Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art
CIHA Italia

MOTION: TRANSFORMATION

35th Congress of the International Committee of the History of Arts

Florence, 1-6 September 2019

Congress Proceedings

– Part 2 –

Bononia University Press

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edited by Marzia Faietti and Gerhard Wolf

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Introduction to Session 6*

The session 'Building an Icon: Architecture from Project to Product', organized for the 35th CIHA International Congress, was entirely devoted to architecture. Specifically, it responded to the overall purpose of the Congress – to explore the dynamics of *transformation* in artistic production – by focusing on the intrinsic relationship between the two extremes at either end of the life cycle of architectural objects: the material, procedural mechanisms of their making, and their unpredictable afterlife in the domain of images. Ultimately, it proposed *non*-teleological, *post*-formalist approaches to architectural history as a way of understanding the metamorphic stages of architecture's coming-into-being, especially when transcending chronological or geographical boundaries.

When drawing our attention to the iconic quality of architecture, both of the single object and of the city as a whole, a useful conceptual tool is provided by a classic text on urban theory, *The Image of the City*, published in 1960 by Kevin Lynch (fig. 1).[1] In particular, it is the popular neologism 'imageability' that helps us to define, for the most outstanding architectural works, their innate tendency to be reduced to pure images. Lynch defines imageability as "that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking *a strong image in any given observer*. It is that shape, color, or arrangement which facilitates the making of *vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images* of the environment".[2] The book addressed what was perceived as a new phenomenon, produced by an unprecedented metropolitan condition and experienced by an increasingly larger population of city inhabitants; in Lynch's words, "the conscious remolding of the large-scale physical environment has been possible only recently; and so the problem of environmental imageability is a new one".[3]

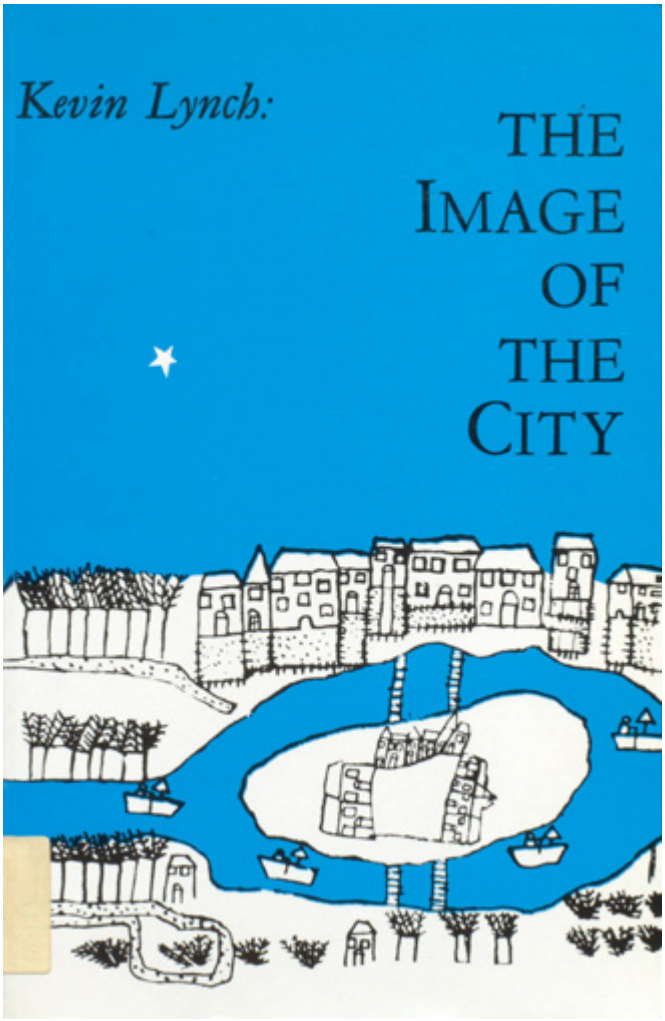


Fig. 1. Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1960), cover image.

The Image of the City started a movement in the revision of modernity that continued throughout the entire decade of the 1960s and into the 1970s, with influential texts such as Rossi's *L'architettura della città* (1966), Venturi's *Learning from Las Vegas* (1972), and Rowe's *Collage City* (1978).[4] Despite their differing approaches, the common denominator of the theory elaborated over those years was an interpretation of urban

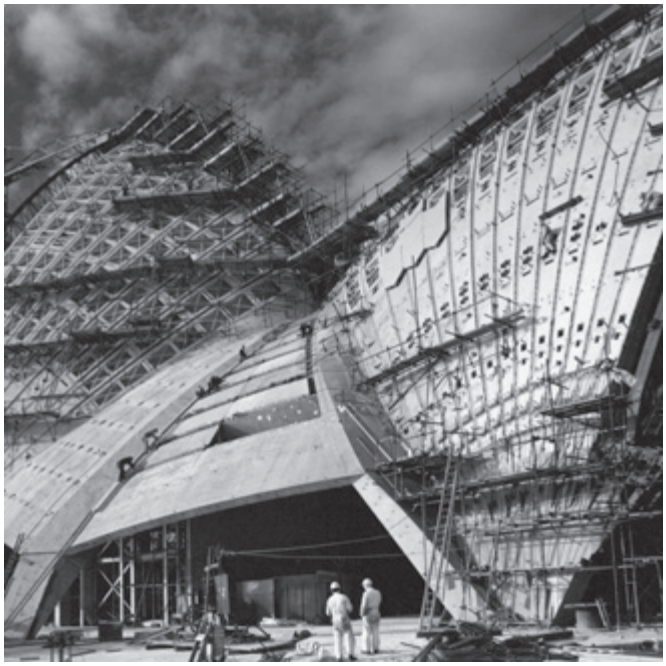
architecture as a fabric of signifiers, a system of readable symbols, and a network of identifiable signs: an architectural landscape of *icons*. It was the answer to a moment of crisis that showed the abrupt end of modernist utopia and the failure of its technological optimism, somehow symbolized by a spectacular episode in the story of the late 20th-century architecture: the 1976 fire that destroyed Buckminster Fuller's Biosphere in Montreal (fig. 2).[5] What was left afterwards, and what does remain for us today? Undoubtedly, an unprecedented visibility for an increasing number of architectural icons which appear to be conceived mainly for circulation as easy-to-recognize shapes or landmarks; a phenomenon that speaks of the overwhelming availability of visual material in our contemporary world, and ultimately brings us – in the words of Reinier de Graaf, partner of the Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA) – to "a boredom for iconic architecture" because "when everything is an icon, nothing is an icon anymore".[6]

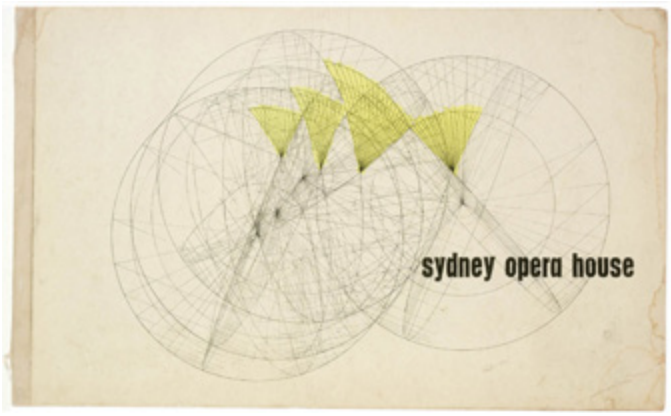
One would assume that the inevitable consequence of such a condition would be the evanescence of architecture's physicality. However, when looking closely into the making of these iconic components of our architectural imagery, a more complex tension between formalism and the mechanisms of production actually emerges. Let us consider one telling example, that of the Sydney Opera House, Jørn Utzon's masterpiece, designed in 1957 and completed in 1973 (fig. 3). The choice is not as random as it might appear. The story of this building's construction – masterfully unpacked in recent years by architectural historian Françoise Fromonot[7] – reveals how its apparently spontaneous formal eloquence is, in reality, the product of a long process of adaptation to the very necessities of production, "in favor of the rigor and the economy of a system".[8] When retracing the tormented history of the conflict between Utzon's experimentalism and ethos of building on the one hand, and factors such as scale, project timelines, and external disturbances outside the architect's control on the other, the formalist interpretation of this stunning example of late modernism proves insufficient. What at first sight would appear as a self-referential playfulness of forms, or at best an 'architecture *parlante*' with references to a maritime iconography, is in fact the product of a relentless effort to dominate, by means of geometric design, problems that occurred gradually during the seventeen-year-long erection of this enormous mass of concrete, steel, glass, and ceramics (figs. 4-5). A contemporary example of "building-in-time," to borrow Marvin Trachtenberg's pithy definition.[9]

Seen in this light, it should not seem too provocative to compare Sydney's Opera House with a

Fig. 2. Photograph of the fire that destroyed Buckminster Fuller's Biosphere in Montreal, 1976.

Fig. 3. Jørn Utzon, Sydney Opera House, 1959-1973.





Figs. 4-5. Jørn Utzon, Sydney Opera House and *The Yellow book* (front cover, 1962).

much different, distant in both time and space, but equally popular architectural icon: Brunelleschi's dome of Santa Maria del Fiore (fig. 6). The structure "towering above the skies, vast enough to cover the entire Tuscan population with its shadow" – to employ Alberti's famous description from *De Pictura*[10] – stands among the most recognizable monuments of the Italian Renaissance. A gigantic object whose profile is automatically associated with the picturesque skyline of Florence, Brunelleschi's dome has been a recurring presence in any canonic view of the city since the moment of its erection, from Alinari's photographs to the provoking collages inspired by Bruno Zevi, published in the exhibition catalogue *Brunelleschi anticlassico* of 1977 (figs. 7-8).[11] However, one can hardly find an example of an architecture that was more determined by its process of construction. Again in Trachtenberg's words, at Santa Maria del Fiore "the building itself, the full-scale fabric, becomes an agent of its own further shaping".[12] Rather than being the pure form-maker of Renaissance architectural style, Brunelleschi thus emerges as a cunning governor of the conditions of work and an ingenious inventor of technological solutions: someone capable of imposing his own authorial imprint on this outstanding piece of architecture by providing a processual, time-related solution to the problem of its realization, thanks to continuous redesign and to his outstanding skills in time management.

The history of Brunelleschi's dome is strictly related to the progression of material studies in architecture: an approach that is somehow demanded by the unique characteristics of the building itself, as revealed, for instance, by the work of a theorist of conservation like Piero Sanpaolesi, from the 1930s onwards.[13] However, for the purposes of this introduction, its case also poses the question of how scholarship could rethink the history of earlier periods with a pro-

Fig. 6. *Brunelleschi's dome at Santa Maria del Fiore*, 1426. Florence, Archivio di Stato.

Fig. 7. Florence, Santa Maria del Fiore in a 19th-century photo.

cess-based approach that has proven to be so crucial to the theory of contemporary architecture. In other words, of how architectural history can overcome the traditional paradigms of linguistic analysis, antiquarian studies, contextualism, and patronage. Fortunately, this is a path that has already been opened by scholarship, which addressed both the issue of authorship in the process of architectural production and the problematic definition of the "degree of participation in the relationship between person and artwork", in the words of Alina Payne.[14] Within this critical frame, drawing can be considered as the space for personal expression in a necessarily mediated process like that of the art of building: an art that is "allographic", as Nelson Goodman defined it in 1968, and therefore needs to rely on a system of notation in order to ensure authenticity and the final work's compliance with authorial intentions.[15]

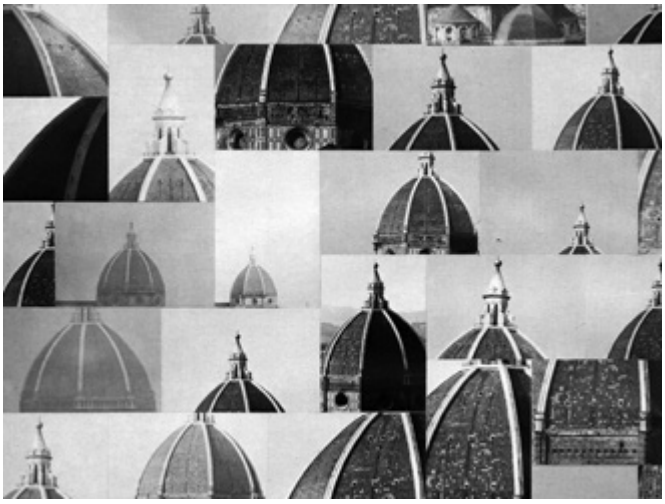


Fig. 8. Florence, Santa Maria del Fiore, from F. Capolei, P. Sartogo, eds., *Brunelleschi anti-classico. Filippo Brunelleschi, sesto centenario della nascita, mostra critica nel refettorio e chiostri di Santa Maria Novella, Firenze* (Firenze: Centro Di, 1977).

Does this leave space to seek more than mere formal analysis in the attempt to study artistic individualities, when making architectural history? We believe so, and this view is equally disclosed by Elena O'Neill in her contribution to the session. Among the consequences of this redefinition of authorship is the increasingly urgent demand to explore architecture's modes of production, including the organization of work and the strict relationship between financial strategies and measurability, as well as the impact of architectural 'imageability' on these processes, as both Sharon Smith and Gloria Yu Yang argue in their presentations. Analyses of the entrepreneurial management of building sites by prominent architects of the past have certainly been carried out, as in the case of Michelangelo, with the publications of William Wallace and, more recently, Vitale Zanchettin;[16] accounts of early modern building practices, on the other hand, have already been proposed by scholars such as Pier Nicola Pagliara or Hermann Schlimme.[17] But such research remains isolated, and much work must still be done to unpack the implications of the process of production for the history of architecture. The session 'Building an Icon: Architecture from Project to Product' certainly opens this conversation.

We conceived the session 'Building an Icon: Architecture from Project to Product' as a testament to world architecture and its diverse execution. In our planning, we envisioned it as a truly international endeavor, and we encouraged contributors to embrace a pluralistic approach that would shed light on a broad transcultural vision of architecture as both a project and a product.

The session's presentations opened with Sharon Smith, Head of Distinctive Collections and Associate Academic at the Arizona State University in the United States. Smith's paper *Of Architecture, Icons, and Meaning: Encountering the Pre-modern City* explored iconic aspects of architecture in two diverse cultural milieus, demonstrated through a comparative study on the urban image of Florence under Lorenzo il Magnifico (r. 1469-1494) and of Mamluk Cairo under Al-Ashraf Qa'it Bay (r. 1468-1496) in the late 15th century. Analyzing Via Laura in Florence and Azbakiyya in Cairo, two urban districts developed during this period, Smith argued that in spite of the differences between the Christian city of Florence and the Muslim city of Cairo, with their contrasting religious and political institutions and structures of government, remarkably similar cultural and economic developments occurred in both cities, prompting dynamic urban expansion plans. Both rulers – one descending from a dynasty of bankers and the other from a dynasty of slave soldiers – sought to legitimize their positions, ideologies, and worldviews by transforming the urban landscape of these respective cities.

Gloria Yu Yang, Assistant Professor at the School of Letters, Kyushu University, Fukuoka, Japan, took us to the 20th century. Her paper *Shadows of Bright Houses: Photographs of Architecture in Colonial Manchuria (1900-1945)* presented an analytical approach to images of plans and photographs of residential houses displayed in the House Renovation Exhibition, the first exhibition on modern housing held in Dalian in 1922. During the first half of the 20th century, Japanese photographers, journalists, and architects visited colonial Manchuria (today's northeast China) and left a tremendous collection of photographs of buildings there, including government offices, commercial buildings, and residential houses. Yang examined these photographs from a different perspective, not merely considering them as a reflection of ideologies, but instead focusing on their visual power and function within the historical context of housing reforms in Japan, the exchange of people, objects, and ideas between Japan and Manchuria, and colonial tourism in the early century.

Elena O'Neill, Professor at the Visual Arts Graduate Program, Faculty of Human Sciences, Universidad Católica del Uruguay (UCU), revisited the architecture of Eladio Dieste (1917-2000). In her paper *The Architecture of Eladio Dieste: Challenging Technology, Structure, and Beauty*, she emphasized Dieste's innovative handling of traditional and indigenous materials, and how he became a pioneer in terms of structures, use of materials, and architectural forms. His concerns lay in stability, aesthetics, and form, where form is not the result of an artistic conception but of the effectiveness and behavior of materials. O'Neill approached Dieste's architecture from the understanding that architects are not to express the subject matter of their time, but rather to provide subject matter to their time.

Morgan Ng, Assistant Professor at Yale University in the Unites States, emphasized the relationship between architecture, visual culture, and technical sciences in his paper *The Iconicity of Onsite Architectural Drawings in the Renaissance*. He

paid particular attention to exemplary projects executed by major architects such as Giovan Battista Bertani and Giacomo della Porta, whose full-scale architectural drawings were executed on solid architectural surfaces and celebrated as objects of marvel. These graphic works acquired a cultural status in the early modern period as significant architectural icons in themselves.

