerardo Machado and the ceiba tree in *El Parque de la Fraternidad Americana*. Machado's political performance at the inauguration was uniquely conditioned by Afro-Cuban

[26] These paintings are discussed in depth by Paul Barrett Niell, "Bajo su Sombra: The Narration and Reception of Colonial Urban Space in Early Nineteenth-Century Havana, Cuba" (PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 2008); and Niell, "Ceiba Tree as a Symbol," 89-109. The paintings are entitled as follows: *El Primer Cabildo* (The First Town Council Meeting), oil on canvas, *c*. 1827; *La Primera Misa* (The First Mass), oil on canvas, *c*. 1827; and *La Fiesta de la Inauguración* (The Festival of the Inauguration), oil on canvas, 1828.

[27] Cecilia Arrozarena, *El Roble y la Ceiba: Historia de los Vascos en Cuba* (Tafalla: Txalaparta, 2003), 151. For more on the Tree of Guernica and other trees with religious and civic meaning in the Basque region of Spain see Julio Caro Baroja, *Ritos y Mitos Equívocos* (Madrid: Ediciones Istmo, 1974), 339-393.

[28] These factors of *buen gusto* and classicism under the Bourbon monarchy in the late-colonial period were discussed by Susan Dean-Smith, Ray Hernandéz-Duran, Kelly Donahue-Wallace, Paul Barrett Niell, Robert Bradbury, Charles Burroughs, Magali M. Carrera, and Stacie G. Widdifield, at the "The Politics of Taste in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Latin America," a University of North Texas symposium co-sponsored by the Meadows Museum of Art at Southern Methodist University, September 17, 2010. I attended and served as a clerical assistant for this event. Proceedings from the conference will soon be published in a volume with supplemental authors through the University of New Mexico Press.

[29] A good art historical account of this phenomenon can be found in Stacie G. Widdifield, *The Embodiment of the National in late Nineteenth-Century Mexican Painting* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 78-122.

[30] It should be noted that, while not as wide-spread as other American nations, the "Indian" did serve as a national symbol in Cuba as well. A Taíno Amerindian from Hispanola (modern-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic) named Hatuey is still celebrated on the island for leading an attempted coup of the colonial Cuban government in the sixteenth century. For this study it is important to note that, in addition to being a civic and Afro-Cuban symbol, the ceiba tree has strong indigenous connotations. The word *ceiba* originates from the native word for boat or canoe. These large trees were often used to create large canoes for Pre-Colombian inhabitants in the Americas. For more on this see Marshall Avery Howe, "Some Photographs of the Silk-Cotton Tree (Ceiba Pentandra), with Remarks on the Early Records of Its Occurrence in America," *Torreya* 6 (26 November 1906): 217-231. In the mainland of Latin America, especially in Yucatan and Guatemala, the tree is venerated among the Mayan people. For a good review of this literature see Katharine Anderson, *Nature, Culture, and Big Old Trees: Live Oaks and Ceibas in the Landscapes of Louisiana and Guatemala* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003); and Gregory Stephen Guest, "A Tree for All Reasons: The Maya and the 'Sacred' Ceiba" (master's thesis, University of Calgary, 1995).

[31] Matibag, *Afro-Cuban Religious Experience*, 86-119. In his criminological study *La Hampa Afro-Cubana: Los Negros Brujos,* Fernando Ortiz warned of the danger associated with Afro-Cuban influence in the political sphere during the early Cuban Republic. Ortiz noted the effect *del brujo* (of witchcraft) in rural populations and he further warned that this may be used for political ends. He acknowledged that *brujos* (witches) had already infiltrated political contests, using their sway to win votes. He furthered his claim with a quote from Nina Rodriguez regarding a local political leader in Brazil that "*ha constituido protector en jefe de los ougans y de los directores de las cofradías brujas*" (has found a protector in the chief of *ougans* [Candomblé priests — an Afro-Brazilian religion with similar Yoruban characteristics as Santería] and from the director of the witch's guild. [Author's Translation]). Ortiz used this case as a warning and thanked "Fortune" that he and his

audiences. First, it has been observed that Machado was always dressed in white. While this is a common style in the Caribbean and should not be overestimated, it is worth noting that initiates of *Santería* must also dress in white clothes for one year.[32] The reception of his costume is further significant according to early twentieth-century anthropological accounts of Romuló Lachatañeré. Lachatañeré's "informants" claimed that Cuban *santeros* had baptized Machado as a son of Changó.[33] As an alleged son of Changó, it is not surprising that symbols of that *orisha* appeared in the inauguration ceremony for *El Parque* and its landspace design. For example, the park's green space was recently lined with palm trees and ceiba trees, often associated with Changó. Also, on the day of the inauguration, in the center of the *Parque*, Machado ceremonially sowed the transplanted *Árbol de la Fraternidad,* allegedly as old as the Cuban Republic. The circle around that ceiba tree was filled with earth from the twenty-one American nations present at the Sixth Annual Pan-American conference.[34] This gesture was effective as a symbol of Pan-American fraternity and also held meaning for Havana's Afro-Cuban population. The earth for Afro-Cubans is full of mystical power and, as noted earlier, earth from different geographical regions is common in ceiba planting rituals. Following these facts, the elements involved in Machado's ceremony could have elicited a specific reading from a practitioner of Afro-Cuban religions and, in fact, did. Lachatañeré asked *santeros/as* what they thought of the ceremony. Among those he consulted, the general conclusion was that Changó had ordered the president to perform the magic ritual in order to gain protection from his enemies.[35]

One of Lydia Cabrera's "informants," a practitioner of Palo Monte, had a more sinister interpretation of the inauguration ceremony. She claimed that the prominent members of the Pan-American conference entered *macutos* beneath the ceiba tree. *Macutos* refer to the sacks in which *paleros/as* store their sacrifices and religious implements. These sacks are used in many ceremonies, including exorcism, but are also seen in "dark" magic rituals.[36] Cabrera's "informant," nearly twenty years after Machado's ceremony, still believed the ceiba tree planting held a certain dark power over Cuba. She warned: "there will be no tranquility or order in this country until they remove and dismantle the *nganga* [a cauldron central in Palo rituals] that General Machado entered [into the earth] some twenty years ago. This *Prenda* [another word for *nganga*] is so strong, and it is so wounded that it has everything wrapped up [troubled] even though it doesn't look like it, and it will cost a lot of blood."[37] Other "informants" assured that the *prenda* or *nganga* would revenge its owner for the ingratitude of the Cuban population.

According to Cabrera's "informants" the entire ceremony had an open air of magic and the urban design of *El Parque* displayed a wide range of Afro-Cuban religious significations. The arrows of the bronze palisade fence that surrounds the tree in the *Parque* are said to be those of the *orishas* Oggún, Eleggua, Ochosi, Allágguna, and Changó; they are also symbols of the *palo* (stick) of Palo Monte's god Nkuyo (the deity of woods and roads).[38] The twenty-one earths brought to plant the tree, the gold coins allegedly thrown into the hole in front of the tree, and the possible political influence of a famous *palero* named Sotomayor, who was a friend to some influential politicians of that era, are all, according to Cabrera, eloquent indications that "hay algo" (there is something to it);[39] there may be, as Cabrera's "informants" claimed, "una Mañunga muy fuerte" (a powerful spirit) that resides there today.[40]

This ceremony and its attendant symbolism inform the multivocal signification of the ceiba tree in Machado's political performance and the urban landscape design of *El Parque*.

fellow Cubans "have not yet reached a similar grade of political barbarity." Fernando Ortiz, *Los Negros Brujos: Apuntes para un Studio de Etnología Criminal* (Miami, FL: Ediciones Universal, 1973), 177-178.

32 This is discussed in Ivor L. Miller, "Religious Symbolism in Cuban Political Performance," *Drama Review* 44, no. 2 (2000): 34. Miller's article focuses on the manipulation of Afro-Cuban symbols in political performance by several Cuban leaders, including Fulgencio Batista, Fidel Castro, and, of course, Gerardo Machado. His article also noted that Afro-Cubans still go to the ceiba tree in *El Parque de la Fraternidad* for its religious efficacy. According to Miller (32) and the author's own observations in Havana, signs of *ebbó* (Afro-Cuban sacrifice/offerings) can still be found at the foot of the tree today. The power of the ceiba tree's legacy, Miller notes, is its longevity.

33 Romuló Lachatañeré, *El Sistema Religioso de los Afrocubanos* (Havana: Ciencias Sociales, 2004), 113-114.

34 Oller, "Grandes Momentos," and February 25th editions of Diariò de la Marina and El Heraldo de Cuba. The fact is also noted on a plaque on the backside of the fence which states that the soil was brought from important locales in each of those countries. Oller's article, for example, notes that the United States brought soil from Mt. Vernon, Ecuador brought soil from Pinchincha, and so forth. The use of soils from these important locales where battles of independence were fought may have been a Pan-American symbol of military victory and independence from colonial rule.

35 Lachatañeré, *Sistema Religioso*, 113-114.

36 Gonzáles-Wippler, *Santería*, 106, 246.

37 Cabrera, *El Monte*, 193-194. Author's translation. *No habrá tranquilidad ni orden en este país hasta que no se saque de allí y se desmonte la nganga que el General Machado enterró hace unos veinte años. Está tan fuerte esta Prenda, y tan herida que todo lo tiene revuelto aunque no lo parezca, y costará mucha sangre.*

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid. It is worth noting that the use of coins is also a central aspect of the annual ritual of circumambulating the tree in *La Plaza de Armas* in front of *El Templete.* The similarity between these two ceremonies seems to imply a transcultural connection between the two urban spaces. The author witnessed this ceremony while in Havana, November 16, 2010. Cubans circle the tree in *La Plaza* three times counterclockwise and throw coins down while petitioning silently. It is believed that divine powers associated with the tree will grant those wishes, whether the Roman Catholic god or the Afro-Cuban divinities.

40 Ibid.

While it would be difficult to prove that Machado intentionally used Afro-Cuban symbolism, it cannot be denied that the inauguration ceremony, the design of *El Parque de La Fraternidad Americana*, and the ceiba tree planted on its central axis reveal the polysemic nature of the Cuban city. The multiple significations attached to Machado's Pan-American ritual and the *Árbol de la Fraternidad* cannot be overlooked, especially if we consider Havana's urban space as a socially conditioned text whose meaning becomes clearer when reflecting on the various epistemological structures that affect the Cuban audience.[41] The production of meaning in Havana's urban spaces cannot be simplified into a binary relationship between black and white or local and international significations; rather these meanings are interwoven, comingling, and coexistent.

