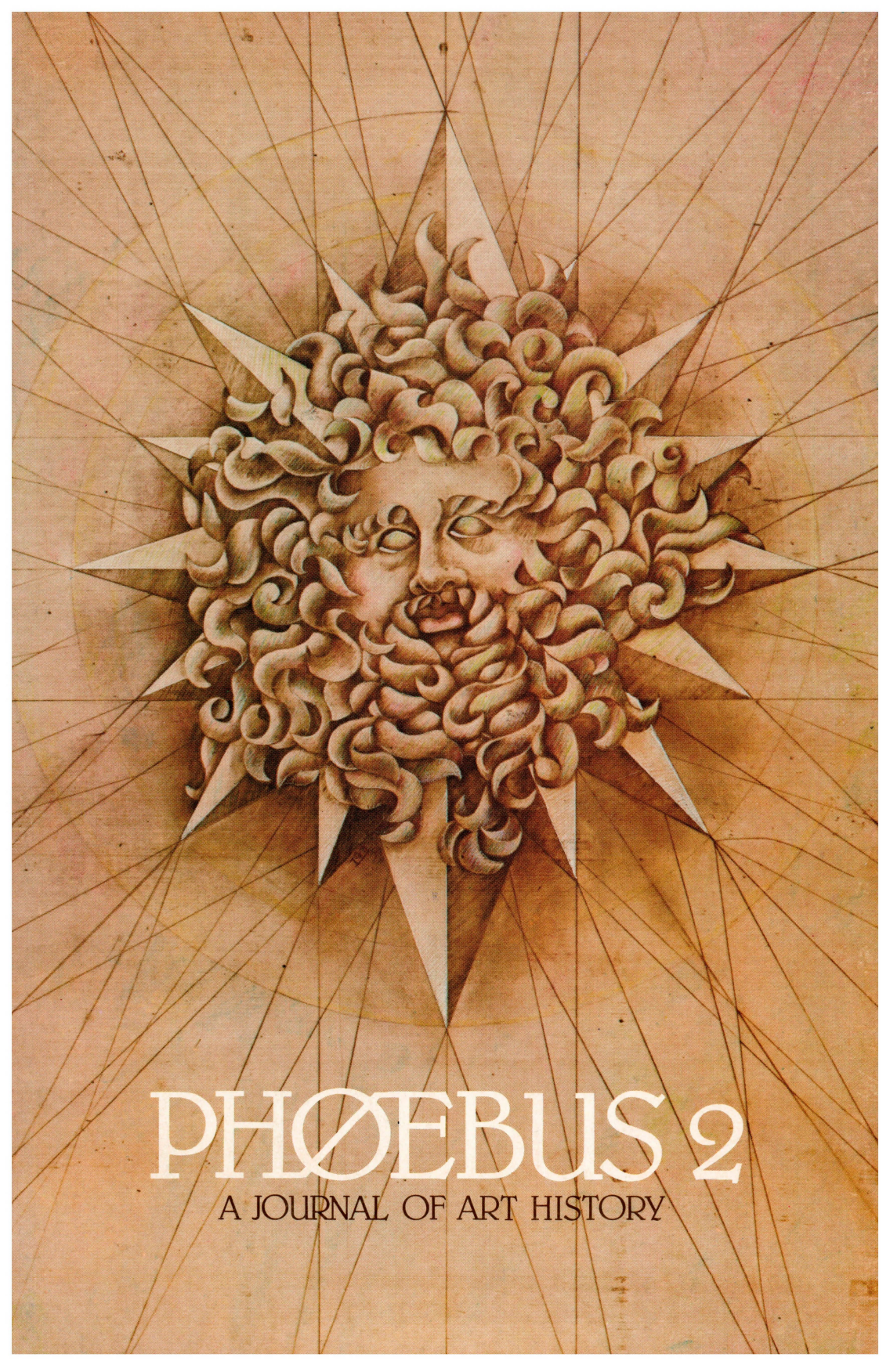

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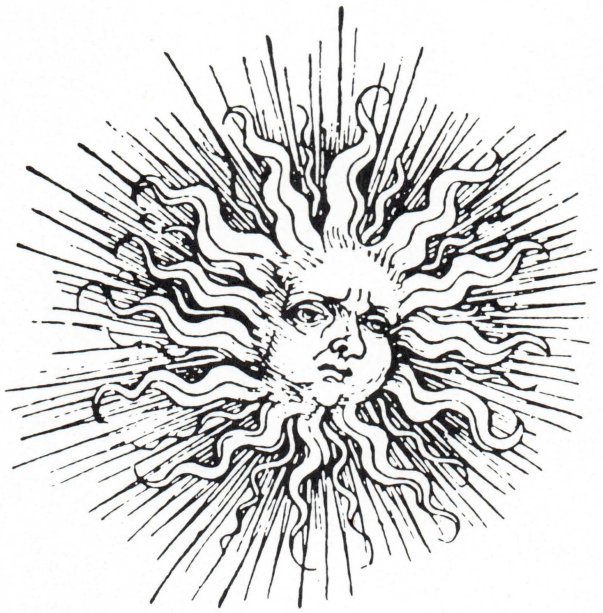
A JOURNAL OF ART HISTORY



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PREFACE

In 1978 the faculty of art history at Arizona State University decided to prove that art history was alive and well in the Southwest by producing **PHOEBUS I**, an annual journal of papers on the history of art. This present issue, **PHOEBUS II**, is dedicated to the same goals as the first issue.

We continue to concern ourselves with the excellent collections of art, public and private, to be found in this region. Our second goal, the desire to serve as a focus for research and publication by drawing together other institutions in this area, also has been achieved. This year the Phoenix Art Museum has offered to share part of the cost of **PHOEBUS II**. We appreciate this support and we look forward to a continuing association with the Phoenix Art Museum as well as with other institutions in the region.

While **PHOEBUS II** is published in Arizona, it is anything but parochial in outlook as a reading of the Table of Contents demonstrates. In fact, two of our contributors are at this moment involved in research projects on opposite sides of the world.

We are proud of the time span of the articles which extends backward to ancient Greece and forward to "only yesterday." In subsequent issues we expect to increase this breadth of subject matter to reflect Arizona State University's developing programs in Islamic art and the art of the American Indian.

No publication of this sort is the work of one or even a few people. **PHOEBUS II** is published because of the support of many people; the contributors, of course, and the Editorial Board. Beyond that, there has been the continuous support of the University administration, especially the Chair of the Department, Leonard Lehrer, and the Dean of the College of Fine Arts, Jules Heller.

PHOEBUS II owes its physical appearance to Ruben J. Muñoz of the Graphic Design Workshop, Art Department, College of Fine Arts, who has served as art director and has guided this issue through the printing process.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

8

The Problem of ANTISOLIMENISMO in Neapolitan Baroque Painting

DONALD RABINER

17

Mid-Fourteenth Century Painting in Suchou: Some Lesser Masters

CLAUDIA BROWN

31

A Re-examination of the Cult of Demeter and the Meaning of the Eleusinian Mysteries

SHERLY FARNESS

39

ARIZONA PORTFOLIO

54
An Unpublished ROWLANDSON Sketchbook
ANTHONY LACY GULLY

75
Are We Ready For Shih-t'ao?
JU-HSI CHOU

88
A Conversation Between Adolph Gottlieb and
Jack Breckenridge transcribed by Jack Breckenridge

97
Three Recent Art Reference Books

THE PROBLEM OF ANTISOLIMENISMO IN NEAPOLITAN BAROQUE PAINTING

Donald Rabiner

In the neglected field of Neapolitan Baroque painting crude simplifications and critical misconceptions abound.[1] Nowhere is this more true than for the period from around 1690 to 1725, decades whose richness and diversity often is obscured by attempts to interpret every stylistic tendency in terms of the art of Francesco Solimena. According to the traditional view, now largely discredited, Solimena was the unique painter of consequence in Naples following the death of Luca Giordano, and consequently the nature of the "Neapolitan School" could be adequately characterized by his works alone.[2] Recent years have seen the publication of monographic studies of a number of Solimena's contemporaries, as well as several notable attempts to synthesize a more complete and accurate history of the period.[3] Even to those Italian scholars whose work takes into consideration such re-evaluations of the period, however, Solimena still looms as the overwhelmingly dominant personality of the early Settecento in Naples. The distinct personal styles of such recently rediscovered painters as Giacomo del Pò, Domenico Antonio Vaccaro and Francesco Peresi still are considered primarily in relation to the art of Solimena, and contrary to the evidence of style and the testimony of contemporary records, most painters who cannot readily be classified as followers of Solimena are grouped into the vague and ill-conceived category of *antisolimeneschi*.

The tendency to view the painters of this period in terms of the polarity between *solimeneschi* and *antisolimeneschi* originated in the catalogue essay prepared by Costanza Lorenzetti for the major exhibition of Neapolitan Baroque and 19th century painting held in Naples in 1938.[4] In her analysis of the mature style of Giacomo del Pò — who to this day remains the central figure among the so-called *antisolimeneschi* — Lorenzetti noted with interest "il suo evolversi al Settecento senza concordia di intenti col caposcuola napoletana."[5] In thus recognizing that in Naples during the early 18th century there worked an important painter whose style was unrelated to that of Solimena, Lorenzetti had set forth the initial premise of a conceptual framework within which all future considerations of the period would lie. As her analysis gained general



1 Francesco Solimena, *Self-Portrait*. c. 1730. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

acceptance the acknowledgement of del Pò's stylistic distinctness from Solimena gradually evolved into the belief that his mature style reflected a conscious opposition to Solimena's art. There further developed the notion that far from being alone in his opposition to Solimena, del Pò was but the earliest representative of the organized forces of *antisolimenismo* in the opening years of the 18th century. As early as 1950, for example, in an exhibition catalogue jointly prepared by Ferdinando Bologna and Raffaello Causa, del Pò was seen as the first of many exponents of "la grande pittura settecentesca napoletana, antisolimenesca ed antidemuriana."[6] More recently, in perhaps the most extreme expression of this view, Nicola Spinosa has adopted the phraseology of military historians to describe what he has termed the *fronda antisolimenesca*.[7] Battle-lines of the early 18th century, whose historical existence has yet to be demonstrated, have been carefully drawn by modern scholars whose sympathies most often lie with the "opponents" of Francesco Solimena.

This historically inaccurate view of the early Settecento in Naples rests upon two fundamental misconceptions. First is the belief that already by 1705, the year of Luca Giordano's death, Solimena was perceived by his contemporaries as an overwhelmingly dominant *caposcuola*. Second is the opinion that the styles of the so-called *antisolimeneschi* were clearly antagonistic to that of Solimena and just as clearly related one to the next. The fallacy of this latter point can be demonstrated rapidly by an examination of some of the styles in question. The first point, which hinges upon our understanding of "perceptions" in the early 18th century, requires more lengthy consideration.

Paintings from Solimena's maturity, such as the imperious *Self-Portrait* (Naples, Museo Nazionale) of about 1730 (fig. 1), reveal a type of Late Baroque Classicism which is deeply rooted in Neapolitan traditions of the Seicento. The forms are tightly painted, and a strong chiaroscuro produces broad sculptural volumes which anchor the composition and render it stable. The emphatic frontality of the head, together with a carefully balanced system of countervailing diagonals, reduces what little movement is suggested by the undulant pockets of the drapery folds. Between this painting and a characteristic work by Giacomo del Pò, such as his *Apollo and Glory with Jupiter and Juno* (Salzburg, Residenzgalerie) of about 1723 (fig. 2), the contrast could not be greater. Del Pò's style, with its fluid, streaming brushwork and (at this late stage in the painter's career) its shimmering palette of pale blues and creamy golds, clearly is unrelated to that of Solimena. Whether such difference implies opposition, and hence *antisolimenismo,* is a question that cannot be answered through visual analysis alone.

The styles of other painters who are ranged among the *antisolimeneschi* at times display more significant parallels with Solimena's art than with that of del Pò. Important in this regard is Paolo De Matteis, whose initial training under Luca Giordano has obscured his profound sympathies with the classicizing milieu of Carlo Maratta and his followers in Rome. De Matteis' *Hercules at the Crossroads* (Leeds, Temple Newsome House), painted in 1711 on commission from Lord Shaftesbury (fig. 3), is hardly the sort of work one would expect from an artist who was programatically opposed to the style of Francesco Solimena. De Matteis eschews Solimena's pronounced chiaroscuro, but his composition and the high moral tone of his theme[8] reveal a personality far more in tune with Solimena's conservatism than with the secular gracefulness of del Pò. A similar disparity between recent classifications and actual stylistic affinities can be found in the works of other painters said to be prominent in the anti-Solimenesque movement, most notably Domenico Antonio Vaccaro and Nicola Malinconico.[9]

Modern scholars no doubt are correct in asserting, despite their apparent distaste for his mature style, that Francesco Solimena was the most accomplished painter active in Naples in the early 18th century. The point at issue, however, does not concern the undeniably high quality of Solimena's *oeuvre,* but rather the extent to which he did in fact dominate his age. Only when it is seen that Solimena's preeminence in Naples during the early 18th century is largely a historical fabrication, and that prior to



2 Giacomo del Pò, *Apollo and Glory with Jupiter and Juno*. c. 1723. Salzburger Landessammlungen-Residenzgalerie.

about 1725 he was viewed as but one of several important painters in that city, can the art of his foremost Neapolitan contemporaries be considered on its own terms. At question is the extent to which, in the first quarter of the 18th century, Solimena was actually perceived as the Neapolitan *caposcuola*.

The first indication that Solimena was thought to hold a dominant position in his adopted city came only in 1733, with the publication of the second Neapolitan edition of P.A. Orlandi's *Abecedario pittorico*.[10] The opening, unpaginated section of this work contains an encomiastic dedication to Solimena, written by Niccolo Parrino, together with a brief life of the artist and a collection of laudatory messages from several of his major patrons. This material clearly indicates Solimena's important stature, both within Naples and throughout Europe, in the same ambient which saw in Rome the ascendency of Francesco Trevisani, Benedetto Luti and other heirs to the Late Baroque Classicism of Carlo Maratta. It must be noted, however, that by 1733 many prominent Neapolitan painters of the early Settecento were no longer living, while artists of the following generation, such as Francesco De Mura, had only just embarked upon their mature careers. For a brief period following the deaths of Giacomo del Pò, Nicola Malinconico and Paolo De Matteis, all during the 1720's,[11] Solimena was, incontestably, the dominant figure in Neapolitan painting.

Published sources dating from before the 1733 edition of Orlandi's *Abecedario* suggest that during the first three decades of the 18th century Solimena's stature was no greater than that of at least two other painters: Paolo De Matteis and Giacomo del Pò. Solimena's works, like theirs, were recorded in local guidebooks and were the subject of an occasional comment by a visiting traveller, but nowhere was the artist singled out for praise as the Neapolitan *caposcuola*. Moreover, the bibliography of early 18th century sources for the paintings of Solimena is no more ample than those for his two foremost contemporaries.

Although Solimena's dominant position in Neapolitan painting from the 1730's onward was first acknowledged in the 1733 edition of Orlandi's *Abecedario*, the overriding importance later accorded his art stems in large part from the historical framework for the period that was created by the biographer Bernardo De Dominici. In his *Vite* of the 17th and early 18th century artists of Naples, published in 1743,[12] De Dominici succeeded in setting back the moment of Solimena's emergence as the preeminent Neapolitan painter to 1705, the year of Luca Giordano's death. De Dominici viewed the history of Neapolitan painting from the mid 17th century until his own day as a continuum in which there reigned first Luca Giordano, and then Francesco Solimena. His assessment of Giordano's position was essentially correct, for Luca had been universally recognized since the 1670's as the foremost painter of Naples. In attributing a similar position to Solimena, however, De Dominici seems to have acted largely out of personal considerations. Although today he is remembered solely as the author of the *Vite* of Neapolitan artists, De Dominici was also a modestly talented painter, and may well have received his initial training in Solimena's large and well-organized studio.[13] His desire to elevate his presumed teacher to the rank of a Luca Giordano, and to see Solimena as the direct and immediate successor to Giordano as the Neapolitan *caposcuola*, can thus be understood in terms of his own commitment as a painter to the type of Late Baroque Classicism which characterized Solimena's mature style.

In recent years it has become fashionable to criticize De Dominici for the unreliability of his factual information and the fanciful nature of many of the anecdotes in his narrative.[14] In actuality, however, when dealing with Neapolitan Baroque artists, and in particular with painters of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, De Dominici provided such a wealth of useful and accurate information that he must be considered among the finest regional biographers of the entire Baroque era. The question of factual accuracy, however, is only marginally related to the problem of De Dominici's inherent bias in favor of the style and working procedures of Francesco Solimena. Only on rare



3 Paolo De Matteis, *Hercules at the Crossroads*. 1711. Leeds, Temple Newsome House.

occasions did he actually falsify the nature of events so as to portray Solimena in a more favorable light.[15] His bias operated instead in a more subtle and more pervasive fashion, as a filter through which to interpret the significance of all recent developments in Neapolitan painting.

De Dominici's *Vite*, then, must not be taken as an infallible guide to the state of painting in Naples prior to about 1725. Contemporary attitudes toward various painters of the late 17th and early 18th centuries can, however, be gauged through a study of the *Gazzetta di Napoli*, a series of weekly *avvisi* published in Naples throughout the period under consideration.[16] Even a partial survey of this material, which rarely has been given proper attention by art historians, yields a number of interesting observations.[17] Prior to 1692, the year of his departure for Spain, Luca Giordano was the painter most frequently cited in the *Gazzetta* — a confirmation, no doubt, of his preeminent stature in the artistic community of Naples. Following Giordano' departure, and indeed throughout the first quarter of the 18th century, one might expect to find abundant references to the works of Solimena, but this is not the case. Between 1692 and 1725, in the years for which *avvisi* have survived, there occur but three short references to Solimena.[18] But while Solimena received remarkably little attention in these years, both Paolo De Matteis and Giacomo del Pò were cited with great frequency. There are references to the works of De Matteis for San Luigi di Palazzo, Santo Spirito di Palazzo, San Francesco Saverio (San Ferdinando), San Giovanni de' Fiorentini, the Pietà de' Turchini and the Certosa di San Martino.[19] Similarly, del Pò is cited for his paintings in the Rosariello delle Pigne, San Domenico Maggiore and Santa Caterina a Formello, as well as for his scenographic designs for various theatrical productions and his contributions to the catafalques erected in Naples for the Emperor Joseph I and for Pope Innocent XII.[20] Other painters, many of whom today are but little known, likewise received surprisingly ample consideration. Nicola Russo, for example, is mentioned on four separate occasions between 1693 and 1697, and his paintings for Santo Spirito di Palazzo are described as "... acclamato universalmente da tutti i virtuosi, ed intendenti."[21] In the accounts of the customary display of paintings along the via Toledo on the occasion of the Feast of Corpus Domini in 1709 and 1710, the works of Francesco Peresi alone are singled out for praise.[22]

Inferences from a statistical survey of the *Gazzetta di Napoli* must be made with the understanding that this source is not a wholly accurate guide to the importance of a given artist, nor even the "noteworthiness" of his paintings. Only certain types of projects — namely, major works for the churches of Naples — are consistently reported in the *avvisi*. Rarely is there a reference to fresco decorations for a *palazzo nobile,* to easel paintings commissioned by private patrons, or to the shipment abroad of even a major work. Also, insofar as citations in the *Gazzetta* can be taken to indicate the relative significance of a project, or the popularity or prominence of a given painter, such evaluations represent the opinion of the particular author or editor of the entry and cannot necessarily be generalized as statements of attitudes which were widespread throughout the cultured population of Naples. Even within these limitations, however, the evidence of the *Gazzetta* strongly suggests that the artistic climate of the city between about 1690 and 1725 was far more open and varied than is generally believed. There is no evidence of Solimena's preeminence in these years.

An examination of the important commissions of this period likewise fails to support the contention that Solimena was an especially dominant force in Neapolitan painting in the first quarter of the 18th century. His production was limited primarily to altarpieces and large frescoes for the city's churches, and to easel paintings usually of modest size executed on commission from private collectors. In neither of these fields, however, was his contribution significantly greater than those of Giacomo del Pò, Paolo De Matteis or even Domenico Antonio Vaccaro. With regard to large-scale fresco decorations for Neapolitan palaces, Solimena's role was decidedly secondary. Whether by

inclination or by conscious choice, Solimena painted surprisingly few secular decorations. His four projects of this type, in the Palazzo Reale, the Palazzo Sanfelice, and his private residences in Naples and Barra, were executed only in the years after about 1730, following the deaths of Giacomo del Pò and Paolo De Matteis, the undisputed masters in this field.[23]

The term *antisolimeneschi* has been applied to a number of painters in Naples in the early 18th century whose styles may have differed from that of Solimena. Difference, however, does not necessarily imply opposition, and as Solimena was not perceived by his contemporaries as *caposcuola* until at least 1725 there is little likelihood that in the opening decades of the century his classicizing, even "academic" style would have had so great a force as to spawn a reformatory *fronda antisolimenesca*. At the present stage in the development of Neapolitan Baroque studies the desire to simplify and categorize must be held in check. Only when the polar schema is abandoned and Solimena's role is seen in its proper perspective can a correct evaluation of the period and the individual styles of its painters be made.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The content of this article, based in part upon research for my doctoral dissertation *The Paintings of Giacomo del Pò*, (University of Kansas, 1978), was presented in somewhat different form in a paper read at the national meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies, held in Chicago in April, 1978.

[2]This interpretation can still be found, however, in surveys of the period by British and American scholars, who have shown a tenacious resistance to recent developments in the study of Neapolitan Baroque painting. Rudolf Wittkower, for example, in his *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600 to 1750*, (Baltimore and Harmondsworth, 1973), p. 306, found room in the text only for Solimena, "... who headed the Neapolitan school unchallenged during the first half of the 18th Century," and relegated to a footnote his brief treatment of four other painters (including the Fleming Borremans) who were active in Naples during these years.

[3]Among the important general histories of Neapolitan painting in this period are F. Bologna, "Le Arti figurative," in F. Bologna, G. Doria and E. Pannain, *Settecento napoletano*, (Naples, 1962), pp. 51-96; O. Ferrari, "Le Arti figurative," in *Storia di Napoli*, VI, (Naples, 1970), pp. 1221-1336; and N. Spinosa, "La Pittura napoletana da Carlo a Ferdinando IV di Borbone," in *Storia di Napoli*, VIII, (Naples, 1971), pp. 453-547. Relevant studies of individual artists are cited in the notes below.

[4]C. Lorenzetti, "La Pittura napoletana del secolo XVIII," in *La Mostra della pittura napoletana dei secoli XVII, XVIII, XIX*, (Naples, 1938), pp. 145-203.

[5]Lorenzetti, "Pittura napoletana," p. 156.

[6]F. Bologna and R. Causa, *Sculture lignee nella Campagna*, (Naples, 1950), pp. 191-92.

[7]N. Spinosa, "Pittori napoletani del secondo Settecento: Jacopo Cestaro," *Napoli nobilissima*, 3rd series, IX, 1970, 74. In a recent private communication, Prof. Spinosa has indicated to me that he no longer holds this view.

[8]Due in part to the peculiar circumstances of the commission; see B. Croce, "Shaftesbury in Italia," in his *Uomini e cose della vecchia Italia*, (Bari, 1943), Vol. I, pp. 274-311.

[9]Both painters are placed among the so-called *antisolimeneschi* in R. Mormone, "Domenico Antonio Vaccaro architetto, IV: la chiesa di S. Michele a Piazza Dante," *Napoli nobilissima*, 3rd series, IV, (1964-65), 107. Though Vaccaro remains classified among the opponents of Solimena, an attempt to reassess the position of Malinconico was made in V. De Martini, "Un Episodio giordanesco a Bergamo," *Arte cristiana*, LXVI, (1978), 51-58.

[10]P.A. Orlandi, *Abecedario pittorico ... coretto e notabilmente di nuove notizie accresciuto*, (Naples, 1733). The first Neapolitan edition had appeared two years earlier.

[11]Dott.ssa Vega De Martini, of the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Napoli, has informed me of her discovery that Nicola Malinconico, traditionally thought to have died in 1721, continued to work as late as 1728.

[12]B. De Dominici, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti napoletani*, (Naples, 1742-43).

[13]None of De Dominici's paintings has been identified, and little can be said with certainty about his career as a painter. Nonetheless, his adulation of Solimena strongly suggests a pupil-teacher relationship.

[14]This has been the case since the biting condemnation of De Dominici in B. Croce, "Il Falsario," *Napoli nobilissima*, I, (1892), pp. 122-26 and 140-44.

[15]As with the commission for the spandrel paintings in the nave arcade of SS. Apostoli in Naples, for which see B. De Dominici, *Vite*, III, 498. The true nature of Solimena's intervention, after the Theatine priests had found del Pò's work unsatisfactory, can be gauged through documents published in F. Strazzullo, "Documenti per la storia della chiesa dei SS. Apostoli," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, XXXVI, (1956), p. 256.

[16]The early history of the *Gazzetta*, which has yet to be fully explored, is touched upon in N. Cortese, *Cultura e politica a Napoli dal Cinque al Settecento*, (Naples, 1965), pp. 161-84.

[17]The only surviving copies of the *Gazzetta* are preserved in the libraries of Naples. Key extracts will be made widely available in my "Notices on Painting from the *Gazzetta di Napoli*," *Antologia di Belli-Arti*, at press.

[18]*Gazzetta di Napoli*, 11 December 1696, 21 March 1713 and 2 June 1716.

[19]*Gazzetta di Napoli*, 7 April 1693, 9 December 1693, 13 July 1695, 25 June 1697, 19 January 1700, 16 November 1700, 6 May 1710, 2 August 1712, 4 April 1713, 18 August 1716 and 8 June 1717.

[20]*Gazzetta di Napoli*, 19 May 1693, 8 June 1697, 5 October 1700, 12 May 1711, 8 March 1712, 25 December 1714, 31 August 1717, 2 December 1721, 27 January 1722 and 1 September 1722.

[21]*Gazzetta di Napoli*, 22 September 1693, 5 July 1693, 31 July 1696 and 30 April 1697.

[22]*Gazzetta di Napoli*, 11 June 1709 and 1 July 1710.

[23]For the frescoes by Solimena, all lost, see F. Bologna, *Francesco Solimena*, (Naples, 1957), pp. 284-87.

MID-FOURTEENTH CENTURY PAINTING IN SUCHOU: SOME LESSER MASTERS*

Claudia Brown

Since the sixteenth century, historians of Chinese painting have viewed the later decades of the Yüan dynasty (1279-1368) as a period dominated by the Four Great Masters: Huang Kung-wang, Wu Chen, Ni Tsan and Wang Meng. Modern art-historical studies published in the West have maintained, and even strengthened, this critical concept by assuming a more-or-less independent development of the four distinctly individual styles of the Great Masters in the midst of a cluster of imitative and derivative styles of the "Lesser Masters" — a group whose membership varies but generally includes among others Chao Yüan, Ch'en Ju-yen, and Hsü Pen.[1] A number of recent publications have treated the period in terms of a broader period style or series of styles, often taking into account social and geographical considerations as well,[2] but the nature of the artistic contribution of the Lesser Masters remains obscure. Too often they are portrayed one-dimensionally, as pale reflections of their bright and talented contemporaries who were immortalized in the enduring notion of the Four Great Masters of the Yüan dynasty.[3] An objective look at a selection of paintings by the Lesser Masters of Suchou active under the regime of Chang Shih-ch'eng (1356-1367) and in the decade immediately following the establishment of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) forces a re-evaluation of these long neglected painters.

Two of the Great Masters, Huang Kung-wang and Wu Chen, died in 1354 — two years before Chang Shih-ch'eng took over the city of Suchou. The other two, Ni Tsan and Wang Meng, were active in and around Suchou well into the 1370's. Located in the

*This article is a revision of a paper read at the October 1978 meeting of the Western Conference of the Association for Asian Studies held at the University of Arizona, Tucson. The material presented here is drawn from research for my dissertation now in progress under the supervision of Prof. Chu-tsing Li, for whose continuing guidance and support I am grateful.



1 Chao Yüan, *Grass Pavilion at Ho-hsi*. Shanghai Museum.



2 Ch'en Ju-yen, *Song of the Wanderer*. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, Republic of China.

middle of the Yangtze delta and long known for its wealth and scholarship and its literary and artistic traditions, Suchou had become by late Yüan the leading cultural center in China.[4] Economic reasons account in large part for this ascendancy — Suchou had become a wealthy commercial center for the agricultural products of the rich delta land — but political developments too were a major factor. By the mid-fourteenth century, the Mongol government had begun to disintegrate in the hands of leaders far less competent than Kubilai Khan, the founder of Mongol rule in China during the thirteenth century. Rebellions had sprung up in the south and the east. Among the more successful rebel leaders was Chang Shih-ch'eng, a former salt smuggler, who gained control of the city of Suchou and, in 1356, made it his capital. Well-disposed toward the city's intellectuals, Chang invited many scholar-painters to serve in his government. When in 1367 he was forced to surrender to Chu Yüan-chang, the barely literate monk who would found the Ming dynasty in 1368, Suchou lost its favored status. Suspicious of the wealthy citizenry of Suchou, Chu seized every opportunity to persecute its intellectuals. Of the many Suchou scholars who dutifully accepted official positions under the new Ming government, nearly all came eventually to tragic ends at the hands of the new Emperor.