Alina Payne, Paul E. Geier Director of Villa I Tatti in Florence, The Harvard Center for Italian Renaissance Studies and Alexander P. Misheff Professor of History of Art and Architecture at Harvard University in the United States, concluded 'Building an Icon: Architecture from Project to Product' with her paper *The Architect's Hand: 'Making' Tropes and Their Afterlife*. Payne delved into the thematic heart of the session: the passage of architecture from project to finished building and the many activities and different players involved. She pointed out the conditions of architecture that tend to be either overlooked or taken for granted, in addition to the architects' oft-expressed desire for more involvement in the making of a building and their frustration with their limited role. She discussed the origin myths of architecture and the definitions of the architect's work embedded within them – definitions that, for a self-referential art, have become the ultimate reference points. Payne also emphasized the transcultural relationships between the East and the West, using as examples Brunelleschi's *Cattedrale di Santa Maria del Fiore* (completed 1436) and the Ottoman mosques of Istanbul during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520-1566), especially the Süleymaniye Mosque by imperial architect Mimar Sinan (completed 1557).

The four articles assembled here are based, for the most part, on the papers presented at the session 'Building an Icon: Architecture from Project to Product', prepared for the 35th CIHA International Congress held in Florence, Italy in 2019. One paper from the session was published elsewhere. The editors and co-chairs of the session would like to express their thanks and appreciation to all participants for their contributions, which inspired – and, we hope, will continue to invite – fruitful discussions.

Filiz Çakır Phillip, Dario Donetti

Notes

* The authors of this Introduction wish to thank The Getty Foundation, which contributed to funding the session in 2019, as well as the Italian CIHA Committee and everyone who participated in the organization of this conference, particularly Marzia Faietti for her constant support.

[1] K. Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 1960).

[2] *Ibid*., p. 9. Italics added.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 13.

[4] A. Rossi, *L'architettura della città* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1966); R. Venturi, D. Scott Brown, S. Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1972); C. Rowe, F. Koetter, *Collage City* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1972).

[5] Cf. J.M. Montaner, *Dopo il movimento moderno. L'architettura della seconda metà del Novecento* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1996): pp. 111-113.

[6] The citation comes from a lecture delivered by R. de Graaf at the Slovak University of Technology, Faculty of Architecture on June 18, 2015 and titled "Is Iconicity Good for Architecture?" whose recording is available at: <oma.eu/lectures/is-iconicity-good-for-architecture>.

[7] F. Fromonot, *Jørn Utzon, architetto della Sydney Opera House* (Milano: Electa, 1998).

[8] *Ibid*., p. 87.

[9] M. Trachtenberg, *Building-in-Time from Giotto to Alberti and Modern Oblivion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

[10] Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting and On Sculpture*, ed. and trans. by C. Grayson (London: Phaidon, 1972), p. 33.

[11] F. Capolei, P. Sartogo, eds., *Brunelleschi anti-classico. Filippo Brunelleschi, sesto centenario della nascita, mostra critica nel refettorio e chiostri di Santa Maria Novella, Firenze* (Firenze: Centro Di, 1977); cf. also B. Zevi, "Brunelleschi anticlassico", *L'architettura - cronache e storia*, no. 262/263 (1977).

[12] M. Trachtenberg, *Building-in-Time*, cit., p. 327.

[13] Among others, cf. P. Sanpaolesi, *La cupola del Brunelleschi* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1965).

[14] A. Payne, *L'architecture parmi les arts: matérialité, transferts et travail artistique dans l'Italie de la Renaissance* (Paris: Hazan, 2016), p. 115. Author's translation.

[15] N. Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1968), p. 113.

[16] Cf. W. Wallace, *Michelangelo at San Lorenzo: The Genius as Entrepreneur* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); V. Zanchettin, "Le verità della pietra: Michelangelo e la costruzione in travertino di San Pietro", in G. Satzinger, S. Schützer, eds., *Sankt Peter in Rom 1506-2006* (München: Hirmer, 2008), pp. 159-174.

[17] Cf., among others, P.N. Pagliara, "Materiali, tecniche e strutture in architetture del primo Cinquecento", in *Storia dell'architettura italiana. Il primo Cinquecento*, ed. A. Bruschi (Milano: Electa, 2002), pp. 522-545; H. Schlimme, ed., *Practice and Science in Early Modern Italian Building: Towards an Epistemic History of Architecture* (Milano: Mondadori, 2006).

Of Architecture, Icons, and Meaning: Encountering the Pre-Modern City

Sharon C. Smith

Arizona State University

> "If you have doubts about our grandeur, look to our edifice".
>
> Abul-Razza Samarqandi[1]

This paper explores similar trajectories in two diverse cultural milieus through an examination of the conscious redefinition of urban space during the late 15th century in Florence and Cairo. During this period, two (sub)urban districts were conceived: Via Laura in Florence and Azbakiyya in Cairo. Analyzing these building projects reveals remarkably similar motivations leading to their conception. In these districts, both situated in areas beyond previously established boundaries of the densely populated urbanized space, and neither of which the result of organic urban growth, we find a systematic process in which the ruling elite deliberately sought to transform the urban landscape.

At first sight, it is the differences between the Christian city of Florence and the Muslim city of Cairo that strike the observer. In the period in question, however, remarkably similar cultural and economic developments occurred in both cities which, I argue, prompted dynamic urban expansion plans. The Medici, a dynasty of bankers, and the Mamluks, a slave dynasty,[2] were equally concerned to demonstrate the legitimacy of their positions in their respective societies. Their roles, the former as *primus inter pares* and the latter as a foreign ruling class, are necessary considerations when evaluating their architectural and urbanistic commissions. It can be said that both the Medici and the Mamluks took advantage of, and sought to foster, the reputation of their respective cities as artistic and cultural centers.[3] The reigns of Sultan Al-Ashraf Qa'it Bay (r. 1468-96) in Cairo and Lorenzo il Magnifico[4] (r. 1469-94, as unofficial head of state) in Florence were high points in the commissioning of art and architecture earning recognition as a pinnacle of the 'Renaissance'.[5] And while it is clear that Sultan Qait'Bay was of royal status, Lorenzo il Magnifico steadfastly refused to present himself publicly as a prince; however, as I will touch on in this essay, it is possible to read Lorenzo's interventions, architectural and otherwise, as expressions of calculated dynastic ambition.[6]

Without historical contextualization, the meanings ascribed to the built environment are lost. This work examines these planned neighborhoods, appreciating the shifts that occurred in urban expansion in a post-plague world where urban growth was not so much shaped by increased population nor the construction of new cities beyond established territories, but rather on development within known boundaries. Habermas has demonstrated that the built environment is a medium for public representation and communicates status.[7] Indeed, the Florentine and Mamluk elite did fashion and express social roles, build relationships, and define and reinforce positions through construction projects. Moving through the streets of the city there was, and is, an intended exchange of information, a dialogue between viewer, building, and space. Inscribed with legible meaning, the buildings were symbols of prosperity, enduring legacy, and legitimacy.[8] Their history suggests a broad-based understanding of the role of architecture as a medium for projecting status and as a container for activities that would do the same.

The Quattrocento was a time of heightened contact and exchange between the Medici and the Mamluk rulers. One such encounter is illus-

trated by Giorgio Vasari in *Lorenzo de' Medici Receiving Gifts from the Mamluk Ambassadors*, ca. 1555, on the ceiling soffit of the Sala di Lorenzo il Magnifico, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. Seen in the painting and documented in numerous written accounts, Sultan Qait'Bay's ambassadors, having arrived in Florence in 1487, and led by Ibn Mahfuz, sought to enhance diplomatic relations and negotiate a commercial treaty. As illustrated, they present Lorenzo with extraordinary and tantalizing gifts (even by diplomatic gift-giving standards of the day).[9] In 1488, Lorenzo sent his envoy to Cairo; accompanied by ibn Mahfuz, the Florentine nobleman Luigi della Stufa (1453-1535) was sent to Egypt at the behest of the Signoria.[10] The 1489 Mamluk-Florentine trade agreement was finalized. Even during this time of heightened contact and exchange, neither project – their planners nor their builders – was influenced by the other.[11] Each development was the response of the ruling elite to social, political, and economic concerns and desires; each group was seeking a similar outcome. These must be viewed as parallel developments.

Neither the Via Laura district in Florence nor the community of Azbakiyya in Cairo is extant. The Via Laura district was only partly realized. Azbakiyya was built, but nothing remains of the 15th-century site today. During extensive 19th-century reconstruction campaigns, even the Birkat Lake al-Azbakiyya was filled: Muhammad 'Ali (r. 1805-1848) replaced the lake with a European-style garden. As evidenced, cities are never at rest. Urban landscapes shift over time, manipulated by the needs of inhabitants, the desires and rights of individuals, and the will of civic and religious authorities. Regardless, the city remains a repository of cultural meaning, its fabric a primary source.[12]

The control of urban space was an important signifier of power and prestige as well as a source of income in both Florence and Cairo. The built environments of both cities not only reflected sociopolitical organization, but also were designed to actively structure and constitute social and power relations within the city. Public welfare was served by the foundation of a neighborhood, but the very act also satisfied the aesthetic, materialistic, and egotistic motives of the patron.

Examining the planned neighborhoods of Via Laura and Azbakiyya reveals contemporary conceptions of space and form as well as processes at work informing them. The palaces of the elite and their retinue were grand and luxurious, but these neighborhoods also fulfilled more basic needs of the larger public. Rental houses in Via Laura, and houses and apartment buildings in Azbakiyya not only provided housing for the lower classes, but also an economic incentive for the powerful founders. In addition to financial gain, these buildings for the larger community also enhanced the patron's public image.

The loci of private and civic pride for the elite families of Florence were the monumental palazzi that dotted the urban Florentine landscape during the second half of the 15th century. The Medici certainly understood that private palaces had become the foremost public expression of culture and status for the ruling class.[13] Accordingly, in ca. 1444 the Medici commissioned Michelozzo di Bartolommeo to build their palazzo on Via Larga (today known as Via Cavour).

Historically, as citizens and not princes, the Medici had been reluctant to undertake urbanization or building projects that might undermine their role as *primi inter pares*, moreover they lacked the imperious authority to procure and repurpose land in the urban core.[14] However, within the city walls, empty land remained that could be built up without altering the city center. The Via Laura was one such suburban area. The area for the Via Laura project was located inside the walls, northeast of the Duomo, encompassing the land beyond Santissima Annunziata and the Ospedale degli Innocenti to the city wall and the Porta a Pinti.[15] The land was scantly inhabited, agricultural in character, and belonged primarily to monasteries (fig. 1).

Lorenzo's interest in urbanizing Florence was well known to his contemporaries. In his *istorie fiorentine*, Machiavelli noted that Lorenzo's aim to build streets and houses in unoccupied areas was part of his intention to expand and beautify the city:

> Volsesi a far più bella e maggiore la sua città: e perciò sendo in quella molti spazi senza abitazioni, in essi nuove strade da empiersi di nuovi edifizi ordinò; ondechè quella città ne divenne più bella e maggiore [...].[16]

Notably, this area constituted the important pilgrimage route to the church of Santissima Annunziata (which had strong Medicean associations). Had Lorenzo's plan come to fruition, he would have rationalized and dignified the processional route. The project was not fully realized in Lorenzo's lifetime (fig. 2).

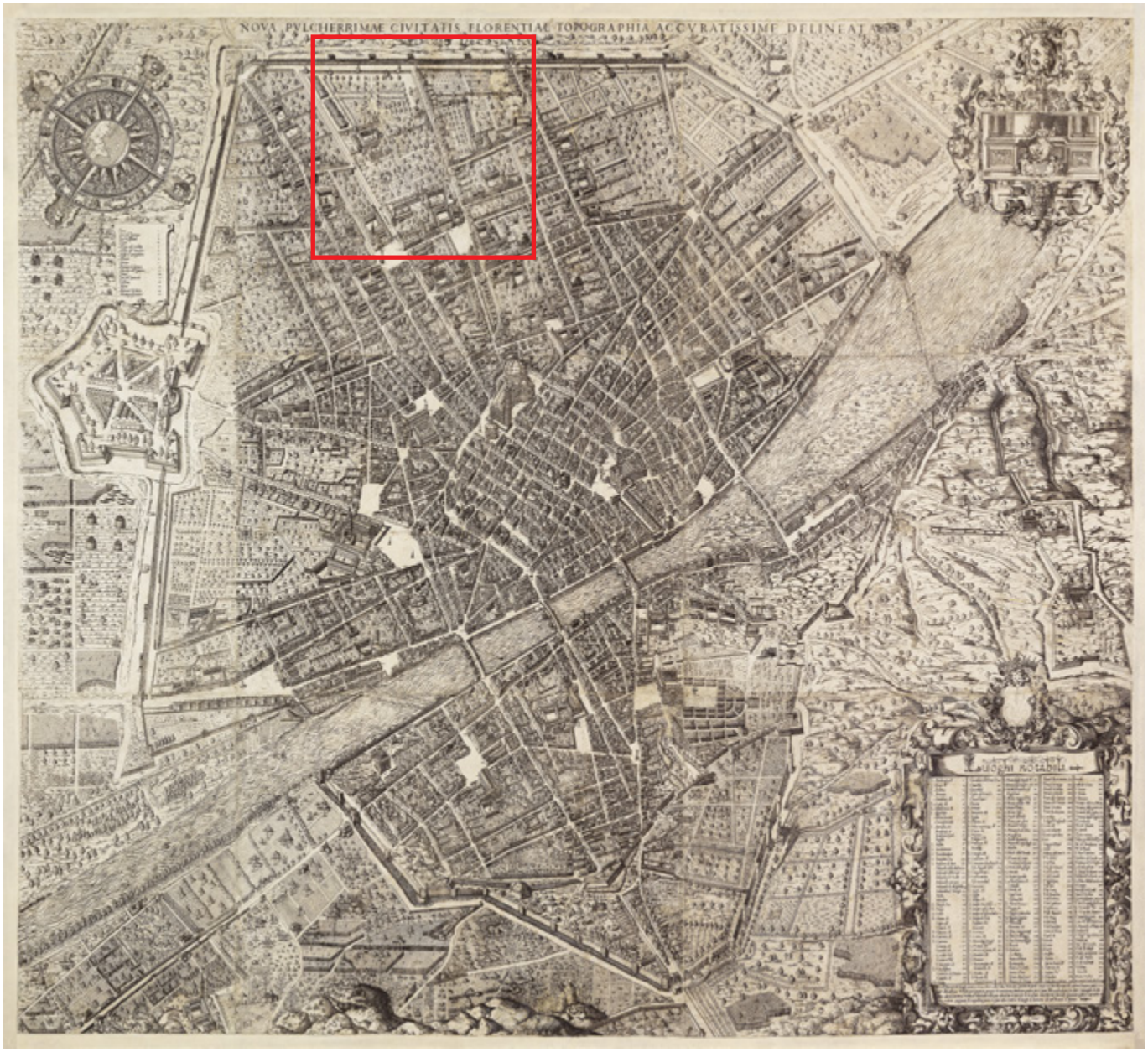


Fig. 1. *Nova pulcherrimae civitatis Florentiae topographia accuratissime delineata*, Florence, Musei Civici Fiorentini. Map of Florence with Via Laura district outlined in red (by the Author). © Fototeca Musei Civici Fiorentini.