In addition to the Afro-Cuban understanding of the tree in the urban landscape, one should also consider the multiple layered meanings of *la ceiba* in the urban history of Havana. The architect, Forestier, was famous for fusing nature and architecture. He was also known for his use of local history and monuments in his urban designs. Forestier stated that his works, including those in Havana, were dominated by a certain doctrine: "Imagining and inventing, but, in great moments, always obeying solemn tradition."[42] Perhaps, Forestier saw the ceiba tree as part of a solemn tradition because of its use in front of *El Templete* during the colonial period. His integration of the tree in the urban landscape was thus informed by historical tradition, which elevated the tree to a civic representation of the Cuban nation in *El Parque*.

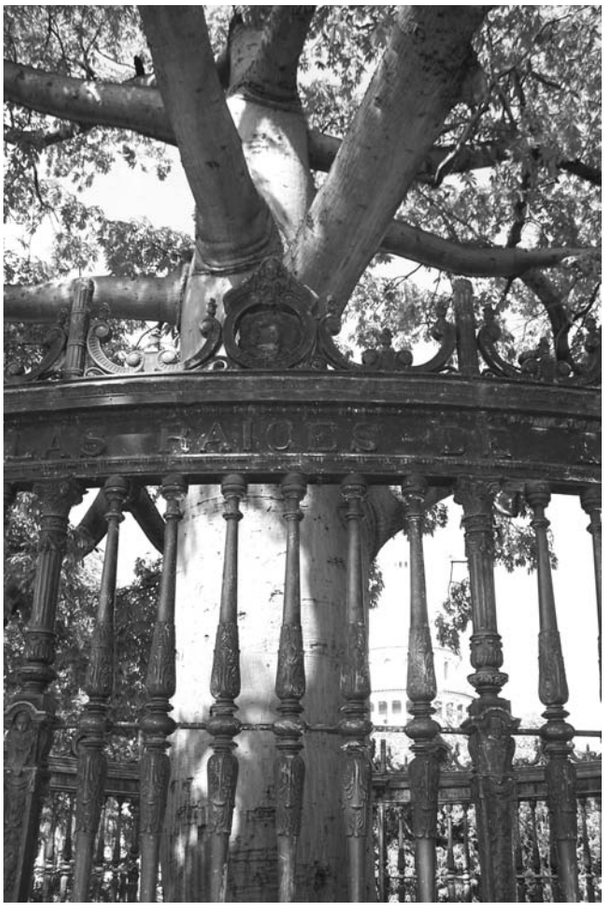
In conclusion, the central axis of *El Parque de la Fraternidad Americana*, marked by a majestic ceiba tree entitled *El Árbol de la Fraternidad*, communicated multiple meanings, including Pan-Americanism, nationalism, and Afro-Cuban identity. Embracing Roland Barthes' notion that the city is writing, one must consider the pedestrian as a reader who conditions the meaning of an urban environment such as *El Parque*. Following this logic, the tree's religious and civic symbolism may have been used to convey multiple local and international messages in Machado's political performance in order to create a story that could be read by various readers. If this is the case, Gerardo Machado would have been aware of the ceiba tree as a multivocal signifier and his use of it in the inauguration of the *Parque*, following Forestier's design, was not a coincidence after all, but rather part of a larger strategy to reify national and civic solidarity among diverse audiences in Cuba.

University of North Texas

[41] Barthes, "Semiology and the Urban," 166-172.

[42] Lejeune, "City as Landscape," 153.


PLAZA DE LA FRATERNIDAD, FRATERNITY PARK, HAVANA, CUBA



[*facing page, top*] Figure 1. Roberts & Co., *La Plaza de la Fraternidad* postcard, the reverse of which reads: "The park built in 1928 has transformed one of the ugliest places in Havana into one of the beauty spots of the city. In the center is the Cuban Ceiba tree, which symbolizes Pan-American Fraternity," 1930, postcard, Havana, Cuba. Courtesy of the University of Miami Libraries Cuban Heritage Collection.

[*facing page, bottom*] Figure 2. Cesar E. Guerra, *Árbol de la Fraternidad* in the *Parque de la Fraternidad Americana* surrounded by bronze fence with view of *Capitolio* behind, November 2010, Havana, Cuba, marble plinth and bronze palisade fence. Author's photograph.

[*above*] Figure 3. Secretaría de Obras Publicas, *Árbol de la Fraternidad dedicated 24 Febuary 1928*, photograph, Havana, Cuba. Courtesy of the University of Miami Libraries Cuban Heritage Collection.

[*right*] Figure 4. Cesar E. Guerra, Detail of fencing around *Árbol de la Fraternidad* in the *Parque de la Fraternidad Americana*, November 2010, Havana, Cuba, bronze. Author's photograph.

The View from Out Here: Western Conceptual Art in the Moscow Conceptualist Imagination

Yelena Kalinsky

In February 1973, the Soviet Academy of Arts published a revised edition of the 1969 book *Modernism: Analysis and Critique of the Main Trends*. In the original introduction, the editors promised to address "art born in the spiritual crisis of rotting capitalism" through a "developed historical analysis and serious theoretical critique from the point of view of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics."[1] In actuality, the book had done much more than give a Marxist-Leninist reading of Western art. It offered readers detailed descriptions of such canonical movements in European Modernism as French Cubism, German Expressionism, Italian Futurism, and Dada. Art that had disappeared from museum walls and official Soviet publications in the 1920s and 1930s was, in the wake of Khrushchev's Thaw, finding its way back into public discourse.[2]

Perhaps more surprising than mention of Picasso or Marinetti in the first edition were new sections in the second edition on postwar trends like Pop, Minimalism, and Conceptual Art.[3] While strongly criticizing these movements — Pop's proximity to advertising, for example, or Minimalism and Conceptual Art's extreme reductionism and anti-aesthetic programs — the authors of these sections nonetheless provided generous overviews of recent practices in North America and Western Europe. Given the shortage of such information in the Soviet Union, we might expect that, despite its censorious tone, *Modernism* was an invaluable source for readers — especially artists — eager to glimpse the newest currents coursing through the art world "out there." Yet, as this paper describes, this reception is only half the story.

When Nikita Alekseev and Andrei Monastyrski, young artists active in Moscow's alternative circles, encountered the new volume sometime in 1973 or 1974, what struck them most of all were the illustrations. Artworks that were impossible to see first-hand and known, if at all, only from Western periodicals smuggled by foreign friends and scholars or perused in restricted access foreign-language libraries, were reproduced in numerous double-page spreads. One image in particular caught Alekseev and Monastyrski's eyes and imaginations (Figure 1). It showed a man wearing slacks, t-shirt, and a snorkeling mask hovering above the ocean floor amid fluttering leafy plants. He faces the camera and seems to peer at the viewer through his dark mask. The caption identifies the work as Dennis Oppenheim's *Replanting Corn on the Bottom of the Ocean* from 1969.[4]

For Alekseev and Monastyrski, the utter strangeness of the porthole-like photograph, coupled with the absurd gesture of planting corn on the ocean floor as an artistic act, carried a powerful charge. The implication, for these two Soviet viewers, had less to do with the ideological success or failure of contemporary Western art or its aesthetic status as advanced or retrograde, than with the notion that a certain kind of artistic action could transport viewers into strange or unknown realms, utterly other to the artists' present reality.[5] While they no doubt prized the information gleaned "between the lines" of this polemical Soviet publication, Monastryski insists that it is this image in particular — and not any analysis or critique of recent trends relayed in the text — that he remembers as having made the greatest impact upon him at the time. It was not long after this encounter, that Monastyrski and Alekseev began to collaborate with several others as the Collective Actions group, inviting viewers to enigmatic performances in the fields and forests on

1 V.V. Vanslov and Iu.D. Kolpinskii, eds., *Modernizm: Analiz i kritika osnovnykh napravlenii; Sbornik statei* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1969), 7. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are those of the author.

2 On the transformation of Soviet culture in the 1920s and 1930s, see Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Cultural Front: Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992). On artistic debates in the Thaw period, see Susan Emily Reid, "Destalinization and the Remodernization of Soviet Art: The Search for a Contemporary Realism, 1953-1963" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996).

3 M. Kuz'mina, "Pop-Art, Op-Art, kineticheskoe iskusstvo," in *Modernizm: Analiz i kritika osnovnykh napravlenii,* ed. V.V. Vanslov and Iu.D. Kolpinskii, 2nd rev. ed. (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1973), 229-42; and L. Reingardt, "Otrechenie ot iskusstva: Noveishie techeniia v iskusstve zapadnoi Evropy i SShA," in *Modernizm* (1973), 243-75.

4 Plate 164, unnumbered section; also identified in a list of illustrations, *Modernizm* (1973), 279. The works in the spread are identified as Robert Smithson's *Partially Buried Shed*, 1970, misidentified as *"Partially Burned";* Oppenheim's *Replanting Corn on the Bottom of the Ocean*, 1969; Oppenheim's *Explosion*; Jan Dibbets's *White Line on the Sea*; and Iain Baxter's *Self-Destructing Work*.

5 Author's conversation with Andrei Monastyrski, April 2009. A work Monastyrski mis-remembers as having been illustrated in the volume is Peter Hutchinson's *Threaded Calabash*, 1969, another underwater photograph. This work, however, is not illustrated in *Modernizm* (1973), but Monastyrski's mistaken memory of it suggests an interest in actions undertaken in otherworldly environments.

Moscow's outskirts. Escaping the over-signified space of the city, these actions sought to lead viewers into a realm of pure potential in the empty, snow-covered landscape. Could the experience of displacement and imaginative travel prompted by Monastyrski and Alekseev's reception of Oppenheim's underwater photograph have something to do with this? This paper argues that it is precisely through this kind of playful, or even frivolous connection that we should understand the reception of Western Conceptual Art in the Moscow Conceptualist imagination.

Cold War historians have discussed cultural exchanges, such as the landmark Sixth World Youth Festival that brought 34,000 foreign and 60,000 Soviet delegates to mingle in Moscow's Gorki Park in 1957, as carefully orchestrated tools of cultural politics. Jazz, jeans, and abstract art, as well as unprecedented contact with foreigners are said to have prepared the way for Gorbachev's *glasnost* and *perestroika* in the 1980s.[6] Serge Guilbaut's study of Abstract Expressionism demonstrates how the American avant-garde came to symbolize what he calls a "political apoliticism" that might help to explain its appeal to young Soviet artists tired of Socialist Realist clichés.[7] As the story of Collective Actions' reception of *Modernism* suggests, it may be useful to set aside readings that focus on the one-way transmission of Western ideologies to Soviet viewers in order to consider the ways that those viewers may themselves have made creative use of the materials available to them.

The case of Conceptual Art in Moscow, which emerged in the late 1960s and flowered in the 1970s and 1980s, is a particularly vivid example of such a creative reception. As in the West, conceptual artists in Moscow rejected an earlier current of expressionist abstraction, turning to text-based, idea-driven practices that downplayed visuality and reflected philosophically on the artwork's condition.[8] However, while Western Conceptual Art was a fairly brief (if highly influential) episode in the late 1960s and early 1970s, sharing the stage with other postwar movements, Conceptual Art in Moscow itself comprised a much broader range of practices, from ironic pop-inspired painting and sculpture to more enigmatic text-based paintings, narrative albums, object poetry, and performance (Figures 2-5). In addition — and perhaps thanks to — this broad definition, the movement lasted nearly two decades.[9] What unified these practices was an active and committed circle of artists and poets who gathered in studios and apartments to share and discuss work. In the absence of galleries and critics, they served as each other's audiences and interlocutors, and it is these constant and close-knit interactions that allowed the Moscow Conceptualist circle to develop and thrive.