From this politically turbulent period, four talented painters — Huang, Wu, Ni and Wang — were singled out by later critics as the Four Great Masters of the Yüan.[5] The concept of the Four Masters was elaborated gradually during the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and reflects the tendency in traditional Chinese art-historical criticism to codify historical phenomena in terms of simple numerical patterns. But the concept is by no means universal in Ming criticism. In a well-known poem on the history of painting, Tu Ch'iung (1396-1474), an older contemporary and friend of Shen Chou, clearly ranks Chao Yüan as the equal of Wang Meng.[6] Ho Liang-chün (1506-73), in his *Ssu-yu-chai hua lun*, used the term "Four Great Masters" in what is now standard usage. In that passage, however, a second list follows his enumeration of the Four Great Masters; here Ch'en Ju-yen, Chao Yüan, Ma Wan, Lu Kuang and Hsü Pen are described as painters whose expression is "also excellent."[7] As late as the 1570's, Wang Shih-chen felt free to substitute Chao Meng-fu for Ni Tsan in his designation of "Four Great Masters of the Yüan." Ni he put into another category — the *i* or "untrammeled" class — along with Kao K'o-kung and Fang Ts'ung-i.[8] In the writings of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636), this casual grouping of four outstanding painters assumed a more formal quality, and the notion of "Four Great Masters of the Yüan" became a key element in his theory of the Northern and Southern schools of painting.[9] Ku Fu, writing half a century after Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, seems nonetheless free of Tung's prejudices. Ku's *P'ing-sheng chuang kuan* (preface dated 1692) draws no such clear distinctions between these four painters and their contemporaries. The Lesser Masters Fang Ts'ung-i, Ch'en Ju-yen and Ma Wan, barely mentioned by Tung, here receive elaborate praise alongside their more famous colleagues.[10]

Clearly the Four Masters were the great painters of their day. Yet the emphasis on their accomplishments has unduly obscured the contributions of the many other artists of Suchou in the late Yüan whose stylistic experiments paralleled those of the better-known painters. The reputations of these Lesser Masters, nearly all of whom died during the reign of Chu Yüan-chang, declined considerably in the first century of the Ming dynasty and did not fully revive after Suchou regained its former status at the end of the fifteenth century. The Wu School, which arose in this newly flourishing Suchou, has been considered a re-establishment of the Yüan tradition of literati painting; indeed, the leading painters of the Wu School, Shen Chou and Wen Cheng-ming, have been seen as the direct stylistic heirs of the Four Great Masters. The nature of this inheritance, however, and the role played by the Lesser Masters in the transmission of the Yüan tradition awaits explanation.

Contemporary records of Suchou painters in the 1350's are filled with accounts of the activities of the Lesser Masters, many of whom frequented the villa of the



3 Ch'en Ju-yen, *Woodcutter of Mount Lo-fou*. Mr. and Mrs. A. Dean Perry Collection.



4 Hsü Pen, *Streams and Mountains*. Mr. and Mrs. A. Dean Perry Collection.



5 Chao Yüan, *Farewell by a Stream on a Clear Day*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange, 1973.

wealthy gentleman-scholar Ku Ying (properly Ku A-ying or Ku Te-hui). Ku's literary gatherings, poetry contests, and outings to scenic spots around Suchou included some participants known specifically for their painting rather than for their poetry or calligraphy. Such less-known painters as Chao Yüan and Ch'en Ju-yen were often included. In 1351, for example, the young painter Ch'en Ju-yen — barely twenty-years-old at the time — accompanied Ku and two poets to Tiger Hill. Ch'en painted a picture for each of the poems composed and the poems were then inscribed on the paintings.[11]

These painters were often called upon to make pictorial records of the country estates of local gentlemen-scholars. Chao Yüan's hanging scroll, *Grass Pavilion at Ho-hsi* (fig. 1),[12] depicts Ku's retreat and bears Ku's inscription of 1363. Ch'en Ju-yen too received such commissions. An inscription of 1359 by Ni Tsan on Ch'en's *Painting of Ching-hsi*, depicting a famous spot near Suchou, records that Ch'en had been specifically engaged to paint the family estate of Wang Yun-t'ung.[13] The delight of recognizing familiar scenes which lies behind so many of these paintings[14] belies the commonly accepted platitudes about the Yüan scholar-painter's lack of concern for subject matter in general and for nature as a specific source of inspiration. Sketchy and suggestive as they may be, these paintings reflect an interest in realistic subjects too often overlooked in current scholarship.[15] Perhaps the most famous example of this genre is the painting of *The Lion Grove* (Shih-tzu-lin) in Suchou. Ni Tsan's inscription of 1373 implies he had discussed the conception of the work with Chao Yüan, but the passage does not clearly indicate which of the two artists had executed the painting. Wu Ch'i-chen, who saw the scroll in 1652, listed it as a cooperative work but argued that the painting itself was by Chao Yüan alone.[16] Ku Fu, writing in the late seventeenth century, recorded the work as a painting by Chao Yüan with an inscription by Ni Tsan.[17] Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, however, praised both the inscription and the painting as evidence of Ni's great talent and creativity.[18] In the 1950's, Siren, relying heavily on Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, not only gave the painting to Ni Tsan but considered it a masterpiece of his later years.[19] Recent publications[20] have revived the link to Chao Yüan, treating the work as a collaborative effort, but this has had the curious effect of diminishing the importance of the painting rather than increasing the status of the artist Chao Yüan. The very confusion over the authorship of the scroll suggests a need to re-examine the styles and inter-relationships of late Yüan painters.

Examples of collaboration between the Great Masters Ni Tsan or Wang Meng and various Lesser Masters are plentiful. One such effort resulted in *The Song of the Wanderer* (dated 1365) in the National Palace Museum (fig. 2). Here Ni Tsan inscribed a poem by Meng Chiao (751-814), and credited Ch'en Ju-yen with the painting, himself with the calligraphy. Mistakenly identified as a dull and didactic Confucian parable,[21] the theme in fact is Meng Chiao's mournful ode to motherly love:

> Thread in the hands of a doting mother:
> Clothes on the body of a journeying son.
> Upon his leaving, she adds one stitch after another,
> Lest haply he may not return so soon.
> Ah! How could the heart of an inch-long grass
> Requite a whole Spring's infinite love and grace?[22]

In the troubled times of the 1360's, when Chang Shih-ch'eng's regime had become increasingly corrupt, such a note of regret may have carried an allusion to the self-doubt of scholars like Ch'en who had agreed to serve the rebel government.

In spite of its turmoil and uncertainty, the mid-1360's saw the development of a new compositional formula in the work of Suchou painters. Professors Chu-tsing Li and James Cahill independently have suggested that the landscapes by Wang Meng which can be dated within this decade are characterized by high mountains built up in densely packed masses — echoing the monumental mountain compositions of Northern Sung,

but described through repetition of long, dry texture strokes.[23] The interior drawing often follows the contours of forms; monotony is relieved by dark wet dots of vegetation. These authors have also cited related paintings by minor masters including Fang Ts'ung-i's *Divine Mountains and Luminous Woods* (1365, National Palace Museum, Taipei);[24] Ch'en Ju-yen's *Woodcutter of Mount Lo-fou* (1366, Perry Collection, Cleveland; fig. 3); Hsü Pen's *Streams and Mountains* (1372, Perry Collection; fig. 4); and Chao Yüan's *Farewell by a Stream on a Clear Day* (not dated, Metropolitan Museum, New York; fig. 5). Forming a group which also includes *Dwelling in the Ch'ing-pien Mountains* (1366, Shanghai Museum)[25] — Wang Meng's acclaimed masterpiece in this genre — these paintings show a striking homogeneity of composition but an equally striking diversity of brushwork and expressive effect.

After the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368, painting in the Suchou circle, though less fully documented, may be even richer in complex artistic inter-relationships. During these years Ni Tsan reached his mature style in such works as the *Jung-hsi Studio* of 1372 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).[26] A painting now in Chicago called *The Hermitage* (fig. 6), signed by Ch'en Ju-yen and inscribed by Ni Tsan in 1371, though not as yet firmly authenticated, displays a dry, sparse brushwork which suggests that the Lesser Masters shared in the creation of the manner which later became associated exclusively with Ni Tsan. That Ni did not in fact dominate or lead the Suchou painters during this period has been remarked upon in recent publications;[27] and yet no serious attempt has been made to interpret Ni's work in light of that of his less famous friends.

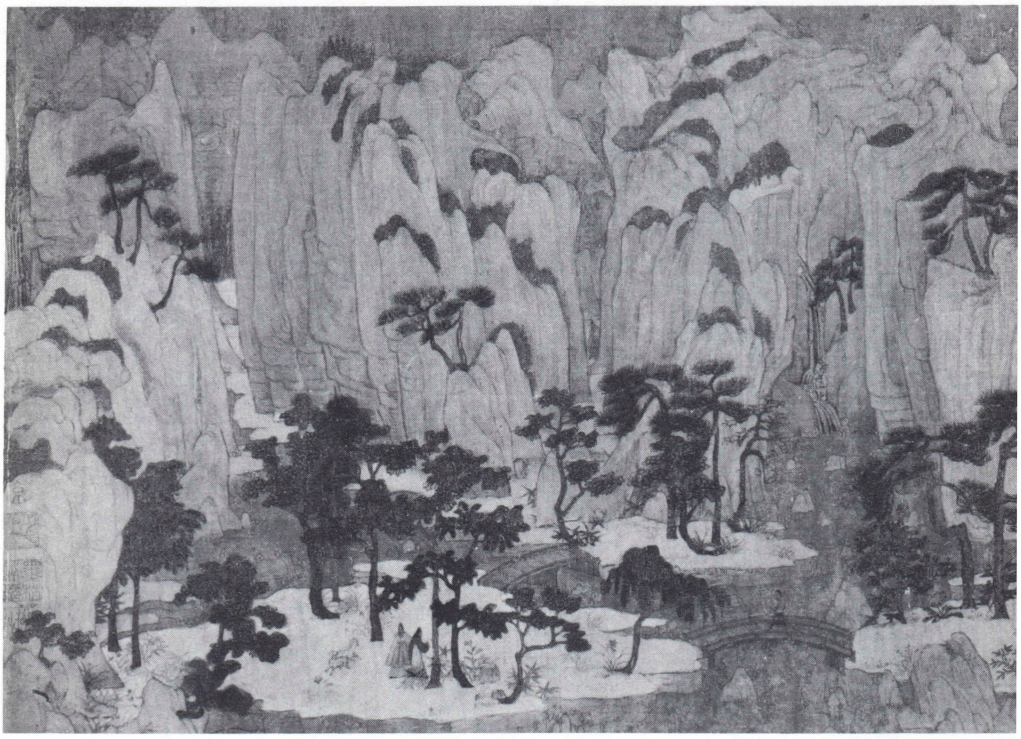
Though the biographies of Ni Tsan and Wang Meng are rather well-known, our understanding of their work has been clouded by the vast number of paintings now attributed to them. Since their fame has remained unbroken since the fifteenth century, innumerable copies — ranging from exacting reproductions to free interpretations — have been made of their works. Such copies have swelled the number of attributions to unwieldy proportions. In this regard, the more easily authenticated works by the Lesser Masters can assist in the process of reconstructing the corpus of paintings of these two men.

The study of Wang Meng's late work is made even more difficult by the fact that none of the present attributions is dated between 1370 and 1383. *Forest Dwelling at Chü-ch'ü*,[28] often proposed as a late work, is a colored landscape in an archaistic manner. Wang's dynamic texture strokes which derive from the hemp-fiber manner of Tung Yüan and Chü-jan are not obscured by the autumn colors of the leaves, but the stylized pattern of the water, the two-dimensional arrangement of the trees and the screen of rocks stretching into the corners of the composition and allowing only isolated pockets of space suggest archaizing tendencies as strong as those of the so-called "blue-and-green" manner. Some have doubted the authenticity of the painting because of its strong color and unusual composition, but comparison with a late work by Ch'en Ju-yen (d. 1371), *Land of the Immortals* (fig. 7), provides evidence for accepting it. A landscape in the blue-and-green mode, this short handscroll in the Perry Collection is well-documented by early catalogue descriptions. In depicting the Taoist paradise as a birthday gift for his friend P'an Yüan-ming (son-in-law of Chang Shih-ch'eng), Ch'en chose to use an archaistic composition based ultimately on landscapes of the Six Dynasties and T'ang periods. As in the Chü-ch'ü scroll, the bright color is combined with soft brushstrokes which model the mountains in the Tung-Chü manner; here, however, the broad washes of flat color soften the effect of the brushwork. The most compelling similarity between the two paintings lies in the structure of the mountains which form an impenetrable mass — a mass fully contained in Ch'en's composition but boldly extending beyond the frame of Wang's. The inscription by Ni Tsan, dated 1371, not only identifies the immediate source — the paintings of Chao Meng-fu — for this colored manner, but also confirms that the colored landscape was a genre acceptable to the tastes of the fourteenth century Suchou literati.[29]



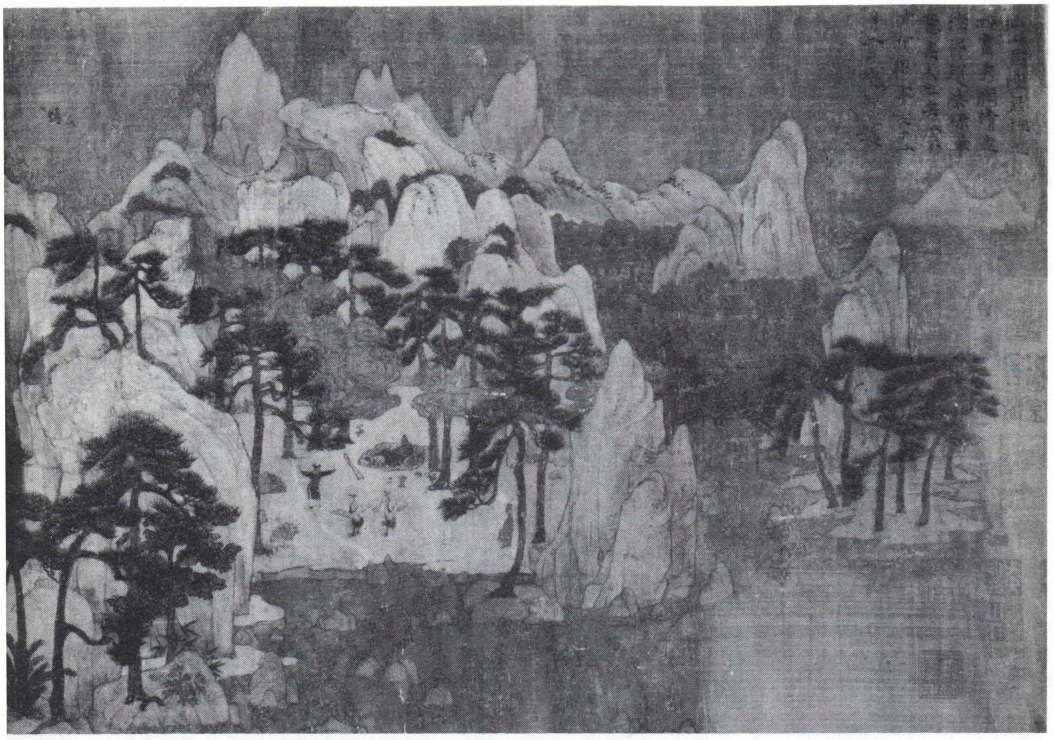
6 Ch'en Ju-yen, *Hermitage*. Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago.

7 Ch'en Ju-yen, *Land of Immortals*. Mr. and Mrs. A. Dean Perry Collection.



Wang Meng and Ch'en Ju-yen may well have exchanged ideas during the first four years of the Ming. Both accepted official positions under the first Ming emperor, and both were sent to Shantung to serve in the provincial administration. Literary records indicate that the two visited several times and once even collaborated in finishing one of Wang Meng's colored landscapes.[30] It appears that Wang Meng and Ch'en Ju-yen had become interested in the colored landscape in the years following Chu Yüan-chang's conquest of the Suchou area in 1367. The blue-and-green manner had enjoyed great popularity among the frustrated literati painters at the beginning of the Yüan. Its reappearance in the closing years of the dynasty might once again be related to the disappointment and frustration of the scholar-painters of the South. Although they may have looked forward to the return of government to Chinese hands, under the tyrannical reign of Chu Yüan-chang they had to fear for their very lives.

Chu's prejudice against the Suchou literati who had supported Chang Shih-ch'eng led to reprisals which virtually destroyed the Suchou school. Chao Yüan and Ch'en Ju-yen were executed in the 1370's; Wang Meng and Hsü Pen died in prison in the 1380's.[31] The biographies of the Lesser Masters are not well recorded, but clearly these were men younger than the Great Masters by as much as a generation. Ch'en and Hsü were too young to be recorded in Hsia Wen-yen's treatise of 1365, the *T'u-hui pao chien*. Their youth may account for their frequent inclusion in lists of Ming painters, despite the fact that they lived only a few years into the Ming. Indeed a double standard seems to have been at work: Wang Meng who lived until 1385, fully seventeen years into Ming, is invariably treated as a Yüan painter while Ch'en Ju-yen, who died within four years after the Ming conquest is listed in several sources as a Ming painter.[32] These inconsis-



tencies have further contributed to the obscurity of the Lesser Masters.

In spite of their short lives — Ch'en was only forty when he died, Hsü only forty-five — the Lesser Masters undoubtedly left behind a number of works which later influenced the course of painting in Suchou.[33] Shen Chou's early work, often termed eclectic, might be better understood as the result of a broad knowledge of late Yüan paintings by major and minor artists. His famous *Lofty Mount Lu* of 1467 (National Palace Museum, Taipei) was painted for Ch'en K'uan, the grandson of Ch'en Ju-yen, as a birthday gift. Shen pictures Mt. Lu, the ancestral home of the Ch'en family, in much the same spirit as Ch'en Ju-yen had painted Ching-hsi. Though the resemblance to Wang Meng's work is clear, there are striking similarities of structure and composition to Ch'en Ju-yen's *Woodcutter of Mount Lo-fou*.

The "Four Masters" concept was most authoritatively stated during the seventeenth century by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and other members of his circle, for whom it served in the art-historical theory which established the Northern or Professional School and the Southern or Scholarly School of painting. Huang, Wu, Ni and Wang became honored patriarchs in the lineage of the favored Southern School. It is widely recognized that Tung's preference for the paintings of the Southern School literati has persisted in the subtle prejudices which have informed modern histories of painting.[34] In the case of late Yüan painting, the arbitrary concept of Four Great Masters similarly continues to filter our perception of the artistic events. As a result, the Lesser Masters too often are looked upon as the earliest participants in a long tradition of copying the Four Great Masters. This approach has severely constrained our understanding of the Great Masters themselves as well as their less famous contemporaries.

FOOTNOTES

[1]See, for example, James Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River*, (New York and Tokyo, 1976).

[2]See Chu-tsing Li, "The Development of Painting in Soochow during the Yüan Dynasty," *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting*, (Taipei, 1972); and "Stages of Development in Yüan Dynasty Landscape Painting," *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, IV/2, 1969, pp. 1-10 and IV/3, 1969, pp. 1-12.

[3]Note for example Professor Cahill's comment: "The works of the lesser masters who were active in the late Yüan offer, on the whole, slightly diluted versions of the styles of the great masters," Cahill, *Hills*, p. 28.

[4]For an excellent study of the intellectual climate of Suchou in the late Yüan, see Frederick Mote, *The Poet Kao Ch'i (1336-1374)*, (Princeton, 1962).

[5]In the wake of several publications on the early Yüan painters Chao Meng-fu and Ch'ien Hsüan, this appellation has been modified to the "Four Great Masters of the Late Yüan." The paradigm of four dominant figures nevertheless retains its hold for the later decades of the period. On Ch'ien, see Richard Edwards, "Ch'ien Hsüan and 'Early Autumn,'" *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, VII, 1953, pp. 71-83; James Cahill, "Ch'ien Hsüan and his Figure Paintings," *Archives*, XII, 1958, pp. 11-24; and Wen Fong, "The Problem of Ch'ien Hsüan," *Art Bulletin*, XLII, 1960, pp. 173-89. On Chao, see Chu-tsing Li, *The Autumn Colors on the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains*, (Ascona, 1965); and "The Freer Sheep and Goat and Chao Meng-fu's Horse Paintings," *Artibus Asiae*, XXX, 1968, pp. 279-326.

[6]The poem is cited in Yü Chien-hua, *Chung-kuo hua-lun lei-pien*, (Peking, 1957), I, p. 103; and translated in Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, (Cambridge, 1971), p. 164, and James Cahill, *Parting at the Shore*, (New York and Tokyo, 1978), p. 77.

[7]Ho Liang-chun, *Ssu-yu-chai hua-lun* (*Mei-shu ts'ung shu*, III, 3), p. 36. These remarks on painting were collected from *Ssu-yu-chai ts'ung-shuo* (preface dated 1569).

[8]Wang Shih-chen, *I-yuan chih-yen fu-lu*, in *Yen-chou shan-jen ssu-pu kao* (*Ming-tai lun-che ts'ung-k'an* ed.), XIV, p. 7079. Translated in Siren, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting* (reprint of original 1936, Peiping edition), (New York and Hong Kong, 1963),

p. 128. See also National Palace Museum, *Yüan ssu ta chia* ("The Four Great Masters of the Yüan"), (Taipei, 1975), p. 11 (English text).

[9]Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Hua chih*, in Yü Chien-hua, *Chung-kuo hua-lun lei-pien*, II, p. 720; and *Hua yen*, in *ibid.*, II, p. 726. For translations, see Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, pp. 167-9; and Siren, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, pp. 133-6. See also the discussion of the evolution of the Four Masters concept in National Palace Museum, *Yüan ssu ta chia*, p. 8 (Chinese text), p. 11 (English text).

[10]Ku Fu, *P'ing-sheng chuang kuan* (*I-shu shang-chien hsüan-chen* ed.), II, *chüan* 9, 117.

[11]David Sensabaugh, "Notes on Ku Te-hui: A Late Yüan Literatus" (unpublished paper given at the ACLS Research Conference on the Impact of Mongol Domination on Chinese Civilization, York, Maine, 1976), p. 6; cited with permission of the author.

[12]Chu-tsing Li has pointed out the close compositional tie between this painting and the works of Wu Chen and Ni Tsan ("Chao Yüan," in *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, ed. by L. Carrington Goodrich and Chao-ying Fang, New York, 1976, I, pp. 136-7).

[13]According to Ni's inscription, the patron later pointed to the painting and said nostalgically, "Those are the trees my grandfather planted and the hills my father roamed." (Translation after Karen Brock and Robert Thorp, in *Yüan ssu ta chia*, p. 73 English text.) The painting is illustrated in Li, *Proceedings*, pl. 22.

[14]Another painting in this genre is Scenery of I-hsing (dated 1356), by Chou Chih, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (K. Tomita and Tseng Hsien-ch'i, *Portfolio of Chinese Paintings*, Vol. II: Yüan to Ch'ing, 1961, pls. 16-18). Chou Chih, another of the Lesser Masters who served Chang Shih-ch'eng, was highly praised by both contemporary and later critics. See Chu-tsing Li, "Chou Chih," *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, I, pp. 266.

[15]See John Hay's discussion of this problem in his review of Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River*, in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXXVII, 1978, p. 351.

[16]Wu Ch'i-chen, *Shu hua chi* (ca. 1677), Shanghai, 1962, 290-1. Li refers to this passage in his biography of Chao Yüan (*Dictionary of Ming Biography*, I, p. 137) but argues against this conclusion on stylistic grounds.

[17]Ku Fu, *P'ing-sheng chuang kuan, chüan* 9, 74.

[18]Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Hua yen (Mei-shu ts'ung-shu*, I, 3), p. 52.

[19]Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, (London, 1958), IV, p. 84.

[20]Li, see note 16. Cahill, *Hills*, p. 129.

[21]This little painting has received unfair treatment by western scholars. Siren listed it under the ambiguous title, "A Scene of Filial Piety" (*Chinese Painting*, VII, p. 165). Cahill mistakenly identified the subject as Mencius and his mother (*Hills*, p. 154), specifically the incident in which Mencius, having left his studies to return home, was silently admonished by his mother who stopped her weaving to demonstrate the "unproductiveness of inactivity." Cahill goes on to say, "Ch'en Ju-yen represents her sewing instead of weaving — perhaps the depiction of a loom seemed too taxing for his limited powers as a draftsman." Such scoffing is of course inappropriate since the painting has nothing to do with the famous anecdote. Professor Cahill's estimation of the amateurish quality of Ch'en's painting is, however, undebatable. The tentative treatment of the horse and cart does contribute to the charm of the work but could never be termed of professional quality. Likewise Cahill's stylistic analysis is astute: he suggests as precedents the figure paintings of Li Kung-lin and Ma Ho-chih and cites in particular the latter's sentimental treatment of historical themes.

[22]Translation after John C. H. Wu, *The Four Seasons of T'ang Poetry*, (Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo, 1972), p. 155. Meng Ch'iao's poem, "Song of the Wanderer" (*Yu-tzu yin*) can be found in *Meng Tung-yeh shih-chi*, in *Ssu-pu tsung k'an*, XL, *chüan* 1, 9.

[23]Li, *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, pp. 9-11, and *Proceedings*, pp. 497-8. Cahill, *Hills*, pp. 122-4. Chang Kuang-pin presents the same interpretation in National Palace Museum, *Yüan ssu ta chia*, pp. 30-1 (Chinese text), pp. 36-7 (English text).

[24]Cahill, *Hills*, pl. 59.

[25]*Ibid.*, pl. 53.

[26]*Ibid.*, pl. 50.

[27]Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho, *Chinese Art Under the Mongols*, (Cleveland, 1968), p. 61. See also, Li, *Proceedings*, p. 499.

[28]Cahill, *Hills*, pl. 58.

[29]Ni's inscription states that Ch'en "succeeded profoundly in capturing the brush ideas of Chao Meng-fu." (Translation after Lee and Ho, *Chinese Art Under the Mongols*, pl. 264.) Moreover the inscription indicates Ni's own admiration for the work of one of the Lesser Masters. See *ibid.*, p. 60 and pl. 264.

[30]Cited by Siren, *Chinese Painting*, IV, pp. 91-2. A relatively early account of the story which specifies that the painting was in color is given in Ho Liang-chun, *Ssu-yu-chai hua-lun*, p. 41.

[31]It was surely the loss of so many talented painters and not, as Professor Richard Barnhart has suggested ("Yao Yen-ching, T'ing-mei, of Wu Hsing," *Artibus Asiae*, XXXIX, 1977, p. 23), a cramped narrowness of taste, which brought about the decline of the Suchou School.

[32]See for example, Hsü Ch'in, *Ming-hua lu* (colophon dated 1673; *Hua-shih ts'ung-shu* ed.), *chüan* 2, 19. Following that source, Siren lists Ch'en and Hsü in the Ming dynasty section of his lists (*Chinese Painting*, VII, p. 165 and pp. 193-4).

[33]Cahill (*Parting at the Shore*, pp. 57-8 and p. 59) acknowledges the Wu school's debt to the Lesser Masters of late Yüan dynasty Suchou, but credits those fourteenth century artists only with setting a precedent for the eclecticism of fifteenth century painters.

[34]Barnhart has cited the damaging effects of what he calls an "incestuous historiography" that has "distorted the complex truths of Yüan art" (*Artibus Asiae*, 1977, p. 122). A body of art criticism written largely by Southern scholar-painters has discredited the painters — many of them Northerners — who sought to maintain professional standards in painting. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and earlier critics, including Hsia Wen-yen of fourteenth century Suchou, have contributed significantly to the obscurity of professional painters of the Yüan (*ibid.*, p. 106 and pp. 122-3).

A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE CULT OF DEMETER AND THE MEANING OF THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

Sherly Farness

Scholarly research relating to the Eleusinian Mysteries is contradictory, ambiguous, confusing and, often, questionable. The polarities in approach seem best exemplified by Mylonas,[1] who insists that the Mysteries have remained mysterious, and Kerényi,[2] who maintains that the themes at Eleusis are basic to the religious experience of man and are penetrable. On the one hand there is a reasonable amount of exoteric material, on the other, the hidden means and meaning that is nowhere directly revealed.

The origin and antiquity of the Eleusinian Mysteries, like those of Dionysos and Orpheus, are not indisputably known. What is known tends to suggest extremely archaic rituals and beliefs, for the mysteries of Demeter and Kore were celebrated at Eleusis centuries before it became a Panhellenic religious center. Mircea Eliade states rather decisively that "the Eleusinian initiation descends directly from an agricultural ritual centered around the death and resurrection of a divinity controlling the fertility of the fields."[3] On this point there seems to be general agreement, as well as recognition of the difficulty of tracing the stages by which an agricultural ritual was transformed into a mystery of regeneration bringing individual salvation. However, to attempt to assign an origin to the cult of Demeter is to plunge immediately into diverse opinions backed by what appears to be sound scholarship.