The plan, drafted by Giuliano da Sangallo (ca. 1443-1516), for Lorenzo's palace on Via Laura reveals evidence of more modest dwellings. The plan reveals straight streets lined with rows of standardized plots for building. The plots, too small to accommodate the large palaces of the urban elite, were well-suited for rental property. Archival records indicate that four houses completed before Lorenzo's death in 1492 were rented. In addition to the rental properties, further away from the *abitato* (the populated city center), grander homes were planned. Only one such house was completed, the Palazzo Scala (fig. 3). This understudied palazzo on the Borgo Pinti may have set the tone for Lorenzo's grander Via Laura urbanization project. An innovative housing type, Scala's palace was a suburban villa which combined "the dignity of a city house with the delight of a villa".[17]

Bartolomeo Scala (1430-1497) had become Lorenzo's powerful chancellor and devoted follower. Scala constructed his palazzo within the city walls near the Porta Pinti in 1473. By 1480, Scala and his family were living there. Scala's role in this suburb's development is compelling. He was not from wealth or power, yet he strove to be recognized among the Florentine elite. Without family name or money behind him, his climb to the top rank in society was necessarily by alternate

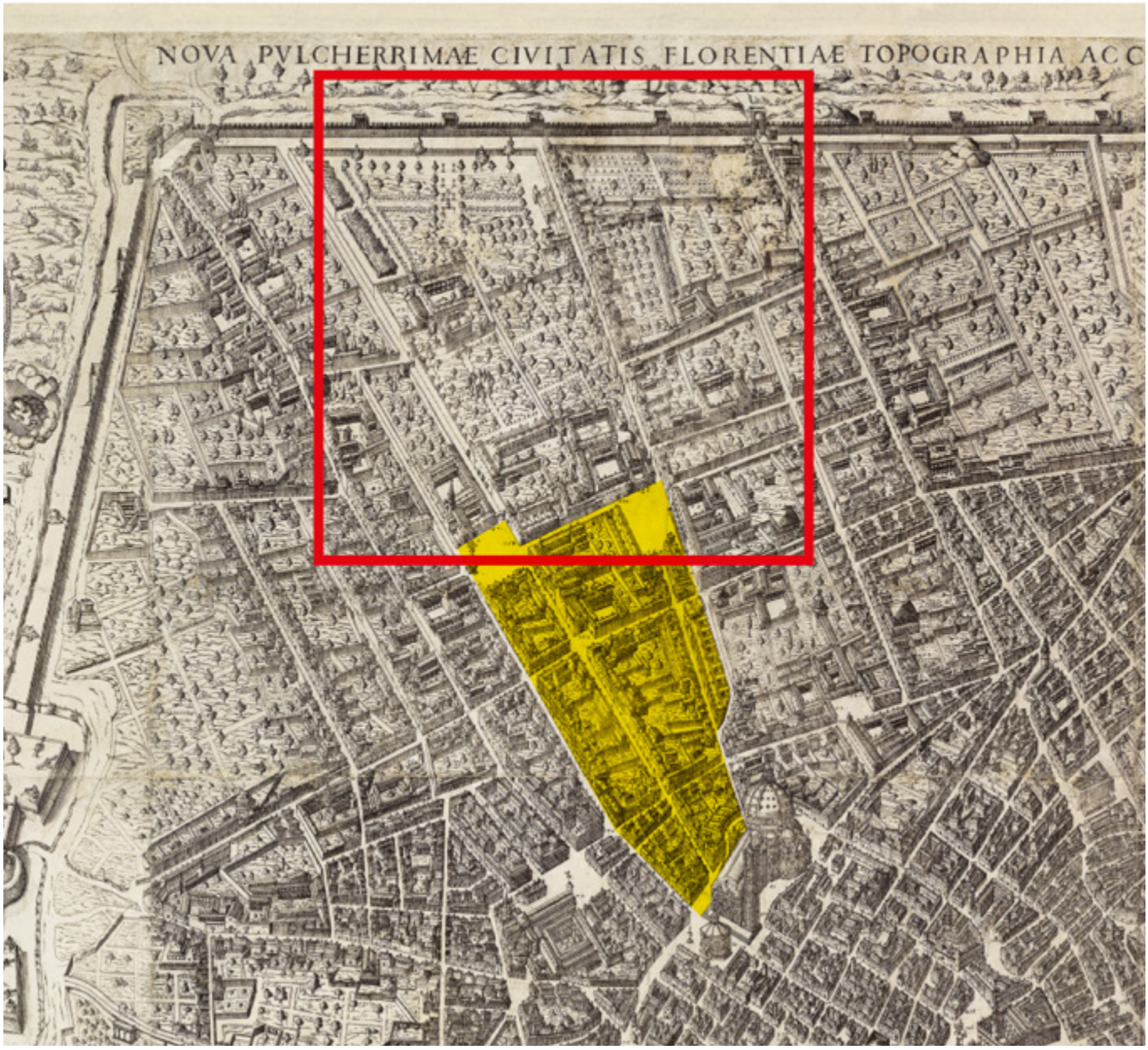


Fig. 2. *Nova pulcherrimae civitatis Florentiae topographia accuratissime delineata*, Florence, Musei Civici Fiorentini. © Fototeca Musei Civici Fiorentini. Map of Florence with Via Laura district outlined in red and pilgrimage route area in yellow (added by the Author). The church of Santissima Annunziata is located at the top of the section, right is the Ospedale degli Innocenti. The path continues to the Piazza del Duomo and moves up (left side) to the Palazzo Medici.

means. Because he was not well-born yet held a high government office, he was *able* to build here. The availability of open land and tax incentives notwithstanding, the palace builders of the ruling class chose to remain in their traditional *gonfalone* or district. They built their palazzi on the familiar and, for them, hallowed ground of their clans.

Scala, without ancestral ties to the city, could take advantage of these conditions to construct an impressive residence, in effect weaving his newly acquired status into the urban fabric and the city's history. His association with the humanists and his keen sense of antiquity guided him not only through the court, but also inspired his architectural program in the Via Laura. Despite financial constraints limiting the materials used and project's scale, Scala announced his intellect and status through the innovative architecture of his small yet consequential palazzo.

Another project for the district is that of a palace in the Via Laura that was never constructed and has been the subject of much debate. The extant plan[18] by Giuliano da Sangallo and his younger brother Antonio da Sangallo the Elder

Fig. 3. Palazzo Scala today (highlighted), 99 Borgo Pinti, Florence. (Photo by the Author). The palazzo has been converted to a Four Seasons Hotel.

(ca. 1453-1534) shows an imposing palace with expansive gardens. It is quite unlike any other palace built in Florence up to this time. An inscription by Giuliano states clearly that the design was executed for a Medici patron, *which* Medici patron is unknown.[19] Without a firm date, the Sangallo plan has variously been attributed to the time just prior to Lorenzo's death in 1492 and to the period after the 1512 Medici restoration.

The prodigious palazzo was set back from the road – as opposed to the imposing, unadorned façades of patrician-class palazzi constructed on the street line – and planned on a central axis. The experience of progressing through the gates, past the outbuildings and planned gardens, all the while viewing the magnificent palazzo ahead, was clearly intended to inform all who entered of the august patron's status in society. The plan is in stark contrast to the typical Florentine palazzi of the Quattrocento. If, in fact, the plan was created under Lorenzo's patronage, it would have signaled a turning point in his political persona. Up until this point, Lorenzo's urbanistic schemes were conceived as being for the public honor and universal good. The Via Laura palace plan, on the other hand, represented a royal palace that would belie Lorenzo's stated cultural and political ambitions. In fact, the Via Laura palace was more closely related to, and is often compared with, Sangallo's plan for the palace for the King of Naples (ca. 1488, unexecuted) and his plan for the Medici Villa at Poggio a Caiano (ca. 1485). For a royal court, the grandeur of the palace for the King of Naples needs no explanation. Lorenzo's rural estate at Poggio a Caiano employed the architectural language of a prince: "This is the work of a king [...] Kingly, Lorenzo, is your house [...]", remarked the Quattrocento Florentine poet, Naldo Naldi.[20]

Within the city, however, Lorenzo's architectural and urbanistic undertakings had to follow his political strategy of demonstrating his devotion to

public welfare, leading many scholars to conclude that such a program as Sangallo's palace complex could not have been conceived for a project within the walls during Lorenzo's lifetime; hence, dating the Via Laura palace plan terminus post quem 1512. Indeed, the Via Laura palace, if constructed, would represent the seat of an imperial court, not the dwelling of the city's primus inter pares. Outside the city walls, however, Lorenzo and Giuliano did not hesitate to create the image of power and wealth in a much grander structure.[21]

Lorenzo's palace complex at Poggio a Caiano revealed his "double image": on one hand, reticent and committed to the public good; on the other, profoundly contradicting that image with commissions befitting a prince.[22] Another undertaking, the unparalleled act of inscribing his name on venerable objects in his collection, may provide further evidence of dynastic aspirations.[23] Lorenzo was a consummate collector, a practice rooted in classical tradition and a vehicle for the promotion of antiquity for the humanist scholars of the day.[24] Building upon the collection he inherited from his grandfather, Cosimo il Vecchio, Lorenzo developed a lifelong passion for antiquities and continued expanding his collection until his death. His private collection rivaled those held by his northern Italian princely contemporaries. Indeed, as Kent demonstrated, to hold such an extensive collection was at the least magnificent if not magisterial. Moreover, many of the vases and gems Lorenzo held were engraved with the epigraph "LAU.R.MED". These inscriptions have been interpreted as "Lorenzo Medici" ("Laurentii Medicis") – the addition of "R"

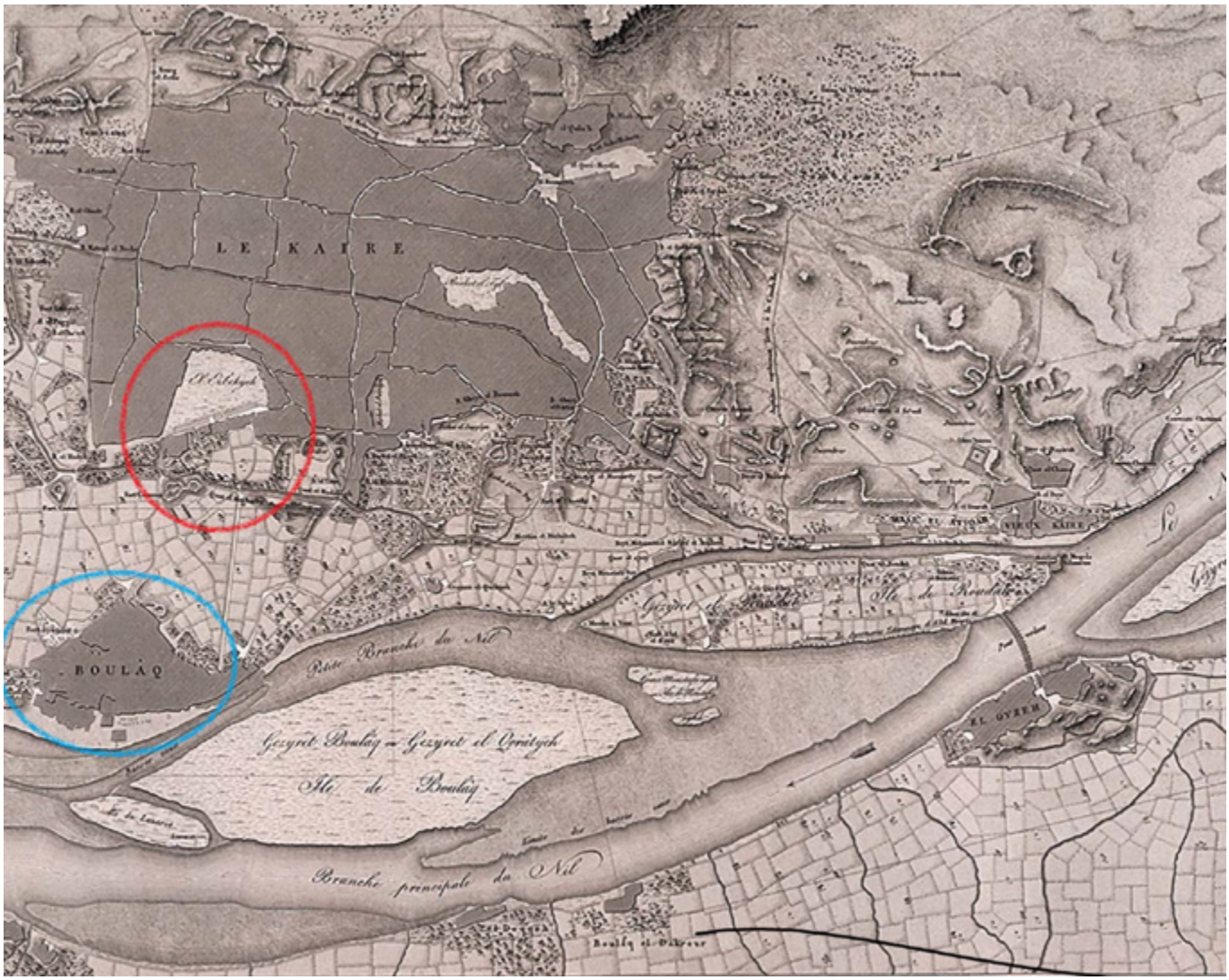


Fig. 4. *Environs du Kaire [Cairo]. Plan général de Boulâq, du Kaire, de l'île de Roudah [el-Rôda], du Vieux Kaire et de Gyzeh [Jîzah].* From *Description de l'Égypte: ou, Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*, 1809-1828. (From The New York Public Library). Suburb of Azbakiyya, with Birkat al-Azbakiyya, circled in red. Port of Bulaq (Boulaq) circled in blue.

for the sake of symmetry and elegance[25] – or as the more aristocratic "Lorenzo Rex Medici" ("Laurentii Rex Medicis"), the latter more plausible.[26] Either way, inscribing his name onto such rare and magnificent objects was a provocative act.

Lorenzo il Magnifico steadfastly refused to present himself publicly as a prince; however, it is possible to read Lorenzo's interventions, architectural and otherwise, as expressions of determined and anticipated dynastic aspiration.

"[...] to know about Azbak's glory [...] look at Azbakiyya".[27]

In Cairo, Azbak min Tutukh[28] (d. 1498) was at the height of his career when he began Azbakiyya. Azbak had achieved the rank of *atabak* (military commander) and was Sultan Qa'it Bay's closest advisor. Qa'it Bay's fondness for Azbak is illustrated by his actions; for instance, when Azbak was exiled to Alexandria, Qa'it Bay vouched for him; when Qa'it Bay's (inherited) atabak, Janibak, was captured and ransomed in 1468 during a failed attempt to halt an uprising in eastern Anatolia, Qa'it Bay refused to pay the ransom. Instead, Qa'it Bay recalled Azbak from his post as governor of Syria and named him atabak.[29] Azbak coveted no higher office and remained in the Qa'it Bay's good stead until the sultan's death in 1496. At the pinnacle of his political career, Azbak's building endeavor was expected to bring him higher social recognition and status, and the historical record confirms that it did. He was praised for the glory of the site and the service he had done for greater Cairo.

Azbak was a wealthy man. Military wages had risen significantly over the course of the 15th century, and, in addition he received the largest income, second only to the sultan himself, from his military fiefs, or *iqta'a*.[30] Noting Azbak's social status, Azbak initiated the construction of the upper-class suburb of Azbakiyya in response to his desire to find a site comparable to his heightened circumstance.[31] Azbakiyya was founded in 1476 to the praises of the historian Ibn Iyas, "Among the interesting events of this year, is the creation of Azbakiyya, named for its founder the Atabak Azbak".[32]

The site was located northwest of the dense urban core of the Mamluk city on land that resulted from the westward shift of the Nile River. During the time of the historian and topographer al-Maqrizi (1364-1442), the site was almost entirely sand dunes.[33] The deserted region was infamous for thieves and robbers. The bleak landscape remained so until the 1470s, when Azbak built stables there. Soon thereafter, he transformed the western district by digging a large lake, the Birkat al-Azbakiyya. He constructed a palace on the southeast bank of the artificial lake, followed by a mosque, a *madrasa*, shops, and rental buildings. Near the madrasa, he added a *sabil* (fountain), *hammam* (baths), and houses to encourage Cairenes to settle there.[34] Azbak's construction projects lasted through most of the 1480s. In 1485, Sultan Qait'Bay granted him the land in a *waqf*.[35]

Originally, Azbak built his stables at Azbakiyya because "he lived far from there" and wanted to facilitate his travels throughout the region. Indeed, Azbakiyya's ideal proximity to both the urban center of Cairo and bustling port of Bulaq made it a logical location for development (fig. 4). The shift from the southern port of Fustat to Bulaq was gradual but accelerated when the trade route was developed from Upper Egypt to a northern route and to the Mediterranean Sea, as evidenced by the 1489 Mamluk-Florentine trade agreement. The rise of Bulaq led to the urbanization of the western quarter, and Azbak's project at Azbakiyya should be viewed in conjunction with this development. Located on the route between the city proper and the port, the improved suburb of Azbakiyya provided an attractive location for the urban elite who situated themselves within a reasonable distance of the city center in a district that brought them closer to the prosperous trading port and the new economic focus on the Mediterranean.[36] Azbakiyya was soon occupied with the elegant residences of numerous well-to-do Cairenes as well as rental houses and apartments, religious foundations, and commercial structures.

Under the auspices of Qa'it Bay, Azbak's endeavor was as beneficial to the larger community as it was to his own interests. Designed and situated to attract the wealthy merchants and elite of Cairo, the urbanization project also included the religious and social institutions typical of courtly commissions. The congregational mosque, library, madrasa, and *khanqah* (sufi lodge) were all parts of a complex that was intended to benefit the greater community. Shaded walkways connected buildings along the shore. The vast gardens and orchards were open to the public. Serving the public good was one, but certainly not the only, driving force behind his building enterprise.

As with other building projects in Medici Florence and Mamluk Cairo, Azbak had a strong eco-

nomic motive for building. For Azbak, the monies earned from his real estate speculation, hammams, rab′-s, shops, and other commercial and residential structures were to fund the religious endowment. Any surplus revenues belonged to the founder and his descendants. He built to encourage settlement as well as the promotion of the state and himself. All these interests – increased habitation, glorification of the regime, and self-aggrandizement – could be accomplished by, and represented as, serving the greater public interest, the standard architectural signifier of status for the Mamluk ruling class and for Lorenzo's Florence. Azbak was not from a noble class; rather, like all Mamluk sultans and most amirs, he was from a slave class and, as such, did not construct monuments overtly proclaiming any legitimacy for their reign such as buildings establishing the monumental core of new cities. Mamluk sultans and amirs conveyed their political and social status through grand architectural schemes inscribed with their names and dedicated to public good.[37]

As noted earlier, the site that became Azbakiyya was a wasteland – virtually a blank slate – before the development of the last quarter of the 15th century and sites within the old Fatimid walls had remained highly desirable despite the growth of Cairo's suburbs. However, architectural commissions within the old city had to be integrated into the tightly woven urban fabric constrained by pre-existing structures and street layouts. Even if buildings were demolished, street lines could not be altered. This fact is most evident in religious buildings, this necessity resulted in the double orientation of buildings to accommodate the *qibla* wall (indicating the direction of Mecca for prayer).