One place to launch an investigation of Moscow Conceptualism's reception of Western Conceptual Art might be the Moscow Archive of New Art, or MANI, an artist-created archive that aimed to showcase the activities of Moscow's alternative culture in the years 1980-82 (Figures 6-7).[10] Though late in comparison to the height of Conceptual Art in the West, these years were the culmination of the first intense decade of conceptualist activity in Moscow. By 1980, there was a sense that important strides had been made in developing a native form of contemporary art that needed to be documented and preserved for the future. For its organizers MANI might function as such a vehicle.

Each volume of MANI consists of envelopes containing theoretical texts, documentary photographs, and original artworks by various individuals and groups associated with the Conceptualist branch of Moscow's unofficial art world. Though on the face of it, each one is a collection of unique hand-made objects, the artists have used available forms of mechanical reproduction — photography and carbon-copied type — to create several versions of the archive for greater exposure and dissemination. Of course, unlike the émigré journal, *A-Ya*, published in Paris and distributed widely throughout Europe and the U.S., the largest part of MANI's audience consisted of fellow artists and friends who were invited to peruse its contents while visiting the studios or apartments where the volumes were often stored. It was in this bustling and increasingly hopeful atmosphere that the artists of the circle chose to represent themselves to each other, to an imaginary Western audience, and to art history. The ways that a number of MANI artists staged self-conscious encounters with contemporary Western art — especially

6 Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange & the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2003).

7 Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 2.

8 The term "Conceptual Art" in the Soviet context most likely came from the book of that name by Ursula Meyer, *Conceptual Art* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1972), which was known in Moscow's unofficial circles in *samizdat* translation in the 1970s. On Soviet Conceptual Art, also often called Moscow Conceptualism, see Boris Groys, Max Hollein, and Manuel Fontán del Junco, *Die Totale Aufklärung: Moskauer Konzeptkunst, 1960-1990 / Total Enlightenment: Conceptual Art in Moscow, 1960-1990* (Frankfurt: Schirn Kunsthall, 2008); Ekaterina Degot' and Vadim Zakharov, *Moskovskii kontseptualizm* (Moscow: WAM, 2005); Ekaterina Degot', *Russkoe iskusstvo XX veka* (Moscow: Trilistnik, 2000); and E.A. Bobrinskaia, *Kontseptualizm* (Moscow: Galart, 1994).

9 One could speculate that in an art world that included public exhibitions, critics, and an active art press, the various branches or generations of Moscow Conceptualists might have chosen to identify themselves with separate and distinct movements, as was the case in the West in the 1960s-1980s. Given their reliance on a small network of other artists for an audience and a critical discourse, however, Moscow's unofficial circles maintained much more group solidarity, even as they tolerated great artistic diversity.

10 Between 1980 and 1982, four volumes of MANI were created. In the first volume, envelopes containing artworks and a section containing texts were numbered separately; in subsequent volumes, all envelopes regardless of content were numbered sequentially. See Vadim Zakharov, "Die MANI-Mappen," in *Präprintium: Moskauer Bücher aus dem Samizdat*, ed. Günter Hirt and Sascha Wonders (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998), 105-8; and Yelena Kalinsky, "Moscow Archive of New Art," *Zimmerli Journal* 5 (2008): 120-31.

Western Conceptual Art — between the archive's covers reveals a complex and reflective attitude toward their own location *vis-à-vis* the art of "over there."

One approach that emerges in a number of MANI texts is the search for unofficial Soviet art's location on the world map of contemporary art. Echoing a subject of debate among artists throughout the 1970s, these texts attempt to define the nature of Western Conceptual Art — gleaned from books and magazines — and to articulate Soviet Conceptual Art's definition in relation to it. Ilya Kabakov, for example, contrasts the condition of Soviet unofficial artists with that of artists in the West by comparing them to Nozdrev and Pliushkin, two archetypical characters from Gogol's 1842 satirical novel, *Dead Souls*.[11] In Western society, he writes, artists are extremely flighty, social creatures, akin to the hearty bully and cheat Nozdrev. Their goal is to erase the boundaries between art and life. In the Soviet Union, conversely, art tends to isolate itself from life, feeding aesthetically off the detritus of its own trivial existence. With his usual dry wit and uncanny prescience, Kabakov sees the local situation as unquestionably provincial, but nonetheless *more* fertile than the cultural centers of New York or London. The dust and garbage of history that are the lot of the underground artist in Moscow are, in this formulation, also her creative fodder and the very subject of Moscow Conceptualism's reflection and commentary.

Viktor Skersis's *Chair, Photograph of a Chair, Definition of a Chair*, 1980, is an example of the kind of self-consciously reflective art Kabakov proposes (Figure 8). The work consists of three sheets of blank paper and a text, explaining that the present work "refers to J. Kosuth's work *One and Three Chairs* (1965) [2]," a foundational example of American Conceptual Art.[12] In it, Kosuth had exhibited a real chair, a photograph of a chair, and an enlarged reproduction of the dictionary definition of the word "chair." His purpose had been to demonstrate the equivalence of things in the world and their visual and linguistic representations and to thereby undercut art's status as a privileged mode of representation. Skersis goes on, giving a gloss on Kosuth's model: "I understand this work as an example of the equivalence and interchangeability of the three objects presented in it," referring to the chair, its photograph, and the definition. "Having no information about the development of this idea for Kosuth or for anyone else, I completed the abovementioned work [1], which consists of three sheets. Each of the three sheets serves as one of the three objects of work [2]."[13] Here Skersis demonstrates his familiarity with Kosuth's seminal piece while at the same time commenting on his own peripheral position in relation to it. Skersis uses the metaphor of blank sheets to illustrate his "having no information" as a result of his distance from the Western art world. Yet cleverly, it is precisely through these three blank sheets that he avoids privileging any one mode of representation, demonstrating the very principle at the heart of Kosuth's work. It is a canny and even humorous form of mimicry whose subject is not just the problem of representation, which so concerned Kosuth, but also the possibility of conceptual proximity despite one's temporal and geographic distance.

Yuri Albert's "Article on Art," another MANI work, composed in December 1980 and January 1981, takes this idea a step further (Figure 9).[14] No longer foregrounding his own marginal position, Albert rejects the inevitability of his distance, difference, or belatedness *vis-à-vis* the West in favor of a universal language of Conceptual Art. Instead of presenting the straightforward statement of artistic intent or self-positioning manifesto foreshadowed by the title, Albert simply reproduces a series of quotations concerning art and its interpretation by a variety of commentators, including, among others, American conceptual and proto-conceptual artists Joseph Kosuth, Sol LeWitt, and Ad Reinhardt; European thinkers Ludwig Wittgenstein and Torgny Segerstedt; and Russian formalist theorists Boris Arvatov, Yuri Tynianov, and Roman Jacobson. Albert translates each fragment into Russian and arranges them one after the other on the page as if they did indeed make up an article by the author "Yuri Albert." He makes no distinction between pre-revolutionary Russian, Soviet, and Western thinkers, allowing the different statements to speak to each other on the physical and conceptual plane of the type-written page. The original contexts recede, as each statement takes its new place in an "article on art" within an archive created by a group of unofficial Soviet artists in 1981.

The final lines of Albert's piece, taken from Sol LeWitt's "Sentences on Conceptual Art," first published in New York in 1969, underscore the shift in meaning effected by such a radical change of context:

> 23. The artist may misperceive a work of art (understand it differently from the artist) but still be set off in his own train of thought by that misconstrual....
>
> 26. An artist may perceive the art of others better than his own....
>
> 35. These sentences comment on art, but are not art.[15]

[11] Ilya Kabakov, "Nozdrev and Pliushkin," *Moscow Archive of New Art* 1 (February 1981): text 2. Reprinted in *A-Ya* 7(1986): 41-5, and in Degot' and Zakharov, *Moskovskii kontseptualizm*, 353-7.

[12] This piece, along with Kosuth's article "Art After Philosophy," was published in Ursula Meyer's book *Conceptual Art*, which was available to Skersis in *samizdat* translation.

[13] Viktor Skersis, *Chair, Photograph of a Chair, Definition of a Chair*, 1980, *Moscow Archive of New Art* 1 (February 1981): envelope 19.

[14] Yuri Albert, "'Article on Art' (December 1980-January 1981)," *Moscow Archive of New Art* 1 (February 1981): text 4.

[15] Instead of re-translating Albert's translation of LeWitt's sentences (or, rather, Nadezhda Stolpovskaia's translation), I have chosen to combine LeWitt's original text with Albert's idiosyncratic long ellipses.

The goal for LeWitt (as for Kosuth, above) had been to deflate the notion of originality or aura surrounding works of art by refusing to grant privileged status to particular modes of representation or readings of artistic intent. For conceptual artists in New York in the late 1960s, such a declaration resonated with a whole set of subversive and countercultural ideas in art, music, poetry, and politics.[16] For Albert and his circle in the 1970s and 1980s, this context was worlds away. To read or translate a furtively obtained copy of "Sentences on Conceptual Art" in a Moscow apartment in 1981 was not the same as reading it in an issue of *0-9* magazine in a New York studio or between classes at the School of the Visual Arts in 1969. This does not mean, however, that the article was any less discussed or scrutinized. LeWitt's sentences, even divorced from their original context, in Albert's iteration, speak equally well about — and, indeed, sanction — the readings from a distance, creative interpretations, and possible misunderstandings that were the unavoidable results of Soviet artists' isolation from Western European and American mainstreams. Like Skersis, Albert recognizes his remote position, while at the same time rejecting this remoteness by deeply engaging the ideas brought up in the work he appropriates: *An artist may perceive the art of others better than his own*.