Nilsson, for example, assigns a Minoan origin to Demeter, for the myth does tell of her journey from Crete to search for her daughter Kore (Persephone), who had been gathering flowers on the plain of Nysa with the daughters of Oceanus, when she was carried off by Hades to the Underworld.[5] When Kore disappears, Demeter causes the earth to become barren, and when she is released for a stipulated period of time each year, the earth produces abundantly. The idea of a goddess of fertility dying each year "is un-Greek; moreover, it does not occur in Asia in this form, and must therefore be considered an original product of Minoan religious genius."[6] In the Near East, Sumerian mythology recounts the rape of the young goddess, Ninlil, and her subsequent descent to the underworld, but fragmentary cuneiform texts merely hint at possible seasonal meaning.[7]

A primary authority, however, is George Mylonas, who has worked intensively at the site of the mysteries. Mylonas denies Demeter's Cretan origin. In spite of the fact that the Homeric Hymn says she was from Crete, he contends that Crete was a convenient name for the indefinite often used by ancient poets.[8] No Cretan objects have been found at Eleusis in 150 years of excavations.[9] Since Egypt has also been suggested as the country of origin of the Demetrian cult,[10] Mylonas is careful to note that no Egyptian objects have appeared either. So, for Mylonas a Cretan or Egyptian origin is not justifiable. There is no proof, although he does not take account of the fact that those objects recovered at Eleusis date from relatively late periods. He favors a northern origin for Demeter, possibly Thrace or Thessaly,[11] since they were agricultural societies as opposed to the Cretan thalassocracy. Personal preferences are, of course, no proof. Neither is it anywhere suggested that because Crete was a maritime culture it adopted a sea-goddess as its major deity. All evidence points to the traditional mother-goddess, i.e. an earth-goddess, in Minoan civilization.

As additional proof of Demeter's Minoan origin Nilsson also mentions the *kernos*, a ritual object used in Crete and also found at Eleusis.[12] The *kernos*, a clay vessel with a number of smaller clay cups attached to it, was ceremonially filled with grains, fruits, oil, wine, etc. and presented as offerings to the deity. Mylonas insists, however, that the *kernos* at Eleusis was an independently developed form based on ritual need, just as the *kernos* of East Christian worship developed out of particular ritualistic needs, although the general type existed in Crete.[13] This is, of course, quite possible, but Mylonas' statement does not prove the lack of an equally possible continuing tradition.

Mylonas also points to the goddess' name. "Demeter" is most Greek.[14] Kerényi agrees. "Da was a primitively ancient name for Ga or Gaia. Da-meter or Da-mater was probably so named in her quality of 'Earth-mother' . . ."[15] But name changes for deities are common to most ancient cultures. The etymology of "Demeter" does not serve to prove that the cult did not originate elsewhere.

For Mylonas an additional reason for the rejection of Crete or Egypt as originating centers lies in the Eleusinian temple forms.

> "The Megaron-temple of Demeter . . . is of the normal Greek type and has nothing to do with the shrines of either the Egyptians or the Minoan Cretans. It is a native form developed locally, belonging to the mainland of Greece. This fact will invalidate the argument of the Egyptian or Minoan origin of the cult based upon the square plan of the later telesteria."[16]

That the form of a Greek building should be characteristically Greek has nothing to do with the origin of a cult. The most that can be said is that the building form is not based on Egyptian or Cretan models.

The question of origin is also dealt with by Legge, who points out that in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, her trials on earth, as well as those of Kore, occurred partly in Eleusis and partly in Asia Minor.[17] Concurring with this viewpoint, too, is Saxl, but his comments draw Dionysos into the Eleusinian picture, complicating it still further.

> "The two mystery gods of Greece were Demeter and Dionysos . . . Both are vegetation deities. Both are connected with the underworld and with rebirth. Derived from widely different origins the two divinities met at Eleusis and from the classical Greek period onward there was a certain blending of the mysteries of Eleusis with the cult of Dionysos. The third element in this amalgam is the Great Mother from Asia Minor, who came to Athens before the Persian Wars, and was completely assimilated with the Greek Mother-goddess, Demeter."[18]

That Crete and Mycenae had some cultural interchange cannot be ruled out as the means by which Demeter was absorbed into the Greek mainland. It must also be acknowledged

that Crete had extensive trade relations with Egypt and Asia Minor, which allowed for the flow of ideas as well as material goods. Nor were the Mycenaeans strangers to Egypt, having served as mercenaries in the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egyptian soil. Nevertheless, Mylonas very carefully demolishes all arguments attempting to prove, from artifacts, ancient texts, etc., that the cult of Demeter existed before Mycenaean times, or had its roots in cultures removed from the Greek mainland. His empirical orientation gives a certain weight to his arguments, but considering the ancient and universal character of the earth-mother, the fragmentary finds, the lack of negative or positive proof, he may easily be wrong. There remains the uneasy feeling that for Mylonas proof of a Greek origin seems a necessity. Yet his own admission of uncertainty is clear when he eloquently, and romantically, speaks of standing amid the ancient ruins on moonlit evenings hoping that the proof he longs for will appear.[19]

Quite a different orientation appears in Kerényi for whom external proof seems far less important than meaning. When Kerényi writes of Demeter, the Earth-mother, he writes, too, of the Primordial Child, both certainly adhering to the Mysteries at Eleusis.

> "We cannot with any certainty derive it from Crete, nor ascribe it exclusively to the sphere of old Mediterranean culture. We can, however, assert that in Crete there existed an older sphere of culture . . . the spirit of which was more fundamentally mythological . . . the mythologem of the Primitive Child is characteristic not of this recent but of an older mentality."[20]

Drawing from all sources in an attempt at a collective statement, it seems that Crete, Mycenae, and Asia contributed to what became a specifically Greek phenomenon.

The second half of the 15th century B.C. is the traditional date for the introduction of the cult of Demeter, as well as for the first sowing of wheat on the Rarian Plain at Eleusis.[21] This is derived both from indications in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and from excavations.[22] The earliest Temple of Demeter, the one believed mentioned in the Hymn, was found on the east slope of the citadel of Eleusis in 1931.[23] Sacred places have a way of remaining sacred and building after building was erected on the same site even though the terrain was not always the easiest to deal with. Mylonas carefully examines the results of the excavations, dealing with successive periods and successive political rules, right up through Roman times until the end of the 5th century A.D. when the Sanctuary was destroyed, probably by Early Christians.[24]

Of all the religions of the Greeks, it was the Mysteries of Eleusis that drew the attention of the entire Hellenic world. Sometime in the autumn of each year messengers proclaiming the Sacred Truce, to ensure peace for the ceremonies, were sent to all countries where there might be Athenians. It was under Solon (6th century B.C.) that the Mysteries formed part of the Athenian sacred rites as provided in his special laws,[25] although their Panhellenic nature is already indicated by the *Proerosia*, a festival and sacrifice held as early as 760 B.C.[26] On some autumnal day, then, a great crowd would gather for a festival that lasted almost two weeks. After the worshippers had congregated there was the "proclamation of the hierophant that none but those unpolluted by crime and of intelligible speech, i.e. not barbarians, might take part in the Mysteries."[27] Then a procession of initiates looked at the sacred objects, never specified, that had been brought from Eleusis under guard and placed in the Eleusinion at the base of the Acropolis. This was followed by the celebrants going to the harbor of Phalerum to wash themselves and the animals intended for sacrifice in salt water, believing that the sea washed away their sins.

> "After a time spent in sacrificing and austerities very proper for bringing the worshippers into a receptive state of mind, there was formed a long procession which paced the Sacred Way, twelve miles long, from Athens to Eleusis, beguiling the road with hymns and choruses addressed to Iacchos, the infant

> Dionysos, who was supposed to lead the procession from his Athenian temple, the Iaccheion, with a pause at the bridge over the Cephisus, where the crowd exchanged coarse jokes and sarcasms in a manner peculiarly Attic."[28]

The coarse jokes refer to those told to Demeter by Iambe, a servant of Queen Metaneira, at whose palace Demeter paused in her search for Kore. Legge continues with a step-by-step detailing of events: the arrival by night at the Telesterion (Hall of Initiations) at Eleusis, where the sky was light from the many torches, then more sacrifices, a sacred banquet, and possibly "the mystic cyceon or consecrated drink was partaken of..."[29]

Surrounding the Hall were temples to Demeter, Hades, and Kore, and after appropriate sacrifices there, the initiates supposedly viewed a sacred drama, the actors being the priests of the cult. The priesthood was restricted to two ancient families, the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes, thus heredity, and Legge, adds, "highly paid."[30] There is some question regarding the "dramatic" presentations. "... a visit to the telesterion of Eleusis is convincing evidence that a drama, in the scenographic sense of the word could not have been enacted there."[31] Nor were simulated Underworld journeys possible.[32] Mylonas believes "that the story was developed in and out of the Telesterion, around the very landmarks supposed to have been consecrated by the actual experience and presence of Demeter."[33] It is more than a little difficult to envision great crowds of people moving around the Sanctuary with any semblance of the order that attaches itself to religious ceremony. It is far more likely that the ritual was a formal one. "... early Greek religion, at least, is largely a matter of performance, and this was the basis of the Mysteries."[34]

There were three degrees of initiation at Eleusis: preparation and probation (katharsis), initiation and communion (muesis), and blessedness and salvation (epopteia). These had their visual and ritual parallels in the history of Dionysos shown at the Lesser Mysteries; the rape of Kore and Demeter's wanderings at the Greater Mysteries; and the Epopsy, shown only to second-year initiates, which revealed the sacred marriage of Zeus and Demeter, and the birth of Iacchos, the new Dionysos. Demeter is the corn-mother, the grain-producing earth. Her union with Zeus, the sky-god, becomes a necessity, for without heavenly events, the warmth of sun, the wet of rain, it would do little good to bear the seed.

But how was this shown when "the archeological findings are decisively against the supposition of a mystery-theatre, either in the Telesterion or outside it. And not a single text speaks a word in its favor."[35] Could it have been a mystery dance, as Kerényi suggests, and the "secret" of Eleusis an injunction against telling *how* the mystery was presented? "Dancing formed part of the initiation ceremonies of the ancient Mysteries, and to such a degree of refinement was it carried that the theologies of certain sects were said to be more clearly expressed by gesticulations than by... words..."[36] Richardson, in examining the Homeric Hymn, also indicates the likelihood of dancing with torches.[37]

The Temple of Demeter did not primarily serve to house a cult image as other Greek temples did.[38] However, it did contain a place for sacred objects; more importantly, services of some sort were held there for large crowds of initiates. Through some ritualistic sequence the stories of Kore, Demeter, and the sacred marriage were unfolded.

> "In the Eleusinian mysteries the 'holy marriage,'... and the birth of the child that succeeded to this, were signs of salvation: 'Is not the gloomy descent there, and the solemn meeting between the hierophant and the priestess, he alone and she alone? Are not the lamps extinguished? And does not the vast and countless assembly of the people believe that what they two accomplish in the darkness means their salvation?' And when the torches were lit once more the saviour's birth was solemnly announced to the people. Thus sexual union was... this Power and had the form of a saviour..."[39]

The symbolism of light and darkness, the birth of a child, and the ear of corn are elements obtainable from the hymn.[40]

The Dionysos born of the sacred marriage was not the god of wine (Thebes) but Dionysos Zagreus, the hunter (Crete).[41] Occasionally Dionysos is referred to as resulting from the union of Zeus, in the form of a serpent, and his daughter Kore; this from an Orphic story.[42] And Zeus of Eleusis was not the Zeus of Olympos. He was invoked at Eleusis as Zeus Chthonios (infernal), Zeus Eubuleus (good counsel), Pluton (bringer of riches), etc., but he was always king of the dead.[43] Dionysos, too, was referred to by Heraclitus of Ephesus as being the same god as Hades, thus also king of the dead. "In this double capacity, Dionysos was therefore the brother, father, and spouse of his consort Demeter, of whom he was also the child. He might therefore be considered one of the first instances known in the history of religions as a god who was, according to the way in which he was regarded, either father or son."[44]

Fusion is reflected in the goddesses as well, for they too had this special unity in which each was the other, each an aspect of one goddess.

> "The goddess by whom Zeus begat Persephone was originally his mother Rhea: Demeter appears as a third party interposed between mother and daughter, both of whom appeared earlier in Greece than she did. She is described as Rhea's alter ego, yet she is also identified with Persephone: Zeus begat Dionysos... by Demeter or by Persephone."[45]

The iconographic symbols that accrue to Demeter-Kore seem entirely appropriate to a goddess of fertility and resurrection. As a figure for nourishment, votive statuettes of pigs, or reliefs showing initiates holding pigs, have been found at Eleusis. The pig was sacred to Demeter (as well as to Isis)[46] and appears mythologically in the form of Eubuleus and his herd of swine disappearing into the earth with Kore after witnessing her rape. The sow is apt to have a large litter, and since the piglets all manage to be suckled simultaneously it is not surprising that it became a symbol of sustenance. Kerényi calls the pig the "uterine animal" of the earth.[47] The sow was each initiate's sacrificial offering at the beginning of the autumn festival, and at that time, too, the putrified remains of the preceding year's pigs were retrieved, mixed with corn and placed on the altar in commemoration of Eubuleus and to promote good crops.[48]

Nor is it surprising to find heads of wheat associated with the Goddess(es), and the pelanos, a sacred cake of wheat and barley was offered as sacrifice in the Greater Mysteries.[49] Demeter is the Corn-goddess and the Mother-goddess: grain and motherhood in symbolic union. Within the framework of the myth Demophon (Demophoon), Queen Metaneira's son, is treated as grain, placed in the fire in order to make him immortal.[50]

> "Does the goddess, perhaps overstep the bounds of the humanly possible by reason of her sovereignty in that other domain of hers, which includes the fate of the grain? And not only by reason of her power, but because of her form? It would seem so, when we consider that the Demetrian fruit is perfected for human nourishment in the fire. Whether it is parched or baked as bread, death by fire is the fate of the grain."[51]

Another fundamental symbol of the Mysteries of Eleusis is the torch. Whether it is "one torch, two torches held by the same goddess, three torches in a row, or the crossed torch with four lights, all these occur as attributes of both Demeter and Persephone."[52] Are the torches, as light, symbols of knowledge? Is the flaming torch the Divine Child, the light of the world? Pindar, in the opening passage of his work on reincarnation and life after death, equates the child with light and knowledge.[53] A flame is never still, it connotes time and movement, it consumes. If the lighted torch is associated with the Divine Child, there must have been an automatic association with the future.[54] The tendency is to see the "child's" transformation into youth and adult, while carrying

within him qualities of innocence and perfection. In this sense the child image is a hope image. Dionysos, as the fruit of the sacred marriage, becomes the male counterpart of Kore.

The Eleusinian mysteries, like other Greek mysteries, were based on divine myth, and the myth of Demeter is, in effect, the unfolding of her nature. The sequence of rites at Eleusis, then, symbolically reactualized the ancient mythological events: in this way the mystes were led by stages into the presence of the divine. By participating in ritual, i.e. searching for Kore, rejoicing when found, etc., time was annihilated and the events occurred there and then.[55] It was a move toward mythological time, sacred time. "It is by virtue of the nearness of the Goddesses, and finally of their *presence*, that the initiate will have the unforgettable experience of initiation."[56] It is subjective experience plus the sacramental acts that combine to bring about the change. The initiate already knew the myth and was probably not taught any secret doctrine, although the form which the myth took in the mysteries themselves must have differed considerably from their presentation in literature.[57] It was Clement of Alexandria who wrote of the sacred formula: "I fasted, I drank the *kykeon*, I took out of the chest, having done the act I put again into the basket, and from the basket into the chest."[58]

Initiation is a transition, a rite of passage, and indicates a new beginning, and thus a rebirth. "...those adopted by the deity in the mysteries were looked upon as *deuteropotmoi*, 'those to whom a second destiny was given'."[59] Considering the awe and terror inspired by the great deities of the Underworld who controlled men's lives on earth and after death, what would prompt the mystes to submit voluntarily to initiation, involving as it did the dread oath of secrecy, which injunction even the Homeric Hymn preserves? Later writers, i.e. Sophocles and Pindar, told of the unhappy fate of sinners and the uninitiated, for the underworld was seen as a place of physical decay, a hell of mud and slime. Initiation brought the hope or the assurance of an ineffable state of existence, if not now, at least in the future when the mysterious transition from life into death took place. "Everywhere there is this spiritual regeneration, a pallingensis, which found its expression in the radical change in the mystes's existential status."[61] The constituent elements necessary for this to occur were the goddess' summons, the neophyte's own readiness, and the performance of rituals. The initiated, men and women alike, regarded themselves as being one with the goddess, and to experience the Demetrian passion to the full was to pass through events that led to the ultimate understanding of what it meant to suffer mortality and to be born again.

FOOTNOTES

[1]George E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, (Princeton, N.J., 1961).
[2]Carl (Karoly) Kerényi, *The Gods of the Greeks*, (London and New York, 1951).
[3]Mircea Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth*, (New York, 1958), p. 41.
[4]Martin P. Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, C.W.K. Gleerup, Lund, 1950, p. 528.
[5]*The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, ed. by N.J. Richardson, (Oxford, 1974), p. 75.
[6]Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 528.
[7]Samuel Noah Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer*, (Garden City, N.Y., 1959), pp. 84-88.
[8]Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
[9]*Ibid.*, p. 15.
[10]P. Foucart, *Les Mysteres d'Eleusis*, (Paris, 1914), pp. 20-40.
[11]*Ibid.*, p. 19.
[12]Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 450-453.
[13]Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
[14]*Ibid.*, p. 19.
[15]Kerényi, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

[16]Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 49. The "Telesterion" is the Hall of Initiation.
[17]Francis Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, (New Hyde Park, N.Y., 1964), p. 38.
[18]F. Saxl, *Lectures*, (London, 1957), p. 27.
[19]Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 281.
[20]C.G. Jung and C. Kerényi, *Essays on a Science of Mythology*, (New York, 1963), p. 65.
[21]Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[22]Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 & 13. The Hymn dates from the 7th-6th century, B.C. and reflects a relatively late stage in the development of the cult. Richardson confirms that for the early stages, archeology, other versions of the Hymn, and the testimony of later writers must be consulted.
[23]Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
[24]S. Angus, *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity*, (New York, 1925), p. vii. Angus more specifically states that the Sanctuary was destroyed by the fanatic monks in the train of Alaric in 396 A.D.
[25]Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
[26]*Ibid.*, p. 7.
[27]Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
[28]*Ibid.*, p. 39. Iacchos was identical with Dionysos at least as early as the time of Sophocles.
[29]*Ibid.* Kykeon was a mixture of barley flour, water, and mint, the drink offered to Demeter by Queen Metaneira, to refresh her after his unsuccessful and exhausting search for Kore.
[30]*Ibid.*
[31]Angus, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
[32]F. Noack, *Eleusis, die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtums*, (Berlin, 1927), p. 236ff.
[33]Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
[34]Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
[35]Jung and Kerényi, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
[36]Harold Bayley, *The Last Language of Symbolism*, New York, 1951, p. 196.
[37]Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
[38]Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
[39]C. Van der Leeuw, *Religion in Manifestation and Essence*, (New York, 1963), p. 369, and Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.
[40]Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
[41]Legge, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.
[42]Kerényi, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
[43]Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
[44]*Ibid.*
[45]Kerényi, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
[46]Bayley, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
[47]Jung and Kerényi, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
[48]E.O. James, *The Ancient Gods*, (New York, 1960), p. 161.
[49]Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
[50]Jung and Kerényi, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
[51]*Ibid.*
[52]*Ibid.*, p. 118.
[53]Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 318.
[54]Jung and Kerényi, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
[55]Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 315. The present tense is used in the closing lines of the hymn.
[56]Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
[57]Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 306.
[58]Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
[59]Van der Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 529.
[60]Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-315.
[61]Jung and Kerényi, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

ARIZONA PORTFOLIO

40
Wooden Cross, Mexico

44
Le Petit Tablier

48
La Réunion
Des Plus Célèbres
Monuments Antiques
De La France

WOODEN CROSS, MEXICO

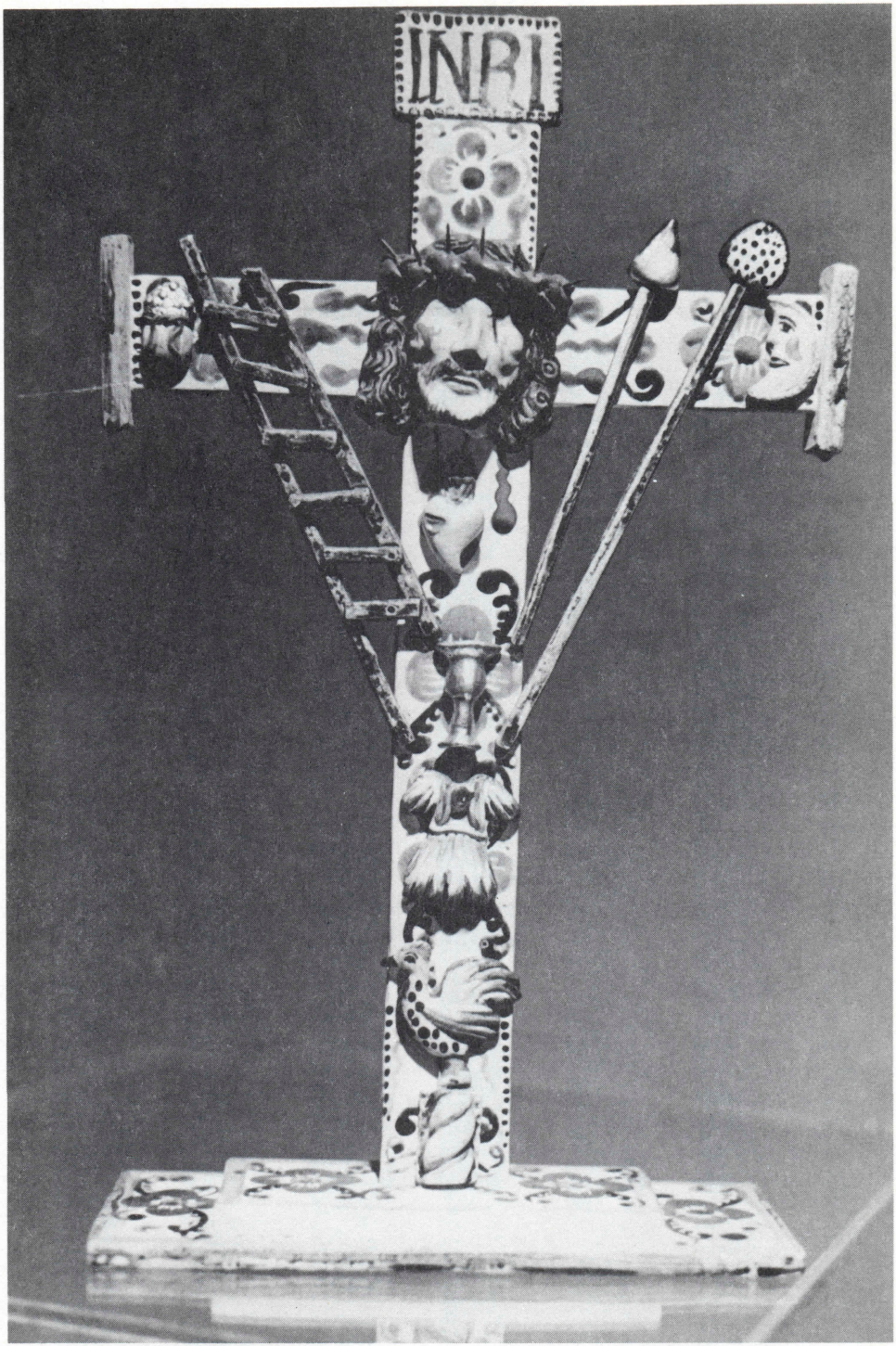
Mildred Monteverde

In 1977 the University Art Collection at Arizona State University received from Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Adler a gift that included a small decorated wooden cross. The cross is known to be Mexican, a type often considered "folk art," and probably was intended for use in a private devotional context. It would have been located in a simple domestic shrine, much in the way it is now displayed in the Matthews Center gallery.

No details more specifically indicating the Mexican origins of the cross have been documented.[1] The materials and construction, wood base and raised plaster decorations painted with hardware-store enamel, give little clue to provenience. And although a florid signature appears on the back of the cross in the green paint of the decoration probably identifying the artisan-maker, no reference to location of manufacture is evident. Perhaps an iconographic study will reveal information about origins of the cross not otherwise apparent.

Most of the brightly painted figures scattered across the front of the cross are familiar symbols of the Passion of Christ.[2] There is the *arma cristi*, the lance, sponge, ladder and INRI referring to the crucifixion. The coat relates to the Roman soldiers gambling at the foot of the cross for the robe of Christ. The pillar refers to the flagellation, the cock to Peter's denial and the bag of coins to the betrayal of Judas. The sun and moon are ancient crucifixion symbols indicating the sorrow of all creation at the death of Christ; usually they are shown together, on this cross only the moon appears.

Other figures, a chalice with wafer, the portrait of Christ and a bleeding heart, either are not symbols of the passion or are modifications of passion symbolism. The chalice or eucharistic vessel with the wafer is not strictly a passion symbol. But it does occur with passion symbolism in sixteenth century paintings of *The Mass of St. Gregory* in at least two conventual buildings in central Mexico.[3] *The Mass of St. Gregory* was a favorite theme of early Franciscans during the conversion of Mexico.[4] It was this scene that provided the imagery for large stone crosses carved by Indians under the direction of missionizing friars for sixteenth century mission churches.[5]



Wooden Cross, Mexico. University Art Collection, Arizona State University. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Adler, 16½ x 10½ inches, paint on plaster and wood.

The chalice with wafer is the first indication of sources for the wood cross in the Matthews Center gallery. The occurrence of the chalice with wafer and the same other symbols found first in the paintings of the *Mass of St. Gregory*, then on the early decorated stone crosses and finally on the folk cross suggests that sixteenth century images are prototypes for the modern wood cross.

The face of Christ that appears at the juncture of the arms and shaft of the wood cross is a modification of passion symbolism. This representation of Christ with crown of thorns is taken from the *sudarium* or Veronica veil. The *sudarium* is a passion symbol relating to the mystic transference of the image of Christ's face to the veil with which Veronica wiped the brow of Christ on the way to Golgotha. But on the wood cross the veil is not shown and instead the face of Christ projects from the crossing. Not surprisingly, this is the important image, having considerably more realistic definition than the other figures. The three-dimensional head in its location between the arms anthropomorphizes the cross.

It is this unique modification of passion symbolism that leads to specific sources for the wood cross. There is a particular type of large stone sixteenth century cross carved for Augustinian mission churches which has the portrait of Christ from the Veronica veil at the crossing.[6]

The figure remaining to be considered on the wood cross indicates further Augustinian connections. It is the only image that bears no relationship to the Passion of Christ: the bleeding heart, symbol of the Augustinian order.

The location of the heart on the shaft of the cross intensifies the impression of the cross as a living 'body.' This effect was clearly intended on the early Augustinian crosses, and although the image of the bleeding heart was never shown on the stone crosses, sixteenth century carvers used other devices to suggest a 'crucified' cross. They pierced the arms and shaft with nails or showed copiously bleeding wounds.

These stone crosses are found in greatest numbers in the Indian communities of Augustinian missionizing around and in Mexico City. Some remain in their original location in front of the mission churches, some have been moved to cemeteries, town plazas or to the entrance of towns. Highly visible, they have been seen beribboned and strewn with flowers, featured as a kind of shrine when used as a part of religious processionals.[7]

A favored religious image is a likely source for folk art and given the close resemblance between the wood and stone crosses it is probable that the contemporary wood cross was modeled directly after the sixteenth century crosses. Thus it is likely the wood cross was made in the area where the stone crosses are located, that is, in the vicinity of Mexico City.

While establishing the general provenance of the cross may be of some small use to scholars attempting to clarify the Mexican popular art picture, the particular value of this study is in validating the link between sixteenth century painting and cross iconography. There has been disagreement as to sources for the stone crosses. This modest wood cross provides, through its unique modification of passion symbolism, additional evidence that the symbolic system of representation on the stone crosses was derived from sixteenth century wall paintings of *The Mass of St. Gregory* and not from wood crosses brought into Mexico by Europeans.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Popular art is produced in many areas of Mexico; often the place of production is uncertain.

[2]A pattern of painted florals behind the raised figures could be remnants of Pre-Columbian symbolism (where flowers symbolized the "precious" or sacrificial blood). Today the Yaqui Indians of Sonora - Arizona show crimson rosettes of ribbon, wool or paper to indicate the "sangre de cristo" in their Easter Passion plays.

[3]At Tepeapulco and Cholula. The Tepeapulco mural is illustrated in George Kubler's *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, 1948), II. Fig. 399; the Cholula mural by Manuel Toussaint in *Arte Colonial en Mexico* (Mexico City, 1948), Fig. 32.

[4]Mildred Monteverde, "Iconography of 16th Century Atrio Crosses" *Sociedad Mexicana de Antropologia, XII mesa redonda*, (Mexico City, 1975), pp. 161-166.

[5]*Ibid*. Sources for the passion symbolism on sixteenth century stone crosses were thought to be portable crosses brought to Mexico by the Spaniards; see Jose Moreno Villa, *Lo Mexicano en las artes plasticas* (Mexico City, 1948), pp. 24-28.

[6]*Ibid*. The face at the crossing distinguishes the Augustinian from Franciscan crosses. Franciscans avoided this "anthropomorphization" and showed only the crown of thorns at the crossing.

[7]The author has seen these processions and has photographed at least three flower-laden crosses.

LE PETIT TABLIER

Rosalind Robinson

Were it not for his friendship with the writer-critic, Charles Baudelaire, little would be known of the life or work of Constantin Guys. The former's search for an artist who would represent his ideal of "the painter of modern life" resulted in his selection of Guys as the one who would embody the spirit of contemporary life in mid-nineteenth century France. Baudelaire's subsequent essay on Guys, published in *Le Figaro* in 1863, brought this artist to the attention of the public. Unlike that of most of his contemporaries, Guys' subject matter involved neither classical inspiration nor the solace of religion. He was interested in capturing life as it happened, almost in the sense of a modern photographer.