At Azbakiyya, Azbak planned and executed his project without such constraints, implementing a relatively new design by locating palace façades facing the waterfront of the birkat, taking advantage of the light and cool water breezes. On the main streets the buildings were smaller in size and included commercial or individual houses or lesser residential units combined with retail space as in the rab′, i.e., a multi-functional building with apartments on the upper floors and stores lining the ground floor. Many were built on speculation to be rented.

The traditional façade configurations of the Cairene urban palaces were abandoned in this suburban district. The expedients of double orientations and bent entrances were not necessary. At Azbakiyya, around the birkat, the building configuration was regularized and linear: the primary façade of Azbak's palace faced the waterfront, and the back wall of his palace, along with religious, commercial, and smaller residential properties, lined the street. On the street façade of Azbak's palace there was a portal and an apartment connected to the *maq′ad* (a roofed loggia or belvedere, elevated above the courtyard). A rab′was integrated into this street façade. Also present, near the portal, was a *tablakhana* – an area for musicians located near the door which was reserved for those entitled to military fanfares. The installation of both these features on the street façade was not accidental. In constant dialogue with the viewer, the rab′ informed the passer-by of the amir's commitment to the community by providing housing and commodities (even if simultaneously generating income for Azbak). The *tablakhana* was an affirmation of the amir's status in society.

In their grand planned suburbs, Azbak and Lorenzo were able to deviate from the traditional urban architectural practices of their respective cities. Scala and Lorenzo used the language of the humanists to articulate their projects for Via Laura. Azbak implemented the most current and popular components along with a different street orientation in Azbakiyya. So innovative was the architecture constructed around the Birkat al-Azbakiyya that Ibn Iyas, when describing the palaces there, proclaimed the buildings both "wonderful and strange".[38]

The new quarters of Azbakiyya and Via Laura were both drawing on fresh and contemporary ideas about the organization of space. Although it may not be expected, and was premised on different concepts, the built product of these suburban projects shared conceptual and spatial features. The commensurate study of these developments undermines some persistent cultural assumptions about the ordering of space reinforcing the importance of understanding certain ideals as not culturally specific, such as straight streets with Europe and dark, winding streets in the Middle East.

This study of two distinct societies, disparate and similar, illustrating both continuity and change, was not a search for origins. This paper examined the ruling elite in Florence and Cairo as they deliberately sought to transform the urban landscape. Furthermore, this work analyzed architectural production, motivations, and social responses, not as unique to early modern Florence or Mamluk Cairo, but as a parallel development across the Mediterranean Sea.

Notes

[1] Timuird historian Abul-Razza Samarqandi (d. 1482) as quoted in T.W. Lentz, *Timur and the Princely Vision* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Washington: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), frontispiece.

[2] In this context, the notion of *mamluk* or slave (from the Arabic root word meaning "to own") is not the same as in the West. This system of enslavement allowed the purchase, capture, or acquisition of youths as tribute or gift from non-Muslim groups in the territories (in accordance with Islamic law, Muslims could not be slaves, see Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1991), pp. 116-117, for example). Once acquired, the mamluks were educated, trained in warfare and the ways of the state, and eventually converted to Islam. They were placed in the service of the Sultan or other high officials and often served as an elite corps of bodyguards for the Sultan. Later they were freed and allowed to achieve very high ranks, up to and including that of Sultan and were entitled to their own mamluks.

[3] An oft overlooked yet consequential element for this study is that both Lorenzo de' Medici and Sultan Qait'Bay ruled in periods of economic decline. Both the Medici and the Mamluks soon reached the end of their respective power: The Medici family expelled from Florence in 1494 and the long reign of the Mamluk Sultanate ended with their overthrow by the Ottomans in 1517, after holding power since 1250. As their power waned, they seem to have intensified their artistic, architectural, and literary patronage, creating the image of grandeur and power in the very face of decline. Decline does not necessary constitute despair. See, R.S. Lopez, H.A. Miskimin, "The Economic Depression of the Renaissance", *The Economic History Review* new series, 14, no. 3 (1962): pp. 408-426.

[4] Il Magnifico (the magnificent) is a respectful title afforded to those of political authority without being of princely blood.

[5] The term "Renaissance" is used here advisedly. While accepted in common parlance, the notion of "rebirth" is politically loaded; the term is charged and problematic. The period in question is often defined in terms of cultural and intellectual splendor with tremendous artistic, architectural, and literary production – which undoubtedly did occur – but little regard is paid to the conditions in which this production occurred.

[6] F.W. Kent, *Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), p. 144.

[7] J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, tr. T. Burger with the assistance of F. Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1989), pp. 8-12.

[8] H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, tr. D. Nicholson-Smith (Malden, MA and Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), p. 78.

[9] The delegation was led by al-Khwāja Muhammad ibn Mahfuz al-Maghribi, known as ibn Mahfuz, and often referred to as "Malfota" in the Italian documents. See M. Amari, *I diplomi arabi del R. archivio fiorentino* (Firenze: F. Le Monnier, 1863), document XLI, pp. 210-213; and J. Wansbourgh, "A Mamluk Commerical Treaty concluded with the Republic of Florence 894/1489", *Documents from the Islamic Chanceries* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 41.

[10] See M. Amari, *I diplomi arabi del R. archivio fiorentino*, cit., documents XLVI and XLVII, pp. 372-381.

[11] As an aside, in the context the word 'influence' implies a passive reception of forms or ideas from a dominant culture by a more submissive group. This model is not persuasive. Alternatively, cultural transmissions were choices, actively adopted and adapted, not the quiescent manifestation of influence.

[12] S. Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), p. 9, and H.Z. Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), p. 25.

[13] D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron's Oeuvre* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 218.

[14] C. Elam, "Lorenzo de' Medici and the Urban Development of Renaissance Florence", *Art History* 1 (March 1978): p. 43.

[15] The Innocenti owned much of the land Lorenzo purchased for the project. *Ibid*., pp. 45-47. Elam notes that the method Lorenzo used to acquire these lands is not clear. Later writings claim that Lorenzo had not actually paid for the land but had simply taken procession. Elam cites the Innocenti petition of 1495 and others as critical of Lorenzo's claim; she continues, however, to show that in 1495 the authorities stated that Lorenzo had acquired the land in "good faith and with intent to satisfy the said monastery with the prices of the said land".

[16] Niccolò Machiavelli, *Le istorie fiorentine* (Firenze: F. Le Monnier, 1851), Libro Ottavo, p. 351.

[17] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 9: 2 (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988), p. 294.

[18] Gabinetto dei Disegni of the Uffizi (U 282A).

[19] Verso, written in Giuliano's hand, "[...] *disegni delo palazo de medici* [...]".

[20] Naldo Naldi (1439-c. 1520) as quoted in F.W. Kent, *Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence*, cit., p. 143.

[21] M. Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects*, tr. D. Sherer (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 65-66.

[22] *Ivi*.

[23] F.W. Kent, *Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence*, cit., pp. 145-148.

[24] See L.S. Fusco, G. Corti, *Lorenzo de' Medici: Collector and Antiquarian* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); A.M. Massinelli, F. Tuena, *Treasures of the Medici* (New York: Vendome Press, 1992); and R.M. San Juan, "The Court Lady's Dilemma: Isabella d'Este and Art Collecting in the Renaissance", *Oxford Art Journal* 14 (1991): pp. 68-69.

[25] As suggested by Ruth Rubinstein in her exhibition review. R. Rubinstein, "The Treasure of Lorenzo the Magnificent, in Florence", *The Burlington Magazine* 114 (November 1972): pp. 804-808. See also F.W. Kent, *Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence*, cit., p. 147.

[26] A.M. Massinelli, F. Tuena, *Treasures of the Medici*, cit., p. 26.

[27] Ibn Iyās, *Nuzhat al-umam fī al-'Ajā'ib wa-al-ḥikam* (al-Qāhirah: Maktabat Madbūlī, 1995), translated in D. Behrens-Abouseif, *Azbakiyya and Its Environs from Azbak to Isma'il, 1476-1879* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1985), p. 24.

[28] Azbak was originally from Circassia and was purchased by a royal merchant ca. 1436. He later began his military career as a mamluk under Sultan Barsbay before being inherited by Sultan Qa'it Bay.

[29] Azbak had been exiled by Sultan al-Ashraf Sayf ad-Din Inal (r. 1453-1461) from 1453-1457. He was exiled a second time by Inal's successor, Sultan Khushqadam in 1461-1464. See C.F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamluk Sultans al-Ashraf Qaytbay and Qansuh al-Ghawi in Egypt* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press), p. 47.

[30] *Iqta* (pl. *iqta'a*), a rent-producing land allotment given to military commanders in return for their service; also see A.

Raymond, *Cairo* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 166, and C.F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty*, cit., p. 49. Raymond reports that military wages increased from 11,000 dinars per month under Sultan Mu'ayyad (1412-21) to 46,000 dinars per month during the reign of Qa'it Bay.

[31] C.F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty*, cit., p. 49.

[32] Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'Al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duhūr* (Cairo: Maṭ ba'At Musá Kāstalī, 1288 AH [1871]), quoted and translated in D. Behrens-Abouseif, *Azbakiyya and Its Environs*, cit., p. 22.

[33] J. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 48. Maqrizi did not witness the urbanization of the area. He died in 1442, three decades before Azbak's interventions.

[34] Ibn Iyas in A. Raymond, *Cairo*, cit., p. 183.

[35] Briefly defined, a *waqf* (pl. *awqaf*) provided a conveyance of income-producing property in perpetuity, free from taxation and confiscation, providing goods and services that ranged from education to health care to water supply for the larger community. Primarily, a waqf is considered a religious and charitable provision. In addition to pious aspects, though, the socioeconomic impact on urban planning must be noted. Commercial as well as charitable building activity was stimulated by revenue generated by supporting not only religious institutions but also the increased need for commercial and private enterprises to support a growing neighborhood and community.

[36] See N. Hanna, *An Urban History of Būlāq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1983) and Hanna, "Bulaq – An Endangered Historic Area of Cairo", in M. Meinecke, ed., *Islamic Cairo: Architectural Conservation and Urban Development of the Historic Centre: Proceedings of a Seminar* (London: Art and Archaeology Research Papers, 1980), pp. 19-29.

[37] Howayda Al-Harithy, "The Concept of Space in Mamluk Architecture", *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): pp. 91-92.

[38] D. Behrens-Abouseif, *Azbakiyya and Its Environs*, cit., p. 24.

Shadows of Urban Utopia: Japanese Housing in Colonial Manchuria

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Introduction

During the first half of the 20th century, along with Japan's colonial expansion in East Asia, Japanese architects went to Manchuria, the present-day northeast China, and built all over there. Historians of Japanese architecture and urban studies have relied on the extant buildings, maps, and a tremendous number of visual materials to reconstruct Japanese building activities in colonial Manchuria. Their interpretations have split between a realization of a utopian vision of modernity that could not be achieved in Japan, and an architectural propaganda of Japanese imperialism. The current scholarship has focused mainly on the period of the Manchukuo State (1932-1945) and on government buildings and public spaces.[1]

This article shifts the temporal framework to include the time before 1932 and to focus on residential spaces in urban Manchuria. I examine the Japanese housing development in the city of Dalian during the 1920s, through the architects' promotion of the 'Living Reform Movement' and suburban housing development. Analyzing Japanese architects' house plans, interior designs, and related discussions published in architectural journals and exhibitions, my examination reveals the process through which Japanese architects in Manchuria engaged with modern housing movement in Japan, in practice and theory, to design their houses and communities in Dalian. Moreover, my examination highlights the power of the icon: a plethora of visual products of houses and their urban environment shaped the public perception of urban Manchuria as a modern utopia, which overshadowed the multi-layered space in reality.

Japanese Houses in Dalian, 1905

Japan took over Russia's exclusive rights in southern Manchuria upon the victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). Like Russia's expansion in Manchuria, in 1906 Japan established the Southern Manchurian Railway Company (hereafter SMRC) in Dalian to build railroads and develop settlements. In 1932, the Manchukuo State, *manshūkoku* 満洲国 was founded under the name of Pu Yi 溥儀 (1906-1967), the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty, with de facto Japanese control. Until Japan's defeat in 1945, Manchukuo was regarded as the 'lifeline' to the sustainment of the Japanese empire in terms of economic development, military expansion, mobilization of people and materials, and cultural production.[2]

The first generation of Japanese architects arrived in Dalian after the Russo-Japanese War. They encountered a cityscape with strong Russian influences in public space: the headquarter of the China Eastern Railway Company, Russian Orthodox churches, and a grand plaza with broad boulevards. The architects were also shocked by the narrow alleys and barrack slums sprawled like "bamboo shoots after the spring rain".[3]

The Japanese administration and architects, therefore, mainly focused on renovating the former Russian office buildings and constructing new public buildings in 'Western' style, as a symbol for the Japanese rule, to occupy the original Russian city center. The earliest Japanese public building was the Civic Administration Office, *Dairen Minseisho* 大連民政署, completed in 1908, located in the central grand plaza of Dalian (fig. 1). The architect Maeda designed the façade with medieval Gothic towers inspired by the Hamburg City Hall and Brussels Town Hall to fulfill the Japanese officials' request for "magnificent grandeur".[4]

The Japanese administration also tried to regulate the chaotic urban sprawl. They relocated brothels scattered around in the city to a designated area in the south. The Chinese neighborhood, which originally occupied the area, was forced to relocate to the west of the city. Their attempts to regulate the Japanese residential neighborhoods, however, were not successful.

Japanese settlers rented enormous land from the Kwangtung Army's at low prices, divided it into small pieces, and rented them out to Japanese newcomers. These Japanese urban dwellers' houses, similar to the local Chinese houses, were one- or two-story houses built with mud bricks or wood sidings, with thatched roofs and interiors placed with *anpera* (soft rush) sheets. In 1905, the Dalian Military and Administration Office issued a building code to set up standards for building materials and measurements. Houses that did not meet the standards were categorized as 'temporary' and had to be renovated; otherwise, they would be demolished.[5] However, the code was not fully executed in reality due to strong oppositions from local residents: they continued to build more mudbrick and wooden houses without permits.[6]

Fig. 1. Postcard of the Civic Administration Office, *Dairen Minseisho* 大連民政署. Private Collection.

The 'Life Reform Movement' Exhibition in Dalian, 1921

The first fundamental efforts to improve the urban environment in Dalian were initiated by Japanese architects working for the Kwantung Army and SMRC in Dalian, who established the Architectural Association of Manchuria, *manshu kenchiku kyōkai* 満洲建築協会 in Dalian in 1920.[7] The Association held its first exhibition, the 'Architectural Exhibition of Daily Life Reform' *seikatsu kaizen kenchiku tenran-kai*, 生活改善建築展覧会 at the newly completed SMRC Dormitory in Dalian on October 29, 1921 (fig. 2).[8]

The exhibition was organized under three themes: (1) 'Daily Life Reform', which displayed Western clothing, cooking recipes, and housing models; (2) 'Construction Material and Structure', booths displaying local tiles, electrical appliances, gas stoves, as well as kitchen models, Western houses and furnishings; and (3) 'Designs and Reference Works', which exhibited seven winning entries – for the accompanying design competition for a residential house – featuring compact plans for a core family without maids, chair-based interiors, large living rooms for family gatherings, built-in modern kitchens, and convertible furniture. The five-day exhibition attracted a total of 33,000 Japanese visitors, more than a quarter of the Japanese population in Dalian at the time. The exhibition suggested possibilities of constructing a new living environment for the Japanese upper middle-class residents in Dalian, different from the first-generation settlers.

Fig. 2. Photo of the entrance of the Architectural Exhibition of Daily Life Reform held at the SMRC dormitory, Dalian 1921. Published in *Manshu Kenchiku Zasshi* 1, no. 8 (1921).

As the title suggested, the 1921 Dalian Exhibition corresponded to the Daily Life Reform Movement in Japan, which was originally proposed by the

Ministry of Education in 1919 and quickly became a nationwide movement during the 1920s. The Committee of the Daily Life Reform published a series of guidelines promoting a 'Western' reform of clothing, food, and housing to establish a modern urban lifestyle.[9] The new housing featured a chair-centered interior, a plan centered on family gathering, and an emphasis on hygiene and pragmatism. Elements of the traditional Japanese space – tatami mats, a guest-centered plan, and a servant room – were regarded as unpractical and unhygienic. The exemplary house model was the bungalow house popular in the United States at the time, which was introduced into Japan as the 'culture house' *bunka jūtaku* 文化住宅. This type of one- or two-story house featured a compact plan with usually no more than three bedrooms, a chair-based interior, and a large living-dining room in the center.[10]

The 1921 Dalian exhibition was one of the earliest exhibitions promoting the Life Reform Movement, predating major cultural house exhibitions in Tokyo and Osaka. It is important to notice that the two housing movements were contemporaneous: many Japanese architects worked back and forth and submitted proposals for competitions in both regions. As a matter of fact, Japanese architects in Manchuria considered the natural environment of Manchuria – harsh winter, heavy dust, and coal consumption – an opportunity to completely remove tatami mats and paper sliding doors due to hygienic concerns. Liberated from the burden of tradition, they advocated the use of brick walls, double-layer windows, and the Russian stove, the *pechika*, as heating equipment. The Japanese architects' practice in Manchuria thus contributed to the development of the Life Reform movement in Japan, as they exemplified the international characteristics and proved the universal adaptability of the movement.