In 1977, Collective Actions (the group founded by Alekseev and Monastyrski) visited a snowy field on Moscow's outskirts to hang a sign between two trees (Figure 10). The sign read: "I DO NOT COMPLAIN ABOUT ANYTHING AND I LIKE EVERYTHING, DESPITE THE FACT THAT I HAVE NEVER BEEN HERE BEFORE AND KNOW NOTHING ABOUT THESE PARTS." A year later, they reprised the action. This time the text read: "STRANGE, WHY DID I LIE TO MYSELF THAT I HAVE NEVER BEEN HERE AND KNOW NOTHING ABOUT THESE PARTS, WHEN IN REALITY, HERE IS JUST LIKE EVERYWHERE ELSE, YOU JUST FEEL IT MORE SHARPLY AND MORE DEEPLY MISUNDERSTAND."[17]

For unofficial artists in Moscow in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the feeling that "here is just like everywhere else" could serve as both a statement and a question. Information about contemporary art from North America and Western Europe was not difficult to come by, so long as you knew a foreign journalist, or had the correct library card, or even knew enough to read between the lines of books like *Modernism*. Yet by all accounts, the sense of cultural isolation was acute. The critic Boris Groys once likened late-Soviet artists' relationship to Western culture to the experience of a panorama: the image seems real, stretching out in all directions, yet in reality, the effect is constructed in the viewer's imagination.[18] Indeed, as much as Moscow artists wanted to participate in a broader discourse on contemporary art, reciprocal Western interest in the Muscovites' activities was either absent or filtered through such politically charged terms as "dissident" and "nonconformist," and it would be another few years before *perestroika* would bring the global art market to Moscow's studios and art squats (opening a whole other can of worms). Still, for some of Moscow's young unofficial vanguard, the West and its art had already become more than a foil to compete with or to emulate. Against the usual Cold War narrative, some took it as an occasion for reflection, imaginary dialogue, and a variety of creative interpretations. Collective Actions' two slogan pieces illustrate this change of focus. By shifting attention away from an awareness of enforced distance to a model of cultural interchangeability and from the belief in inherent difference to the sense that strangeness is all over and misunderstanding is inevitable and productive, Soviet unofficial artists made creative use of Western Conceptualism in order to comment on their own condition and to thereby articulate a distinctly local form of Conceptual Art.

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[16] See Lucy Lippard's introductory essay, "Escape Attempts," in *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972*.... (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), vii-xxii.

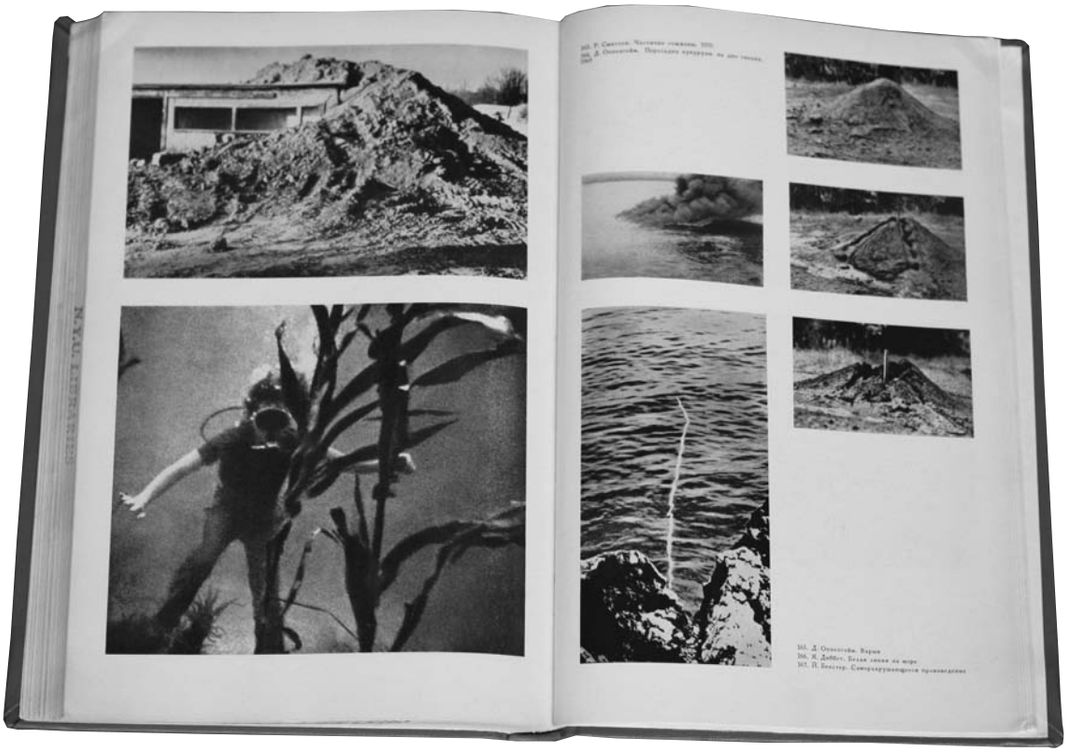
[17] The two pieces are *Slogan-77* and *Slogan-78*. See documentary material in Kollektivnye deistviia, *Poezdki za gorod* (Moscow: Ad Marginem, 1998); or online at http://conceptualism.letov.ru/KD-actions-4.html/ and http://conceptualism.letov.ru/KD-actions-8.html/ (accessed January 4, 2011).

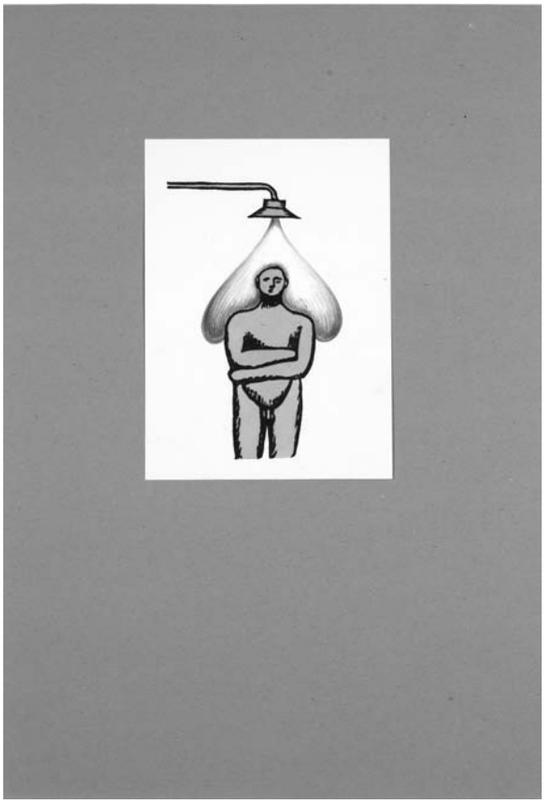
[18] Boris Groys, "Ilya Kabakov," *A-Ya* 2 (1980): 17.

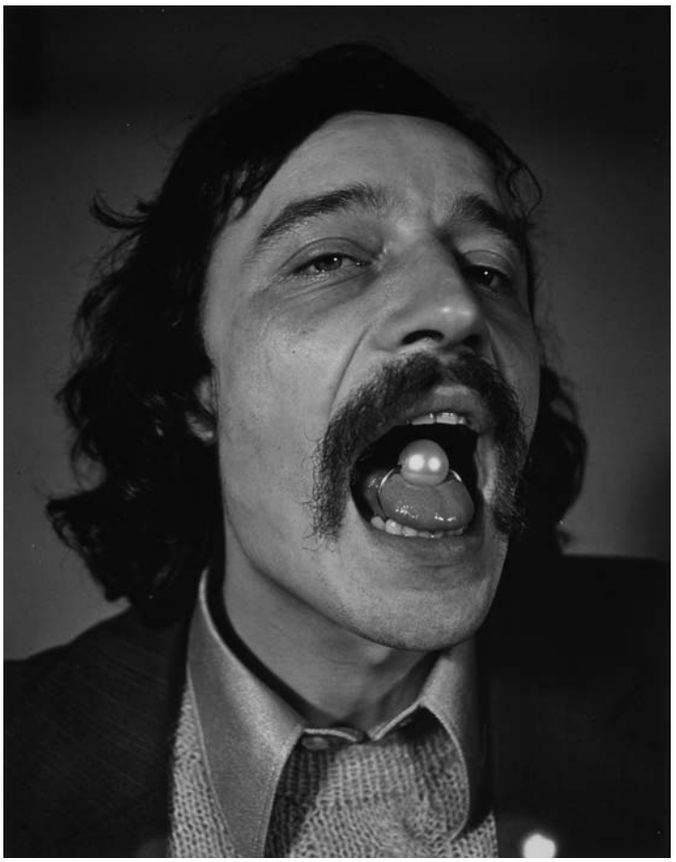
[*facing page, top*] Figure 1. Double-page spread from *Modernizm* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1973), illustrating works by Dennis Oppenheim, Jan Dibbets, and Robert Smithson. The work in the bottom left is identified as Dennis Oppenheim's *Replanting Corn on the Bottom of the Ocean*, 1969.

[*facing page, bottom left*] Figure 2. Erik Bulatov, *Two Landscapes on a Red Background*, 1972-74, oil on canvas, 110 x 110.3 cm. Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers University, Norton and Nancy Dodge Collection of Nonconformist Art from the Soviet Union, 1999.0673/05260. Photo credit: Jack Abraham.

[*facing page, bottom right*] Figure 3. Ilya Kabakov, *Shower-A Comedy*, 1978, linoleum block print, watercolor and colored pencil, 21.9 x 15.7 cm. Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers University, Norton and Nancy Dodge Collection of Nonconformist Art from the Soviet Union, 1999.0706.004/02957.04. Photo credit: Peter Jacobs.