Guys' life was one filled with travel and adventure. Born into an upper-middle class family in Flessingue, Holland in 1802, he began his wanderings at the age of eighteen, when he fought with Byron in the Greek wars, then served as a Dragoon in the French army. When at age thirty-eight he left the army, he traveled through Spain, Italy, Bulgaria, Egypt, and Algeria, making sketches. Thus he was not unfamiliar with the exotic cultures he was to encounter as correspondent for the *Illustrated London News* during the Crimean War from 1854-1856. It was at this time as well that photography was coming into use as a journalistic medium, so Guys' desire to record historical events in a moment was not too surprising. However, unlike some of his colleagues, Guys tended to idealize what he saw. His emphasis lay more on the pomp and circumstance of military ritual than on the horrors of war's destruction which were the preoccupation of contemporary photographers.

Upon returning to London after the war, Guys continued his attempt to reproduce modern life in his drawings and water colors, but at this time his subject matter became that of the elegant upper classes of Paris. Like his champion, Baudelaire, Guys took pleasure in glorifying the "dandy," as well as his equally well-dressed female counterpart. Ladies were depicted in their carriages, surrounded by dapper gentlemen, with similarly elegant horses prancing spiritedly alongside. As in the wartime drawings,



Constantin Guys, *Le Petit Tablier*, (The Little Apron). c. 1830-1835. Pencil with Watercolor Wash, 26.67 x 17.78 cm., unsigned, inexpensive paper, Phoenix Art Museum 60-29.

costume was all-important to the artist. Indeed, it is only by way of current fashions that it is at all possible to date the *oeuvre* of Guys, for he neither signed nor dated his drawings. Even his friend Baudelaire was only allowed to refer to him in print by the initials, M.G. (Monsieur Guys).

The chronology of Guys' works is most readily perceived through his depictions of the modes and coiffures of his own designs in relation to those of the period. I am careful here to use the word chronology rather than evolution, because I don't think that stylistic changes are that significant in Guys' works. His subject matter varies more from decade to decade; he does not deviate much within a given period. He portrays men, women, horses, and war in similar fashion, showing little developmental change until the late 1850's when his subject matter turned from that of the upper classes to the Paris *demi-monde*. It is from this time on that one can see differences in style, but no longer in subject matter. For the rest of his life, Guys would depict the gradual decadence of women, both in their character and in their costume.

In an article in the *Gazette de Beaux Arts*, July, 1956, entitled "La Vie de Guys et la Chronologie de son Oeuvre," Jamar Rolin-Luce attempts to divide Guys' works into five periods according to men's and women's styles of dress: 1830-35, 1840-50, 1850-60, 1860-70, and after 1870. It is by his system that I have assigned a date to the Phoenix Art Museum drawing. I would suggest retitling the work *Grisette*; since I have been able to date it approximately, it seems more logical to relate the name to the specific subject matter rather than referring to the apron worn by Guys' women over a number of years.

I have placed this drawing in the 1830-35 period, first according to the hairstyle which was not worn after 1835. It, along with the costume, matches the one in a drawing to which Rolin-Luce has attributed the same date. In his earlier drawings, as exemplified by this one, Guys portrayed the "grisette," the working girl of Paris whose youthful spirit and beauty enlivened the streets of that city. As here, she is usually seen wearing a little apron, her hands thrust in its pockets. Her face is quite impersonal, a quality which pervades Guys' works, regardless of social class. During this phase, her skirt comes to her ankles, though her shoulders are bared and she wears a knotted neck scarf which emphasizes the whiteness of her skin. Her hair is combed into three bunches, the center one covered up by a little beribboned hat placed toward the front of her head.

After the Crimean War, along with the depiction of high society and eventually overtaking it as subject matter, the demi-monde or low life of Paris occupied Guys' attention. By 1860 the scene had changed to that of the cabarets and bordellos. The little "grisettes" were no longer in evidence, but had been replaced by the inhabitants of these lascivious places. The girls were vulgarly bejeweled, with accompanying decadence in dress, their uplifted skirts showing their defiance of polite society. The idealization gradually disappeared and in his final phase, the lively colors, shimmering dresses, and beautiful jewelry faded altogether. Guys seemed intent on removing all elements which would detract from his depiction of human misery.

It is not difficult to see the germ of Guys' later work in the Phoenix Art Museum drawing. One wonders, however, what caused this artist who at one time romanticized war, and depicted the gracious life of the top strata of society, to concentrate his later years on developing his subject matter in a much less pleasant direction.

There are several possible answers to this question. We are aware of his long association with Nadar, an extraordinary man who was at different times and sometimes simultaneously: a journalist, a balloonist, a draughtsman, a political agitator, and a celebrated photographer. Such a man would be ever conscious of the changing face of reality. Or did Guys fall under the spell of late nineteenth century mal-du-siècle, the feeling of ennui with the monotony of life? Perhaps his association with Byron early in life had implanted such ideas. Perhaps the change was due to his association with

Baudelaire, a man full of fears and insecurities, whose view of love became that of lust and its attendant pleasure in doing evil. Both men were probably attempting to revolt against the conventional sort of love and morality practiced by contemporary bourgeois society, a society whose ordered security was also repugnant to the Impressionists.

For whatever reasons, Guys continued in his later vein until the end of his life. In 1885, he delivered a number of his unsigned drawings to the Musée Carnavalet in Paris where an astute guard recognized them and was thus able to assure their preservation.

Guys' importance as an artist lies not so much in the excellence of his style, but rather as being the first to capture the "frozen moment" so essential to the Impressionists. A few of his drawings are said to have influenced Manet, but of even more significance is Guys' preoccupation with the low life which opened up the way to the subject matter dealt with so effectively by Degas and Toulouse-Lautrec. Like Baudelaire then, Guys was a transitional figure between the Romantics and the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists. Although he never attained the prominence of those who benefitted from his foundations, their debt to him should not be overlooked.

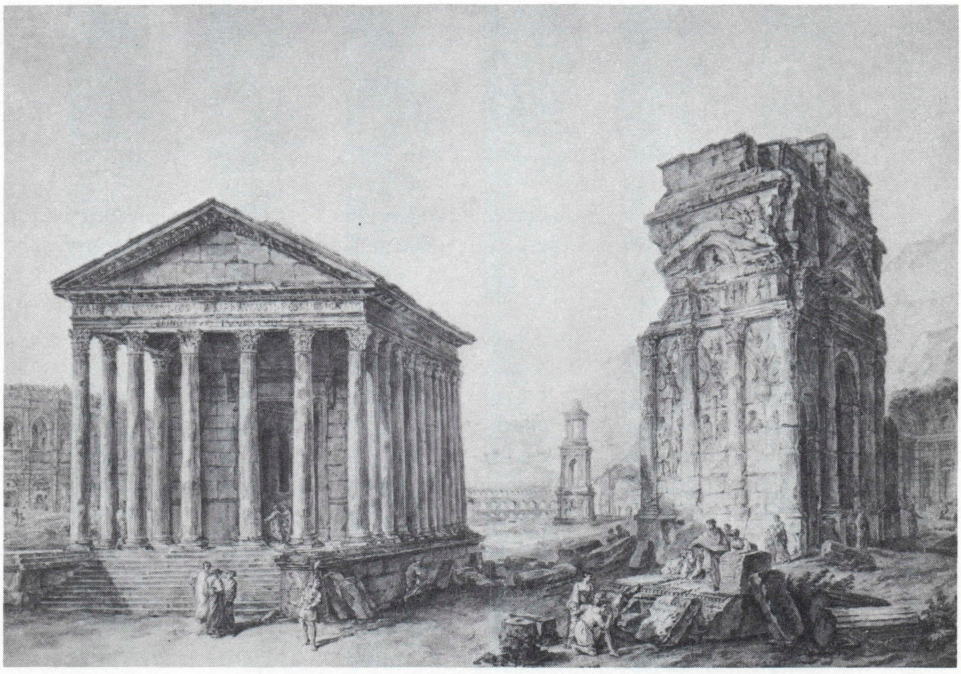
LA RÉUNION DES PLUS CÉLÈBRES MONUMENTS ANTIQUES DE LA FRANCE

Vicki C. Wright

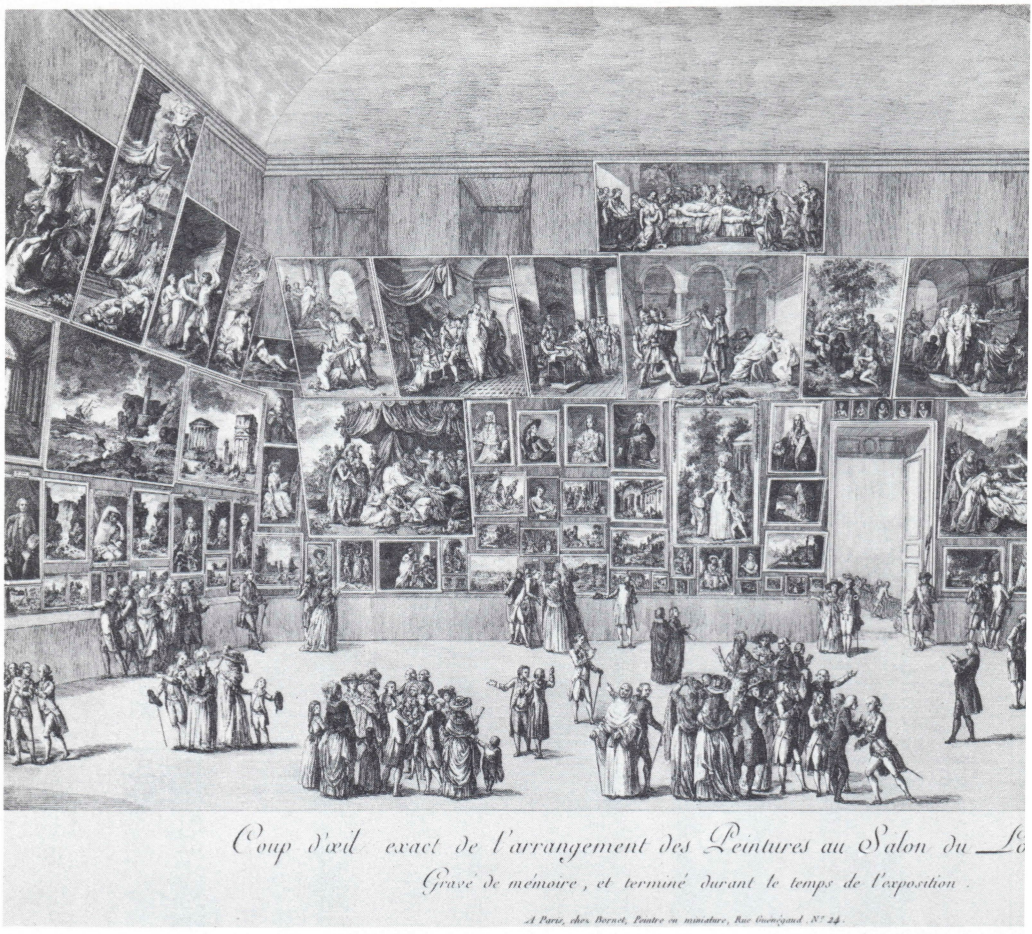
A drawing by Hubert Robert in the collection of the Phoenix Art Museum (fig. 1), traditionally known as *La Maison Carrée et Monuments Antiques*, has largely eluded the attention of Robert scholars.[1] The drawing, executed in pen and ink with watercolor wash, is too precise and detailed to be classified as a sketch; rather, the style and technique of this drawing suggest its function as an advanced preparatory study for an oil painting. Indeed, the Phoenix Art Museum drawing can now be identified as a fully developed study for *La Réunion des Plus Célèbres Monuments Antiques de la France* in the collection of the Pavlovsk Palace Museum in Leningrad, Russia.[2]

Hubert Robert (1735-1808), the French painter, decorator and garden designer, is noted for his romantic depictions of the architectural relics of Classical antiquity. Known by his contemporaries as "Robert des Ruines," he developed an aptitude for the artistic genre of ruins during an eleven-year sojourn in Italy, where he executed a vast number of sketches of the crumbling architectural monuments of the ancient Roman Empire. As a student at the French Academy in Rome, Robert was strongly influenced by the work of Pannini and of Piranesi. In fact, he collected works by these Italian masters throughout the rest of his life, believing them to be largely responsible for his own success as a painter of ruins.[3] Returning to Paris in 1765, Robert enjoyed immediate success, in both amateur and professional circles. He became a member of the Academy in 1766 and exhibited in the Salons for the following thirty years.

With the increasing 18th-century interest in the ruin as an element of the picturesque landscape, artists realized, in the third quarter of the century, that France itself was a wealthy source of antique ruins dating from the Imperial Roman era. So it was that, in 1783, Robert embarked on a journey through Provence in southern France, sketching and recording each of the monuments he encountered. Between 1783 and 1787, the artist utilized these sketches as the basis for a number of paintings depicting these antiquities of France. Robert's renderings of these structures are generally faithful to architectural detail, although he sometimes juxtaposed them within a single composi-



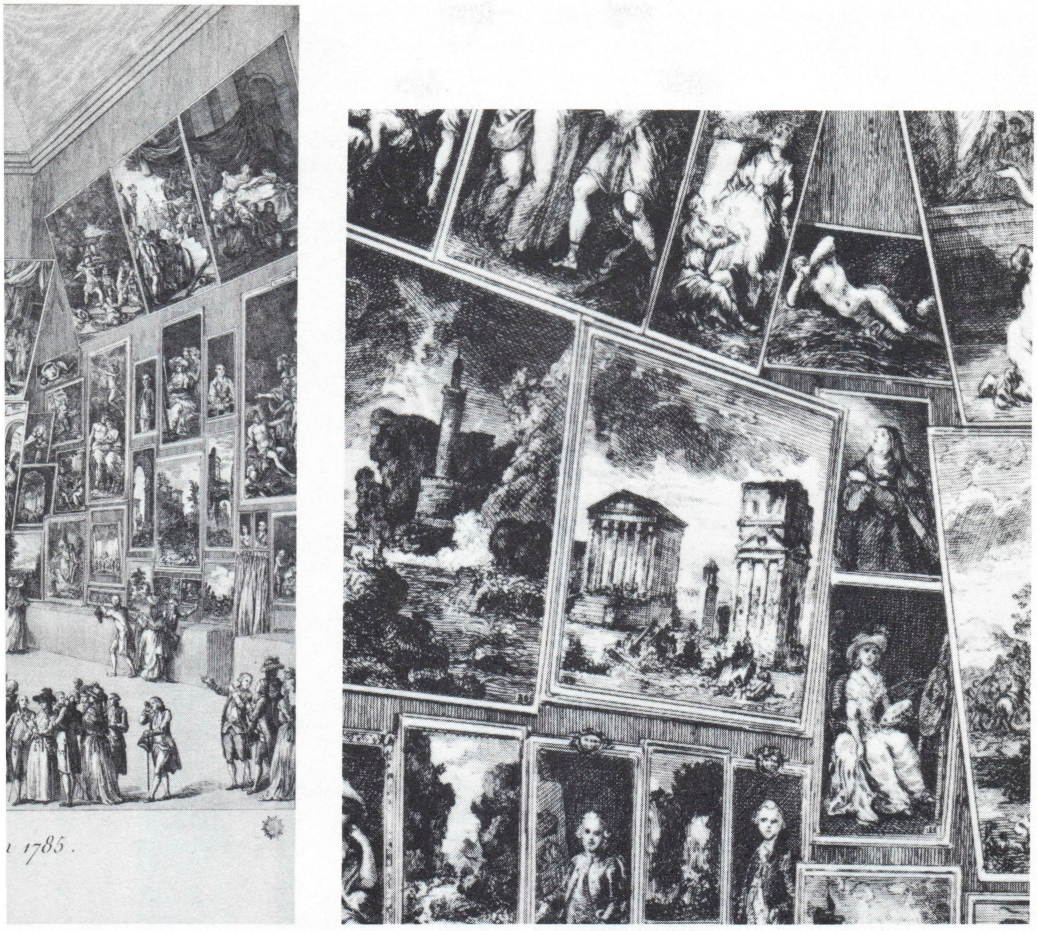
1 Hubert Robert, *La Réunion Des Plus Célèbres Monuments Antiques De La France.* Accession number 62-10, 38.2 x 54.2 cm., pen and ink with watercolor wash on paper.



2 Pietro Antonio Martini, *The Exhibition at the Louvre, 1785*. (Photograph courtesy of Prints Division, The New York Public Library. Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations).

tion, with no regard for topographical accuracy. This can be seen in Robert's undated drawing in the collection of the Phoenix Art Museum. The antique Roman structures which have been grouped together to form this lyrical architectural landscape can be identified as monuments from various locations in southern France. They are, from left to right, the Amphitheater and the Maison Carrée, both in Nîmes, the Pont du Gard, located just outside Nîmes, the Monument and Triumphal Arch of St. Rémy, the Triumphal Arch of Orange, and the Temple of Diana in Nîmes.

In 1782, the Grand Duc Paul Petrovitch of Russia, the son of Catherine the Great and later Tsar Paul I, commissioned from Robert four large decorative panels to be hung in his royal home. The artist executed these works, but, before sending them to Russia, he exhibited two of them in the 1785 Salon of the Louvre. The *Livret* of the Salon lists one of these works as *La Réunion des Plus Célèbres Monumens* (sic) *Antiques de la France* and goes on to describe the content of this *Réunion* as the Arena and Maison Carrée in Nîmes, the Pont du Gard, the Triumphal Arch and Monument of St. Rémy, and the Triumphal Arch of Orange.[4] This entry has, in fact, described the monuments depicted in the Phoenix Art Museum drawing, in the correct order, from left to right.



3 P.A. Martini, *The Exhibition at the Louvre, 1785.* (detail)

The relationship between the Phoenix drawing and the painting in Russia can be further substantiated by turning to an engraving of the 1785 Salon of the Louvre by P.A. Martini (fig. 2). A work illustrated in this engraving, located near the left corner of the exhibition hall and in the second row from the top, appears to be the painting described in the *Livret* entry. In subject matter and composition, its similarity to the drawing in the Phoenix Art Museum is evident.

Writing in the *Burlington Magazine* in November 1972, M.R. Michel has described the painting in Russia as "having as subject matter the Maison Carrée, the Arc de Triomphe at Orange, and in the background, the St. Rémy antiquities and the Pont du Gard."[5] Her description has provided a more complete visual conception of the painting in Russia, by placing the monuments in their correct spatial relationships. The differentiation between foreground and background elements verifies the identification of the work illustrated in Martini's engraving and further supports the connection of the Phoenix drawing to the painting in the Pavlovsk Palace Museum.

The engraving by Martini and the literary descriptions of Robert's painting in Russia provide sufficient evidence of the close relationship between the drawing and the

painting. The tight and fairly meticulous execution of the drawing does indeed indicate its role as an advanced study for the painting. The drawing, then, may be more suitably entitled *La Réunion des Plus Célèbres Monuments Antiques de la France*, in accordance with the title of the painting. The identification of the drawing as a preparatory study helps to establish its date of execution between 1783, when Robert first recorded the antiquities of Provence, and 1785, when the *Réunion* painting was exhibited at the Salon of the Louvre. Certainly, the connection between the drawing in the Phoenix Art Museum and the painting in the Pavlovsk Palace Museum establishes the drawing as a work of major significance for the study of the *oeuvre* of Hubert Robert.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The content of this article is based on research conducted for a seminar at Arizona State University, under the direction of Professor Anthony Lacy Gully. I wish to express my gratitude both to Professor Gully and to Professor Hugh T. Broadley, who brought to my attention P.A. Martini's engraving of the Salon of 1785.

[2]At the time of publication, a reproduction of this painting in the Pavlovsk Palace Museum was unavailable for study. Though the painting, *La Réunion des Plus Célèbres Monuments Antiques de la France*, has been cited in literary references, it appears to be unreproduced. However, a relationship between the Phoenix Art Museum drawing and the painting in Russia can be developed with the aid of an engraving by P.A. Martini and descriptions of the painting found in literary sources.

[3]Alexandre Paillet's catalogue of the sale of Robert's *cabinet*, held on April 5, 1809, reproduced in C. Gabillot, *Hubert Robert et son Temps* (Paris, 1895), pp. 258-59.

[4]"Salon de 1785," *Collection des Livrets des Anciennes Expositions*, XXXIII (Paris, 1870), p. 22.

[5]M.R. Michel, "L'Art du Dix-huitième Siècle. A Taste for Classical Antiquity in Town Planning Projects: Two Aspects of the Art of Hubert Robert," *Burlington Magazine*, CXIV (November, 1972), supp. p. iv.

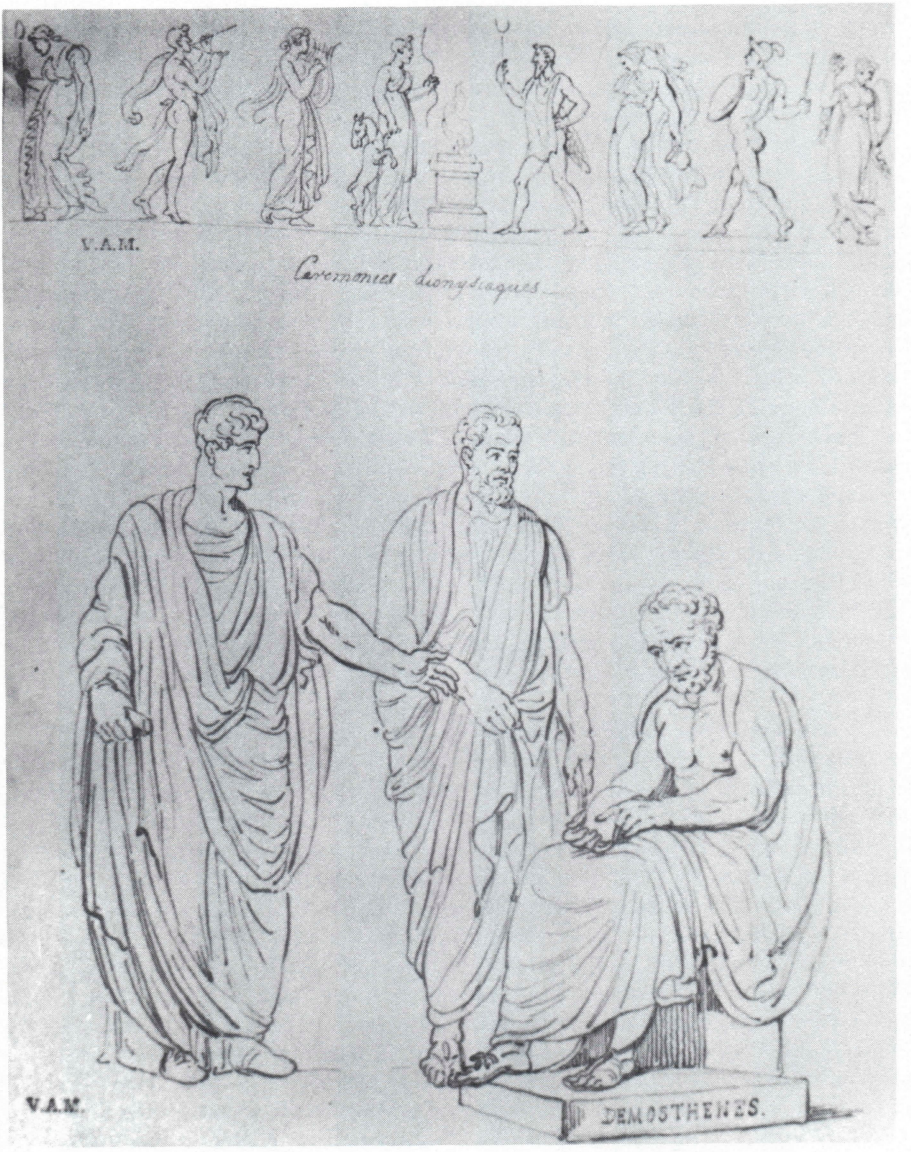
AN UNPUBLISHED ROWLANDSON SKETCHBOOK

Anthony Lacy Gully

Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) is best remembered today for his humorous drawings and prints, and as a book illustrator of merit and originality.[1] The comic and gently satiric are associated with his art. For this reason a discussion of an unpublished sketchbook in the drawing collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is important to draw attention to an ignored aspect of Rowlandson's art, his interest in and understanding of the art of the past.[2]

The album in the V&A contains 180 pencil and pen and ink drawings, some with grey or brown watercolor wash.[3] Though titled *Sketches from the Antique*, several of the drawings reveal Rowlandson's interest in Italian Renaissance and Baroque art and contemporary scenes of Italian life. The V&A album differs from five other recorded "scrapbooks" of antique subjects in that it is the only one in which drawings were done directly onto the pages of the sketchbook; of the 130 pages, 92 are drawn directly into the album, 28 drawings have been pasted into the album and 8 pages are filled with text in the artist's hand or are blank.[4] Two drawings on pages 110 and 124 are not by Thomas Rowlandson. The remaining scrapbooks consist of small drawings of varying sizes glued to the albums' pages. The V&A album is unique in that the artist has inscribed much information on its pages which indicates that Rowlandson travelled in Italy sometime in the early 1820's when most of these "classical" studies appear to have been executed. None of the drawings in any of the six albums carries a signature or date. Watermarks on the individual sheets provide approximate dates. The V&A album is made from paper carrying the watermarks Stains and Co, 1820 and I&M, 1820.

The numerous drawings of antique subjects that Rowlandson executed late in his life, he was 64 in 1820, have long puzzled scholars. They are among the artist's last productions; serious illness in 1825 left him incapacitated and he died in London in 1827. The V&A album, like the remaining five scrapbooks, is not unlike a student's copybook.



1 Thomas Rowlandson, 'Three Philosophers,' *Sketches from the Antique*, p. 13. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

The V&A album is the only one in which the artist has created his own classical narratives and genre scenes.[5] Though these compositions are often loosely based on antique sculpture, many are the artist's own invention, and demonstrate his interest in turning classical images into a form of personal expression as did so many of his neoclassical contemporaries.

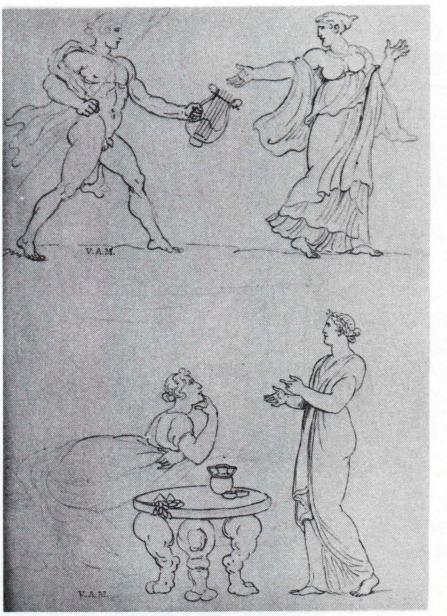
Rowlandson, unlike so many of his peers, did not publish theories. We find no lucid discourses like those of Reynolds, penetrating lectures such as those delivered by Constable, the occasional aphorisms by Fuseli and certainly not the mystic diatribes of William Blake. All these men were Rowlandson's contemporaries; all responded either positively or negatively to the official stance of the Royal Academy. Intellectual hypothesizing held no appeal for Rowlandson. We deduce all we can from his drawings and prints, and the scattered remarks found in the pages of the V&A album may help to clarify his response to the art of the past.

There has existed for many years general confusion on just what sources Rowlandson turned to for his studies of the antique. In the catalogue of the Rowlandson drawings in the Henry E. Huntington Art Gallery Robert Wark determined that the drawings in the two scrapbooks in the British Museum were derived from line engravings that Thomas Piroli executed for the four-volume, illustrated catalogue of the Musée Napoleon, *Les monumens* (sic) *antique de Musée Napoleon*.[6] Wark wrote that the majority of such sketches were "copied from engravings rather than actual objects."[7] John Hayes in 1972 argued conversely that, though many of the drawings were apparently derived from book illustrations, it is "unlikely the majority" were.[8] Baskett and Snelgrove in their recent catalogue of the Rowlandson drawings in the Mellon Collection (British Art Center, Yale University) erroneously suggested that Rowlandson may have made his antique studies while visiting the Musée Napoleon in Paris in 1814.[9] There are, however, no drawings after the antique of the type found in the recorded albums which carry a watermark earlier than 1817.[10] Of all the suggestions put forth perhaps John Hayes most accurately suggests the probable sources employed by Rowlandson. Wark chooses to focus his attention exclusively on the British Museum albums, ignoring the V&A album, and Hayes, interested in its unique character, quite correctly assumes that a number of the drawings were not merely copied from an illustrated folio. The sources Rowlandson depended upon were, however, far more wide-ranging than has hitherto been acknowledged.