Development of Suburban Housing in Dalian

The 1920s witnessed Japan's rapid expansion in Manchuria and SMRC's fast growth: a large number of SMRC employees and their families came to live in settlement cities. The immigrant surge led to a construction boom and discussions of permanent settlements among architects. In the late 1920s, the *Journal of Manchurian Architectural Association* began to promote the suburban housing projects *kōgai jūtaku* 郊外住宅 in the Laohutan 老虎灘 area south to Dalian. The area was planned for a community consisting of six hundred middle-class family units, together with a school, hospital, social clubs, and resort parks. The city rail was built to connect the suburban community with the downtown Dalian. The main types of houses were small two-floor, typical 'cultural houses' featuring a compact plan with dining and living rooms in the Western style on the first floor and Japanese-style rooms on the second floor. Some of them had sunrooms with large windows in the south (fig. 3). Compared to the Western plans and styles prominent in the 1921 Dalian Exhibition, these houses featured an eclectic design: most of them incorporated Japanese interior elements, such as an alcove (*tokoro-ma*),

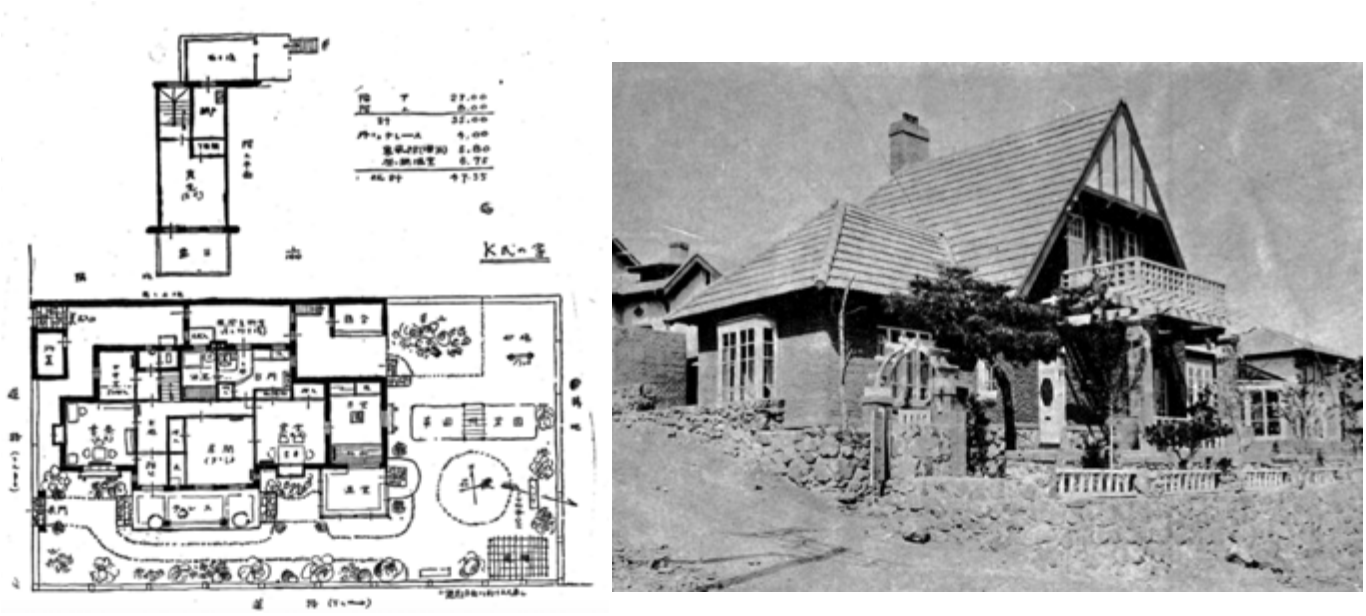

Fig. 3. Plan and photo of the exterior of a suburban house in Laohutan. Published in *Manshu Kenchiku Zasshi* 4, no. 8 (1924).

veranda (*engawa*), tatami-mat floors, shelves (*chigai-dana*), and the decorative transom (*ranma*).

Through the 1920s, the *Journal of Manchurian Architectural Association* published special issues, sponsored photo exhibitions, and printed catalogs to promote the Laohutan suburban housing project. The suburban housing in Dalian was expanded in parallel to the suburban housing development in Japan, with which it shared many similarities. Railway companies were in charge of the planning and development of suburban residential communities, which featured one- and two-floor cultural houses, together with parks, schools, train stations connected to the metropolis' centers.[11] The advertising catchphrases were also similar: a healthy and modern lifestyle far from the chaotic and polluted urban center.

Souvenir Postcards: Icons of Utopian Modernity

Photos of two-floor 'cultural houses' in sceneries in the suburbs circulated widely in Japan during the 1920s. These photos embodied a modern lifestyle for the rising urban middle class at the time. Simultaneously, photographs of the 1921 Life Reform Exhibition and later suburban housing projects in suburban Dalian, together with architects' discussions in journals, created the image of the living environment and lifestyle in urban Manchuria. The mass production, circulation, and consumption of these images further transformed the 'cultural houses' in suburban Dalian into icons of urban modernity in Manchuria. In fact, the process of spatial development that the residential projects carried out in suburban Dalian was overshadowed by the absolute power of the icon: a plethora of visual products, such as postcards, tourist photos, and illustrated guidebooks depicting a 'cultural house' by a picturesque seashore (fig. 4), replaced the space in reality.

The mass production, circulation, and consumption of these photos of suburban cultural houses in Dalian were the result of the thriving mass tourism in Manchuria, which developed fast in the late 1920s and 1930s and reached its peak in the 1940s.[12] Colonial tourism is central to the formation and maintenance of the Japanese empire in concept and practice, as tours in colonies mediated the experience of incorporating colonized land into the imperial territory.[13] Regarding the importance of the tourist post-

Fig. 4. Tourist postcard of the suburban cultural house neighborhood. Pre-WWII Image Collection, International Center for Chinese Studies, Aichi University.

cards, historian Kashiwagi Hiroshi 柏木博 points out that postcards played a crucial role in directing and framing the tourists' gaze. Visitors easily transposed postcards' perspectives into their own observations, and their visits therefore confirmed the impressions formed by the postcards.[14] The rapid development of mass tourism in Manchuria (in particular, after the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932) produced a plethora of visual goods. Looking at these souvenir postcards, photo albums, and guidebooks, Japanese tourists conceived the urban space of Manchuria as an ultra-modern utopia, an impression reaffirmed during the sightseeing bus tours in major cities.[15] In the 1940s, the sightseeing bus in Dalian followed a route covering twelve sights including war memorials, shrines, Japanese factories and businesses, the Chinese market, and a resort theme park in the suburbs. The tour guide introduced 'cultural houses' and emphasized their high-quality modern styles when the bus passed by from afar. These icons, therefore, contributed to the colonial discourse according to which Japanese built a modern, utopian Manchuria from a *tabula rasa*.

Conclusion

The examination of the development of Japanese housing in Dalian in the 1920s and the comparison with the one in Japan demonstrates their contemporaneous exchanges in practice and concept, thus challenging the conventional perspective according to which Japan exported modernity to its colonies. Visual products of mass tourism in Manchuria transformed the suburban 'cultural house' in the Dalian housing projects to icons of ultra-modern Manchuria, which justified the Japanese colonial expansion.

The visual representation of the residential space in Manchuria was extremely selective and exclusive: it was the living environment for the Japanese urban elites. None of the Chinese and Russian neighborhoods, Japanese brothels, or Japanese lower-class settlers' houses, all of which occupied a large area in Dalian, appeared in architects' discussions or tourist photos. The plethora of images of urban Manchuria overshadowed the fragmented, multi-layered urban space of colonial society.

Notes

[1] Studies on urban planning and architecture in colonial Manchuria developed in tandem with interests in the architectural legacy of Japanese imperialism in postwar Japan. The pioneer research of the historian of urban studies Koshizawa Akira 越澤明 sets up the foundation of the research in terms of use of archive materials (maps), methodological framework (comparative study with Tokyo), and a colonist perspective on Manchuria as an ideal, experimental utopia. See Koshizawa Akira, *Shokuminchi manshū no toshi keikaku* (Tōkyō: Ajia keizai kenkyūsho, 1978). The architectural historian Nishizawa Yasuhiko 西澤泰彦 has criticized Koshizawa's static perspective and explores the network of people and circulation of materials between Japan and Manchuria. See Nishizawa Yasuhiko, *Nihon shokuminchi kenchikuron* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2008. Together, their research laid the foundations for future studies. For recent studies on government buildings and public space, see B. Sewell, *Constructing Empire: The Japanese in Changchun, 1905-45* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019).

[2] For a discussion on the political nature and mechanics of Manchukuo, see Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Kimera: Manshūkoku no shōzō* (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993). Also, L. Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

[3] Comment by Maeda Matsuoto (1880-1944), a recent graduate from the University of Tokyo hired by the Dalian Military and Administration Office in 1905. Maeda Matsuoto, "Manshūgyō zakki", *Manchurian Architectural Journal* 23, no. 1 (January 1943): pp. 35-48.

[4] Nishizawa Yasuhiko, "Kantō totokufu no kenchiku soshiki to sono katsudō ni tuite: 20 seikihan no chūkoku tōhoku chihō ni okeru nihonjin no kenchiku soshiki ni kansuru kenkyū", *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering* no. 442 (December 1992): pp. 120-21.

[5] In 1905, Maeda, Kuratuka Yoshio (1879-1942) and Sasaki Seigō, chief of construction at Dalian Military and Administration Office, drafted the Code No. 11, "Temporary Rules and Regulations on Houses in Dalian", *Dairenshi kaoku kenchiku torishimari kari kisoku* 大連市家屋建築取締仮規則, which provided regulations for residential houses in Dalian.

[6] The code was eventually revised in 1910: the height standards for buildings were lowered, the documents to be submitted for the building permit application simplified, and the targets for demolition narrowed.

[7] The association served as a nexus of ideas and people related to the architectural profession in Manchuria, as it organized monthly meetings, lectures, and exhibitions. Its monthly magazine, the *Journal of Manchurian Architecture Association* 満洲建築協会雑誌 (changed to *Journal of Manchurian Architecture* 満洲建築雑誌 in 1934), published from 1922 to 1944, was the most influential architecture magazine in the region. It published articles on a variety of subjects, such as history, technology, and architecture criticism, as well as special issues on social events and trends, all of which provided a rich source for the architectural development and social environment in Manchuria.

[8] The association's monthly *Journal of Manchurian Architectural Association*, *manshū kenchiku zasshi* 満洲建築協会雑誌 (changed to *Manchurian Architectural Journal* 満洲建築雑誌 in 1934), published a special issue on the exhibition, which included photos of the exhibition, entries for the housing design competition, jury commentaries, and reviews on the Daily Life Reform movement. See *Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi* 1, no. 8 (1921).

[9] The guidelines include "*Seikatu kaizen chōsa kettei jikō*" (1921), "*Seikatu kaizen no shiori*" (1924), "*Jūtaku kagu no kaizen*" (1924), "*kaitei seikatu kaizen no shiori*" (1928). See Kiyoshi Nakagawa, "Characteristics of the Discourse on Lifestyle

Improvement and Its Transformation in Japan, 1920s-1930s", *The Social Science* 42, no. 1 (2012): pp. 78.

[10] See J. Sand, "House and Home in Modern Japan, 1880-1920s" (Columbia University, 1996), pp. 289-299.

[11] A similar case of suburban housing can be seen in the denen chōfu 田園調布 area in Tokyo, see Atsushi Katagi, Yōetu Fujiya, and Yukihiro Kadoya, *Kindai Nihon no Kōgai Jūtaku-chi* (Tōkyō: Kajima Publishing, 2000).

[12] One of the most comprehensive historical examinations of Japanese development of tourism in Manchuria is by Gao Yuan, "Kankō no seijigaku: senzen/zengō ni okeru nihonjin no 'manshū' kankō", PhD dissertation (Tōkyō University, 2005).

[13] For an account of the development of colonial tourism, see K.J. Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire's 2,600th Anniversary* (Cornell University Press, 2010). Also see Kate McDonald, *Placing Empire: Travel and the Social Imagination in Imperial Japan* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2017).

[14] Kashiwagi Hiroshi, *Shōzō no naka no kenryoku: Kindai nihon no gurafizumu o yomu* (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1987), p. 3.

[15] Sightseeing buses, with guides on board, were available in the six major cities: Dalian, Harbin, Shinkyō, Fengtian, Lüshun, and Fushun. They operated on a fixed route, with a tour duration ranging from two to six hours.

The Architecture of Eladio Dieste: Challenging Technology, Structure, and Beauty*

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Uruguay, a small country located in South America, is geographically marked by smooth undulating Pampas covering the area that gently meets the Atlantic Ocean and the Río de la Plata estuary. This geography also coexists with some 150 unique brick constructions, as well as with 285 instantly recognisable rural schools,[1] designed and built by Eladio Dieste, an engineer whose commitment to ethics and humanism led him to create innovative solutions for architectural and structural problems using local materials. But nothing whatsoever suggests that his works are the result of a mimetic approach to the local landscape, nor of the intention of recovering the past. On the contrary, his vaulting systems and his choice of brick as building material are the result of an enormous intellectual effort to achieve economic, efficient, and elegant forms, which can be seen as an update of the Vitruvian trilogy *firmitas*, *utilitas*, and *venustas*.

Reinforced concrete had slowly and steadily gained space in the School of Engineering curricula since the 1900s. During the 1920s and the 1930s, Uruguay, a country whose economy is strongly based on cattle-breeding, was going through an economic boom, as a consequence of exporting wool and meat to Europe, and a moderate turning point towards industrialisation. It was during those years that the country received the visit of distinguished scientists, mathematicians, and professors. Amongst them, there were Albert Einstein and Enrico Fermi (both Nobel Prizes in physics), Emile Borel (mathematician), Julio Rey Pastor (mathematician and historian of science), Tulio Levi-Civita (mathematician), Esteban Terradas (mathematician, scientist and engineer), Siegmund Gerszonowicz (engineer and Professor at the Grenoble Institute of Technology); all of them lectured at the Engineering School. That was the ambience when Eladio Dieste (1917-2000) entered the Engineering School in 1937: it offered a solid training, respect for mathematics and physics, and encouraged an innovative spirit. Dieste studied during the construction of the new Faculty's building,[2] when Felix Candela, Eduardo Torroja and Pier Luigi Nervi were framing, vaulting, and building with reinforced concrete.

However, despite having witnessed these events and accompanied the works of the afore-

Fig. 1. Church of Christ the Worker, Atlántida, Uruguay, 1958. Detail of the eave that absorbs the thrust of the roof vault and sinusoidal lateral wall. Dieste & Montañez S.A. Photographic Archive, Dieste Foundation.

mentioned pioneers as a student and during his professional practice, Dieste chose to build with brick. During the course of 40 years, he developed various technologies using the resistance and structural properties of this traditional material, exploring possibilities that proved to be technologically and architecturally very fertile. In one of his writings, *Reinforced masonry*,[3] he expresses his surprise related to the large brick vaulted structures, and affirms that, although all his works were in brick, when dealing with reinforced masonry any material can be used. His choice was not the result of a personal obsession, nor based merely on economic reasons, but rather on the advantages in terms of resistance, weight, acoustic and environmental qualities, and thermal insulation, explicitly accounted for in the abovementioned text.

Soon after getting his degree as engineer in 1943, Dieste worked for the Norwegian contractor Christiane & Nielsen Construction and Consulting (1945-1948), thanks to which he became familiar with the 'Catalan' vaults in reinforced concrete. During those years, Antonio Bonet asked him to carry out structural calculations for one of his projects, the Berlinghieri house (1945-1947), located in a summer resort 120 km from Montevideo. Bonet had worked with Le Corbusier since 1936, until he moved to Argentina in 1938, and had been working on other housing projects with vaulted roofs. However, Dieste suggested an alternative solution for the Berlinghieri project, which he called 'reinforced masonry' instead of following Le Corbusier's reinforced concrete solution.[4] According to Dieste,

> the origin is not indebted to them [Catalan vaults], the genesis has come through reinforced concrete structures, of quick formwork removal; that's the mother of the structures. That the final result can be matched with some Catalan shells does not mean that it is inspired by them, what we do has nothing to do with the Catalan vault.[5]

The vaulting system of the Berlinghieri house and the Catalan vaults of the Jaoul houses were not the only times when Le Corbusier was evoked alongside Dieste. Both Graciela Silvestri and Stan-

Fig. 2. Church of Christ the Worker, Atlántida, Uruguay, 1958. Eladio Dieste on the roof, watching the dismantling of the scaffolding of the first section of the vault. Dieste & Montañez S.A. Photographic Archive, Dieste Foundation.

ford Anderson mention, *en passant*, the church of Christ the Worker in connection with Ronchamp. Silvestri refers to the similarity between the use of light and stained-glass openings in both churches, noting the difference in the effects this device creates in Dieste's undulating brick surfaces.[6] Anderson underlines the fact that structure, form, and architectural space are one in Christ the Worker, while in Ronchamp the roofing structure is hidden, the wall masonry is covered with stucco, and form and space are sculpted at the expense of structural demands.[7] However, in these works, Dieste and Le Corbusier have an almost symmetrical attitude towards form. While Christ the Worker is the result of a challenge taken to its limit by dealing rigorously and creatively with structure, the concave and convex sculpture of Ronchamp echoes a specific landscape and a desire to update traditional architectural forms based on modern principles.