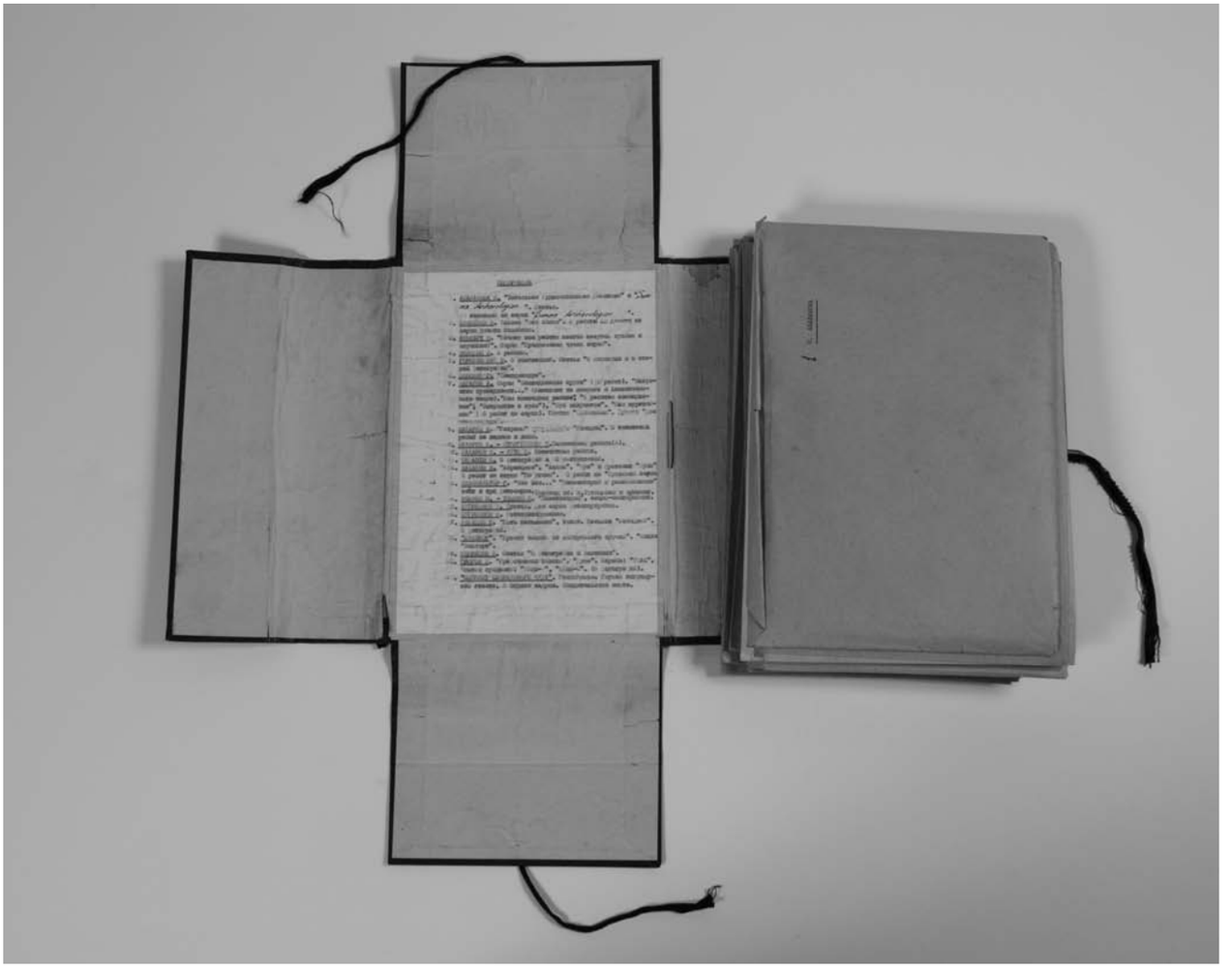




[*left*] Figure 4. Komar and Melamid, *Olo* from the *Catalogue of Super Objects – Super Comfort for Superpeople*, 1976, type-C print with typed commentary, 24 x 19.5 cm. Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers University, Norton and Nancy Dodge Collection of Nonconformist Art from the Soviet Union, 2001.1227.002/07596.02. Photo credit: Jack Abraham.

[*below*] Figure 5. Collective Actions, *The Third Variant*, May 28, 1978, documentary photograph, courtesy of Andrei Monastyrski.

[*right and below*] Figures 6-7. Natalia Abalakova and Anatoly Zhigalov, eds., *Moscow Archive of New Art (MANI)* 4 (1982). Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers University, Norton and Nancy Dodge Collection of Nonconformist Art from the Soviet Union. Photo credit: Jack Abraham.



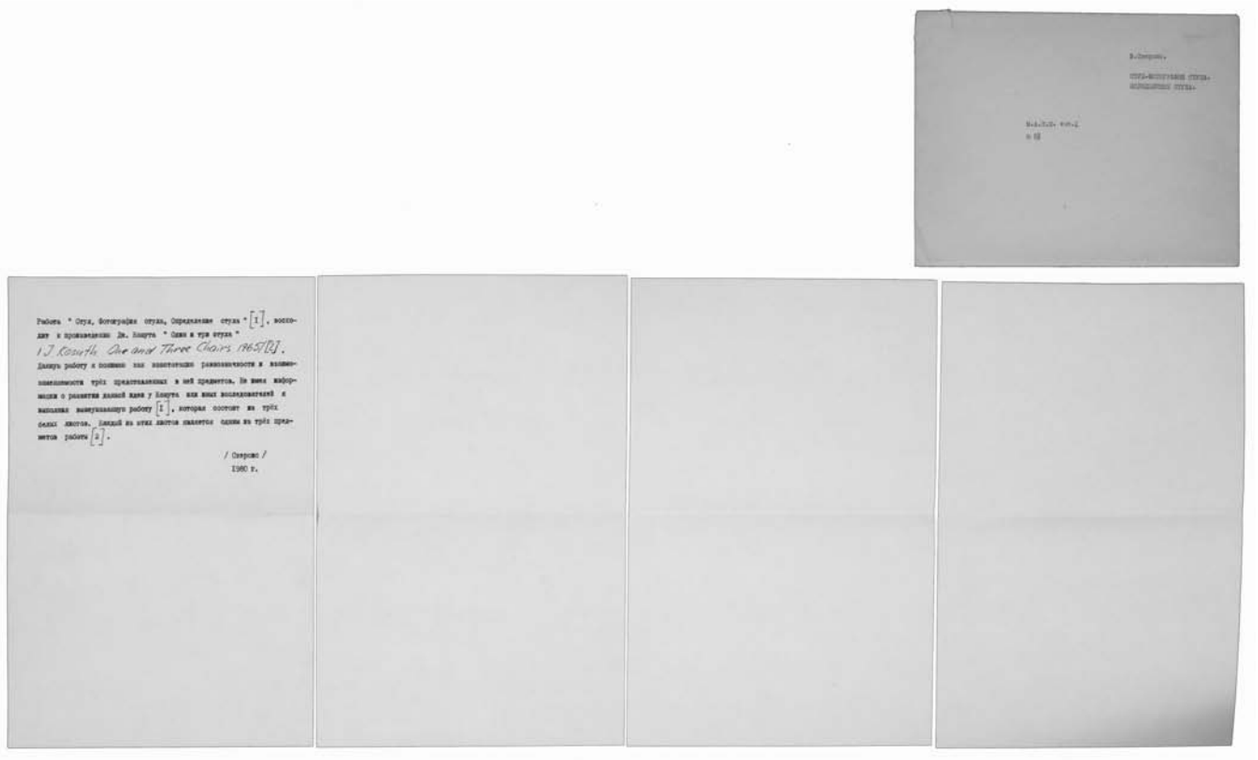


Figure 8. Viktor Skersis, *Chair, Photograph of a Chair, Definition of a Chair*, 1981, *Moscow Archive of New Art* 1 (February 1981), envelope 19. Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers University, Norton and Nancy Dodge Collection of Nonconformist Art from the Soviet Union, MANI1.01.E19.01-04. Photo credit: Peter Jacobs.

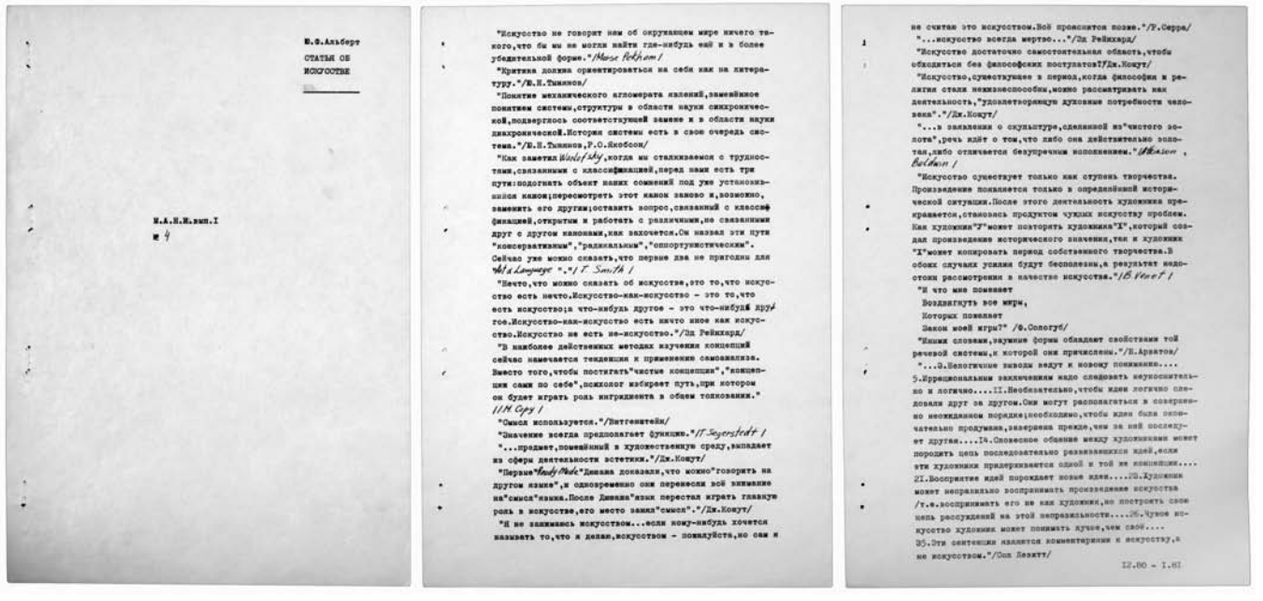


Figure 9. Yuri Albert, *Article on Art*, December 1980-January 1981, *Moscow Archive of New Art* 1 (February 1981), text 4. Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers University, Norton and Nancy Dodge Collection of Nonconformist Art from the Soviet Union, MANI1.01.T04.01. Photo credit: Peter Jacobs.

Figure 10. Collective Actions, *Slogan-77*, January 26, 1977, documentary photograph courtesy of Andrei Monastyrski.

Farocki's *In-Formation*: Silent Statistics and Stereotypes

Brianne Cohen

The question of silence is central to the politics of Harun Farocki's recent moving-image works. In contrast to his deployment of the full panoply of communicative devices in his multi-screen, surround-sound installations such as *Deep Play* (2007), a more pronounced investigation of sound, or lack of sound, has increasingly occupied the conceptual territory of Farocki's single-channel videos and films. *In-Formation* (*Aufstellung*, 2005), for example, is a soundless, one-channel video installation that montages fragments from German newspapers, official state publications, and school textbooks in order to highlight radically fluctuating migration and displacement patterns in twentieth-century Germany and Europe (Figure 1).[1] *Respite* (*Aufschub,* 2007), also a silent film, edits footage taken by a prisoner at the Westerbork labor camp in the Netherlands in 1944, where thousands of prisoners were temporarily detained before being shipped off to concentration camps in the east, including Auschwitz, where the original cameraman himself perished (Figure 2). These two silent works are intimately connected, insofar as they pivot around the extraordinary mass displacement and the genocide of Jewish and minority peoples during WWII.

With respect to *Respite*, film historian Nora Alter correctly asserts that its "dead silence" raises the specters of the concentration camps with a "hard and flattening impact."[2] Yet the dead silence of *Respite* is not, as Alter suggests, an exception. Other recent works by Farocki that distinctly focus on sound include *Listening Stations* (*Hörstationen*, 2006) and *Dubbing* (*Synchronisation*, 2006); absolute silence is a new strategy of his, marking three other installations in the last decade as well: *In-Formation*, *Music-Video* (*Musik-Video*, 2000); and *On Construction of Griffith's Films* (*Zur Bauweise des Films bei Griffith*, 2006). This essay will investigate the silence of *In-Formation*, in particular, and what its own "dead silence" implies in terms of the artist's continued interest in processes of human objectification *vis-à-vis* the filmic apparatus.