Les monumens antique du Musée Napoleon, produced between 1804 and 1806, was one of several books published in Paris in the early years of the century to record the works appropriated by Napoleon from European collections to form the Musée Napoleon.[11] Wark is correct about the drawings in the British Museum scrapbooks; many are simple line drawings after the Piroli engravings. Rowlandson even frequently duplicated the double border used by Piroli and included the French titles in elaborate script. The drawings in the British Museum, like those in the British Art Center album or a single drawing at the Huntington, often repeat very faithfully Piroli's designs. The V&A album has only one drawing, on page 107 glued into the book, which duplicates Piroli's line technique and border arrangement found in the two British Museum albums. The subject is the "Hermaphrodite" from the Borghese Collection.[12] The short Appendix at the conclusion of these pages clearly shows that though a good number of the drawings in the V&A album are based upon illustrations found in *Les monumens antique*, a good number are not, and it must be assumed that Rowlandson actually visited a number of important art collections in Italy near the end of his life. Rowlandson may have begun to copy Piroli's designs as early as 1817, judging from watermarks on some of the British Museum drawings. It seems more likely that he produced the vast majority, if not all, after 1819; the greatest percentage of drawings in the V&A album and in the British Museum scrapbooks have watermarks of 1820 and 1821.



2 Thomas Rowlandson, 'Euripedes'; 'Menander and Demonthenes,' *Sketches from the Antique*, p. 23. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



3 Thomas Rowlandson, 'Roman Couple,' *Sketches from the Antique*, p. 7. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



4 Thomas Rowlandson, 'Scene of Domestic Betrayal'; 'Juno, Jupiter and Venus Relief from Turin,' *Sketches from the Antique*, p. 25. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

One of the perplexing problems related to the studies after the antique is what prompted Rowlandson to produce multiple copies of the individual Piroli designs. The V&A album explains, in part, this peculiarity and demonstrates what Rowlandson often did with the Piroli compositions. For example, Napoleon took from the Vatican a group of marbles traditionally identified as famous philosophers and writers of antiquity. On page 68 of the V&A album is a drawing of Menander, Possidippus and Demosthenes.[13] Demosthenes is repeated twice again in the V&A album. On page 13, (fig. 1) we see Demosthenes listening to two robed men.[14] Rowlandson slightly altered the drapery and pose of the hands. Rowlandson, by casting Demosthenes in this little narrative scene, is engaging in a form of simple genre drama much favored in the V&A album. Demosthenes is found again on page 23 (fig. 2) again in the company of Menander. This drawing is typical of many in the V&A sketchbook in which Rowlandson carefully worked up the forms and emphasized modeling through the use of watercolor wash. This attention to the plastic qualities of the original sculpture is in contrast to the relatively flat engravings by Piroli. At the top of the page is a sketch of a small marble relief of Euripides from the collection in the Villa Albani.[15]

Page 7 (fig. 3) is yet another example of Rowlandson having taken a Piroli design as a departure for a little vignette. The pen and ink drawing at the bottom of the page shows a young woman reclining on a couch listening in rapt attention to a handsome youth. She and the furnishings are lifted from Piroli's engraving of Bacchus and Icarus, a bas-relief panel from an antique sarcophagus in the Villa Albani Collection.[16] In addition to eschewing all references to mythology, Rowlandson further reduces the original scene into something casual by making subtle changes in the three legs which support the table. In the original relief, and more especially in Piroli's elegant neoclassic engraving,



5 Thomas Rowlandson, 'Nereid Sacrophagus' (Capitoline); 'Birth or Triumph of Venus,' *Sketches from the Antique*, p. 114. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

6 Thomas Rowlandson, 'Italian Peasant Girl,' *Sketches from the Antique*, p. 92. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.





7 Thomas Rowlandson, 'Two Dancing Girls,' *Sketches from the Antique*, p. 46. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



8 Thomas Rowlandson, 'Rape of Persephone' (Bernini) and Other Antique Studies, *Sketches from the Antique*, p. 12. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



9 Thomas Rowlandson, 'Triton Fountain' (Bernini), *Sketches from the Antique*, p. 21. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

10 Thomas Rowlandson, 'Sketches after Raphael,' *Sketches from the Antique*, p. 72. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

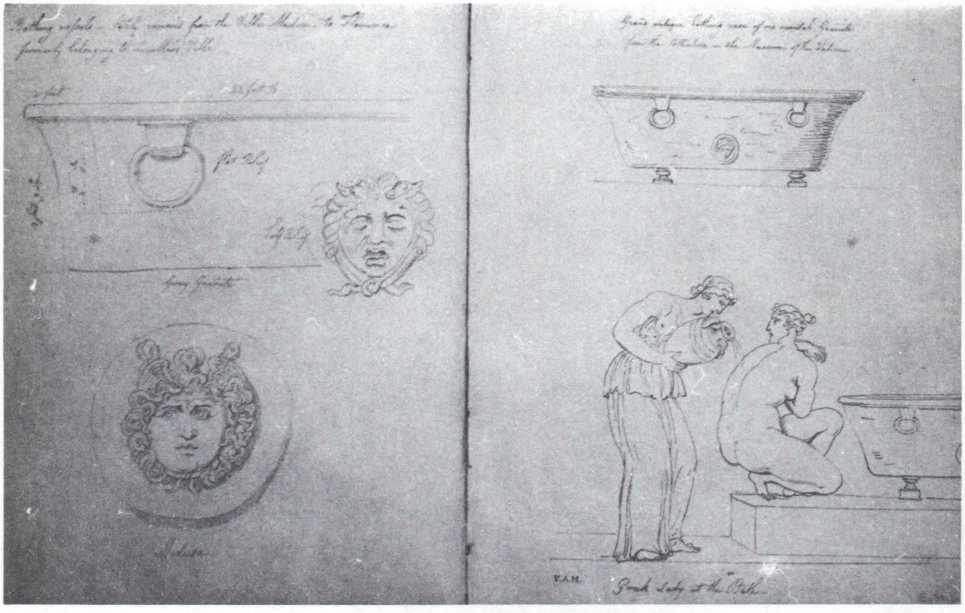




11 Thomas Rowlandson, 'The Statuary Yard,' Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Ashmolean Museum.

the table is supported by three slender hooved legs. Rowlandson replaces these with bulbous, paw-like supports, which literally animate the scene. On several of the pages of the V&A sketchbook, unlike other scrapbooks, are detailed drawings after the Piroli engravings, juxtaposed to classical designs of Rowlandson's own invention. On the lower half of page 25 (fig. 4) is a drawing of a marble relief of Jupiter flanked by Juno and Venus from Turin, which was for a time in Napoleon's collection.[17] Above this is a dramatic scene, the subject and composition having no parallel in the illustrated or written catalogues of the Musée Napoleon. Similarly, on page 114 (fig. 5) the lower half of the page is filled with a lovely drawing of the birth or triumph of Venus, rendered as a shallow bas-relief. It recalls Rowlandson's rococo elegance of the 1780's and 1790's. Though closely resembling several artists' handling of this theme, the composition appears to be original. The drawing is not based on any works illustrated in *Les monumens antique*. Above this composition, clearly related in spirit, is a finely worked drawing of the Nereid Sarcophagus taken by Napoleon from the Capitoline Museum in Rome and placed in the Hall of the Emperors of the Musée Napoleon.[18]

The sources for the drawings in the V&A album are diffuse. There are five notations in Rowlandson's hand which suggest that he was taking a sketch in a particular collection.[19] There is a revealing note on page 55 in which the artist remarks that he is disturbed with a restorer who was working on a relief of the Oceanides. Rowlandson claimed that his own sketch more accurately reflected the antique original and conformed to the last act scene in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*.[20] Ten pages carry small pencil sketches, some touched with ink accents, of sites in Italy. John Hayes has noted such a drawing, on page 80, of the Rialto Bridge in Venice. There is only one drawing, on page 61, in the V&A album of an art work in Venice, an antique sarcophagus relief of the *Suovetaurila* (sacrificial offering of a bull), from the library of San Marco. This object had been in the Hall of Apollo of the Musée Napoleon and was illustrated, too, by Piroli.[21] As Rowlandson's drawing exactly accords with Piroli's engraving, it seems safe to assume that Rowlandson knew the work from *Les Monumens antique* and did not seek it out in



12 Thomas Rowlandson, 'Bathing Vessel, Villa Medici'; 'Medusa Relief' (Chateau Richelieu), *Sketches from the Antique*, p. 66. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Venice. There are no suggestions that Rowlandson was attracted by the sensual painting tradition of Venice in the V&A album. The remaining nine drawings of buildings or piazzi illustrate locations in Rome. On page 21 is a faithful rendering of Bernini's Triton fountain in the Piazza Barberini, on page 30 a view of St. Peters from Bernini's colonnade; page 70 shows Trajan's Column, and on pages 50, 64, 74 and 106 are various churches or squares of Rome all suitably identified in Rowlandson's hand.[22]

Four pages in the album are not based on the art of antiquity but suggest contemporary scenes Rowlandson may have encountered in Italy. On page 92 (fig. 6) is a pen and ink drawing over pencil of a young Italian girl in picturesque costume. Three young peasants, who are perhaps gambling, are sketched on page 102. Their attire is very close to that of a young shepherd piper found at the bottom of page 127 who plays for the amusement of a dancing peasant girl and an elegantly robed maenad. On page 46 (fig. 7) there is a small line drawing of two girls in flowing gowns dancing. The drawing, glued to the page, carries no watermark. As reproduced one can see that immediately following the drawing of the dancers is a portrayal of two equally elegant Greek musicians. The lyricism of these musicians, in their complicated costumes, recalls Attic red figure painting. The drawings complement one another. Rowlandson's frequent habit of pairing drawings or prints for contrast or accent is found throughout the V&A album. Only in this album does one find the careful juxtaposition of drawings which complement one another thematically or compositionally.

That the drawings of places and persons which Rowlandson encountered in Italy are scattered randomly in the album is not surprising. In none of the albums, particularly in those at the British Museum and at the British Art Center which depend so heavily on the Piroli engravings, does Rowlandson duplicate the order of the plates of *Les monumens antique*. In the V&A album, as well, those designs based upon Piroli's work are not found in a sequence which agrees with the order in Piroli's four-volume work.

On six pages there are drawings of the art of Italy in the sixteenth and



13 Thomas Rowlandson, 'Agamemmon and Cassandra,' *Sketches from the Antique*, pp. 84-85. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

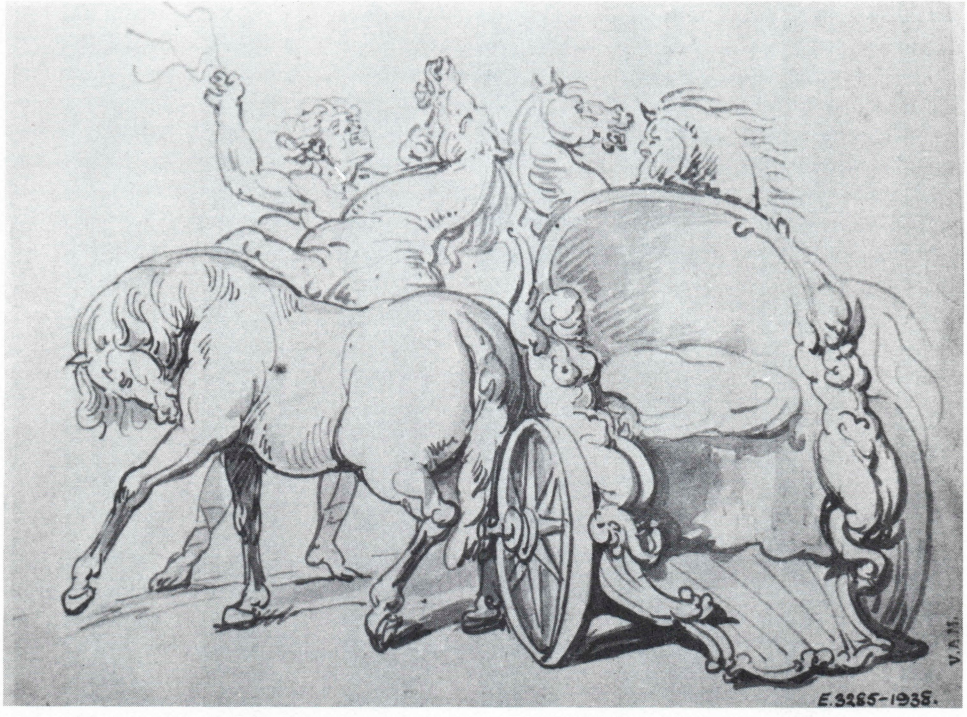
seventeenth centuries. On page 5 are two views of a family group, based upon one of Michelangelo's pendentive paintings of the "Ancestors of Christ" on the Sistine ceiling.[23] Rowlandson adds a child to the original group and turns the three figures to the right in a profile study at the bottom of the page. On page 12 (fig. 8) is a sheet composed of seven sculptural groups; composite drawings of this sort are frequently found in the V&A album and not the other scrapbooks.[24] In the center of the page is a free adaptation of Gianlorenzo Bernini's Pluto and Persephone group from the Borghese Collection. Rowlandson adds a female figure near the base and alters Persephone's pose. The purpose of the drawing seems to be a study of complicated contrapposto; the Wrestlers, Lion and Horse, Panther and Bull, and the Lapith and Centàur group all exhibit complicated twisting forms in space. Page 21 (fig. 9), is a straightforward rendering of Bernini's Triton Fountain in the Piazza Barbarini. Rowlandson paid particular attention to the dolphins at the base, especially attracted by the grotesque character of their heads. It is interesting that this album, which appears to predate Rowlandson's comic study of the grotesque, *Comparative Anatomy*, should contain such a large number of grotesque studies.[25] At the top center of page 41 is a correct drawing of Giovanni da Bologna's "Rape of the Sabine" in the Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence. It is flanked by a rough sketch of the "River Tiber" and the "Ariadne" from the Vatican Collection.[26] Below in two horizontal registers are five different Venuses and a nude Apollo.[27] The page is concerned with symmetry and monumental nude forms. Lastly, on page 72, are a series of sketches connected with Raphael and his school. (Fig. 10) shows a detail from the upper left; it is a re-working of a group from Raphael's "Fire in the Borgo" from the Stanze del Incendio. In the Raphael the figures represent Aeneas carrying his father Anchises from the flames of Troy. Rowlandson, with characteristic license, has changed Anchises to a rather lumpy female. The remaining studies on this page are taken from Raphael's Sala di Psyche.

Rowlandson in his own hand in the V&A album tells of two other literary sources which contributed to the sketches in the album. On page 104 Rowlandson says that the drawing was based upon "Sommes *Travels*." I have been unable to trace this volume in the British Museum or National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, but since the figure the artist refers to is ancient Egyptian, it might be the source for the thirteen pages which illustrate Egyptian antiquities. Similar Egyptian subjects are common in the other scrapbooks. Only one work from Egypt is illustrated in *Les monumens antique*, an alabastor idol from the Villa Albani Collection. This colossal statue was placed in the Hall of Apollo of the Musée Napoleon and had by 1815 been returned to Rome. Rowlandson's drawing of this cult statue is found on page 105 of the V&A album.[28]

A reference to a second literary source is on page 120. Below a drawing of two wrestlers entitled by the artist "Olympic Games," Rowlandson has written "page 416, vol I Potter's Antiquities of Greece." The artist is referring to John Potter's *Archaeologia Graeca or The Antiquities of Greece* first published by Potter when he was a fellow at Lincoln's College, Oxford, in 1619. A classical scholar of renown, Potter was later to become the Archbishop of Canterbury. The text of the book is a description of Greek social, military and religious life drawn from extracts of ancient texts. The earliest edition was illustrated by an unknown wood engraver, and the 1813 edition, much revised and enlarged, was embellished with engraved plates by W. and D. Lizars of Edinburgh. None of the editions which Rowlandson could have known from the seventeenth through the early nineteenth century possesses illustrations which accord with Rowlandson's composition. In fact, the artist seemed to base his drawing on a careful reading of Potter's text which describes the Olympian contests from extracts of Milo's *Epigrams* and the writings of Plutarch.[29]

Rowlandson could not but be touched by the neoclassic movement, which had even in his student days at the Royal Academy already asserted itself. The V&A album and other scrapbooks are rare in the artist's *oeuvre* because of the serious manner with

which classical imagery is handled.[30] However, there are two important exceptions to this generalization in the V&A album. On page 80 we find in light pencil a caricature of two cognoscenti ogling with glasses an Egyptian mummy who stares back at them in alarm and disgust. Ronald Paulsen, in his provocative *Rowlandson, A New Interpretation* (1972), devotes a short section to "people looking at things," and certainly Rowlandson often portrays individuals peering openly or secretively at people or at works of art.[31] What Paulsen does not note is that Rowlandson often uses the comic device of having an art work stare back at the human participants. This occurs on page 80 of the V&A album and superbly in Rowlandson's drawing, "The Statuary Yard," (fig. 11) in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. A mason and his clients inspect copies after the antique and one identifiable modern work, Bernini's Borghese "Apollo and Daphne." The humor of this drawing comes from the erotic interplay of the statuary contrasted to the deadly earnest and pedantic behavior of the humans. Many of the statues smile knowingly at those below them. Rowlandson saw more vitality in the ample nude forms than in the intellectual musings of the customers. As the young woman at the left, accompanied by an old gouty gentleman, glances up slyly at a young Apollo's genitals, a nude Venus on the opposite side of the drawing bends forward to inspect a nude youth, and a quotation of the Vatican's "River Nile" smiles benignly at the antics of a nymph and satyr group; a lovely torso of a Venus lies atop (surely not accidentally) a leering satyr. One feels that Rowlandson found aesthetic speculation foolish in comparison with life, here represented by the supposedly inert sculpture. This same device of contrast between the unashamed sexuality visualized through works of art, especially ancient classical art, and the foolish constraints and taboos of polite society frequently emerge in Rowlandson's art. His comic prints of the artist/aesthetician Joseph Nollekins or his well-known "Exhibition Stare



14 Thomas Rowlandson, 'Groom Struggling with a Team of Horses,' *Sketches from the Antique*, p. 52. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Case" are good examples. Another example with devastating success is Rowlandson's satirical print of Lord Horatio Nelson and Lady Emma Hamilton secretely embracing in her husband's collection of antiquities. The mummies, statues and vases all delight in this scene of infidelity.

On pages 66 and 67 (fig. 12) of the V&A album are several related sketches. Page 66 illustrates, complete with measurements, a "bathing vessel" which Rowlandson notes had been "lately removed from the Villa Medici to Florence." Below this is a drawing of a marble relief of Medusa from the collection in the Chateau Richelieu and illustrated by Piroli.[32] On the opposite page is a second "bathing vase" which Rowlandson states is of "red Oriental granite from the Collection in the Vatican." Below this is a small comic scene entitled "Greek Lady at the Bath." A very startled nude looks back in dismay as a servant girl pours water on her back. The arms and head of the nude are rather awkwardly drawn and, if removed, she closely resembles the "Crouching Venus" or Venus of Vienna in the Louvre. Without the small human interlude these two pages would appear to be the work of a diligent tourist.

Two final pages demonstrate the two contrasting drawing styles found in the V&A album. Most of the drawings reproduced here and in the sketchbook have the wiry outline typical of the neoclassic movement, and not infrequently found in Rowlandson's late work. Typical of such drawings in the V&A album is the only drawing to cover two entire pages, pages 84-5 (fig. 13), a fine line drawing of the triumphant return of Agamemnon with the captive, ill-fated Cassandra sharing his chariot. The flatness of the design and linear patterning are reminiscent of Greek vase painting, or the work of such contemporaries as Flaxman. Very different in character is a spirited drawing of a groom trying to manage a team of unruly horses who pull a richly decorated chariot (fig. 14). This drawing, on page 52, displays that ebullient energetic line which has always made Rowlandson's drawings so appealing. The contrast of these two works clearly shows how much restraint Rowlandson was striving for in the majority of these "antique studies."

Though classical subjects are often considered atypical of Rowlandson the large number of drawings of classical subjects directly derived from *Les monumens antique* or freely invented by Rowlandson during his last sojourn to Italy clearly reflect that, though he may have had suspicion of the theoretic pronouncements of his contemporaries on antique art, an encounter with classical art sparked a sincere appreciation of its beauty. Thomas Rowlandson's unique sketchbook in the Victoria and Albert Museum is a singularly important document in attesting to Rowlandson's serious regard for the art of the past.

Appendix

Description of V&A Album titled: *Rowlandson: Sketches from the Antique*. Album of 130 pages. 178 drawings drawn or mounted on cream wove paper. Pages are bound between marbled boards measuring 23.5 x 19.1 cm. The accession number of the volume is E 3242-3340-1938. Provenance: Gilbertson Collection; acquired by Victoria and Albert in 1938.

All measurements are given with height preceding width. All drawings measuring 23.3 x 19.0 cm. are drawn directly onto the album's pages. Titles set off with quotation marks indicate titles indicated in the artist's hand. Titles are marked with an asterisk if dependent upon *Les monumens antique*.

Page No.	Title of Drawing	Measurements	Accession No.
1.	Five Urns. Aescapalus, Hercules and Telephylos	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3242
2.	Nine Ancient Vases	20.0 x 15.9 cm.	E 3243
3.	* Meanads, Meleager, * Apollo Belvedere	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3244
4.	"Vase in the Vatican Collection"	18.3 x 11.5 cm.	E 3245
5.	Family Group after Michelangelo's 'Ancestors of Christ'	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3246
6.	(a) Three Ancient Vases *verso:* Apollo in Chariot	8.1 x 15.0 cm.	E 3247
	(b) Four Ancient Vases	7.8 x 15.2 cm.	E 3248
7.	Apollo and Diana (?); * Roman Couple	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3249
8.	(a) Three Ancient Vases *verso:* columns of numbers; artist's accounts.	7.9 x 15.0 cm.	E 3250
	(b) Three Ancient Vases	11.5 x 8.2 cm	E 3251
9.	* "Vase de Sosibius" and other Ancient Vases	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3252
10.	Sixteen Ancient Vases	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3253
11.	Three Greek Maidens	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3254
12.	"Rape of Persephone" and Other Studies of Antique Sculpture	19.5 x 16.8 cm.	E 3255
13.	* "Ceremonies Dionysiaques" and * Three Philosophers	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3256
14.	* "Euterpe and Melpomene"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3257
15.	* "Sarcophagus, Museum Capitoline"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3258
16.	* "Tersichore" (sic)	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3259
17.	* "Clio, Calliope, Thalia and Urania"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3260
18.	* "Autel de Mars"	17.5 x 11.5 cm.	E 3258
19.	* "Cippe D'Amenptus"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3259
20.	"Cineraire"	16.8 x 11.7 cm.	E 3260
21.	Bernini's Triton Fountain	16.8 x 19.0 cm.	E 3261
22.	* Cere's Throne, Vatican Coll.	15.9 x 11.4 cm.	E 3262
23.	"Euripides," Menander and * Demonthenes	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3263
24.	* Chair of Bacchus, Vatican Coll.	15.9 x 11.8 cm.	E 3264
25.	Scene of Domestic Betrayal; * Juno, Jupiter and Venus Relief from Turin	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3265
26.	Three Egyptian Mummies	19.7 x 15.4 cm.	E 3266
27.	Ceremonial Chariot	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3267
28.	Egyptian Antiquities; Three Grotesque Heads	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3267 (verso)
29.	*Identical to page 26*	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3268
30.	St. Peters, Rome	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3268 (verso)
31.	(a) "Victorious Warrior descended from his Car," (b) "Various Grecian Helmets"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3269
32.	(a) Three Female Musicians	10.1 x 14.1 cm.	E 3270
	* (b) Choeurs Musicaux Relief	11.1. x 9.1 cm.	E 3271

Page No.	Title of Drawing	Measurements	Accession No.
33.	"Amour" a Relief; Bacchic Procession	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3272
34.	Blank		
35.	"Marble Chair of Potaman, The Lesbian Rhetorician"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3273
36.	Grotesque Studies	21.9 x 17.1 cm.	E 3274
37.	* "Trepid" and "Siege"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3275
38.	Grotesque Masks	20.6 x 17.5 cm.	E 3276
39.	Altar Base and Circular Relief	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3277
40.	Classical Male Figure	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3277 (verso)
41.	"Rape of the Sabines," and other sculptural groups.	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3278
42.	* Sarcophagus of the Muses from the Capitoline, Rome	10.2 x 18.4 cm.	E 3279
43.	Hercules (?)	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3280
44.	Blank		
45.	Text only.		
46.	Two Dancing Girls	18.3 x 12.8 cm.	E 3281
47.	Two Greek Musicians	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3282
48.	Blank		
49.	* Aesculapius, Telephylos and Hygeia	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3283
50.	* "Marriage Grec," View of two unidentified churches in Rome (?)	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3283 (verso)
51.	* "Achille e Scyros," Birth of Bacchus Relief	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3284
52.	Groom Struggling with Team of Horses	15.0 x 19.7 cm.	E 3285
53.	* "Andromache" (Actually the 'Ariadne' in the Vatican Coll.)	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3286
54.	"Diomedes"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3286 (verso)
55.	"The Ociannitide," extensive descriptive text.	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3287
56.	Painter "EBKPATHE" with maidservant	18.4 x 15.1 cm.	E 3288
57.	Polynices and Etocles borne from the field of battle	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3289
58.	Execution Scene	11.2 x 15.6 cm.	E 3290
59.	Two Larvae Vessels	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3291
60.	* "Naissance de Bacchus"	10.8 x 15.9 cm.	E 3292
61.	* "Sacrifice à Minerve"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3293
62.	Blank		
63.	Death of Brutus' wife, Portia; extensive descriptive text.	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3294
64.	"Sta. Maria del Popolo"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3294 (verso)
65.	Antique Altar; The Judgement of Paris	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3295
66.	"Bathing Vessel," Villa Medici, * Medusa Relief, Chateau Richelieu	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3295 (verso)
67.	"Grand Antique Bathing Vase;" * "Greek Lady at her Bath"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3296
68.	* "Demosthenes, Posidippe and Menandre"	15.0 x 20.6 cm.	E 3297

Page No.	Title of Drawing	Measurements	Accession No.
69	* Relief of a Libation; * "Choeurs Musicaux"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3298
70.	Trajan's Column, Rome	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3298 (verso)
71.	A Renaissance Fountain (unidentified)	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3299
72.	Sketches after Raphael	19.9 x 16.2 cm.	E 3300
73.	* Three Fauns	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3301
74.	"Fontane di Ponti Sisto," "Sta. Maria Martyrs," Rome	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3301 (verso)
75.	* "Erato et Socrates" (relief); * "Calliope et Homere" (relief); * "Cineraire de Claudius Heracles"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3302
76.	* "Monument de deux femmes"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3302 (verso)
77.	Sea Gods relief	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3303
78.	(a) Judgement of Paris relief; descriptive text (in French); (b) Classical Nude with Soldiers	22.1 x 16.0 cm. 10.9 x 16.0 cm.	E 3304 E 3305
79.	* "Laocöon;" lengthy text.	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3306
80.	Ponte Rialto, Venice; Heracles (?)	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3306 (verso)
81.	Etruscan Tomb, River Nile (?), Vatican Collection	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3307
82.	* "Candelabre"	15.1 x 7.0 cm.	E 3308
83.	"Biga in the Vatican" (a ceremonial chariot)	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3309
84.	Agamemnon and Cassandra	23.3 x 38.0 cm.	E 3310
85.	Agamemnon and Cassandra		E 3310
86.	Young Man Mourning	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3310 (verso)
87.	Roman armor	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3311
88.	"Candelabre"	15.5 x 6.9 cm.	E 3312
89.	Bacchanalian relief; "Egyptian Capitals and Base of Column"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3313
90.	"Bacchus et Silene" (relief); * Comedien ou Historien"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3313 (verso)
91.	Birth of Bacchus (?); Dionysiac * Suppliant	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3314
92.	Italian Peasant Girl	20.6 x 15.5 cm.	E 3315
93.	* "Menander"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3316
94.	"Old Man's Head placed on Young Shoulders"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3316 (verso)
95.	Theatrical Roman Masks	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3317
96.	Greek Warriors	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3317 (verso)
97.	* Menelaus and Four Helmets	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3318
98.	Three Egyptian Statues; extensive descriptive texts.	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3318 (verso)
99.	* Sphinx	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3319
100.	"Musical Instruments"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3319 (verso)
101.	Procession; Classical Head, Four Daggers	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3320
102.	Italian Peasants Gambling	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3320 (verso)
103.	Three Maenads	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3321
104.	Egyptian Antiquities; caricature	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3321 (verso)

Page No.	Title of Drawing	Measurements	Accession No.
	of two cognoscenti with mummy		
105.	* "Idole d'Albastre;" Three Egyptian Statues	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3322
106.	"St. Paul XIV," "S. M. Egizziaca" (Rome)	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3322 (verso)
107.	* (a) Dying Gaul, Vatican Collection	11.1 x 8.0 cm.	E 3323
	* (b) "Hermaphrodite" (Borghese Coll.)	11.4 x 17.7 cm.	E 3324
108.	Five Grotesque Heads	21.7 x 17.8 cm.	E 3325
109.	Two Seated Classical Women	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3326
110.	Three Classical Dancers (NOT BY ROWLANDSON)	25.5 x 16.1 cm.	E 3327
111.	"Vertumnus"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3328
112.	Text defining a caduceus.		
113.	"Scenic Masks"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3329
114.	* Nereid Sarcophagus (Capitoline); Birth of Venus	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3330
115.	"Hercules and Apollon;"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3331
	* "Choeurs Musicaux"		
116.	Blank		
117.	Blank		
118.	Two Greek Warriors	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3332
119.	"Grecian Warriors"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3333
120.	"Olympic Games"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3333 (verso)
121.	"Grecian Warriors"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3334
122.	Two Wrestlers	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3334 (verso)
123.	* "Hermaphrodite;"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3335
	* Venus d'Medici, Bathing		
	* Venus (Louvre); Bathing		
	* Venus (Vatican)		
124.	A Philosopher (?) (NOT BY ROWLANDSON)	20.5 x 16.1 cm.	E 3336
125.	Greek Man and Woman	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3337
126.	"Antique Bronze" (M. Mitchell Collection)	17.8 x 11.3 cm.	E 3338
127.	An Ancient Vase; Shepherd Piper and Dancing Peasant and Maenad	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3339
128.	Monkey-headed Man with Dogs and Serpents	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3339 (verso)
129.	Reclining Woman Fountain; "Egyptian Headresses"	23.3 x 19.0 cm.	E 3340
130.	Blank		

FOOTNOTES

[1]Grateful acknowledgement must be made to Arizona State University for a sabbatical leave granted the spring of 1979 which made the following research possible and to the Mabel McLeod Lewis Foundation which sponsored my initial investigations of the art of Thomas Rowlandson.