According to Remo Pedreschi, the first impressions upon visiting the church of Christ the Worker (1960) may mislead the visitors, leading them to think that his architecture is only about beauty, treatment of light, space, surface, and form. Improbable structures can be thought of as the work of an obstinate or temperamental designer rather than of an unpretentious engineer who believed that architecture and technology were inseparable, that the purpose of architecture was to build human spaces, and that the cultural meaning of materials should be taken into account.[8] What started as a contract for a vault ended up being Dieste's first architectural work, a tough apprenticeship

> despite the fact that I had always been concerned about expressive problems and their relationship with construction, and above all, the relationship between art, society and life.[9]

The project consisted of one single nave, a small chapel, a choir, the baptistery, and the vestry, all included in a rectangular ground plan of 16x30 metres. Beside the church, a separate volume was built not only to hold the bell, but also to contemplate the landscape. The floors, walls, and roofs are made of exposed brick. Structurally, it consists of continuous Gaussian vaults and undulated lateral

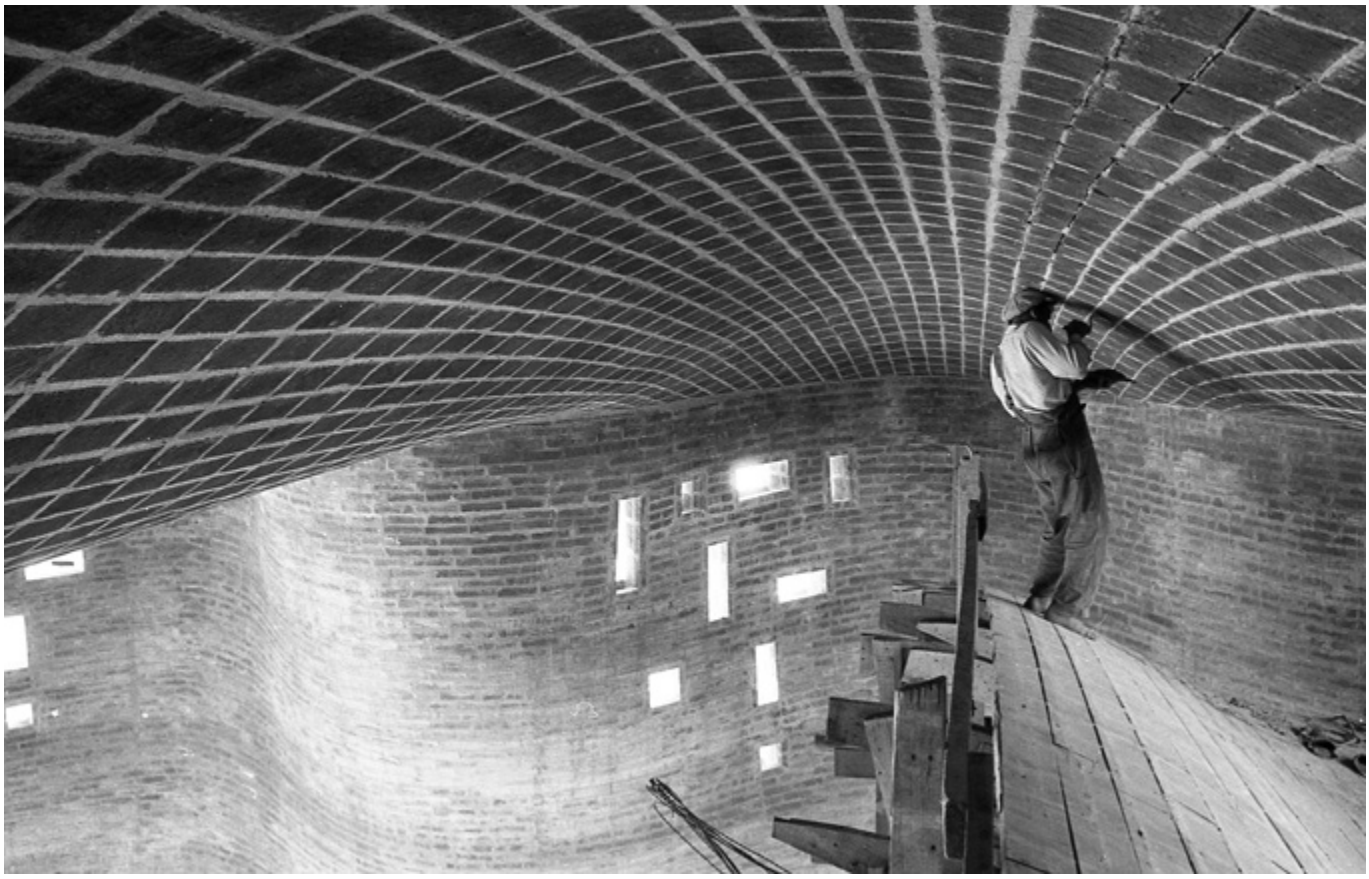

Fig. 3. Church of Christ the Worker, Atlántida, Uruguay, 1958. Mason filling brick joints of the vault. Dieste & Montañez S.A. Photographic Archive, Dieste Foundation.

walls. However, this description does not account for the fluidity of the space, the absence of pillars, and the expressive smooth wave-like brick walls, nor for the lightness of the structure – a mysterious simplicity that is the result of intellectual effort, precision, and determination. The core of all this is an engineer's attitude towards innovation: a deliberate rejection of imported technology and a deep commitment

> to consider each problem independently, keeping in mind the conditions of our own circumstances and environment which are so different from the conditions in the developed countries.[10]

Dieste challenged structure by combining cladding and structure in one element where texture and material (brick) create light effects and play a central role in creating space. It is not in spite of the brick surfaces that we appreciate the coloured light, it is *because* of the brick that we can dwell in that specific-coloured light.

What Dieste strived for, in and with his work, is "a lightness, a mysterious ease, a concise simplicity, something like dance without effort or fatigue".[11] He achieved this by challenging conventions, avoiding easy solutions, and circumventing standard practice; by employing a conscious approach to the act of building, by being alert of the difficulties of envisioning things that are difficult to express in drawings and not giving up on them. But above all, by being very aware that planar frameworks create simple structural solutions, although not necessarily a rational use of them. Following Dieste,

> the natural tendency is to emphasize what we dominate. It is only through sustained effort that we can liberate ourselves from what (Josep Lluis) Sert calls 'the tyranny of the drawing board'.[12]

His way of dealing with the conglomerate of brick, mortar, and iron results in a particular architectural poetics, evidencing not only the subtle way brick reflects light but also enables the immediate perception of the thinness of the shells; as a consequence, his architectural forms 'breathe'. From churches to industrial warehouses, includ-

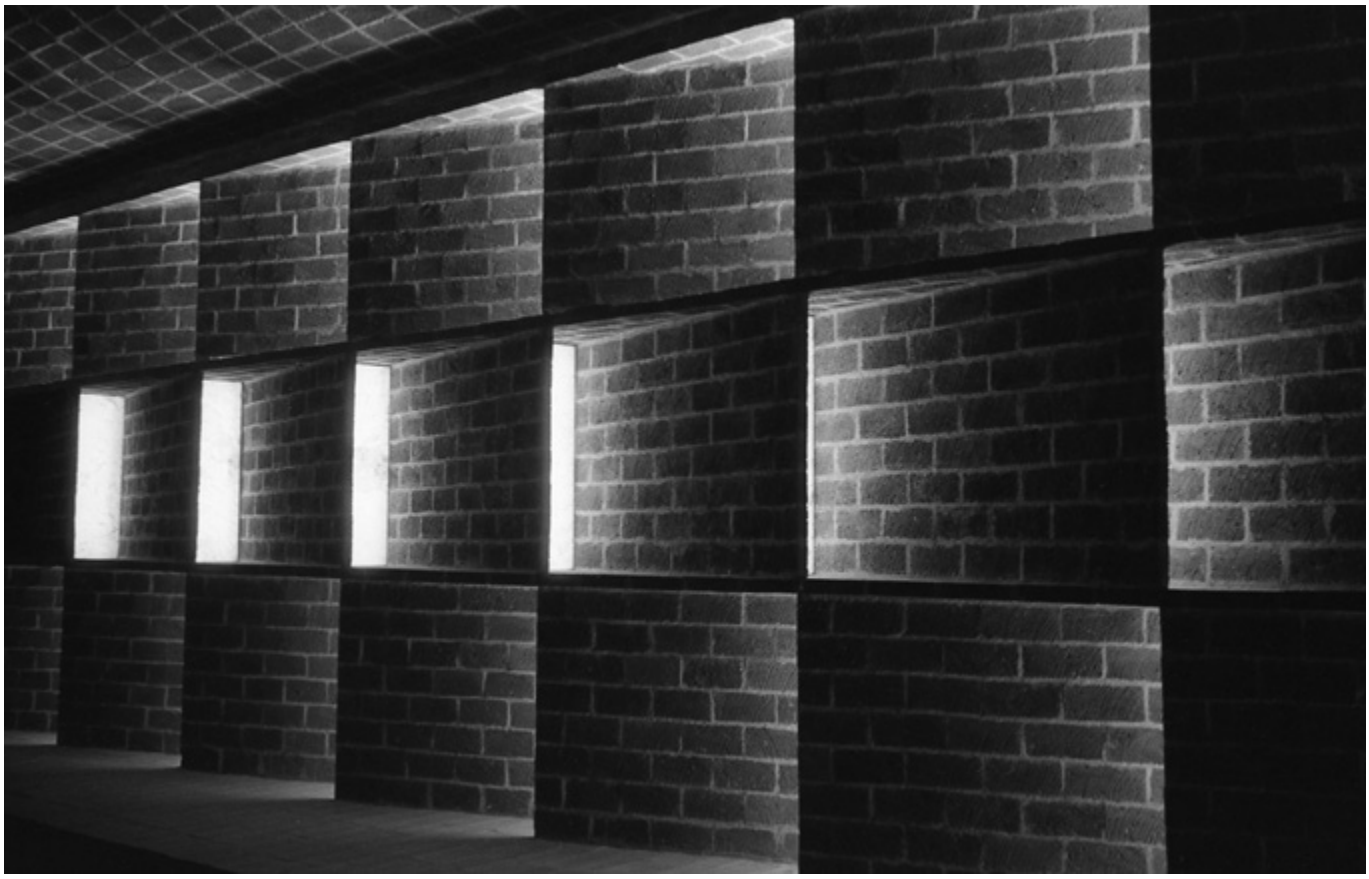

Fig. 4. Church of Christ the Worker, Atlántida, Uruguay, 1958. Choir. Detail of the canted brick grille with alabaster windows that control the light from north. Dieste & Montañez S.A. Photographic Archive, Dieste Foundation.

ing silos, water towers, shopping centres, bus terminals, private houses, bridges, leisure and sports facilities, all of them of exceptional beauty, are not the result of designing space but of creating the adequate technology for solving structural challenges that consequently create space. And creating space does not merely mean encircling space. What I am referring to is the creation of an experience of space, an experience that is about the sensorial absorption of space by means of light and texture effects of surfaces. This aspect turns out to be most relevant since his works are immediately and rationally apprehended as single volumes with a clearly defined layout, forming an inseparable pair with the sensorial spatial experience. Although they are not all really dwelling places, these buildings are in the domain of dwelling, no matter the activity the building was designed for. Distinguishing themselves from constructions, these architectures become locations that offer an experience, and these locations, according to Heidegger, come into existence by virtue of the building itself.[13] Consequently, space is provided in order to have an experience of space. Rather than establishing a boundary, Dieste's shells enable the access to a new experience of existence. Art and technology, the latter deprived of its authoritarian dimension, play a special role in making this experience possible.

Dieste dealt with a traditional and indigenous material in an original way: combining the simplicity of the material with highly complex mathematical calculus, he became a pioneer in terms of structures, use of materials, and architectural forms. He approached brick in a very original way by conferring it the ductility and stability of reinforced concrete, surpassing its use for cladding structures and avoiding the repetition of structural forms already solved in reinforced concrete. On the other hand, it is clear that his choice of a meditated curve is in tune with the research of the 1950s, but his path differs from the one followed by other contemporary architects in South America, such as Amancio Williams and Oscar Niemeyer. Dieste avoids strong formal ideas that support rhetorical representation; his attitude towards form and structure is condensed in the following phrase:

> The resistant virtues of the structures that we make depend on their form, it is through their form that they are stable and not because of an awkward accumulation of materials. There is nothing more noble and elegant from an intellectual point of view than this, resistance through form.[14]

Dieste's works follow a multidisciplinary attitude: spatiality, ingenious structural and constructive solutions, and commitment to the economic conditions of the community, all of which respond to his human and social concerns. A commitment that his son Antonio brings forward when he says:

> my father's architectural work cannot be continued. As with any other artistic expression, his personal creativity is personal and non-transferable. This is not to imply that his works, writings and teachings are to be forgotten. Quite the opposite [...] 'it is necessary to think everything anew'.[15]

Investigating an ancient and traditional material did not hinder the modernity of his consciousness; he circumvents the idea of decadence by judging the present positively, by assigning it the power of overcoming the inertia of tradition and devoting himself to "thinking everything anew".

The architectures of Dieste are a stimulus to imagination. And the activity that depends on imagination is art. In this sense, we can approach Dieste from Konrad Fiedler's understanding, according to whom "artists should not express the subject-matter of their time, their assignment is rather to *provide* subject-matter to their time".[16] That is, to understand Dieste's work is to acknowledge how architectural *form* is constituted: through the process that makes it visible, focusing on the singularity of the constructive system he conceived and the coherence of the thoughts displayed in his works.

Notes

* I would like to express my gratitude to the Dieste Foundation.

[1] Built between 1961 and 1972 according to the Dieste self-supporting vault prototype, these schools were the result of the Primary Education Council program aimed at replacing shacks used as schools in the poorest regions of the country.

[2] School of Engineering (1936-1945) designed in reinforced concrete by the architect Julio Vilamajó and engineer Walter Hill.

[3] E. Dieste, "Reinforced Masonry", in A. Jimenez Torrecillas, ed., *Eladio Dieste: 1943-1996* (Sevilla: Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transporte, 1997), pp. 33-36.

[4] According to Graciela Silvestri, rather than through this ephemeral contact via Bonet, Dieste knew about Le Corbusier and his building principles obliquely, through the collaboration established with the architects Clemont and Serralta. Clemont had worked with Le Corbusier and had his office in the same building as Dieste. Both offices worked on several projects together. (G. Silvestri, "Una biografia uruguaya", in E. Dieste, *Escritos sobre arquitectura* (Montevideo: Irrupciones Grupo Editor, 2011), pp. 142-146.

[5] Dieste quoted by A.M. Marin Palma, A. Trallero Sanz, "El nacimiento de la cerámica armada", in S. Huerta Fernández, ed., *Actas del Cuarto Congreso Nacional de Historia de la Construcción* (Madrid: Instituto Juan de Herrera, SedHC, 2005), p. 709. http://www.sedhc.es/biblioteca/actas/CNHC4_068.pdf.

[6] G. Silvestri, "Vilamajó, Niemeyer, y Santo Tomás: La justa medida del alma", *El País Cultural* no. 769 (Montevideo, July 30, 2004): p. 4.

[7] S. Anderson, "Un innovador en estructuras: Transar cuando no hay más remedio", *ibid*., p. 7.

[8] R. Pedreschi, "Sobre la felicidad humana", *ibid*., p. 8.

[9] E. Dieste, "The Atlántida Church", in A. Jimenez Torrecillas, ed., *Eladio Dieste: 1943-1996* (Sevilla: Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transporte, 1997), p. 153.

[10] Id., "Technology and underdevelopment", *ibid*., p. 264.

[11] Id., "Art, people, technocracy", *ibid*., p. 278.

[12] Id., "Architecture and construction", *ibid*., p. 226.

[13] See M. Heidegger, "Building, dwelling, thinking" [1954], in A. Hofstadter, ed., *Poetry, Language, Thought* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1971), pp. 145-160.

[14] E. Dieste, "Architecture and construction", in A. Jimenez Torrecillas, ed., *Eladio Dieste*, cit., p. 233.

[15] A. Dieste, "A prospect for structural ceramics", in S. Anderson, ed., *Eladio Dieste: Innovation in Structural Art* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004), p. 220.

[16] K. Fiedler, *Aphorismes* [1895] (Paris: Éditions Images Modernes, 2004), p. 100.