In-Formation tackles a hefty narrative, ostensibly representing a history of migration in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, or former West Germany) following the end of WWII. Toward this apparent end, the video pedagogically displays a slide show of hundreds of archival drawings, pictographs, graphs, and maps culled from official national publications. The viewer is offered a generous amount of statistical information and imagery in the video's sixteen minutes — but quickly, with slides shown fleetingly, for only about three to four seconds each. The archived documents are also fragmented by Farocki, ordered against strict chronology, and highly abstracted, in that they depict essentialized categories of "foreigners" and "Germans" (Figure 3). By showing clearly inequitable statistical quantities, yet in an apparently "objective" manner, the video purports to reconstruct the immeasurably convoluted geopolitical narrative of demographic movement within former West Germany, while at the same time quite evidently failing to do so.

What might an investigation of these themes tell us about the cultural politics at the heart of Farocki's work? Throughout his oeuvre, Farocki has shown deep concern about the lack of voice among culturally marginalized groups within broader configurations of global capitalism, mass media, technologization, and warfare. In her book *The Threshold of the Visible*, film historian Kaja Silverman provides an insightful analysis of the artist's earlier essay film *Images of the World and the Inscription of War* (*Bilder der Welt und Inschrift des Krieges*, 1988) stressing its treatment of gendered and raced bodies.[3] Likewise, Alter notes that the female voice-over in *Images of the World* is disembodied, and that representations of a Dior fashion model, Algerian Berber women, and a Jewish female prisoner at Auschwitz are just as politically "in/audible" as they are "im/perceptible."[4] Indeed, in the film, Farocki's hand both frames and fragments photographs of colonized Algerian women from 1960 (Figure 4). The framing critiques

This essay constitutes part of a larger dissertation chapter concerning Harun Farocki's recent films and video installations; it reflects my broader interests concerning politically charged installation art and collective spectatorship in Europe today. I am grateful to my advisor Terry Smith for his invaluable support and helpful comments on this essay.

1 Though *In-Formation* is a Farocki production, the idea for it came from his collaborator, Antje Ehmann.

2 Nora Alter, "Dead Silence," in *Harun Farocki: Against What? Against Whom?*, ed. Antje Ehmann and Kodwo Eshun (London: Koenig, 2009), 178.

3 Kaja Silverman, *The Threshold of the Visible World* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 139-40, 146-49, 152-54.

4 Nora Alter, "The Political Im/perceptible: Farocki's *Images of the World and the Inscription of War*," in *Harun Farocki: Working on the Sightlines*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), 215.

the violence done to these anonymous women by French soldiers when their veils were stripped from their faces for colonialist policing purposes. Objectified and archived on film, the women's eyes are shrouded, and then their mouths covered by Farocki's hand. Does his hand substitute for the veil, or does it figuratively muffle the women? Put another way, does *Images of the World and the Inscription of War* point to the deep problem laid out by postcolonial theorist Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak — that is, can the sexed subaltern subject speak?

Like *Images of the World*, *In-Formation* highlights specific episodes of human de-subjectification. Chronologically and thematically, the video is divided into two distinct halves. In the first half, it begins with a portrayal of immigration, work, and consumption in the FRG after WWII, focusing on Turkish immigrants in the 1960s and '70s in particular. It highlights, for example, concerns of integration, family life, and inter-marriages between "foreigners" and "Germans." At one point, six images of male, presumably Turkish, cartoon-like figures succeed each other in different slides. Each man dons a distinctive black mustache, one wears a fez or *taqiyah*, some have no facial features except for a mustache, and almost all are pixilated in some respect. A moment thereafter, five images of headscarfed, Turkish women are displayed. The penultimate is only a black shadow (Figure 5), and the last woman — like the Algerian colonized women with Farocki's hand over their mouths — is trapped by a large red circle and "X" across her face.

The video's repetition of these visages fails to complexify or corporealize its flat, gendered, and racialized categories. Rather, it depicts their formation. Stereotypes are constructed around something always known, a certain fixity, as well as an anxious repetition of that certainty. Official discursive spheres of government, reportage, and education are here imbued with derogatory, reiterated imagery of "outsiders" that reflects fears concerning national community and economic prosperity.

The second half of *In-Formation* steps back to begin with the end of WWI and the Versailles Treaty, then accelerates temporally to represent both displaced peoples after WWII as well as refugees from the Soviet zone and the former East Germany (GDR) into West Germany. Like the stereotyped Turkish figures, the video at one point features an image of the "Wandering Jew" with his cane, crooked nose, and *yarmulke* (Figure 6). With other Jews, the figure at the bottom right of the screen traverses a map of Eastern Europe into Germany and Austria. Subsequent slides depict maps of, and statistical data from, retaliatory German military offensives in the East (apparently linked consequentially to the Jews' movement) as well as maps pinpointing the locations of concentration camps. "All must take part," a textbook eerily declares, accompanied by illustrations of uniformed school children and Nazi youth lining up.

In *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Hannah Arendt observes that "by forcing Jews to leave the Reich passportless and penniless, the legend of the Wandering Jew was realized."[5] As early as possible, the Nazis attempted to establish such conditions on a mass scale for the Jews and other undesired minorities — no passport, no money, no profession — that any sympathies would be rapidly transformed into negative popular opinion.[6] In her chapter, "The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man," Arendt traces the victimization of two specific groups in Europe after WWI — the stateless and minorities — who, increasingly, had no government to represent or protect them.[7] After the devastation of WWI, nation-states across Europe were crippled with extraordinary inflation and unemployment: migrations of groups were "welcomed nowhere and could be assimilated nowhere."[8] These two ostracized groups, the stateless and minorities, were worse off than any other impoverished, unemployed class or group. With the loss of political representation, they also lost those rights that were supposedly inalienable — the Rights of Man, or basic human rights, as established during the French Revolution.

For Arendt, belonging to a polity is paramount. Without the recognition and right to action and opinion by organized groups of humans — a tenet fundamental to Farocki's politically charged oeuvre — nothing is inalienable. The tradition of asylum, not officially written into any law, had been established for exceptional cases, not masses of people, and it was designated to help those who were persecuted for something that they had done or thought, not for those who were unchangeably themselves, "born into the wrong kind of race or the wrong kind of class."[9]

> The paradox involved in the loss of human rights is that such loss coincides with the instant when a person becomes a human being in general — without a profession, without a citizenship, without an opinion, without a deed by which to identify and specify himself — and different in general, representing nothing but his own absolute

[5] Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, 1951), 394.

[6] "The official SS newspaper, the Schwarze Korps, stated explicitly in 1938 that if the world was not yet convinced that the Jews were the scum of the earth, it would be soon when unidentifiable beggars, without nationality, without money, and without passports crossed their frontiers." Ibid., 268.

[7] Placed at the end of her section entitled "Imperialism," Arendt, not surprisingly, links the victimization of these two groups to a type of "continental imperialism:" this "growing number of people and peoples suddenly appeared whose elementary rights were as little safeguarded by the ordinary functioning of nation-states in the middle of Europe as they would have been in the heart of Africa." Ibid., 288.

[8] Ibid., 266.

[9] Ibid., 291.

> unique individuality which, deprived of expression within and action upon a common world, loses all significance.[10]

Without membership in and protection from a political community, humans are no longer active, thinking subjects, but merely members of a race or human species. One image in *In-Formation* — of a group of hollowed-out men with black mustaches and fezzes scattered throughout a crowd of blank human figures — uniquely captures this paradox of standing for both human beings in general, and difference in general (Figure 7). Above all, Farocki's work has emphasized the critical necessity of creating collectivizing spaces and structures that will produce active, thinking subjects, not dehumanized stand-ins.

Most of the graphs in *In-Formation* either include culturally stereotyped figures or incorporate ghostly bodies into their structural components: arms, faces, or suitcases become the measuring tools of these immigrants' own abstraction. A man is smaller or larger in a bar chart, for example, depending on how much money he earns. The larger the immigration total, likewise, the more zeroes after a number can be filled with cartoonish smiley faces. Literally graph-ed, the bodies of these figures are simultaneously included and excluded, homogenized and differentiated, in the slide show's narrative. As the video proceeds, Farocki underscores the "inclusionary exclusion" of the iconic, headscarfed Turkish woman just as much as the Wandering Jew. In the aftermath of WWII race politics, the fact that these images were all generated in official West German state publications or newspapers, for governmental, pedagogical, or informational purposes, is especially disquieting.

Moreover, the video is silent. The numerous, inscribed bodies have no voice, so to speak, in their own representation. Their "alien" faces and bodies are mute, equipped with only mustaches rather than mouths, or trapped like criminals behind the bars of a chart. All of this "information" originates in secondary sources, in official documents or other public sphere materials, and arrives to the viewer via multiple avenues of mediation. In contrast, the dead silence of *Respite* is arguably more pronounced through witnessing firsthand camera footage of labor-camp subjects singing and speaking with no sound. In *In-Formation*, there is no documentary lens, only shuffled and bureaucratized paperwork. Moreover, *Respite* is edited as a film, to be viewed as a complete, narrative form for a full forty minutes, whereas *In-Formation* (sixteen minutes) allows the viewer to step in and out of its installation space, to catch only random fragments of its material, and to choose how long to stand amidst the silence.

The possibility of these subjects speaking for themselves is, in these circumstances, disallowed. In her seminal essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," Spivak criticizes leftist intellectuals in Europe who, situated in a privileged position of socialized capital without recognizing it — without acknowledging the epistemic violence of imperialism or its contemporary mirroring in an unbalanced international division of labor — make the claim that the subaltern, if given the chance, can speak for him/herself and know his/her conditions.[11] She discloses a complicity between "Western intellectual production" and "Western international economic interests."[12] The fact that Farocki, as a leftist European intellectual, has, without a doubt, critiqued his own position within a globally inequitable capitalist system, is widely acknowledged; but his work's attention to the reverberating forces of decolonization and its effects on contemporary cultural politics in Europe today has received little attention.[13]

In her essay, Spivak describes a unique historical case in India when *sati*, or the self-immolation by widows on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands, was criminalized by the British colonial system.[14] She clearly does not condone the killing of widows, but rather, in a complicated analysis of Hindu laws, tradition, and language, as well as British colonial records, describes the constrained space of the sexed subaltern subject — the widow herself — that makes it impossible for her to speak:

> One never encounters the testimony of the women's voice-consciousness. Such a testimony would not be ideology-transcendent or 'fully' subjective, of course, but it would have constituted the ingredients for producing a countersentence. As one goes down the grotesquely mistranscribed names of these women, the sacrificed widows, in the police reports included in the records of the East India Company, one cannot put together a "voice." The most one can sense is the immense heterogeneity breaking through even such a skeletal and ignorant account.[15]

In-Formation cannot possibly offer enough of its reductive material to present a full picture of immigration in the FRG. Instead of "speaking for" these abstracted, staticized, and stereotyped minorities, immigrants, refugees, guest work-

[10] Ibid., 297-98.