[2]For their assistance and permission to reproduce works from their collections the author thanks the staffs of the Print and Drawing Rooms of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the British Museum, London and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

[3]The Victoria and Albert Album (referred to in the text as the V&A album), measures 23.5 x 19.1 cm; it consists of 130 pages of cream wove paper bound between marbled boards. The accession number is E-3242-3340-1938. Acquired in 1938. Provenance: Gilbertson Collection.

[4]The other known scrapbooks of antique subjects are:

(a) British Museum, Album BM 201.a.14.
Sketches of the Antique, acquired 1885. Accession number BM 1885-7-11-1-145. Provenance: Gilbertson Collection. 145 drawings in pen and ink.

(b) British Museum, Album BM 201.a.15.
Sketches of the Antique, acquired 1885. Accession number BM 1885-7-11-146-208. Provenance: Gilbertson Collection. 63 drawings of antique busts in pen and ink.

(c) British Art Centre, Yale University, Catalogue No. 345. of John Baskett and Dudley Snelgrove, *The Drawings of Thomas Rowlandson in the Mellon Collection*, (London, 1977), 87. Titled: *Drawings from the Antique*. Provenance: H.D. Lyon Collection, Paul Mellon Collection. 35 drawings in pen and ink.

(d) Gilbert Davis Collection
Location of album unknown at present. Davis records a scrapbook in his possession with 60 drawings, Gilbert Davis, *Watercolours and Drawings by Thomas Rowlandson*, (London, 1950), p. 2.

(e) An album, location unknown. Recorded sale of album of "antique studies" at Christies, London, July 25, 1938, lot 45. Lit: Robert Wark, *Drawings by Thomas Rowlandson in the Huntington Collection*, (San Marino, California), 1975, p. 117.

There are also a very large number of drawings not bound in volumes which regularly appear on the market. A sizeable collection of drawings of antique vases is in the possession of G.D. Lockett, Clonterbank Trust, Cheshire, England.

[5]The only known exception to this generalization is a small drawing in the British Art Center album. In the Baskett and Snelgrove catalogue is reproduced a drawing entitled "Woman at Well," Cat. no. 345/35. This small work, the last in the scrapbook, is similar in spirit to the narrative scenes found in the V&A sketchbook.

[6]Wark, *Rowlandson in Huntington*, 117. Wark cities J.G. Schweighaeuser as the author; actually he wrote the text only for volume I (1804); the remaining three volumes were written by Louis P. Radel. Volume III (1805) is the major source for the albums in the British Museum; its subject is illustrious Romans.

[7]*Ibid.*

[8]John Hayes, *Rowlandson Watercolours and Drawings*, (London, 1972), p. 62.

[9]Baskett and Snelgrove, *Rowlandson in Mellon Collection*, p. 86.

[10]In the British Museum album 201.a.14 five drawings carry a watermark with the date 1817. They are: 1885-7-11 - Numbers 100, 107, 124, 132 and 136; In British Museum album 201.a.15 there are eight drawings with a watermark of 1817. They are: 1885-7-11 - Numbers 147, 149, 162, 163, 170, 178, 187 and 191. The V&A album has one

drawing, page 32, Catalogue E3270, with this early date. Baskett and Snelgrove record no watermarks in the British Art Centre album probably because all drawings are glued firmly to pages of album.

[11]The official guidebook *Notice des Statues, bustes et bas-reliefs de la galerie des antiques du Musée*, (Paris, 1814) is very dependent upon *Les monumens antique* as is an anonymously written English guidebook entitled *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antique Statues, Paintings and other Productions of the Fine Arts that existed in the Louvre at the Time the Allies took possession of Paris in July 1815*, (Edinburgh, 1816). Both volumes are helpful in reconstructing which works were included in Napoleon's museum and their location in the Musée Napoleon. The English guidebook is particularly valuable as it, with decided partisan enthusiasm, states from which collections Napoleon appropriated works of art, and when and how the various sculptures were returned to their original owners.

[12]Illustrated in *Les monumens antique*, Vol. II, plate 49.

[13]The three works were placed together in the Hall of Illustrious Men in the Musée Napoleon, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 22-3. Illustrated in *Les monumens antique*, Vol. II, pp. 69, 70, 77.

[14]The robed figure to the far left is very close to the statue of Tiberius from the Vatican Collection. Illustrated in *Les monumens antique*, Vol. III, plate 12.

[15]The marble relief 6 dm. high is illustrated in *Les monumens antique*, Vol. II, plate 68.

[16]Illustrated in *Les monumens antique*, Vol. II, plate 3.

[17]Illustrated in *Les monumens antique*, Vol. I, plate 4.

[18]*Les monumens antique*, 91; illustrated Vol. II, plate 43.

[19]These notations occur on pages 4, 15, 42, 67 and 83.

[20]This inscription was noted by Hayes, *Rowlandson Watercolours*, p. 62. The comments by Rowlandson clearly suggest he is familiar with Aeschylus' play, and that he is copying from an original work of art.

[21]Illustrated in *Les monumens antique*, Vol. IV, plate 16.

[22]On page 71 is a fine drawing of a fountain of sixteenth century or seventeenth century design which has remained unidentified.

[23]This group can be found between Daniel and the Libyan Sibyl. In the profile study the woman's body position is very close to the figure of Jeremiah from the Sistine ceiling.

[24]Similar groupings can be found on pages 41, 72 and 123. The latter, not illustrated in these pages, shows the Vatican Hermaphrodite, the Venus de'Medici, and the Bathing Venuses from the Capitoline and the Louvre.

[25]Grotesque studies occur on pages 10, 36, 59 and 128. Also, the many pages devoted to Roman theatrical masks and actors display a fascination with the misshapen (pages 38, 59, 93, 94, 100 and 113). The drawing closest to the bestial studies in *Comparative Anatomy* is a drawing entitled "Old Man's Head Placed on Young Shoulders" (p. 94).

[26]On page 53 Rowlandson chooses to identify a figure as Andromache though it is the Ariadne from the Vatican and he elsewhere identified her properly. The drawing is accompanied by a long inscription relating Andromache's sad history. Throughout the V&A album Rowlandson lingers over the stories associated with the Trojan War.

[27]On p. 126 is a drawing of a semi-nude young woman. Rowlandson inscribes that the drawing is based on a work owned by his patron from Cornwall, Matthew Mitchell. It is the only work in the V&A album which can be linked to an English collection and to one of Rowlandson's close associates.

[28]Illustrated in *Les monumens antique*, Vol. IV, plate 56.

[29]It may be that a number of drawings near the end of the V&A album may be derived from Potter's text. They illustrate "Grecian Warriors" (pages 118, 119, and 121); and "The Wrestlers" on page 122 may also be dependent upon Potter's lively descriptions.

[30]Rowlandson throughout his career often made rather free copies of the work of other artists such as his sketches based on the works of Clodion and Guerin in the Huntington, the sheet of figures after Boucher, Maratta, and Romano in the Whitworth Art Gallery, or the drawing with figures based upon Salviati in the Widener Collection, Harvard University.

[31]Ronald Paulsen, *Rowlandson, A New Interpretation*, (London, 1972), p. 82.

[32]Illustrated in *Les monumens antique*, Vol. II, plate 50.

ARE WE READY FOR SHIH-T'AO?

Ju-Hsi Chou

A friend of mine — we learned the technique of traditional painting together in our youth — once complained that our teacher had started us out on the wrong track. We should not have begun our training with Shih-t'ao, he maintained, for his style was much too difficult and elusive for us novices. It would have been better to choose a simpler model, something perhaps in the vein of the Four Wangs.

Indeed, Tao-chi, who is better known as Shih-t'ao, evoked in our mind then, just as he does now, a painter of towering stature. At the mention of his name, a novice invariably would experience a sense of awe. He is the lofty mountain toward which we stretch our necks in vein to obtain a glimpse of its summit. He is, among the Ch'ing masters, the painter of painters. The Four Wangs are elegant, polished, and imitative; but Tao-chi is the original. No one accuses him of ever being a copyist,[1] and no one really knows the sources of his art.[2] His style is unique — and moreover, changeful. Novices like us were unable to find a ready formula by which to apprehend his art. My friend's words only echo a general sentiment, that initiation into Tao-chi's art should perhaps be delayed until one is mature. Indeed, there is a mystique about Shih-t'ao possessed by no other Ch'ing master — not even Shih-ch'i (K'un-ts'an) with whom he is always coupled.

A part of that mystique, of course, lies in the many faces of Shih-t'ao. The eighteenth century painter, Cheng Hsieh, was already aware of that. Living in the city of Yang-chou, which our painter chose to be his last domicile, Cheng Hsieh pointed to Shih-t'ao's many-facedness and realized, by contrast, his own limitation. However, he liked his own limitation well enough to refuse to trade it for many-facedness. He said:

> Shih-t'ao was an eminent painter of many kinds of subjects, bamboo and epidendrum being his occasional excursions. I, Pan-ch'iao, have been painting none but bamboo and epidendrum for the last fifty years. While he cultivated a wider field, I specialize; and why should not a specialist be as good as a generalist? Shih-t'ao's manner of painting was rich in

> transformations — eccentric and strange, tempered and antique. In addition, he could also paint very fine and elegant works in which everything is properly arranged. If one compares him with Pa-ta-shan-jen, he would be the superior artist. However, while the fame of Pa-ta-shan-jen spreads all over the country; that of Shih-t'ao does not reach beyond Yang-chou. Why is it so? Pa-ta used only the *chien-pi* technique ("abbreviated brushstrokes"), whereas Shih-t'ao's strokes are rarely the same. In addition, Pa-ta does not have more than one name, thus people can easily remember him. Shih-t'ao's name is Hung-chi (or Yüan-chi), and he used the following bynames: Ch'ing-hsiang Tao-jen, K'u-kua Ho-shang, Ta-ti-tzu, Hsia-tsun-che, etc.: There are just too many of them and they caused much confusion. Pa-ta is but Pa-ta, and I am but Cheng Pan-ch'iao: I will not be able to follow Master Shih-t'ao's footsteps.[3]

The words are whimsical, and the explanation borders on the facetious. No one however would doubt its truth, for Shih-t'ao's metamorphic personality has caught us in a snare of unusual dimensions. It is not that we are trying to escape from the snare, but that we are unable to come to terms with it. My friend's frustration is but a case in point.

Not only to artists, but to art historians also, Shih-t'ao has been a "problem." Moreover, the great controversy surrounding him is unusual for a painter living as recently as 300 years ago. True, Fu Pao-shih's exhaustive research has clarified for us the general, biographical sequence; but much of the material on which his *nien-p'u* depends consists of inscriptions from works of uncertain, even dubious, origin.[4] Verification is difficult, and contradictions are a daily staple. Today, although there seems to be a consensus in favor of 1641 as his birth date[5] (instead of 1630, as Fu Pao-shih had thought), there remain doubts of varying degrees. Other gaps must remain, and are an encouragement to wide-ranging speculations and shaky conjectures.

It may be significant that Shih-t'ao, somewhat like El Greco in the West, happens to be a "rediscovered" figure. Cheng Hsieh already hinted at the temporary lapse of his fame outside Yang-chou in the eighteenth century. In fact, as late as Ch'in Tsu-yung's (1825-1884) time, there was still mute resistance to his art and to his ideas on art.[6] Somehow, he was not in the orthodox mould and was faulted for it. But the same lack of orthodoxy, which may be a flaw at one point, could turn into a virtue at another. Therefore, at a time of change, such as the turn of the twentieth century, when Manchu rule was on the verge of collapse, the anti-Ch'ing forces could seize upon Shih-t'ao as they seized upon so many others (Wang Fu-chih, Ku Yen-wu, Huang Tsung-hsi, etc.) as symbols of their sentiment. Fu Pao-shih, who shared that sentiment, was a case in point. In Shih-t'ao he found — besides unorthodoxy of style — a patriotic and tragic figure, an *i-min,* one in addition with Ming royal blood, who was caught in the storm of historic events and resigned to the *sangha* as a way of protesting intolerable conditions and fate.

Of equal importance as contributors to Shih-t'ao's rising fame are the pro-Ch'ing loyalists, for they too have appropriated him as one of their own. Wen Fong, who was educated in Shanghai, a milieu where these loyalists were active, describes the situation in this way:

> With the downfall of the Manchu Ch'ing dynasty, in the early decades of this century, the study of the lives and works of the Ming loyalists of the early Ch'ing period suddenly became fashionable among a group of scholarly Ch'ing loyalists. The two best known of the group are Li Jui-ch'ing (or Ch'ing Tao-jen) and Tseng Hsi . . . They not only wore their hair long and affected the life style of the early Ch'ing hermit scholars but, rejecting the rigid orthodox style of the late Ch'ing painting, cultivated a taste for the bold brush styles of Tao-chi, Chu Ta, and other early Ch'ing individualist masters.[7]

In short, the *i-min* idea could cut both ways!

Alas, despite this unmitigated enthusiasm, the image of Shih-t'ao as *i-min* was all too fragile. Fu Pao-shih, to his lasting embarrassment, found Shih-t'ao less than ideal, for the master apparently had succumbed to K'ang-hsi's imperial presence and power.[8] It is an ironic twist of fate that Shih-t'ao should ride on the patriotic and loyalistic fervors of the twentieth century to preeminence. Whatever the case, it remains true that Shih-t'ao is a figure born in passion and known with passion. He attracts devotees and adorers, who often cannot reconcile the myth with the true person.

If Shih-t'ao's *i-min* status is now tarnished, his art retains its reputation. His cult was unstoppable, and beyond China and Japan, managed to reach other shores as well. Contag, Siren, Sickman, and Cahill, one after another, paid their homage.[9] From the late '50's onward, Wen Fong[10] and Richard Edwards[11] continued the momentum. And most recently, Marilyn and Shen Fu renewed it and brought it to a high pitch.[12] Wen Fong fixed Shih-t'ao's birthdate, Edwards organized a major show, and with the forming of the Sackler collection, the Fus joined forces and undertook to investigate Shih-t'ao in a more "historical" fashion, attempting to correct the seemingly lopsided conclusion to which some art historians are partial — that there are only three genuine Shih-t'aos in existence.[13]

Unfortunately, every step leads to a counterstep, and every cycle duly repeats its own pattern. Before the dust is settled, the problem erupts anew. Wen Fong may have fixed Shih-t'ao's birthdate, but he found that his attribution of the "Letter" by Shih-t'ao to Pa-ta-shan-jen, on which the birthdate depends, was being openly challenged.[14] Richard Edwards presented a major, and certainly unprecedented exhibition of Shih-t'ao, but also discovered that experts differed markedly in their judgements of individual paintings.[15] Marilyn and Shen Fu may feel that they have clarified the issues and stilled the waves, but their work has aroused more controversies — as testified by several reviews of the Sackler exhibition.[16] In the last count, it well may be that those who insist on three authentic Shih-t'aos will continue to do so[17]; those who prefer an estimate of half dozen to perhaps a dozen also will not swerve from their course; and those who believe in the authenticity of numerous Shih-t'aos will be just as convinced as ever of the rightness of their conviction. A fake to one may be a genuine to another. Meanwhile, the ghost of Shih-t'ao may be laughing.

One thing is sure: these advocates are deadly earnest. Those who accord authenticity to three Shih-t'aos could not tolerate the estimate of six to twelve. Those who favor six to twelve could not with all their good nature accept a larger corpus. And those who believe in many, many more Shih-t'aos in existence than the numbers noted above would counter with equal fervency that scholars who opt for the other courses are much too "rigorous" in their approach.[18] They would ask: How could a late master like Shih-t'ao have so small a surviving corpus? Can it not be that the art historians who reject more fake Shih-t'aos are also rejecting most of the genuine? Are we not unduly narrowing Shih-t'ao's style or styles, when he was noted, even by such an authority as Cheng Hsieh, to have many faces?

The only consensus, and a logical one at that, is: there are fakes and forgeries in the corpus now attributed to him. As a recent painter — recent, as when compared to, say, Li Ch'eng or Mi Fei — one suspects, or even expects, that a fair number of his paintings should have survived to the present time.[19] Yet, as a result of the cult developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, fakes and forgeries have trailed his fame. Since fakes and forgeries are produced in proportion to the fame of a given artist — the profit motive is nowhere more apparent — in the case of Shih-t'ao, the fakers literally had a field day. According to the most "rigorous" connoisseur, the percentage of fakes in Shih-t'ao's case reaches an astronomical 99%. Even for the relaxed Shih-t'ao scholars, the estimate would not likely drop below 70%, an astounding figure, which perhaps is beyond compare for a Ch'ing artist.

These pseudo-statistics need not be taken too seriously, though they belie the

confusion in Shih-t'ao scholarship. And no one, or practically no one, because of the preponderance of fakes, agrees on the nature of Shih-t'ao's corpus and artistic personality. This is particularly so when one observes that an effect of fakes is to fracture the original into many more Shih-t'aos, with fakers' hands and traits added to complicate and enlarge the range. By comparison, his own myriad expressions, as noted by Cheng Hsieh, might appear timid, lost, so to speak, in the sea of mirages. To transpose a line from *Jesus Christ, Superstar*, we might ask the question:

Hsia-tsun-che, Superstar,
Do you think you are
what they say you are?

Moreover, fakes — or awareness of them — create an atmosphere of suspicion. In consequence, not only the fakes themselves, but also the originals are burdened with the same aura of doubt. As is well known in the detective genre, when the culprit is not yet caught even the innocent bystanders are suspect.

To make matters worse still, Shih-t'ao's fakers are not always third-rate or fourth-rate painters. Yes, there are such, but on the other hand no less an artist than Chang Ta-ch'ien has been suspected to be among them. Should that be true, then Chang's impersonation, buttressed by his mastery of a vast range of brush strokes, pictorial schemata, and atmospheric effects, perhaps plays as much a role in formulating our "image" of Shih-t'ao, as do Shih-t'ao's works themselves. In the aftermath, if negative judgements against poor and ill-conceived copies or pastiches are still permissible, a positive identification of Shih-t'ao's hand through qualitative evidence is no longer so easily assured. Besides, methodologically speaking, we do not yet know Shih-t'ao's hand if we do not know which are the originals and which are the fakes.

To pursue the detective simile further, the key problem in Chinese painting in general and Shih-t'ao in particular, is to expose the culprit and exonerate the innocent, *And this cannot be done on documentary grounds*! The production of fakes, on a scale as large as described above, has destroyed the value of documentation precisely because it appeals to the same set of documents.[20] That is to say, if we try to use an entry in a Ch'ien-lung catalogue of paintings to authenticate a given work, the faker too may have resorted to the same entry as a departing point for his post-Ch'ien-lung faking. (In addition, there is also a chance that the very entry itself may well have been culled from a spurious work, which weakens the case for a documentary approach still further.) At best, the documentary approach perhaps can contribute negatively, but not positively, in matters of authentication. The chief basis for connoisseurship, *mutatis mutandis*, must be a pictorial approach with perception of forms and styles as its key method. There, the quicksand of subjective judgement invariably enters into play, resulting, as our pseudo-statistics have shown above, in the marked discrepancy of opinions.

It is in this connection that I raise the title question: are we really ready for Shih-t'ao? Like my painter-friend, are we not going into a complex problem without first being initiated into the simpler ones? How can we deal with the multiplicity of styles and at the same time the multiplicity of forgeries in Shih-t'ao's corpus? Can we really confidently set forth examples of Shih-t'ao from the existing corpus, assert that they are genuine, and then peel off the fakes which do not agree with the chosen few? Once again, as in the practice of painting, the Four Wangs may be a simpler area to probe: their works are found in the Palace Museum, some with an eighteenth century *terminus ante quem* to guide the connoisseur, and at least one of them, Wang Yüan-ch'i, is represented by works of K'ang-hsi provenance, painted, apparently, for the imperial pleasure.[21]

In 1958, in his article on Shih-t'ao, which is described by Shen and Marilyn Fu as "definitive," Wen Fong set forth a series of paintings which to him represented the genuine works of Shih-t'ao. There were more than ten examples on the list, including the album of Huang-shan sceneries (ca, 1670's), the Huang-shan handscroll (1699), and the

Lu-shan scroll, paintings which hold the highest consensus rate among art historians.[22] Why these are genuine — or possibly genuine — the explanations leave unclear.

The Michigan exhibition encompassed many more examples. Once again, though the authors must have been conscious of fakes — one can be certain that the paintings there were selected with scrupulous care — there was little attempt to deal with them.

Studies in Connoisseurship, however, proposes a set of criteria and standards. Admitting that Max Loehr hit the bull's-eye when he declared several years ago that, "it is not posssible to prove authenticity,"[23] given the paucity of "true documentation" in Chinese painting and the enormous burden which the fakes have imposed on the genuine, Shen and Marilyn Fu nonetheless embarked on a course intended to do the very opposite. In this case, the authors did outline — courageously to be sure — their *modus operandi*, a mixture of connoisseurship East and West. Concerning the process of authentication, they wrote:[24]

> When faced with the authentication of a single work attributed to a given master, we are in essence confronted with assessing the whole body of his attributed works. None of us starts from scratch in this endeavor. Traditional attributions are seldom disregarded with profit, for they may offer insight into some aspect of the history of the painting, and our researches and subsequent confirmation or revision of traditional views in turn will corroborate previous research and build up the corpus of known works of the master.
>
> In seeking "authenticity" we are seeking the individual artistic personality at the core of each of these works, particularly those of the later (post-fourteenth century) period in Chinese painting, when the individual artistic personality was strikingly manifest. Our notion of artistic individuality in this context is based on two assumptions formulated by connoisseurs of Western art: that "perfect identity of (stylistic) characteristics indicates identity of origin" and that "the divergence between works of the (master's) youth and maturity, even though it might be considerable, cannot be as great as that between his own and another master's works." These hypotheses are equally valid in the study of Chinese painting.
>
> As noted above, from the Yüan dynasty on, extant paintings attributed to a given master are of sufficient homogeneity and number for us to assemble a credible corpus. We are not confronted with scores of anonymous or unsigned works whose author's names are lost to history, nor need we investigate a ghost figure or search for his long-deceased masterpieces, as one must do for the majority of Sung and pre-Sung names found in the literary records. For paintings attributed to the Sung and earlier, whether anonymous or attributed, it is the determination of period and date of execution which is crucial, with individual authorship or school tradition less so; for a large number of Yüan and post-Yüan attributions, both period and personal style count, as well as the individual "hand" of the master.

With the corpus of paintings of a given master thus lined up, morphological and qualitative observations, as well as those of physical conditions, then could follow suit, leading to the distribution of those works into a five-group scheme. This distributory process is described by the authors as "organic," meaning that it is not fixed, but fluid and subject to modifications. The five groups are:

I. Genuine works of quality, with "typical" or "mature" characteristics of the master.
II. Genuine works displaying characteristics associated with "early" and "late" styles of the master.

III. Genuine works of mediocre quality and those with characteristics "untypical" of the master.
IV. Imitations, copies, and forgeries of pre-modern vintage.
V. Imitations, copies, and forgeries of recent origin.

The above attempt is laudable. It was, in all respects, a conscientious effort, a soul-searching for solutions where none seemed to exist. The authors were trying to reverse the claim of Max Loehr, who, in working with pre-Yüan paintings, dispensed with any effort in proving authenticity: he was content with "compatibility, consistency, and logicality" of style, ignoring that the compatibility, consistency, and logicality could well be his, rather than those of the paintings. Here, of course, the period is not pre-Yüan, but Ch'ing; and the Fus perhaps felt that authenticity could be proven. They not only are well versed in western methodology and its application, but also are aware of its difficulties; for in spite of the fivefold grouping, in actuality one must deal not with clear-cut categories, but nuances, not broad generalizations, but hair-splitting decisions. The two assumptions in the West, namely, 1) identity of style signifies identity of authorship, and 2) style differs less among works by the same artist than among works by different artists, can only be accepted with enormous qualification and often can only be exercised in a milieu relatively free from copies, fakes, or pastiches. The presence of these copies, fakes, and pastiches in Chinese painting has made the task of the connoisseur infinitely more difficult and painful, particularly when he is not aided by works of known provenance. Under such circumstances, morphological analysis could not but be guess work — at best educated guess work. Worse still, it could become a "closed" system, in which the connoisseur's own sensibility, even in a sincere effort at discrimination, becomes the final judge, without any external guides or criteria to pin-point the flaws.

This is the case with the aforementioned fivefold grouping, which, "organic" or not, is a closed system. Even though there is no *a priori* determination, the system tends to forsake external guides or criteria, and dictates in effect an internal "consistency, logicality, and compatibility" as a way of problem-solving. It is Loehr all over again.

To reach this verdict, one only need ask: how do the Fus go about distributing Shih-t'ao's works among five groups? The answer is: we do not know. For, in spite of the impressive scholarship that underlies their case studies and individual entries in the Sackler catalogue, there is not a single instance in which the actual process of reasoning and discrimination is outlined and the criteria given. We are instead presented with their conclusions — incontrovertible, absolute, and final.

To be fair, we should be willing to concede that since, as the Fus have contended, the distributory process involves the whole corpus, rather than any one work, the presentation of actual processes not only would be lengthy beyond conception, but tedious as well. Still, should we not have the right to expect a few *concrete* guidelines, say, either period or personal style, so that at least we could infer what has transpired in the authors' minds when they say this is not genuine, and that is?

In the absence of these guidelines, we must face the possibility that the authors arrive at their conclusions solely on the strength of internal comparison, and that it is their sensibility which selects the authentic and determines the spurious, a process which they call, after Panofsky, "intuitive esthetic recreation."[25] They know which painting should fall into the first group, which should fall into the second group, and so on. In the meantime, even the difficult and challenging Group III should not be so difficult and challenging as to be beyond solution. The last two groups are formed as a matter of course, as one painting after another falls into the columns — all according to the connoisseur's intuitive-esthetic-recreative ability?[26]

Yet suppose we should happen to differ from their viewpoint as regards attribution? Suppose we should consider as fake what they have regarded as genuine?

Could we then conduct a useful debate or discussion? Apparently not. Indeed, it seems that Marilyn and Shen Fu, in spite of their elaborate theoretical structure, are not operating so differently from those who are without this structure and who allow their intuitive-aesthetic-recreative ability to flow unchecked.

It is in this sense that this paper asks: are we ready for Shih-t'ao? Or for that matter, are we ready for any of the major painters in China? Have we done the fundamental work upon which to base the examination of an artist's career, development, maturation, etc.? Can we tackle Shih-t'ao on the basis of the given corpus alone or should we expand our focus? Moreover, where can we find common ground for scholarly discussion, meaningful debate, and useful exchange?

At this point, it may be stated that we, the art historians, are each on individual tracks. Those who accept only three Shih-t'ao's, and those who reject that opinion, achieve validity only in their own eyes. So long as their criteria remain intuitive and unspoken, the matter is essentially esoteric. And esotericism defies openness, creates its own mystique, and clearly has no business in a scholarly world.

In short, as esoterics, we are not ready for Shih-t'ao yet. We will be ready for Shih-t'ao, or for any other major artist only when we open up these closed systems, accept certain principles and guidelines, and undertake the "intuitive-esthetic-recreation" under their auspices. This includes a willingness to take into consideration more and more works of the same period — and even those of later periods. We must at least reconsider the role of period or regional style in the authentication process, regardless of whether we are dealing with pre-Yüan or post-Yüan artists. That is to say, in order to ascertain the genuine and the spurious in Shih-t'ao, let us momentarily forsake his corpus as a basis, and instead take into consideration other paintings of the seventeenth century — especially those with reliable documentation — and proceed to account for that stylistic consistency which marks either the period, the locale, or the school. When the focus is so broadened, these perceived common traits and generic patterns then could act as a useful touchstone against which intuitive-esthetic-recreation can be made possible.

Art historians of pre-Yüan painting often complain of the lack of suitable data whereon to anchor their ideas. Of the archaeological finds pertaining to Sung painting for instance, the Ch'ing-ling, Karakhoto fragments, and frescoes in Feng Tao-chen's tomb are germane. More recently, a Ming princely tomb at Shangtung, namely that of Chu T'an, also yielded a Sung fan and a Ch'ien Hsüan.[27] Aside from these, and perhaps a few paintings in the Japanese collections which came to the island prior to the fourteenth century, "documented" (i.e., truly documented) works are few and far in between. On the other hand, art historians of post-Yüan periods are blessed with numerous works in the Palace Museums, but choose to ignore them and their historical value, despite the fact that many of them possess a *terminus ante quem* of the 9th year of Ch'ien-lung, and some even earlier.