The Architect's Hand: Making Tropes and Their Afterlife*

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> "(8) Was it not enough for man to provide himself a roof of any chance of covering and to contrive for himself some natural retreat without the help of art and without trouble? Believe me, that was a happy age, before the days of architects, before the days of builders! (9) All this sort of thing was born when luxury was born [...] (16) Follow nature and you will need no skilled craftsmen".
>
> Seneca, *Letters to Lucilius*, LXXX, 8-9

As this section proposes, the passage of architecture from project to finished building involves many activities and many different players. Among them, the activities of the architect are surprisingly limited. Indeed, it is the only art (the art of building) where the "object" is not physically made by its ideator, where in fact s/he is twice removed (if not more) from it. This condition of architecture tends to be either overlooked or taken for granted such that – as Giorgio Vasari tersely put it in his *Vite* of 1550 – the drawing supplants the building as the real art object for being the only trace of the architect's hand. Yet despite the fact that this problem has been elided in criticism and scholarship, the disconnect between artist and object has not and is not always silently borne, and architects have repeatedly expressed both desire for more involvement in making and frustration at their limited role.

For example, an architect friend of mine in Canada includes something made by his own hands in every building he builds.[1] I have always found this a singular desire, habituated as we all are to see the architect distant – above or at least at a remove – from the object being built. And yet I wondered whether we – as architects, as writers about architecture, as users – have not sublimated something that perhaps exists there, deep in the bowels of this paradoxical art – paradoxical because it is an art "in translation", where each stage (from drawing to model to construction) translates across materials, across ways of making, and across the many players who collectively are involved in this making. In short, what the architect "makes" is never what we see as architecture. Perhaps then to go right back to the origins – to the first definitions of architecture – may be a promising way to find out if and when the question of the architect's manual involvement emerged, was attended to, and (it would seem) disappeared.

1. Origin myths have always been seen to have a didactic meaning and indeed a didactic intent: those with a negative slant admonishing against (fatal) faults and those with a positive one recommending the appropriate paths to take. There are origin myths for all the arts, but for architecture these have been particularly potent, especially at a didactic rather than poetic or purely philosophical level. For an art with no external referent to be evaluated against (it not being mimetic), the mythical origins of architecture acted as the ultimate and necessary means of validation for later shifts in definitions and inventions. As a result, and uniquely perhaps, architecture's myths and its history are deeply imbricated. And it is this didactic and normative aspect of architectural origin myths that makes them an appropriate starting point for reflection on the changing definition of the architect.

Of course, myths have many layers, their compactness belying their complexity, and volumes can and have been written about them. Here, however, I would like to concentrate only on one particular aspect to the degree that I can disentangle it from intersecting themes: Who/what is the architect (rather than what is architecture)? And what are the architect's skills? This may seem an obvious way of getting at the issue of architecture as artifact and the architect as potential arti-

san, yet in fact architecture myths that focus on making are not plentiful, and one must dig deep and read between the lines. Surprisingly, the same is true of the other visual arts. Given, then, that this issue has been pushed to the margins, if present at all, it might be useful to examine first how myths about the visual arts in general compare, and how, as a group, they illuminate definitions of practice – both historically and now.

2. The primary ancient myth for the origin of painting is retold by Pliny the Elder: Kora, a young Greek woman from Corinth, drew the profile of her lover (a shadow against the cave wall) who was about to go away (or to war, depending on the version)[2] (fig. 1). As such, this first man-made image was a keepsake, a gesture of love and memory (the remembrance of a loved face).

Nature is its principal object, since it is an attempt to copy a real figure, yet by virtue of it being the outline of a shadow, it is an abstraction at the same time. Interestingly, this story is also that of the birth of sculpture, since the girl's father, Butades of Sicyon (an artisan who made clay roof tiles), eventually models a relief in clay from this outline, which later leads him to ornament the ends of roof tiles with human faces, an invention that thus heralds the birth of figural sculpture. The vexed relationship and competition between relief, painting, and sculpture in the round – causing sometimes acrimonious debates at the very least since the Renaissance if not before – may then also have an origin here.[3] The other, equally powerful, origin myth for painting is the story of Narcissus. Taken up from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by Leon Battista Alberti in his *Della pittura* (1435), it became a frequent topos and reference point for painters from the Renaissance onward, even though no actual painting takes place in the story. Narcissus (son of a nymph and a river god) falls in love with his own image reflected in a pool and drowns seeking to embrace it. Like the story of Kora, this, too, associates love

Fig. 1. Jean-Baptiste Regnault, *L'Origine de la peinture*, 1786. Versailles, Château de Versailles.

with the invention of picture-as-imitation, though in this case it is self-love (which leads to death).[4] Reflection on the craft aspect of the art does not figure in either story.

A second group of origin stories for painting that relate to specific artists' biographies come closer to dealing with the physical making of pictures. A leading story is that of the ancient Greek painter Zeuxis, likewise retold by Pliny and many times illustrated by artists (e.g., the rendition Giorgio Vasari painted in his own house in Florence).[5] This is not quite an origin myth, though it was made to fill that role by Pliny's Renaissance readers; instead, it is about artistic behavior, about how painting is done (or practiced). Zeuxis, so the story goes, is invited to paint a Venus by the citizens of Croton and unable to find a perfect model, he asks to behold several young beauties so as to select their best features and thus obtain that elusive perfect body. Only laterally about painting as craft, the story (much commented on from Cicero to Erwin Panofsky) was generally seen as a statement on the fundamental relationship between art and nature: does it look to *natura naturata* or to *natura naturans*?[6]

However, not all origin myths are ancient. A more recent origin-of-painting as origin-of-artist story, this time narrated by Giorgio Vasari in his *Vite* of 1550, is also biographical and concerns Cimabue's "discovery" of Giotto. This is not an origin myth as such, but like the story of Zeuxis and the Crotonian maidens it became equally potent as an "origin of artists" story or anecdote. As Vasari recounts, Giotto is discovered as a young shepherd tending his flock and scratching images in the sand. Struck by his talent, the older and established painter Cimabue, who accidentally passes by, takes him on as apprentice, and in time, Giotto confirms Cimabue's intuition and becomes the watershed artist for the Renaissance.[7] There are many intersecting themes here, though only one pertains directly to practice. As Marc Gotlieb has shown, what is at stake is not only the discovery and the artist's relationship to nature, but also "the scene of instruction": – the relative roles of the nature-boy (not to say savage artist) and his teacher – that is, where and how art is taught (if at all). Is Giotto a self-taught prodigy of nature who breaks with tradition precisely for this reason, or does he need a teacher (and a workshop) all the same?[8] In fact this anecdote is itself a trope since it rehearses the ancient story of the sculptor Lysippus from Pliny the Elder, which in its turn depends on an even earlier story, also about Lysippus, told by Duris of Samos. At Vasari's hands, however, this becomes "the Giotto story" and thereafter recurs as "biographical padding" (as Kris and Kurz call it) in many other biographies.[9]

Clearly there is a core message to these myths and anecdotes: of love that calls forth art-making in imitation of nature (as likeness of the beloved); of the childhood miracle (needing no schooling since the child is already close to nature) and the accidental discovery of the prodigy; finally, it is also about the relationship to a master, for in many of these stories the ultimate object is to genealogize. So much for painting.

A number of origin myths are also associated with sculpture in addition to that of Butades of Sicyon. Surprisingly, the craft aspect of the art is marginal here too. As was the case with painting (and architecture, as we will see), accident plays a role here as well: as Leon Battista Alberti recounts in his *De statua* (1462), a rough piece of wood or a clod of clay set off the artistic act/imagination such that the first sculptor only enhances what is already there.[10] In a way this is a pendent to an ancient anecdote about painting: in a Jackson Pollock-like story *avant-la-lettre*, the Greek painter Protogenes, so Pliny recounts, is inspired by the stain left by a wet sponge he throws against the wall. The story evidently hit a nerve as there is also a later, Renaissance version of this anecdote/myth involving Leonardo and the inspirational effects of cloud formations upon his painting.

To be sure, the most famous sculpture myth remains that of Pygmalion and Galatea (of the sculptor who falls in love with his own creation), which was popularized by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* just like the story of Narcissus. Not strictly an origin myth, this story nevertheless condenses thought about lifelikeness, making art as love, and the liminality between nature and art – a recurring theme in many stories. Finally, a much later though popular vignette that exploits the childhood and body connection between art and artist and hints at the origins of manual practice – perhaps a sculpture pendant to the Giotto story – is included in the life of Michelangelo. As we are told by his biographers Ascanio Condivi and Vasari, Michelangelo absorbed the marble-carving talent through the milk of his wet nurse, the wife of a stone carver from Settignano (a major quarrying center on the outskirts of Florence).[11]

3. Unlike the origin stories for the figural arts, which tend to revolve around a real or mythical figure, architecture's myths fall into two distinct categories: those with architects and those without (i.e., myths with and without a protagonist). The myths *without architects* are more primordial: they are about the invention of shelter, of building, and only subsequently of a "learned" (intellected), deliberate architecture, in that order. One of the most important such myths – much rehearsed by the reception – is the invention of building as recounted by Vitruvius in *De architectura* (fig. 2). In his account, the invention of man-made shelter (rather than ready-made caves) is occasioned by the accidental discovery of fire, which sets off a chain reaction: as a result of congregating around the fire, man begins to speak; this leads to sociability and, as a consequence, also to the production of things (man's hands and fingers being flexible and able to manipulate materials) and eventually also to ingenuity and invention. "Hence" – Vitruvius concludes – "after thus meeting together, they began, some to make shelters of leaves, some to dig caves under the hills, some to make of mud and wattles places for shelter, imitating the nests of swallows and their methods of building. Then observing the houses of others and adding to their ideas new things from day to day, they produced better kinds of huts".[12]

Of this story of first principles, its best-known avatar and most often repeated version was that of the primitive hut by Marc-Antoine Laugier prominently displayed on the frontispiece of his *Essai sur l'architecture* (1753)[13] (fig. 3). Its tremendous power, however, lay in the sleight of hand that collapsed two myths into one: the origin of building and the origin of architecture. For Vitruvius, these were two separate moments, and even occurred in different parts of the text. In his account, architecture (rather than shelter/building) comes into being when number, order, and form are added to raw matter. Instead, for Laugier, raw

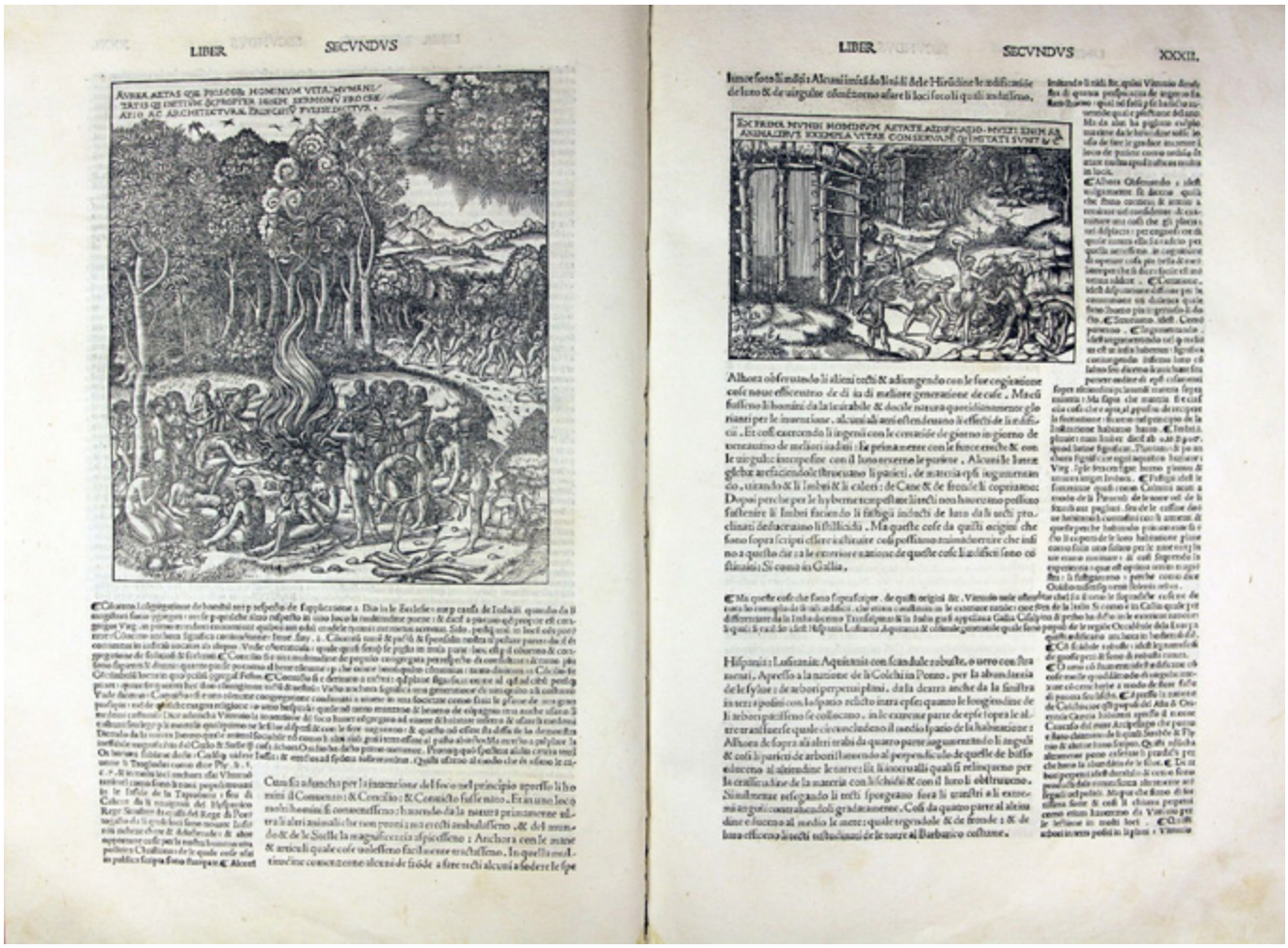

Fig. 2. Cesare Cesariano, illustration for Vitruvius' *De architectura*, 1521.

Fig. 3. Marc-Antoine Laugier, frontispiece and title page to *Essai sur l'architecture*, 1755.

matter already anticipates architecture (the primitive hut anticipates the temple format), somewhat in the manner of the sculpture origin story in which the piece of wood or clod of earth already contained the seeds of the image for the sculptor.

Collective invention also extends to "learned" architecture not only to basic shelter. There, too, chance plays a determining role. Thus, in Book IV Vitruvius turns to the origin of the columnar orders: "For in Achaea and over the whole Peloponnese, Dorus, the son of Hellen and the nymph Phthia was king; by *chance* he built a temple in this style [*genera*] at the old city of Argos, in the sanctuary of Juno".[14] Thereafter, he continues, the people and their "genera" move to Asia Minor, where the original form is developed into the mature Doric by an anonymous "them" and "they", with no specific person/architect attached to it. The Ionic order is likewise invented by an anonymous and collective "they". As such, the origin of the orders, the architectural device that *orders* basic building and turns it into architecture (through both number and form), is semi-mythical: the orders come into being through the agency of the offspring of gods and anonymous groups of people, by chance, accidentally – created in "illo tempore," to use Mircea Eliade's resonant term.[15]

There are few myths with named architects. Perhaps the oldest is that of Daedalus, though his is less a story of the invention of architecture as such (he builds a labyrinth for the Minotaur) than more generally of the dangers of invention if it challenges the order of things (the wings he makes to escape imprisonment by flying collapse and cause his son Icarus's death).[16] The story of Dinocrates of Rhodes, who becomes Alexander's architect, appears to be a Lysippus type of myth, an example of an accidental meeting and an artist's rise out of anonymity. Yet, although the trope of the accidental encounter and the genius plucked from the crowd seems to be shared with painting and sculpture, in fact Dinocrates is not chosen for being an artist prodigy but for standing out, for his appearance and his boldness. Closer to a bona fide myth of architecture with an architect as its main protagonist is a Romanian legend, versions of which are found throughout the Balkans, the Middle East, and Central Asian regions as far as Inner Mongolia.[17] The richest and

Fig. 4. Roland Fréart de Chambray, *Callimachus inventing the Corinthian order*, 1650.

most famous of Romanian monastery churches endowed by the then reigning prince Negru-Voda was built in the first quarter of the sixteenth century (1512-1517) by a Master Manole. As he and his workmen were building the church, so the story goes, it collapsed time and again such they began to despair and pray and in response to these prayers, Manole had a vision: God advised him to immure the first woman to arrive at the site that day, that is, to build her into the church wall. Only thus would the building stand. Knowing that his beautiful and much beloved wife was about to arrive carrying his meal, Manole prayed that she would not reach the building site – but whatever came in her way, she triumphed over it and driven by her love for her husband she overcame all obstacles, thus walking to her death. The sacrifice worked, and the more beautiful the part of her immured body, the more beautiful also that part of the wall.