[11] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1988), 283.

[12] Ibid., 271.

[13] Farocki's '68er, leftist interest in labor/class/economic concerns has been extensively analyzed, and his recent video work has broadened to a globalized outlook in such pieces as *In Comparison* and *Comparison via a Third*, which focus on brick production in Germany, India, and Burkina Faso. For more on this issue, see Thomas Elsaesser, "Political Filmmaking After Brecht: Harun Farocki, For Example," in *Harun Farocki: Working on the Sightlines* (see note 4); and Harun Farocki, "Workers Leaving the Factory," in *Harun Farocki: Working on the Sightlines* (see note 4).

[14] Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," 297.

[15] Ibid.

ers, asylum seekers, and the stateless, Farocki includes no voiceover or intertitles, a noticeable shift from his signature essay film. Its heterogeneous subjects, a vast number of displaced persons and refugees throughout Europe in the twentieth century, will never be able to testify through this archival material to the complexity or turbulence of their past conditions.

In its last section, *In-Formation* depicts abstracted bodies of immigrants, and, particularly, asylum seekers from all over the world arriving to Germany and Europe up until the end of the century. Due to the country's traumatic past, Germany's Basic Law offered the most liberal asylum policy on the continent for fifty years, offering any politically persecuted person the right to refuge in the country; but with almost half a million asylum seekers by the end of 1992, significant post-1989 economic troubles with reunification, and increasing anti-Semitic, anti-Roma, and anti-foreigner sentiment and violence as a result, Germany dramatically restricted its asylum law in 1993, which, notably, has come to serve as the model for the European Union's policy as well. *In-Formation*, unable to represent the tremendous debate and controversy concerning this historical shift in asylum policy after the transformation of German statehood, instead offers an image of one vacuous stick figure shooting another stick figure with a label below, "17 million politically persecuted," or rather, "politically haunted" [*politisch Verfolgte*]. In this case, the multilayered translatability of the German offers far more semantic nuance to the asylum seeker than the flat figural signs.

Most critically, the video's silence reflects not only what is unspoken, but also a programmed unspeakability. Indeed, its very structure works to display the failure of a certain modern visual language to provide global, cross-cultural representation. Most of the slides employ graphic illustration in the style of the ISOTYPE, or International System of Typographic Picture Education, conceived of by early twentieth-century Austrian urban theorist Otto Neurath (Figure 8). Originally termed the Vienna Method of Pictorial Statistics, the ISOTYPE (as of 1935) was conceived as a standardized system of icons and signs that would be able to deliver the greatest amount of information with the greatest efficiency to the greatest number of people. It would utilize two-dimensional, non-perspectival, simplified images — recontextualized from everyday, mass communicative forms such as popular films or newspaper cartoons — in order to facilitate an understanding of the world in terms of patterns and systems.[16]

Neurath intended his system to democratize knowledge and to promote greater international understanding. He aspired to forge a sense of community (*Gemeinschaft*) within an increasingly alienated, urban society (*Gesellschaft*). ISOTYPE, through its "universal" sign system, was meant to both teach and empower members of the workers' movement (designated as its primary, original audience), as well as contribute to the creation of a "multiethnic urban citizenry," an international solidarity between workers unimpeded by the difficulties of translating between languages.[17] In the early 1920s, in response to the situation of mass homelessness wrought by WWI, Neurath developed a model of modern city planning centered around the ideal figure of the "Gypsy-Settler," who would take advantage of both industrial and non-market forces to "self-help."[18] In the later 1920s, Neurath translated these utopian aims from the practical sphere of urban development to the realm of museum education and exhibition design.

Similar systems of icons and signs continue to interest artists today. In his project, *Book from the Ground* (2003 to the present) Xu Bing employs the same type of symbols to create a utopian, global language (Figure 9).[19] His language system also takes its inspiration from mass communication forms — such as airport and cell phone signs — in order to reach a larger audience; in fact, it only draws from publicly extant signs and logos and does not invent new ones. Viewers may utilize the Internet at home or on computers installed physically at exhibition sites, in order to type English, soon Chinese, and theoretically in the future, any other vernacular, into standardized pictograms. Farocki's video, by contrast, uses fragmentation, montage, and anachronism to highlight the often non-ecumenical, non-progressive historical weight of this type of simplified visual language.

The last slides of *In-Formation* project data concerning the "Krankheit des Westens," or "illness of the West," implied to be unemployment caused by too many foreigners. The viewer is left with an image of footprints crossing a closed border gate, and a stick figure "leaving" instead of "coming," framing the entire issue of immigration, again, in terms of unwanted, stateless, and ghost-like peoples. Such graphic imagery is popularly utilized throughout Europe today in order to negatively politicize immigration by non-Europeans, for instance, in poster campaigns by the right-wing, xenophobic Swiss People's Party. In 2009, by referendum, the party successfully mobilized citizens in Switzerland to ban the construction of minarets, or Muslim prayer towers. Its particu-

16 Nader Vossoughian, *Otto Neurath: The Language of the Global Polis* (Rotterdam: NAi, 2008), 65.

17 Ibid., 61.

18 In Neurath's proposed *Gemeinwirtschaft*, a portmanteau that translates to a "communal" or "cooperative economy," displaced "gypsy-settlers" would spontaneously and communally self-organize; they would barter through subsistence farming but also capitalize on the infrastructure of the modern metropolis. Ibid., 29.

19 Xu Bing states about his project, "Regardless of your cultural background or mother tongue, you will be able to read this book as long as you have experience of contemporary life. The educated and illiterate should be able to enjoy equally the pleasure of what it means to read." Xu Bing, "Regarding *Book from the Ground*," accessed 4 January 2011, http://www.bookfromtheground.com/home_english.htm.

larly effective poster campaign included imagery of sinister-looking, cloaked Muslim women appearing quite similar to the Turkish women found in *In-Formation* (Figure 10).

Despite Neurath's modernist, utopian aims at community-building, his "all-inclusive" visual system created a language that certain peoples were unable to speak. Within its visual economy, Roma and Sinti (Gypsy-settlers), Turkish guest-workers, Jews, and asylum seekers were at once included and excluded, represented and silenced. As Farocki has repeatedly shown us, the visualization of information is a key area of contestation. At a time when numerous European radical right-wing parties are increasingly vocal in mass media channels about their xenophobic, populist programs — and where biological life has become ever more frequently placed at the center of state politics — it is crucial that present-day minority or stateless groups such as the refugee, guest worker, and others are institutionally guaranteed a political voice in their own representation. Otherwise, the stereotypes of the Wandering Jew, the stateless Roma, or the radical Muslim, become lived realities for millions.

University of Pittsburgh

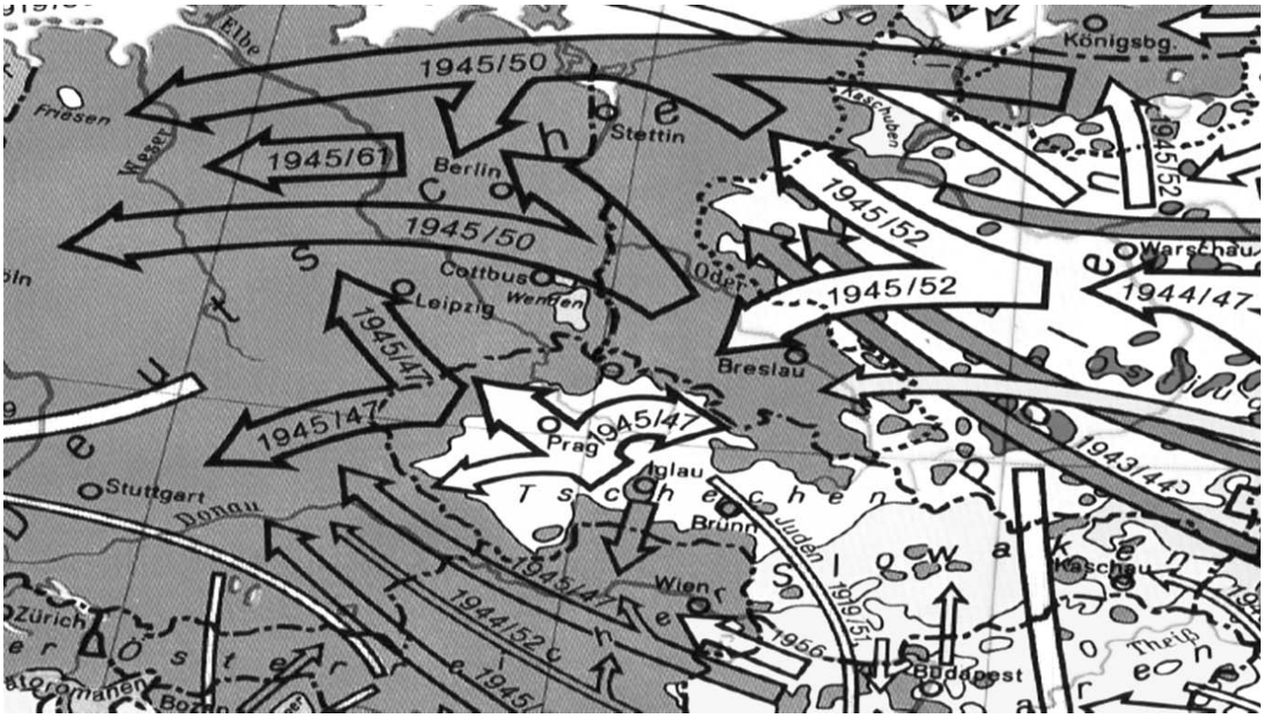
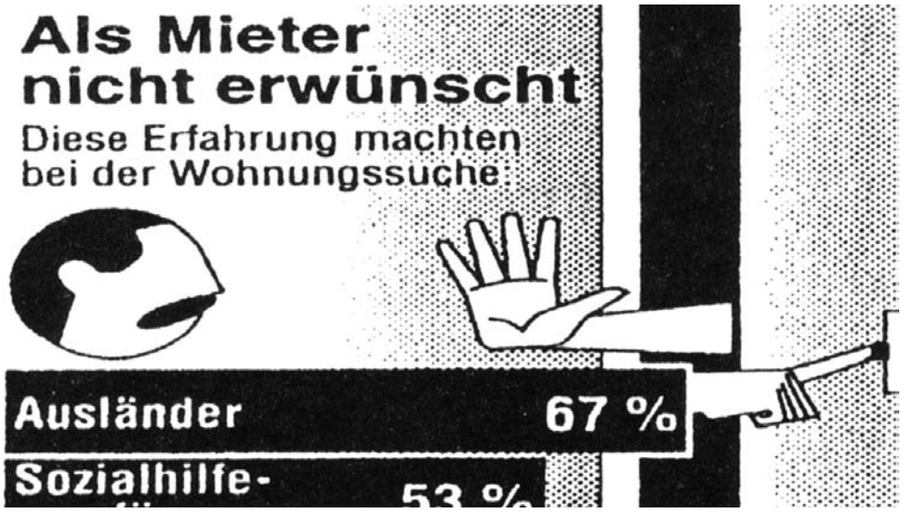


Figure 1. Harun Farocki, *In-Formation* (*Aufstellung*), 2005, video installation © Harun Farocki.