On the basis of the Ch'ing-ling wall paintings, Karakhoto fragments, or Feng Tao-chen frescoes — all of which are works of minor stature — the connoisseur's ability to ascertain the authenticity of Sung paintings is extremely limited. He can not, for example, despite their strengths, prove either Fan K'uan's "Travellers in the Mountains and Ravines" or Kuo Hsi's "Early Spring" to be genuine. On the other hand, the reliability of Ch'ing paintings in the imperial collection as historical data is often guaranteed by imperial seals and more particularly, by the date of entry into the three series of *Shih-ch'ü Pao-chi*.[28] The general refusal to use this broad spectrum of documented works in the imperial collection, regardless of its partiality toward the orthodox school and the like, can only be described as foolhardy. Methodologically, this results in the loss of a valuable foundation — rejected in favor of the false certainty, or perhaps the simplicity, of a closed system.

The corpus of Shih-t'ao's works, whether originals or imitations, can yield a

"manner" of Shih-t'ao. To affirm authenticity, however, we need more than a "consistency" of traits. The forger's hand sometimes can be more consistent, and appear more "genuine" than the genuine itself: to wit, Emperor Ch'ien-lung's preference for the Tzu-ming version of *Fu-ch'un Shan-chü t'u* 富春山居圖 over the Wu-yung version.[29] In the same way, the Huang-shan album itself must be regarded as "potential," not "actual" Shih-t'ao, and cannot guarantee the authenticity of Plate XVII in *Studies in Connoisseurship* as a Shih-t'ao. Only through the awareness that the Huang-shan album appears to share a synchronic temperament with works of similar periods, could we begin to "improve" if not "prove" its authenticity and thus, its value as a work by the painter. This is possible only when the Ch'ing paintings in the Ku-kung collection are exhaustively studied and their periodization firmly grasped.

Earlier, I hinted that the *initial* problem in Chinese painting consists not so much in the identification of the genuine as in the exposure of fakes. To do so, careful observation of the artistic, material, and stylistic facets of a given painting is essential. In some works the artistic aspect alone is revealing — a much too even and homogeneous treatment of the whole (likely a tracing copy); a paradoxical contrast between strong composition and weak brushstrokes (definitely a copy); or a simple misunderstanding of the original, including what Gombrich calls "pathology" in representation.[30] Materials — their appearance, their quality, their age, or when ascertainable, their chemical components — can also be quite informative. In works like long handscrolls and albums, where doctoring by antique dealers is not uncommon, a still more thorough examination must be attempted. As mentioned above, documents too are useful in a negative way. Finally, those works which reveal later stylistic traits can be filtered out. This process of elimination through style requires a better understanding of the post-Shih-t'ao development as well as that during Shih-t'ao's lifetime than generally is appreciated.

Moreover, with the emphasis now changed to the elimination of fakes, we may be able — if such opportunities ever exist — to identify fakes through known fakes. Chang Ta-ch'ien's imitation of Shih-t'ao, if found, could be used to pinpoint other Chang Ta-chi'ien impersonations.[31] In consequence, we perhaps could gain a better understanding of the nature of forgeries and forgers, whether whimsical or mercenary, important or peripheral, derivative or imaginary.

In this way, we peel off layer after layer of the encrustation which has grown around and concealed the few extant originals. The ideal goal, of course, is to eliminate all such fakes and forgeries so that the authentic works will be restored to their rightful, pristine position.

Going beyond this negative approach, we can also utilize the *authenticated* works of generations of followers — and disciples of course — to frame and delineate their master's style. By studying and examining the works of these painters, we can lay seige to their sources, to their fountainhead — both stylistically and qualitatively.

Which goes to say that the priority of connoisseurship, and that of Chinese painting in particular, lies in a reversal of the present situation wherein scholars tend to move — in historical order — from early to late, ancient to modern. It is not that they are wrong. Methodologically speaking, however, there is no way to define a Sung style without at the same time being knowledgeable about those of the Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing. To proceed otherwise, that is, to dwell on Sung only, would be a form of self-deception. And overall, it is the Ch'ing painting which, in terms of quantity and quality of data, surpasses all other dynastic periods. Similarly, from the viewpoint of Shih-t'ao scholarship, it is best not to dwell on him exclusively, but to take advantage of his followers and disciples. One should edge "backward" toward Shih-t'ao, and not "forward" and away from him.[32]

This, of course, is not to ignore the historical nature of art. To proceed backward does not mean that a historian of art should forsake the question of lineages, influences, or derivations: it only signals a methodic approach, not a historical reversal.

And this methodological concept must presume an incipient knowledge of such lineages, influences, or derivations to be operative.

Meanwhile, it may be said that, notwithstanding the prevalence of imitations, fakes, and pastiches in Chinese painting, there remains a historical order of things which even their cumulative effect cannot undermine, that is, a gradual progression in time in a pyramidal and multi-serial vein. Within this temporal pyramid, each series is headed by a master whose originality and vision helped to found it. Imitations, fakes, and pastiches only extend the series, or perhaps confuse it by serial exchanges and permutations, but they cannot alter the series. They proceed *a posteriori,* after the fact.

To be sure, insofar as a given series is concerned, we will not often be able to find the "original" works. Speaking in a broader context, however, the history of Chinese painting, like other histories of art, consists of multiplying, evolutionary series, the beginnings of which are well defined. Compared with others, however, in Chinese painting the ends stretch longer through artificial means of perpetuation. The individual masters do exist; they *define* that beginning. As a result, one of the most fruitful ways to approach Chinese painting in general and Shih-t'ao in particular, is to lay a solid foundation in the pyramid of each series, and subsequently work to isolate and reveal its tip. The foundation, as a rule, is easier to tackle since it involves school pieces, works of followers, and those of minor artists who tend to flock around the master. Moreover, owing to the declining profit margin, these followers and minor artists were seldom faked on a scale comparable to those well-known figures. Vis-à-vis the stale imitations of great masters, it is these works that often exhibit a fresh air, a breath of spring, through which we perhaps could obtain a glimpse of their progenitor.

So we delineate a perimeter around the master and build up a corpus of works that are likely to be his. Even then, there is no absolute certitude that all of these chosen works will be genuine. For the purpose of further elimination and refinement, "compatibility, logicality, and consistency" of style and hand may lend some help, while allowing for a degree of flexibility and variability natural to an individual's growth cycle and potential. In the aftermath, even though there still may be uncertainties or marginal fluctuations, the result bespeaks responsible history, based not on one's arbitrary choice of a given set of works, but on comparative study, reliable deduction and controlled analysis. Where controversies exist, they would be confined to those areas where insufficient documents are the cause, and would not extend to the whole field of Chinese painting — as is now the case.

It is this that prompted me to write the article: that the Sackler Collection, which boasts a number of Shih-t'aos presumably as rich as anywhere, could show his paintings to be of such poor quality. Having seen them, my mind boggles. Are these really Shih-t'aos? If they are, I might say that he does not deserve the high place that art history has accorded him. If they are not, then the question is: did the collector, as well as the authors of the catalogue, err in selecting them? How indeed does the Sackler Shih-t'ao pale in comparison to a Lan Ying, to a Kung Hsien, or even to a minor artist like Fan Ch'i in the same collection!

For my part, I cannot believe that all these are really Shih-t'aos. Omitting the youthful works in the collection, most of the so-called mature paintings still are weak in hand, *pan* 板 and *chieh* 劫 in brush work, and dull in ink washes. If these are indeed Shih-t'aos, if these works are really by the same artist as are the album and handscroll of Huang-shan and the painting of Lu-shan — which are in accordance with my concept of seventeenth century style — then these latter three must be exceptions rather than the rule.

An objection can be raised to my argument: that these "poor works" are but the expression of *cho* 拙, or "awkwardness." Yet *cho,* which is founded on skill and transcends it, is no child's play; whereas the Sackler Shih-t'aos appear to be almost that.

With the exception of certain leaves, one may relegate the paintings to the status of dubious works of mediocre quality. If these works are indeed from the hand of Shih-t'ao, the only justification for his prominence as a painter would be his fame as a loyalist. But even that was ephemereal, as Fu Pao-shih found out in regard to his submission to the Ch'ing emperor.

My mind however refuses to go on from there. It would be sheer intellectual arrogance to imply that men like Cheng Hsieh, Ch'ing Tao-jen, Tseng Hsi, etc., were not cognizant of quality, that they were swayed by their fondness for Shih-t'ao's personality traits. The only conclusion that I can formulate, then, is that the Sackler Shih-t'aos are not what Marilyn and Shen Fu call Group I works (genuine, high quality, and typical), but must be either the "untypical" and poor specimens of Group III, or the fakes and imitations of Groups IV and V. When coming to this, my mind rests assured. At least, by discarding these, we can resuscitate and restore Shih-t'ao's place in Chinese art history.

Appendix

Having dealt with the Shih-t'aos in the Sackler collection *en masse,* it is necessary to reverse the procedure and undertake a case-by-case study. Simple fairness would demand that this be done, or else it would appear that the Sackler Shih-t'aos are being dismissed in a wholesale fashion. For want of space, we will consider only seven major cases. In each case we will examine pertinent evidence and raise questions regarding authenticity. For the sake of convenience, the citations below refer to *Studies in Connoisseurship.*

CASE I. Pls. XVIII and XIX, **Searching for Plum Blossoms: Poems and Painting.** Even though Pl. XIX and fig. 1 (pp. 180-181) are inferior to Pl. XVIII on textual and even pictorial ground (the Fu's enumerated the mistranscriptions occurring in these two works), it does not follow that Pl. XVIII must therefore be the "original." The confusion in the plum branches, particularly in the fore and aft relationship which a genuine work usually sidesteps with ease, is less than reassuring. In addition, the "flat-top" mound toward the left-hand side of the scroll appears to have been done *after* the inscription. It has, one may wish to say, a "squeezed-in" look. The other versions wisely avoid the mistake.

To conclude, it seems likely that there was a prototype for Pl. XVIII. In the process of making the copy, the copyist was so preoccupied by the length of the inscriptions and the need for textual accuracy that the painting itself became secondary. Thus, he chose to write the inscription first and then had to readjust the form of the mound in order that it would fit into whatever space that was left.

CASE II. Pls. XX and XXI, **Flowers and Figures.** The qualitative difference between the "original" (Pl. XX) and the copy by Li Jui-ch'i (Pl. XXI) is, to put it bluntly, minimal. Li's version, if not so inscribed, could just as easily be taken as the original. This raises the question whether Pl. XX is indeed the original as the Fu's have claimed. To approach the matter in a cynical way, couldn't it be that the "copy" was done for the purpose of "supporting" an "original" which was not the original at all?[33]

On the positive side, this work (Pl. XX) does share several colophon writers with the album of 12 scenes of Huang-shan, formerly in the Sumitomo Collection. They are: Li Kuo-sung, Huang Po-shan and Wu Shu-kung. Seals of identical designs and a consistency in Li Kuo-sung's calligraphic style can be observed across both albums. One comes away with the feeling that Pl. XX, even if less than genuine, does have a history behind it. It cannot be a total concoction by an ingenious forger.

On the negative side, however, the calligraphies of both Huang Po-shan and Wu Shu-kung display notable difference from one album to the other. We hasten to add

that it is not so much differences in style — since Wu Shu-kung, in three colophons in the Huang-shan album, reveals a tendency for changing style, from Su to Mi to yet another. It is instead, to use an expression that has recently come into currency among Chinese art historians, the change in the "energy level" of these writings, a matter of brush control and ink quality. The inscription by both writers in the Huang-shan album invariably harbour a deep resonance and a rich, almost tactile flavor that are derived in part from *ts'ang-feng* ("concealed brush tip") and in part from a dexterous manipulation of ink tone. These qualities are lost in the corresponding inscriptions in the *Flowers and Figures* — considered by the Fus to closely parallel the Huang-shan album[34] — as brush stroke turns sharp and flippant and ink no less so. If indeed it is the Fus contention that both albums and their inscriptions are to be dated around 1695, then this change in "energy level" would be rather perplexing.[35]

It should be stated that neither the Fus nor this author have ever seen the Huang-shan album. Working from the inferior reproductions from the *Shina Nanga Taisei* (Suppl. Vol. I, Pls. 158-69), it is indeed difficult to arrive at a supportable conclusion. Perhaps it would be best for us to wait until the album turns up before we finalize our judgement.

CASE III. Pl. XXII, **Landscapes, Vegetables, and Flowers**.[36] The condition of this album is remarkably new and its quality is of dubious nature. To be sure, this alone is not sufficient ground for its dismissal from Shih-t'ao's corpus. However, if the dating is believed to be ca. 1697 on the strength of the inscription on Leaf L, when Shih-t'ao would have settled in Yang-chou, then it would be highly incongruous for him to have signed Leaf H with the statement that "Shih-t'ao wrote 'Under the Branch.'" "Under the Branch" is an illusion to *I-chih-ko* 一枝閣 (Pavilion of One Branch), which would be appropriate only if the master residing in Nanking, that is, in the 1680's. What is the conclusion? A possible forgery.

CASE IV. Pl. XXV, **Album of Flowers and Portrait of Tao-chi**. If, in the course of examining this album, one finds: a) Leaf B is of a different sort of paper than the rest and therefore initially did not belong there, and b) the so-called "self-portrait" appended at the end is of extremely poor quality and, as suggested by the Fus, could not have been earlier than late nineteenth or early twentieth century, skepticism would be a normal reaction. Particularly irritating are the inscriptions found on the "self-portrait," which, judging by the calligraphic style, are purportedly by Shih-t'ao himself, but in content, defy all logic. For the date given there is 1674, but the wording in the first inscription roughly parallels that of Chang Keng's biography of our master, which was not published until 1739.

CASE V. Pl. XXVI, **Album of Landscapes**. There is a curious statement on p. 244, *Studies in Connoisseurship*, which the Fus perhaps should explain: "Initially we were cautious about the authenticity of these leaves, but careful study of both paintings and calligraphy reveals the album to be a genuine and revealing expression of the artist during a period of illness and the onset of old age (Tao-chi was sixty in 1701)." Why were there doubts about the authenticity of this album in the first place? How did the authors resolve their doubts? Is it really plausible to use illness and the onset of old age to explain away an infirm hand?

CASE VI. Pl. XXXII, Shih-t'ao and Chiang Chi, **Landscape and Portrait of Hueng Cheng-chih**. Of the Sackler's Shih-t'aos, I accept this painting on the strength of Chiang Shih-chih's inscription, which is appended to the scroll. Chiang's inscription is remarkably close in style and in "energy level" to that on his own painting in the Freer Gallery collection (fig. 3, p. 291; fig. 4, 292). Chiang's dates (1647-1709), his friendship with Shih-t'ao, and particularly, his minor stature, which allowed his paintings to escape from the fate of being excessively forged, are among the factors which directly or indirectly contribute toward a favorable appraisal of this handscroll, *Landscape and Portrait of Hung Cheng-chih*.

CASE VII. Pl. XXIV, **Reminiscences of Nanking**. Same sort of conflict as in Case III is a cause for concern here. Leaf A is signed with the sobriquet, Ta-ti-tzu, i.e., Shih-t'ao of the Yang-chou period; its allusion to I-chih, on the other hand, suggests his Nanking phase.[37] Leaf B contains the same contradiction. The only mitigating factor is the traditional association of this album with Nanking sceneries.

It remains to be said that authentication is but one aspect of art history. It is true that, once determined to be authentic, the historical value of a painting increases. Conversely, being denied authenticity will diminish its historical value. This does not mean that such work is no longer useful, but that its "utility" would at best be partial, rather than whole. When such works are put to use, extra caution may be necessary so that the art historian would not mistake as original features those elements which bear the specific mark of the forger. Regardless, it would be sheer folly to simply cast the fakes overboard. When the original no longer exists, it is the fake or copy that will help us to fill the gap. This applies to a number of the Sackler Shih-t'aos under consideration.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Unlike his contemporaries, Shih-t'ao almost never indulged in the cult of *fang* 倣. He did, however, make copies of ancient paintings, an instance of which can be seen in *Ta-ti-tzu T'i-hua Shih-pa* 大滌子題画詩跋, ch. 3, pp. 71ff. *Ta-ti-tzu T'i-hua Shih-pa* is included in Yang Chia-lo 楊家駱 ed., *I-shu Ts'ung-pien* 藝術叢編 (Taipei, 1968).

[2]In order to know the sources of his art, we must know the styles of his early works, none of which, it is safe to say, have survived.

[3]Cheng Hsieh, *Pan-ch'iao T'i-hua* 板橋題画, (*I-shu Ts'ung-pien*), p. 141.

[4]Fu Pao-shih 傅抱石, *Shih-t'ao Shang-jen Nien-p'u* 石濤上人年譜 (Shanghai, 1948).

[5]For 1641 as Shih-t'ao's birth date, see Wen Fong, "A Letter from Shih-t'ao to Pa-ta Shan-jen and the Problem of Shih-t'ao's Chronology," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, Vol. XIII (1959), pp. 22-53.

[6]See Ch'in Tsu-yung's preface to his *Hua-hsüeh Hsin-yin* 画學心印 (1878), *li-yen* 例言, p. 2b, where he regards Shih-t'ao as outside of the orthodox school and therefore decides to exclude his treaties, the *Hua-yü-lu* 画語錄, from his anthology of Chinese painting theories.

[7]Preface to Marilyn and Shen Fu's *Studies in Connoisseurship* (Princeton, 1973), p. xiv.

[8]This occurred on two occasions, in 1684 and 1689. Also see *Shih-t'ao Shang-jen Nien-p'u*, p. 21, item 6.

[9]Victoria Contag, *Die Beiden Steine* (Braunschweig, 1950) and *Zwei Meister Chinescher Landschafts malerei: Shih-t'ao und Shih-ch'i* (Baden-Baden, 1955); Osvald Siren, "Shih-t'ao, Painter, Poet, and Theoretician," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, no. 12 (1949), pp. 31-62; Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China* (Baltimore, 1956); and James Cahill, *Chinese Painting* (Skira, 1960).

[10]See Wen Fong, "A Letter from Shih-t'ao..."

[11]I refer to the exhibition which Richard Edwards organized in Ann Arbor, 1967, and the catalogue thereof, *The Painting of Tao-chi*.

[12]This occasioned the exhibition of the Sackler collection of Chinese paintings in Princeton, 1973 for which *Studies in Connoisseurship* was written.

[13]One of the beneficial effects of all of this attention is that, even though Shih-t'ao has not become a household word in the West, he has clearly emerged as a key figure in the annals of world art.

[14]See Alexander Soper, "The 'Letter from Shih-t'ao to Pa-ta-shen-jen,'" *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXIX, 2/3 (1967), pp. 267ff; and Hsü Fu-kuan, 徐復觀 *Shih-t'ao Chih-i Yen-chiu* 石濤之一研究 (Taipei, 1968), pp. 85-92.

[15]These opinions were aired in the informal symposium held at the University of Michigan Art Museum, at which this author was a participant.

[16]See two reviews by Jennifer Byrd in *Oriental Art*, New Series Vol. XX, no. 2 (Summer 1974), pp. 219-224; and Vol. XX, no. 4 (Winter 1974), pp. 436-448. Also of interest is Susan Bush's notice in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* Vol. XXXIV (1974), pp. 299ff. On the whole, these reviews are favorably inclined; but questions about authenticity and methodology invariably rise to sharpen the areas of disagreement.

[17]All three are in the Sumitomo collection, namely, 1) album of eight leaves, depicting eight scenes of Huang-shan; 2) scroll of Huang-shan, dated 1699; and 3) hanging scroll, "View of Mt. Lu." Thus far no one has expressed doubt about them.

[18]Cahill's letter to the author.

[19]This is an assumption held by most scholars of Chinese painting, though it may not always dovetail to the actual situation. In other words, this assumption will still need to be confirmed.

[20]For this, see Wen Fong, "The Problem of Forgeries in Chinese Painting," *'Artibus Asiae'*, Vol. XXV, 2/3 (1962), pp. 95ff.

[21]For Wang Yüan-ch'i's works in the Palace Museum, see *Ku-kung Shu-hua-lu* 故宮書画錄 (Taipei, 1965), Vol. III, pp. 538-548.

[22]"A Letter from Shih-t'ao . . . ," pp. 47-48, Appendix III.

[23]Max Loehr's article, "Some Fundamental Issues in the History of Chinese Painting," appeared in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXIII, no. 2 (February 1964), pp. 185ff.

[24]*Studies in Connoisseurship*, pp. 23ff.

[25]*Ibid.*, p. 18.

[26]On the other hand, it may be argued that, using this distributory system of the five groups, one can neither prove the non-existence of Li Ch'engs in pre-Yüan painting nor the existence of genuine Shih-t'aos in post-Yüan periods.

[27]For a convenient illustration of these paintings, see figs. 4, 5, and 6 in Wen Fong, "Toward a Structural Analysis of Chinese Landscape Painting," *Art Journal*, Vol. XXVII, no. 4 (Summer 1969), pp. 388ff. Paintings unearthed from Chu T'an's tomb are reproduced on pp. 133-135 in *Wen-hua Ta-ke-ming Ch'i-chien Ch'u-t'u Wen-wu* 文化大革命期間出土文物, Vol. I (Peking, 1972).

[28]The three series of *Shih-chu Pao-chi* are dated 1745, 1793, and 1816.

[29]Also see recent issue of *Ming-pao* 明報, nos. 107, 109-113, for articles dealing with "Fu-ch'un Shan chu t'u."

[30]E.H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion* (Washington, 1960), particularly chü V, "Formula and Experience," pp. 146ff.

[31]See Fu Shen, "T'an Chien-pieh — pu-chih-wei ho i chih chen 談鑒別 — 不知偽何以知真 *Ming-pao*, Vol. X, no. 2 (February 1975), pp. 53ff.

[32]This of course is not to say that connoisseurs must proceed always in the same vein. The point is that, whether this is authentication at a glance or the result of much study, there must be "correctives" to test and validate the conclusion.

[33]For an illuminating analysis of this practice, see Wen Fong, "The Problem of Forgery in Chinese Painting."

[34]E.G., Huang Po-shan, Pls. XX-AA and XX-EE versus fig. 2, p. 187; Wu Shu-kung, Pl. XX-CC versus fig. 3, p. 196 and Pl. SS-HH versus fig. 7, p. 201.

[35]Viewed against this backdrop, even the similarity of Li Kuo-sung's calligraphy in the two albums could very well be illusory rather than real. Li is hardly an accomplished calligrapher and his style can be easily imitated.

[36]See also Wen Fong and Marilyn Fu, *The Wilderness Colors of Tao-chi* (Greenwich, Connecticut, 1973).

[37]Richard Vinograd, in a recent article, "Reminiscences of Ch'in-huai: Tao-chi and the Nanking School," *Archives of Asian Art*, Vol. XXXI (1978), p. 6, admits that Ta-ti as a sobriquet of Tao-chi appears most frequently on paintings after 1697, when he built the Ta-ti Ts'ao-t'ang in Yang-chou. However, he also insists that there are exceptions to this rule. In n. 3, p. 30, he proceeds to name three exceptions. Of these, one is clearly unacceptable even to himself. Two others are dated in the years of 1662 and 1674. To this author, the time gap between these paintings and the building of Ta-ti Ts'ao-t'ang automatically makes them suspect, particularly since there is no evidence for the usage of this sobriquet in the intervening phase, namely the 1680s.

A CONVERSATION BETWEEN ADOLPH GOTTLIEB AND JACK BRECKENRIDGE

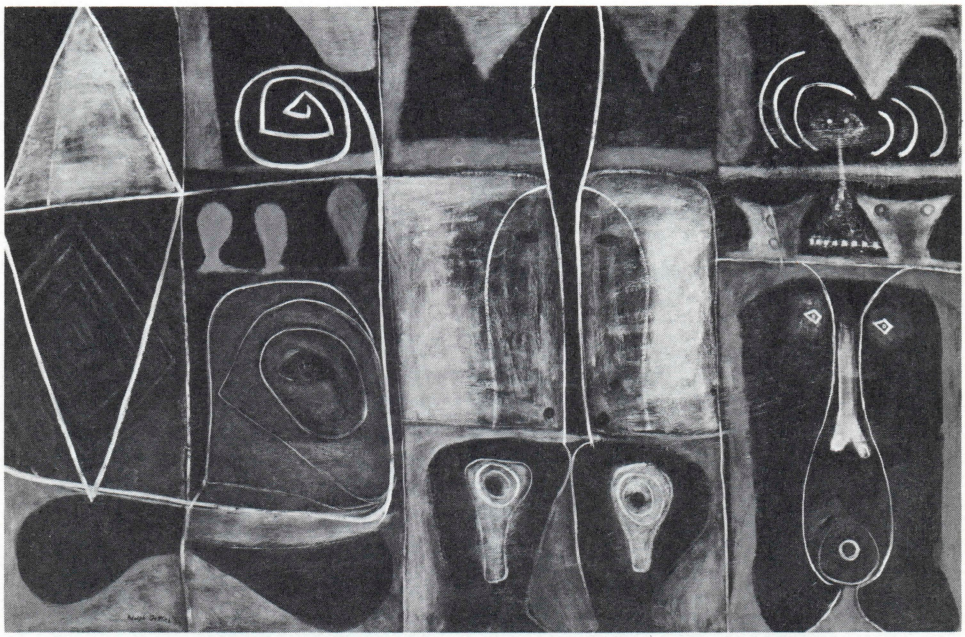
transcribed by Jack Breckenridge

(In the spring of 1973 while on a vacation in Phoenix, Adolph Gottlieb agreed to speak to the art students at Arizona State University. At his request the presentation took the form of a conversation with me concerning the general topic "The Shift of the Art Capital From Paris to New York in the 1940s." He also volunteered to answer questions from the audience. Some of these questions were submitted in advance in writing and some were asked from the floor in the course of the evening.

Gottlieb was confined to a wheel chair at this time with the left side of his body incapacitated and his speech was somewhat slowed. However, his mind was very quick and his sallies in answer to questions often brought forth quick laughter and applause from the nearly three hundred people in the audience.

The following pages contain substantial excerpts from the almost two hours of taped discussion and questions and answers of that evening. The evening began with a slide presentation of about fifty of Gottlieb's paintings. They were projected in chronological order on a large screen on the stage above the seated Gottlieb. The original plan was to show the slides without comment because Gottlieb had specifically asked to make no comments on the individual works. As he watched them flash on the screen, however, he was moved to begin his remarks by making a general observation about a change that took place in his work in the early 1950s. To illustrate this change I have included two illustrations. One shows the "all-over" manner to which he alluded in his opening remarks. The other painting is in his late manner and has special relevance to this conversation because it was painted during his stay in Phoenix.)

(AG) There is something I would like to get across to you—it has to do with the different atmosphere and when I was young—as you may know, during the Forties most of us in New York were doing all-over painting. There was something in the air that made us do that. I don't know how to explain it, but we felt that was the way painting was going. It was all-over, there was no beginning and no end. I decided that I was tired of the



1 Adolph Gottlieb, *Recurrent Apparition*. Permission of Marlborough Gallery Incorporated, New York.

paintings which were endless; which were all-over paintings. I decided that I would try to make paintings which had a focal point very much the way a portrait had. All of the paintings that were done after the Forties have that characteristic and I still retain that. As you can see there is a very defined focal point.

I must say that I am not prepared to make a lecture in the usual sense that we are accustomed to. I don't have the pedagogical approach. I think it is my prerogative as an old man to reminisce and go back to early days. I'll have a lot of loose ends which I hope will tie together. I think that you will find that they will tie together. I'll just go back to when I went to Europe for the first time in 1921. I worked my way over on the ship and had a lot of adventures which are another story. I eventually got to Paris and I did very little painting. I was going to the Grand Chaumière to a sketch class where I did sketches from life. While the instructor was supposed to be Lucien Simon, I never saw Mr. Simon. I just went and worked on my own. And I did something that was more useful, I went to the Louvre almost every day. I certainly went there every other day. I knew the Louvre very well. I could go in there and find my way to any painting that I was interested in seeing. I think this was the best experience that I could possibly have had because I think that the real university for any young artist is the museum which has a rich collection. I think it is much better to study with Poussin than study with Gottlieb. So you see in a sense I am very modest. At any rate, what I wanted to say was that those days were the days of the expatriates like Hemingway and others and it was considered to be very important to go to Europe for an American artist. American art at that point was—well, it was very much behind—about twenty-five years behind European art. The European Impressionists were about twenty-five years ahead of the American Impressionists. In fact, at that time American artists were waiting for the latest copy of *Cahiers d'Art* to see what was happening in Europe and that gave them a cue as to how to proceed. So I went to Europe and the best thing was the museums.

(JB) What would you say to the young student who wishes to train himself today?

Today I would say that he should go to New York and haunt the Metropolitan and other museums.

And not worry about the Art Students' League?

No, I don't think the Art Students' League would do him much good.

You talked to me the other day about the importance of the shift of the art capital from Paris to New York.

Well, I am very interested in that. I'll explain it to you. When I went to Paris and I lived in Europe for awhile I became a Francophile. There are many great French artists whom I admired so much that they impressed me for my whole life—older artists like Ingres, Delacroix, and Courbet. When I came back to New York I found there was a very deeply ingrained provincialism in the United States which seemed to stem from the Midwest and with it came a great deal of Midwestern painting that I thought was very bad. I'm talking about Benton, Grant Wood, and John Steuart Curry. I think that, in a way, they created a vacuum into which the next generation could step.

By being so bad?