Figure 2. Harun Farocki, *Respite* (*Aufschub*), 2007, film © Harun Farocki.



[*above, center]* Figure 3. Harun Farocki, *In-Formation* (*Aufstellung*), 2005, video installation © Harun Farocki.

[*right*] Figure 4. Harun Farocki. *Images of the World and the Inscription of War* (*Bilder der Welt und Inschrift des Krieges*), 1988, film © Harun Farocki.

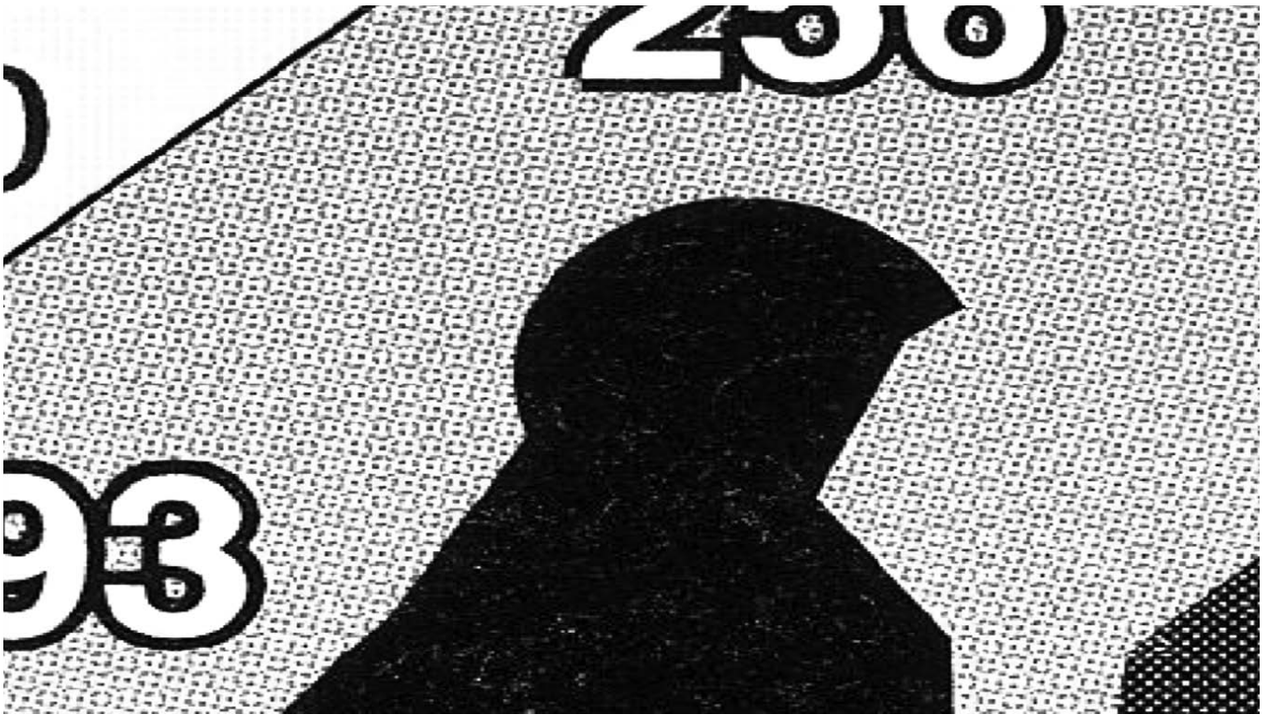


Figure 5. Harun Farocki, *In-Formation* (*Aufstellung*), 2005, video installation © Harun Farocki.

Figure 6. Harun Farocki, *In-Formation* (*Aufstellung*), 2005, video installation © Harun Farocki.

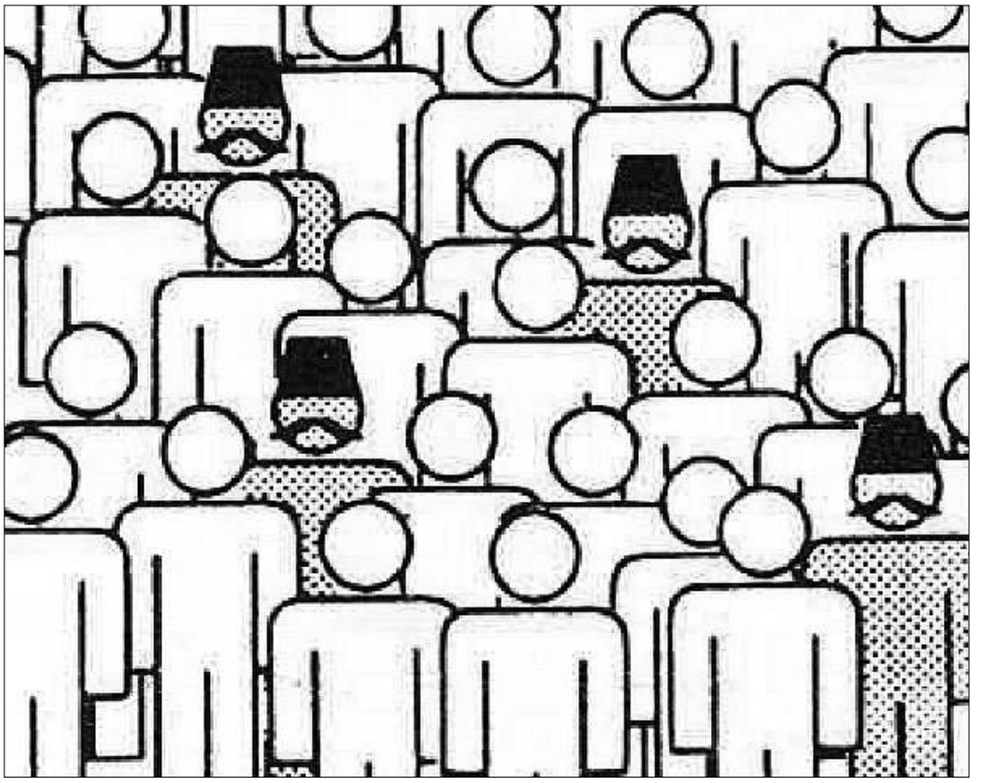


Figure 7. Harun Farocki, *In-Formation* (*Aufstellung*), 2005, video installation © Harun Farocki.

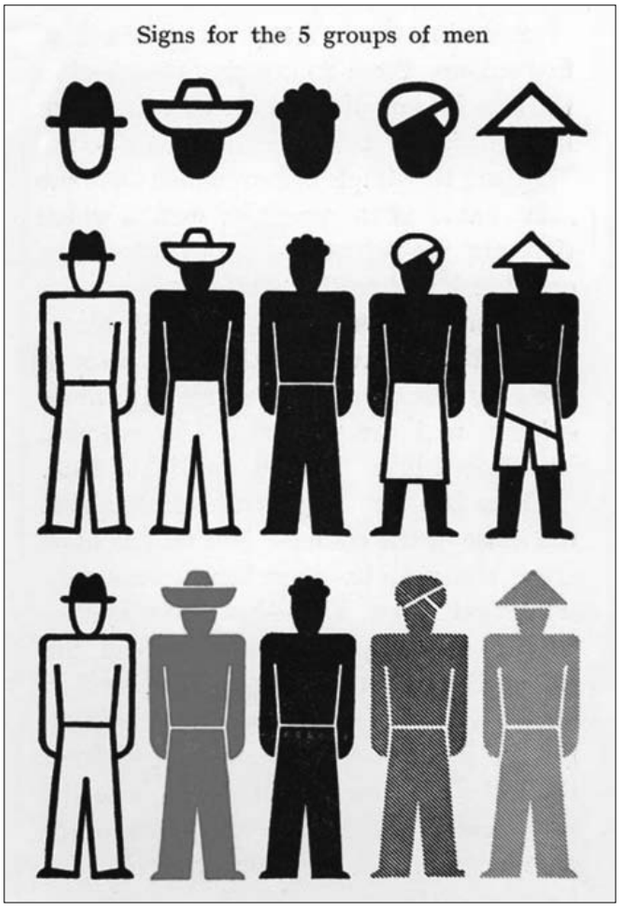


Figure 8. Otto Neurath, ISOTYPE image, 1936, graphic print © MAK - Artisan Museum of Applied Arts / Contemporary Art, Vienna.

Figure 9. Xu Bing, *Book from the Ground*, 2008, two computer stations and posters, Prospect 1 in New Orleans. Author's photo. Courtesy of Xu Bing.

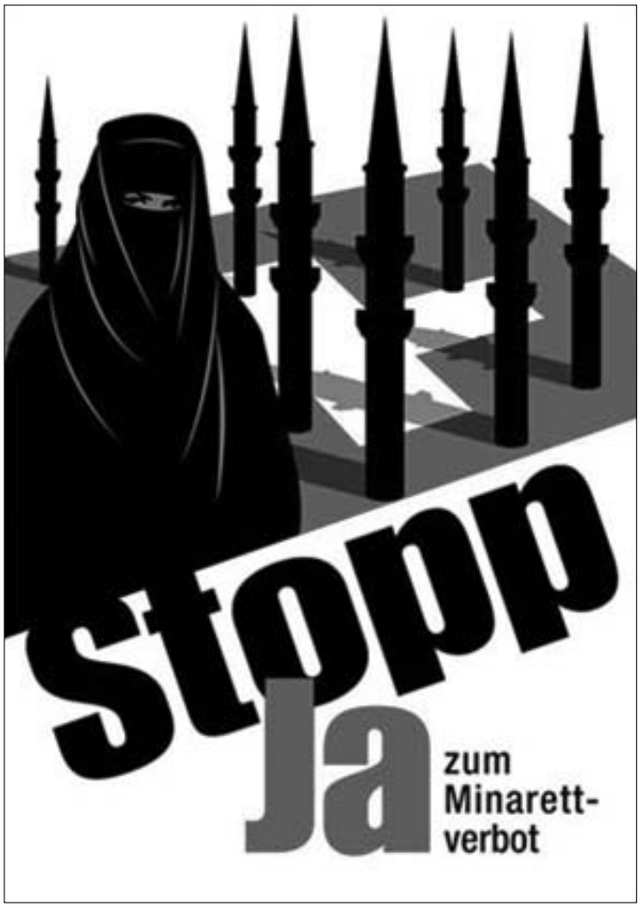


Figure 10. Swiss People Party's poster, 2009.

ATHANOR XXIX

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