That's right—and I think that I should tell you that in the Forties there was a lot of talk among New York artists as to whether New York was going to be the art capital of the world. As a personal reminiscence my wife and I used to go to Provincetown in the summers in those days and in the summer of 1949 between my wife and myself and a friend of ours named Weldon Kees, who was a very sensitive poet and painter, and Fritz

Bultman, who was a painter and sculptor, we started something called Forum Forty-Nine. In the course of the summer we had a number of interesting exhibits and forums. The forums and exhibits took place in an old, no-longer-used, post office that we got the use of. Each of us took turns in organizing something and my turn came up, so I organized a forum called "French Art versus American Art." This created quite a bit of dissension. We didn't have any exhibit of French art, we had a discussion. We did show the American artists who were in Provincetown at the time. We invited a number of distinguished people to this forum, among them were Stuart Preston of the *New York Times* and Fred Wight, who now, I think, heads the art department at UCLA. Before the forum started there was a group of dissidents including Hans Hofmann and Fritz Bultman who wanted to hand out a mimeographed flyer to people who were coming in. So we said to them, "Don't hand it out, we'll give it to everyone who buys a ticket." The flyer read something to the effect that ". . . we are objecting to this program because we consider Paris the city of light and culture and light and culture have emanated from it for the past hundred years or more, so we are in disagreement with this topic." We then handed it out to everybody. After the forum there was a party at someone's house. While we were at the party, I went over to Hofmann. I said, "Hans, what did you really object to about this forum? Now that you've heard it, don't you think that it was all right? It was an interesting discussion." He said, "Well, I'll tell you, Adolph, you should have French art first." I asked, "Why?" He replied, "Because French art is better than American art." So I said, "We did say 'French Art versus American'." He said, "Well, then it's all right."

Then, there was evidence, in your mind, by 1949 that . . .

Oh, by 1949 we were afraid that we were being too chauvinistic about American art. So the question came up, were we right in being too chauvinistic? I took the position that we were entitled to it because as I saw it—well, I'll give you an example of what I mean. I was in the Kootz Gallery one time, and I was in this back private viewing room. This was in the middle Forties or the late Forties. Kootz had just been to Paris and had brought back one of the latest paintings of a young Parisian painter. To show it to this collector, he put it on a chair. Then the collector, to look at it more closely, got down and looked at it very closely, in fact, his knee touched the floor and I thought that was very symbolic—down on his knees before a French painting, because it was French. He would never have done that for a new American painting. At that point I decided that chauvinism was good for us.

What do you think that this has meant to younger artists?

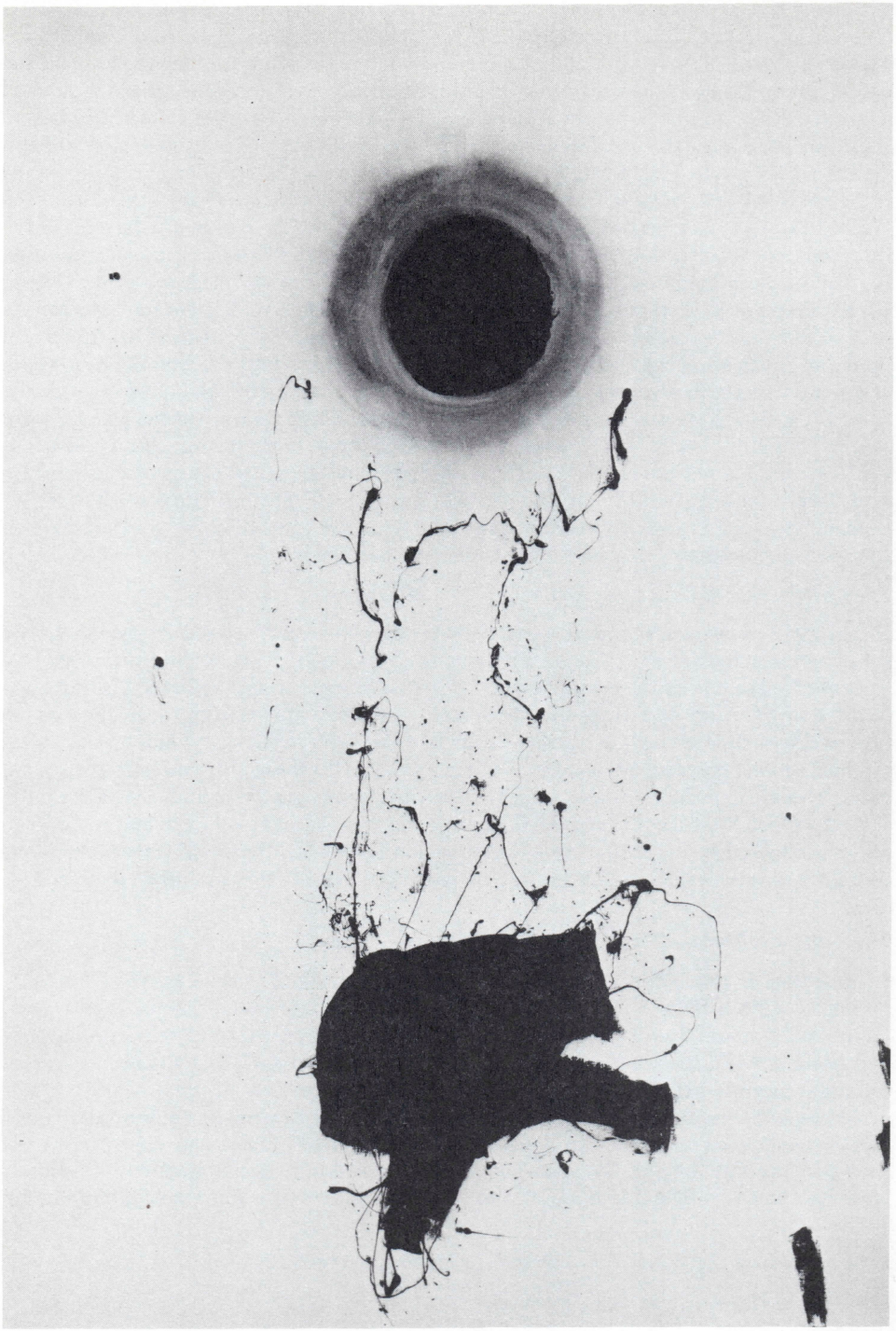
I think that it has given great freedom. As an example of what I mean, I was on a broadcast with a British critic—the broadcast was supposed to be for the BBC—and I made a point about this. I was discussing this business about American art in relation to European art and the ways it had been subservient to it. I said that France was like a colonial power in art and that we were the colonists; and that in the 1940s American artists took the tea and dumped it overboard and had their Declaration of Independence. I was curious to see how this would go over with the British. I later saw a transcript and they cut that out. I think the situation got reversed and America became the colonial power artistically. The Japanese and many others, including the French, became our subjects.

Let's talk about the WPA. You worked for a time for the WPA?

I did, yes. I think it was $23.50 a week.

A lot of people have said that this was a kind of apprenticeship for young artists of that time.

I think the value of the WPA is vastly exaggerated.



2 Adolph Gottlieb, *Burma Red*, (1973). Collection of Adolph and Esther Gottlieb Foundation, N.Y. Photograph courtesy of Adolph and Esther Gottlieb Foundation, N.Y.

What do you think, then, of government support of the arts?

I think that is very dangerous. It has a tendency to try to influence the artist. Just like dealers try to influence artists.

Have they tried to influence you?

Yes. Oh, sure. Either to maintain a style or to get certain qualities that they like or that they think are saleable.

Do you believe that the dealer system is a bad system?

No, I think that it is the best system that we have.

Then you don't agree with the dissatisfied younger artists in New York. There are a number of dissatisfied young artists–

Oh, yes, but in many cases it is a matter of sour grapes. They can't seem to adapt to the dealer system so they want to abolish it.

How do younger painters go about breaking into this system?

They have to make a little name for themselves among the New York artists. To be there, to be in group shows, and be part of the give and take.

Then someone is not going to walk in from off the streets and knock the dealer dead with his work?

No, that's very hard. The dealers are very jaded. They have so many artists come in every day and show them work. They can assume before hand that it will be no good.

When you talked earlier about the "give and take" among artists, were you talking about something like that which went on in the Club in the late 1940s?

Like the Club—where artists would express their views about what a painting should be and what it is, and others could attack.

Where did you meet?

We met in an empty loft on Eighth Street. Sometimes we would visit in other artists' studios and say whatever we thought.

You just spoke right out?

Well, we were friends.

Do you still have a close association with many of those artists today?

I don't. Most of us sort of outgrew this.

There has been a good deal of talk about the influence in New York in the Forties of Europeans who arrived because of the war. People like Léger, Mondrian, Lipchitz, and others.

Yes, I met a number of them.

Do you feel that they exerted any kind of influence on American art or do you think that things had already been solidified by that time?

I think that by that time Surrealism was a definite influence on American art because

the work was being shown in New York by various dealers. Then when the artists came over that showed us that they were just people like we were.

Do you feel that there was an impact of Surrealism on your work during this period?

Yes, I think so—definitely. There was a gallery in New York called Gallery Sixty-Seven. It had a show called "A Problem for Critics." It included my work, Pollock's, Rothko's, Hofmann's, and a number of others. The problem was how to characterize this work. Most of it had some Surrealist influence. A lot of it had some Cubist influence. I felt that the work we all were doing was kind of a merger of both—Surrealism and abstraction.

Were you people interested in the abstraction of George L.K. Morris and the people in the American Abstract Artists group? Did you have much contact with them?

No. Well, they were friendly. Actually, what happened, as I see it, was that the American Abstract group was very dogmatic about their idea of abstraction. If anybody had any figurative tendency at all his work was taboo. At that point, I, and a lot of other artists, didn't share that view.

You didn't agree with the Metropolitan Museum, I believe, in 1950 when the eighteen of you—

That's right. That was the Pepsi-Cola show. The objection was that there were two local jurors in all parts of the country which would make it regional. I think part of our viewpoint was against regional art which was one of the big phases of American art. We felt that regional art was provincial and retrogressive.

What you called the "Corn-Belt Academy" in your letter to the New York Times in 1943?

That's right. I'd forgotten about that.

You wrote in Tiger's Eye in 1947 about your art being "... the expression of the neurosis which is reality." That sounds parallel to Surrealist concerns. What do you think of this in terms of your art today?

Well, I think it has a relationship. You see, I was very much interested, as a lot of artists were, in Jung at the time. I accepted the idea of a universal unconscious.

And by working in this kind of imagery you were getting to this universal unconscious by speaking a kind of common language. Yet, don't I understand that you feel you are really not trying to paint for the masses?

Good Lord, no. Just the reverse. You know what Gorky called Social Realism at the time? He called it poor art for poor people.

(Reading a question submitted in advance) "How essential is it to the livelihood of the artist for his imagery to be recognizably his own and do you feel this degree of sameness is a compromise to maintain a level of success?"

That's a very good question. Every day an artist has to examine his feelings and ask himself if this is what he really wants. It becomes more difficult if you are successful because you might be doing something to satisfy a demand; a market that's been created. Or you might be doing just the opposite to be perverse. I have a great deal of perversity in me, so I always have to question it. I assume that this is true of lots of artists. If they weren't a little perverse in some way they wouldn't be artists. They would conform to something.

The common question from students submitted to me in advance was, "Who or what had the greatest influence on your work?"

Oh, Cimabue. He has a very forceful image.

(Reading) "In your earlier pictograph paintings even though individual, personal symbols were compartmented, the surface treatment of the painting appeared to have an all-over sameness. In later "Blast" pictures a different approach is employed in the execution of the top half of the painting from that used in the bottom half. What is your feeling about the idea, perhaps best exemplified by the color-field painters, that a painting should be all of one piece?

That's a good question. I'll try to explain it. When I did the pictograph paintings I was thinking of them as all-over paintings, with no focal point and no beginning—they ran out on all four sides. And I reached a point where I felt that I had enough of all-over painting and that it was a kind of New York mania. I wanted to buck the other painters and all I had been doing, so I reversed myself and decided to make paintings with a definite focal point, which at the same time would control in some subtle way the space of painting. I think it's just as simple as that. Just that I decided I might go do a different kind of painting.

In your later works, do you use trowels and other kinds of devices on the bottom part of those paintings where one sees those big strokes?

I work in many ways. I try everything. Miro once said that he tried everything including urinating on the painting. I doubt that he did it.

(Reading) "Many people sincerely feel that Jackson Pollock is the greatest painter of our century. How do you feel about this?"

I think that he is vastly over-rated. I think he used to seem to be a violent painter. He now seems to me to be a gentle, lyrical painter, especially in the painting at the Met called "Autumn Rhythm." It is a very gentle, lyrical painting. And when you met him as a man, if you got him when he was sober, he was very gentle.

(From the Floor) In your opinion what should be the function of an art instructor in a university?

I am very much in wonder as to what the function of the instructor is. I don't think the instructor can make an artist out of someone who isn't an artist. I think that you are an artist when you start or you're not. There is no such thing as an art student unless you accept the idea that you are a student all of your life. I don't think that the university is the good place at all. I think the place to go is to a museum. You have to go and look at Chardin and Courbet and see how they did it. If you don't have the capacity to learn, nobody can give it to you. Years ago the big question was that everyone was looking for a key or a clue; some sort of a formula for making a work of art. Nobody ever found it.

(From the Floor) What is your opinion of the art of 1960s; Funk and Junk, Op and Pop, Minimal art, and art of the 1970s?

I think that my generation is largely responsible for a lot of it and I feel ashamed for us.

In what way do you feel responsible?

Anything could be a work of art—almost anything—and the artist was completely free to do anything he chose.

(From the Floor) You implied that contrary to painting for the masses, your art was a very personal and private statement. I wonder if that could be extended to invalidate the

political and social art forms?

I think the didactic art that the Mexicans tried to do had no value because whatever message they had could have been gotten across to the masses better by television or the movies. The same thing is true in the Soviet Union. Their painters, I believe, convinced very few people.

(From the Floor) I wasn't thinking in terms of "convincing," but rather "commenting."

Oh, "commenting." If there is no convincing, what value is the comment?

(From the Floor) I wonder if you have ever experimented with polymer or other synthetic paints?

I have used acrylics, that's all. I think that one of the worst things about contemporary painting is the excessive use of acrylics and masking tapes.

(From the Floor) When you say that the Abstract Expressionists have become a major influence in the world, was the acceptance gradual or overnight–as a group or individually? How did it happen?

It took many years to get acceptance. That put us in the position of being part of the establishment which wasn't very comfortable.

(From the Floor) Can you comment on what the function of critics might be, if any–critics like Greenberg or Rosenberg?

I think people like Greenberg or Rosenberg have a great deal of influence.

Do you think it is all to the good?

Frankly, if they are on my side, I think it is good.

(From the Floor) In titling your paintings, how do you come about the wording if, as you say, the subjects are very personal and not able to be understood by using words.

I have a great deal of difficulty with titles. I like them to be ambiguous. I look at the painting and I try to think of what it suggests. I'll come up with that kind of a title which is ambiguous. It is very generalized and somewhat abstracted.

(From the Floor) You were saying that students should go to a museum. Do you mean by this that a serious art student should study the big names and imitate their styles before starting his or her own style?

Yes, the big names. I don't think they will form their own style until they have done that.

(From the Floor) Is it a lot harder for a woman to get established–to get a name? If it is, how much longer will it take?

I think it is harder for a woman especially if she is black.

(From the Floor) How long was it before you became self-supporting from your art?

It wasn't until about the 1950s. There was a parallel question asked by a student when I was teaching at UCLA, "Mr. Gottlieb, about how much do you make a year from your paintings?" I said that is between me and the Treasury Department.

THREE RECENT ART REFERENCE BOOKS

Winberta Yao

Joachim Busse, *Internationales Handbuch aller Maler und Bildhauer des 19. Jahrhunderts: Busse-Verzeichnis*. Busse Kunst Dokumentation, (Wiesbaden, 1977)

Geraldine Norman, *Nineteenth Century Painters and Painting: A Dictionary*. University of California Press, (Berkeley, 1977)

Colin Nash and Genesis P-Orridge, eds. *Contemporary Artist*. St. Martin's, (New York, 1977)

Thieme-Becker[1] and Bénézit[2] are the old, established biographical works on artists initiated and completed many years ago. Though dated in many instances and even containing incorrect information at times, they are still valuable and still used. To fill current needs and vacuums, new biographical compendiums for artists of one kind or another are continually being compiled and issued. The best are those which are carefully defined and implemented, adhere to high standards of scholarship, and serve areas that are untouched by Thieme-Becker and Bénézit. An outstanding example is *A Dictionary of Japanese Artists: Painting, Sculpture, Ceramics, Prints, Lacquer* by Laurance P. Roberts (1976).

In recent months, three new titles have appeared. Their contents are examined here and their merits assessed.

In keeping with the new interest in the nineteenth century as a whole, two of these deal with artists of that period. The first, *Internationales Handbuch aller Maler und Bildhauer des 19. Jahrhunderts: Busse-Verzeichnis (International Directory of All XIXth Century Painters and Sculptors: Busse-Index)* by Joachim Busse (1977) is 1403 pages in length and about the size of a volume of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. It has small print and thumb-indexed pages of dictionary-weight. Containing the names of some 89,000 artists, it is a computer-produced index and its information is arranged as in a computer print-out in columns giving (1) surname; (2) Christian name; (3) sex; (4) year of birth; (5) places where artist worked; (6) year of death; (7) nationality; (8) techniques used; (9) motifs and themes of work; (10) literature references. It is this last category that provides the key to the entire work.

The names listed in the Busse-Index were culled from thirteen biographical dictionaries of artists, three auction sales indexes, and the "Busse Archives," a file maintained over a twenty-year period by the author. It did not take much more than a cursory glance (even with 89,000 names) to notice that Thieme-Becker, Vollmer[3] and Bénézit were the chief sources to which the user is referred for information. The presence

of and the importance accorded to Vollmer, the supplement to Thieme-Becker for twentieth-century artists, seems curiously out of place here but, as will be indicated below, the definition of the nineteenth century is very broad in this work. Of the others, four are German works or cover only German artists, two are on Austrian artists, two are for the British, and one each for Dutch and Italian artists. No American biographical dictionaries were used as a source — leading to the absence of a number of American names, especially those considered as Western artists.

There is, quite obviously, an orientation towards the German-speaking countries. Two of the other German sources[4] are not listed in the *Guide to Art Reference Books* by Mary Chamberlin (1959) and there is reason to believe that neither one is readily available for consultation in the United States. The one that is listed by Chamberlin turned out upon inspection to be a very ordinary source;[5] furnishing brief, routine, undocumented information. Compiled at about the same time as the first edition of Bénézit, it did not gain the universal acceptance that was accorded to the French dictionary.

It seems, then, that the Busse-Index would be of limited use to those already knowledgeable in the basic biographical tools of art history and able to go directly to the proper sources without guidance. To those who might claim an interest in having the names of nineteenth-century artists isolated from those of other centuries, the nineteenth-century designation, as it is developed here, is quite imprecise — incorporating artists still living after 1806 and born by 1880, and spanning in effect a period of time from 1750 to 1950. And to those who might look to such a compendium to detect names of lesser-knowns, there is no dearth of minor artists to be found in other dictionaries of artists — particularly in Bénézit which has, for instance, simply taken names from the catalogues of the Paris Salon and included them without further research. The determination of exactly what purpose or group this volume might best serve may be found in the background of the compiler himself. Herr Busse is the founder and managing partner of Busse Kunst Dokumentation of Wiesbaden, West Germany — a business which was the outgrowth of his twenty years as a collector of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century graphic art. Taking a clue from this, together with his inclusion of three art sales indexes among the literature sources, it may be inferred that this volume is most suitable as a reference tool for art dealers and collectors who, incidentally, may be the ones most willing — and able — to pay the price of $215.00 for it. A volume like this also illustrates a recent publishing trend with dealers compiling their own files of reference sources to serve them in their work (cf. Lauris Mason, *Print Reference Sources*, 1975, and Peggy and Harold Samuels, *The Illustrated Biographical Encyclopedia of Artists of the American West*, 1976).

Turning to the other new dictionary on the nineteenth century, Norman's dictionary could not be more different from the Busse-Index. Instead of aiming at a comprehensive listing of many thousands, it is selective — containing just over 700 entries, primarily of artists but including also nineteenth-century movements and groups in art. Although there is an admitted bias towards eighteenth-century artists working into the nineteenth-century, its chronological boundaries are more confined since it excludes artists who had not produced significant work before 1900. It is a dictionary with a stated purpose — to redress the balance of treatment "in favor of nineteenth-century avant-garde art over academic as it appears in twentieth-century literature;" to show the interaction that often took place among artists even though they embraced different styles; and to focus attention on the national schools which flourished in that period. Names or terms mentioned within an entry for an artist are printed in block letters when there is a separate listing for it, thus serving as a cross-reference and creating a kind of network linking artists to each other or to movements.

The information provided for each entry is basic, concise and uniform in pattern. Almost all end with: "There are works in [locations] or...?" Bibliographical

references — most of which are taken from Thieme-Becker except for more recent titles — and small illustrated examples of work in black-and-white, arranged on the same page as the entry, are provided for about two-thirds of the artists. However, as a contribution to the standard reference shelf in an academic institution, it is not entirely successful on two grounds: (1) It generally gives only as much information as in Bénézit in an equivalent amount of space — making it, in effect, a kind of translation of Bénézit for those artists included in Norman; (2) There is no discernible criterion for inclusion of an artist, particularly the minor ones.

We know now — courtesy of Busse — that there are more or less 89,000 names to contend with in nineteenth-century art. From among this mass of names, how did Norman ever single out less than one per cent of that total for her dictionary? Would the identity of the author again provide an answer? Geraldine Norman is the saleroom correspondent for the *Times* (London), and the editor of a 1903 volume entitled *Dutch Painters of the 19th Century* by G.H. Marius, reissued in an English translation by the Antique Collectors Club in 1973. By nature of her occupation, she has an awareness of the current popularity factor of an artist — how "fashionable" (her term) he is in the marketplace. A sample checking of Bénézit, which includes sale prices of an artist's work, revealed that probably some three-fourths of the names included in her dictionary were those who had works sold in international art markets in the 1960's and 1970's — some quite actively. It may be possible to conjecture that the sale of an artist's work at an auction was, therefore, a means whereby his name came to the attention of the author as a candidate for her dictionary.

Whatever the case may be, this book is attractive in format and carefully put together (except for the abrupt placement of sixteen pages of text and colored plates between the first two pages and the concluding one of the Introduction). It provides a general and readable picture of painting in the nineteenth century through thumbnail synopses of its practitioners. It will be useful for quick identification of some of the artists' groups not too easily found elsewhere such as "Les Vingt" and "Scapigliatura." And most certainly in its favor is the fact that it is in English.

The third title under review, *Contemporary Artists*, is another weighty tome — 1300 artists and 1077 pages long. It is based on a laudable concept — that of providing bio-bibliographical documentation on the lives and work of artists for the most part still between thirty and fifty years of age.

For each artist, personal and professional vitae are given — including such useful facts as his/her dealer as well as personal mailing addresses. This is followed by other categories of material that list Individual Shows, Selected Group Shows, Collections, and Publications — By and On the Artist. Concluding each entry is an individual statement by the artist if available, and, for most, a signed essay on his/her work by various reviewers. Black-and-white illustrations of mediocre quality are scattered throughout the volume. It is modelled on the series *Contemporary Writers of the English Language* by the same publishers.

Although this new work has recently been selected as "An Outstanding Reference Book of 1978" by the American Library Association, this reviewer has found it wanting in several respects. Publications breaking new ground are in special need of strong editorial direction — and such guidance would undoubtedly have enabled *Contemporary Artists* to fulfill its potential more effectively. To begin with, its scope is much too ambitious — and a definition of "contemporary" as it is used here is sorely needed. It is implied from the Introduction that the focus would be on those engaged in "current art activity." Reinforcing this expectation are the selection guidelines which state that to be eligible for inclusion one had to be a "professional artist for at least five years" and, for younger artists, "should have already attracted serious critical attention." At the same time, it is stated that even though no artist deceased before 1930 would be included, the "inclusion of deceased artists is dependent upon their continuing influence . . ." The main

thrust of the volume thus becomes blurred. Although Picasso, Matisse, Braque, Kollwitz, Henri, Demuth and Hopper (and many others born before 1900) all technically qualify for inclusion, they should more properly be in a separate volume entitled perhaps "Pioneers and Precursors" in order to make room for the dozens of living artists with outstanding reputations that are not listed but have as legitimate a claim to be included as those who are. To users of John Walker's *Glossary of Art, Architecture and Design Since 1945* (2nd edition, 1977), this new volume would be a natural source to turn to for biographical information on the artists associated with the various contemporary groups and movements — but a great number of them (such as the members of the "Hairy Who") are not to be found here. Following the system used in the series on *Contemporary Writers*, the recommendation of names was the function of an international group of advisors — but it should also have been the responsibility of the editors, Colin Nash — who writes reviews for a London magazine, *Art and Artists*, which reports on current art exhibitions — and Genesis P-Orridge (pseudonym), a performance and mail artist, to oversee and ensure a more even, thorough coverage. In any case, they do admit to "rough-and-ready criteria" which were sometimes set aside "in favour of more instinctive preferences."

This over-flexibility also makes itself felt in an uneven geographical treatment. Whether it is because the United States actually has more "contemporary artists" or because it had more representation among the advisors than any country, Americans seem to predominate in this volume, followed by the British — who had the second most representation in the advisory group. Argentina had one representative and Mexico none — with the result that at least twelve natives from the South American country are included and only four from the country bordering the United States — Rivera, Orozco, Siquieros and Cuevas (Tamayo, though still living and mentioned in the entry on Orozco, was forgotten). Further numerical analysis is not feasible because of another deficiency in this volume — the lack of indices.

With such a large amount of data accumulated in one volume, indices are an absolute requisite to facilitate different kinds of access. For this volume there should be indices by nationality — so that names may be located by country; by sex — so that we may follow the achievements of women artists; and even by pseudonyms — so frequently used by contemporary artists. The most needed ones for this volume would be those that list artists by the media in which they work and by their fields, such as minimal or conceptual. This kind of identification of an artist is absent from the vita and is often not readily apparent without reference to the critical essay at the end of the entry.

Additional evidence that this volume could have been more carefully prepared appears in the main body of the entries. Examples of omissions and errors will be cited only from among artists in Phoenix-area museums. For instance, the outstanding monograph by Lincoln Kirstein on Elie Nadelman (1973) is not listed in the bibliography for this sculptor. Although Jose Luis Cuevas and Wayne Thiebaud both had individual shows at the Phoenix Art Museum in 1974 and 1976 respectively, the dates of their last one-man exhibitions are given as 1972 and 1967. "Appel's Appels," a show organized by the New York Cultural Center and seen at the Phoenix Art Museum in 1974 does not appear under Karel Appel's name. The Phoenix Art Museum was included as among collections with work by such artists as Richard Diebenkorn, Stephen Antonakos and Irene Rice Pereira — but not for countless others. When it is listed, it appears variously as "Phoenix Museum of Art" (Claude Tousignant, Alf Dunn and Ernest Trova) or "Phoenix Museum" (Arnaldo Pomodoro). Both the Arizona State University Art Collections and Phoenix Art Museum hold work by Stuart Davis and Georgia O'Keeffe, but this is mentioned only for Arizona State University — and then in the case of O'Keeffe, the location is given as "Arizona State College, Flagstaff." Such examples bear out the fact that Arizona's art collections are indeed not sufficiently known outside the state, as noted

in the preface to **PHOEBUS I** (page 4).

There are further areas that need clarification. Were the artists' statements specially prepared for this volume — or taken from some previously published work? Why were critical essays not provided for every artist? And who are the essayists? The names of Lawrence Alloway and Andrew Forge were recognized in a single essay apiece (there may have been more) — and several were finally tracked down as colleagues of the editor in the previously mentioned magazine, *Art and Artists*, but beyond that nothing further was available on their background. There should be a section on "Notes on Advisors and Contributors" such as is in the series on *Contemporary Writers* to help the reader in his evaluation of the essays.

Prospective users of this biographical dictionary are urged not to let the imperfections of a maiden work deter them from consulting it — but to be forewarned and to be aware of the need to check, confirm, or supplement the data supplied, as need be. It is quite true, as the editors say, that this volume is the "most comprehensive beginning ever made." An improved and revised edition will surely be issued — perhaps in some form of complementary collaboration with another volume, the *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists* (3rd edition, 1977), edited by Paul Cummings who, incidentally, is also a member of the advisory group of *Contemporary Artists*.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1907-50), 37 vols.

[2]Emmanuel Bénézit, *Dictionnaire Critique et Documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs*. New edition, (Paris, 1976), 10 vols. The first edition was published 1911-1923.

[3]Hans Vollmer, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler des XX. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1953-1962), 6 vols.

[4]Friedrich von Boetticher, *Malerwerke des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1944-48), 2 vols. This is an "unaltered reprint" of the original 1891-1901 edition. Willy Dressler, *Kunsthandbuch*, Zweiter Band. *Das Buch der Lebenden Deutschen Künstler, Altertumsforscher, Kunstgelehrten und Kunstschriftsteller, Bildende Kunst* (Berlin, 1930).

[5]Hermann A. Müller and Hans Singer, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon, Leben und Werke der Berühmtesten Bildenden Künstler* (Frankfurt, 1921-22), 6 vols.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