A similar sacrificial element is embedded in the birth-moment of the Corinthian order as recounted by Vitruvius – probably also the survival of a Greek myth like so much else in his work (fig. 4). The maiden dead in the flower of her youth, on whose tomb an acanthus grew entwined around the offering basket that contained her possessions, is the agent that sparks the imagination of the sculptor Callimachus and allows him to bring a new architectural order into being.[18] This story is not that distant from Manole's, for though there is no actual sacrifice on Callimachus's part, the architecture that emerges is nevertheless conditioned by a death and transformation into stone, and once again a woman is the "ritual" victim. Indeed, in the mid- fifteenth century the architect Francesco di Giorgio shows an immured maiden animating the column, literally encased in it, enlivening it with her grace and spirit. The myth of the caryatids condemned to remain in their prisoner status for eternity holding up the superstructure of the temple is one other instance of an equally terminal and dangerous cross-over between body and (beautiful) architecture.[19]

Biographies of real-life rather than mythical architects are present as well, though they are more recent. Neither Pliny-like in style, nor theory commonplaces as was the case with Giotto's, over time they nevertheless acquired some level of normative power. Condensing evaluations with didactic intent into pithy anecdotes (unlike the biographies of the figural artists), Vasari's architect biographies – the lives of Baccio d'Agnolo, Giuliano da Sangallo and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Donato Bramante, Baldassare Peruzzi, and so on – thus functioned as reference points if not as bona fide myths. The same is true of some coming from outside of the European corpus of stories, such as the lyrical autobiography of Sinan, the great architect of Suleiman the Magnificent.[20] To be sure, starting in the Renaissance, Vitruvius became something of a myth himself, initiating the modern phenomenon of the "writing architect" that ultimately became that of the *architecte philosophe*. And it is here, in these biographies, that we might expect answers to the question of architectural craft. Where does the origin of architectural knowledge lie? How is it transmitted?

Like the biographies of painters, these questions, too, bear on the education of the architect: with or without a master? Even if the relationship

between Giotto and Cimabue elicits interpretation, the former is nevertheless an apprentice in the master's workshop. With the architects – and I emphasize that this applies even to the "pure" architects, those few who did not practice other visual arts – there was no passing of a baton, no master/student relationship. Each one was an autodidact of sorts, starting with the inimitable Filippo Brunelleschi, whose career began as a goldsmith. If anything, in Vasari's biographies most architects start with knowledge of other crafts (carpentry, woodcarving, metalworking, perspective construction, sometimes sculpture, sometimes painting), and it is only by absorbing what each has to offer that they finally synthesize the knowledge and become architects. Indeed, it would seem that much of becoming an architect has to do with learning manual crafts, the operation of instruments, and the nature of materials. The same is true of Sinan's rise to the top of his profession – from carpenter to ship builder and janissary (hence acquiring military knowledge) and finally to architect.[21] But most important, what becomes clear is that, unlike the other arts, architecture is not about spontaneous prodigy or genius. Architecture is the *archae*, the coming together of all the arts. And this is the origin and myth of architecture to which all biographies ultimately refer.

We have been following two types of architecture myths: of the art and of its practice through the artist (whether real or mythical). Some (the oldest) are about the relationship between architecture and nature, which is much more problematic than in the case of painting: architecture displaces (or interferes with) nature, so it must make its peace with it. One way of achieving this reconciliation is by following nature's laws, building "with" nature – and this the community does (the Dorians and Ionians), rather than any single architect; the other way is expiatory (for having interfered with nature), hence the sacrificial component of some myths (e.g., Manole's).

Ultimately what all these myths are about is *agency*. Where does it lie? With the architect or with external circumstances? It would seem that in all instances the human (artist's) body comes into play and is the site of agency: either it must mitigate for the interruption of nature (with loss of life and redemption, as per the myths), or (as in the biographies of real architects) it is a knowing body that has accumulated and assimilated – metabolized – physical experience, knowledge of craft, of making. In Vitruvius's words, "When, however, by daily work men had rendered their hands more hardened for building, and by practicing their clever talents they had *by habit* acquired craftsmanship … *then from the construction of buildings they progressed* by degrees to other crafts and disciplines, and they led the way from a savage and rustic life to a peaceful civilization".[22]

4. In the face of these thin references to making in myths and other stories, it seems legitimate to ask: Having metabolized knowledge of various types and contemplated if not actually experienced the deep tie between building and body through bodily sacrifice, is the architect a maker, a craftsman as well as an intellectual? Does the architect need to be both in order to be a *good* architect? In *De architectura* Vitruvius seems to separate (or connect) the two activities when he distinguishes between *fabrica* and *ratiocinatio*: "Opera ea nascitur et fabrica et ratiocinatione".[23] But this is not so much an origin myth as an Aristotelian moment in Vitruvius's effort to systematize architectural knowledge. More in keeping with a transmitted myth is his origin of shelter story, where building is the ur-instinct, and from there come all the crafts. Elsewhere, in the other myths, the architect is in fact a craftsman (witness Manole and Callimachus) as is Daedalus, the paradigmatic Bronze Age architect after whom Manole's figure is certainly modeled: credited with the Cretan labyrinth and a temple to Apollo in Sicily, his name actually means "finely crafted objects" (*daidala*) in Homer's Greek, thus suggesting an artisan working in bronze, on armor, vessels, buckles, and so on.

Yet, despite these occasional appearances, crafting as such is not generally foregrounded in architecture's origin stories. And the biographies of Renaissance architects, for all their references to deep knowledge, contribute to this erasure of making. Despite the fact that most architects were also artisans and artists, and that quite often architecture and sculpture merged to the point of being indistinguishable, little is said about the architect's physical agency – the architect's hand – even by Vasari, who records the many crafts architects must master.[24] Was the architect's hand, and therefore his body, not seen to be implicated at some level at least? Danger certainly threatened it: falling, breaking bones, heavy equipment

Fig. 5. Office for Metropolitan Architecture, China Central Television Headquarters, 2002-2012.

or stones collapsing and crushing him...[25] But what about the body's positive contribution? On the whole, the corpus of stories – and the historiography – have avoided these and all episodes of making. And since architectural history started in earnest in the later nineteenth century, it inevitably told it with a modern bias. Despite a brief moment of concentration on crafting in the second half of the nineteenth century – a direct result of anxieties about manufacturing occasioned by the Industrial Revolution, and which included participants like Gottfried Semper, who claimed textile weaving was the ur-craft of architecture – the theoretical thinking on this topic has been marginal if present at all.[26]

Today, making may seem the last trope to consider. And if Rem Koolhaas is right and contemporary architecture – the post-architecture, post-theory condition – is about "bigness", the gigantic, and the overscale, rhetorically exaggerated

Fig 6. Office for Metropolitan Architecture, models of the project for the China Central Television Headquarters, c. 2002.

to make the point, then craft and the hand have nothing to do with it anymore (fig. 5). Koolhaas's architectural models might suggest otherwise,

Fig. 7. Model-making workshop, office of Renzo Piano Architects, Genoa 2017.

but this apparent miniaturizing has the same effect: it suggests a gigantic (planetary?) perspective from which these enormous elements of the city actually look tiny (fig. 6).

Exaggerated smallness suggests exaggerated bigness. Likewise, in drawing, since AutoCAD has taken over and the keyboard has eliminated the pencil, the gesture and choreography of the hand on paper have also disappeared. Is drawing also obsolete? Not only the body's agency in tracing lines but also the sketch itself, with its unfinished and highly suggestive quality, is a thing of the past: the computer can model everything and anything in space and gives it a deceivingly finished and complete look. The hand has disappeared, so has the body, and what belonged to the body – love and sacrifice. Where is the prodigy, and where lies the talent? What happened with the myths? Are they still informing architecture and architects as they did for millennia, or are we "post-myth" as well?

And yet. Renzo Piano, for example, still holds that things need to be understood through making before they are exploded in scale. In his office all details are made of wood, studied, turned, made physically available before they are translated into final destinations of scale and materials. His studio is a model-maker's shop (fig. 7). Clearly, this approach connects to his deep history with boat making, the personal history of a genuine Genovese. And he is certainly not alone. Over the *longue durée* many architects produced full-scale details of buildings to assess their assemblage and appearance. But in the context of bigness as contemporary paradigm and commentary on where architecture is headed, is Piano's approach now an anachronism? Or is nevertheless something left between bigness and the human hand? Might there still be a space where one can think about this? The hand develops the thought as *embodied* knowledge, as *techne*, and the knowledge of the draftsman, like that of the craftsman, is mediated by the hand. Instead, with computer-aided design and in industry, the *techne* is not that of the creator; it comes out of calculations and other intellected operations and is no longer a function of the body performing movements at the intersection with thought.

Are we then facing a loss? And, if so, what are its consequences? Does my architect friend's deep visceral desire to make something by his own hand in every building he designs manifest this loss and some deep condition of architecture that neither old nor new myths voice? Is there a place left for the architect's hand today? Modernism is said to have embraced and proselytized the chasm between the artisan and the machine that the Industrial Revolution permitted. Perhaps looking at the Bauhaus – a classic, by now almost mythical site where this parting of the ways was

Fig. 8. Hannes Meyer, *junge menshcen kommt ans bauhaus!*, 1929.

consecrated – is a way to think again about this issue (fig. 8).

The well-known recruitment poster with the hand calling young people to the Bauhaus recalls many things, among them Adam's hand by Michelangelo on the Sistine ceiling and even Lord Kitchener's hand calling young men to join the army in the First World War. But, more important, to me it recalls the examples of Giotto's "site of instruction", for the Bauhaus was also a "site of instruction". Perhaps even at the very heart of modernism, with its claims to have effected a tabula rasa and embraced industry, the hand *was* nevertheless central and meant to be involved – a hand that was led, and taught, but was present.

Notes

[*] This essay was first published in *Founding Myths, gta papers*, 3 (Zurich: GTA Verlag 2019), pp. 28-40.

[1] I refer to Howard Sutcliffe of the Canadian firm of Shim Sutcliffe Architects (Toronto). For their published work see Shim-Sutcliffe, *The Architecture of Point William. A Laboratory for Living.* With essays by Kenneth Frampton and Michael Webb (Toronto: Oro Editions, 2020).

[2] "It was through his daughter that he [Butades of Sicyon] made the discovery; who, being deeply in love with a young man about to depart on a long journey, traced the profile of his face, as thrown upon the wall by the light of the lamp [*umbram ex facie eius ad lucernam in pariete lineis circumscripsit*]". Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, Loeb Classical Library 394, vol. 9 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), book 35, ch. 15.

[3] For a history and its modern consequences, see A. Payne, "On Sculptural Relief: *Malerisch*, the Autonomy of Artistic Media and the Beginnings of Baroque Studies", in H. Hills, ed., *Reframing the Baroque* (London: Ashgate Press, 2011), pp. 39-64.

[4] L. Marin, *Des pouvoirs de l'image: Gloses*, L'Ordre philosophique (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1993).

[5] Pliny, *Natural History* (see note 2), book 35.

[6] *Ivi*. For a review of the story and its changes along the centuries, see E. Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968).

[7] G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani: da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri* (Firenze: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550).

[8] M. Gotlieb, "The Scene of Instruction", in L. Bolzoni, A. Payne, eds., *The Italian Renaissance in the 19th Century: Revision, Revival, and Return* (Firenze-Cambridge, MA: Officina Libraria-Harvard University Press, 2018), pp. 189-212.

[9] E. Kris, O. Kurz, *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist: A Historical Experiment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), p. 30.

[10] L.B. Alberti, *De statua*, ed. M. Collareta (Livorno: Sillabe, 1998), p. 5.

[11] A. Condivi, *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti* (Roma: Antonio Blado, 1553).

[12] Marcus Pollio Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, Loeb Classical Library 251, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), book II, ch. 1.

[13] M.C. Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture* (Paris: Duchesne, 1753). For the popularity and afterlife of the story, see J. Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History* (New York: MoMA, 1972).

[14] Vitruvius, *On Architecture* (see note 12), book 4, ch. 5. My emphasis.

[15] M. Eliade, *Le Mythe de l'éternel retour: Archétypes et répétition* (Paris: Gallimard, 1949).

[16] On this myth and links between architectural myths and classical philosophy, see I.K. McEwen, *Socrates' Ancestor: An Essay on Architectural Beginnings* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1993).

[17] On this myth, see A. Payne, "Living Stones, Crying Walls: The Dangers of Enlivenment in Architecture from Renaissance *putti* to Warburg's *Nachleben*", in C. van Eck, J. van Gastel, E. van Kessel, eds., *The Secret Lives of Artworks: Exploring the Boundaries Between Art and Life* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2013), pp. 301-339.

[18] Vitruvius, *On Architecture* (see note 12), book 4, ch. 1.

[19] *Ibid*., book 4, ch. 8.

[20] G. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005); H. Crane, E. Akin, eds., *Sinan's Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts*. Muqarnas, Supplements (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2006).

[21] H. Crane, E. Akin, eds., *Sinan's Autobiographies*, cit.

[22] Vitruvius, *On Architecture* (see note 12), book 2, ch. 1. My emphasis.

[23] *Ibid*., book 1, ch. 1.

[24] For a discussion of this trope and its absence, see A. Payne, *L'Architecture parmi les arts: Matérialité, transferts et travail artistique dans l'Italie de la Renaissance* (Paris: Hazan, 2016), ch. 3.

[25] There are many stories of architects – Antonio Gaudi, Carlo Scarpa, and others – dying in the exercise of their work, just as there are many stories of workmen dying during construction from the days of Brunelleschi's dome to the 1960s Autostrada del Sole, for whose "fallen" the church of San Giovanni Battista "Chiesa dell'Autostrada" was built by architect Giovanni Michelucci (1960-1964).

[26] On this as it pertains to architecture and the rise of modernism, see A. Payne, *From Ornament to Object: Genealogies of Architectural Modernism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012).

SESSION 7

Matter and Materiality in Art and Aesthetics: From Time to Deep-Time

CHAIRS

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Small Matter and Eternity: Michelangelo's Last Judgment

Nicolas Cordon
The Liveliness of Stucco: Vanishing Statues and Creamy Clouds in Baroque Palermo

Bronwen Wilson
Lithic Images, Jacopo Ligozzi, and the Descrizione del Sacro Monte della Vernia *(1612)*

Amy F. Ogata
Making Iron Matter in Second Empire France

Stefania Portinari
The Venice Biennale as a World Map: Cartographies, Geological Interventions, Landmark Layers

Liliane Ehrhart
Towards the Creation of Original Material Depictions of the Human: Marc Quinn's Sculptures

Jing Yang
The Human and Non-human Interconnectedness in Three Chinese Contemporary Artists

Introduction to Session 7

Matter, material and materiality: over the course of the past two decades these three words have become ubiquitous in the humanities and social sciences. Driven by a rising ecocritical awareness and backed by a focus on mobility and trade, the discourse on materiality has profoundly shaped both the theory and practice of our discipline. A response to the 'linguistic turn' of the 1970s and 1980s, this 'material turn' now compellingly counterbalances the dematerialization of today's digital reality, the loss of a culture of tactility and manual crafts.[1] But why does materiality appeal so much to art historians? Perhaps it is because it extols the idea that images are not signs but embodied objects that call for our own, discipline-specific expertise; perhaps because it claims a much larger field of intervention for art history, well beyond the realm of art, into that of material culture and even beyond, past the fabricated object and towards unbounded matter of all kinds.[2] On the one hand, materiality has reinforced the disciplinary boundaries of our academic field; on the other, it has broadened them.

This focus on the matter of art has often translated into an emphasis on the moment of the object's creation: its making, production, and the artist's choice of medium. This session looks instead at what happens *over time*.

In attending to time, the following contributions address an often-overlooked dimension in the biography of the 'animated' artwork: not its coming into life, but rather its slow aging and eventual release into a novel configuration of matter – be it a fragment, ruin, or waste. By following matter before and after the finished, localized object, the session encourages to think about materials subject to time scales at odds with those of human experience, moving – as the title suggests – from the time of human history to the deep time of geological history.[3]

The effect of time on artworks is a matter of great concern for conservators, curators, and policymakers, but it has rarely been the focus of art historical inquiry and interpretation. Art historians might even harbor hostility toward time because it obliterates the objects we study. Issues of conservation remain relegated to restoration reports and are often seen as peripheral to the field. Art history established itself as a humanistic discipline by insisting on this distinction: in a now canonical contribution, Erwin Panofsky advocated for the separation between the scientific work of technical art history and humanist inquiry, arguing that "from the humanistic point of view, human records do not age".[4]

When, as art historians, we consider the temporal instability of artworks, we tend to interpret it as the visual manifestation of the distance that separates us from the original condition of the object, a condition we assume to be the relevant one. This session proposes instead to read time more productively and sympathetically: not just in terms of its 'subtractive agency', but as an active, shaping force that compels artists and audiences to confront the object's processes of making and unmaking.

Our session interprets the theme of the 2019 CIHA Congress, *Motion: Transformation* in temporal terms. By focusing on movements that are not just across space but also across time, we hope to complement the current emphasis on the circulation and mobility of objects: the pathways, trajectories, and exchange practices that have helped us productively rethink so much of our globalized discipline.

The themes that the contributions of this session address are rather episodes of stillness and stasis (the dusting of fresco surfaces; the progressive hardening of wet stucco; the freezing of blood; the slow growth of silkworms and plants). They are episodes where movement is vertical rather than horizontal, a deep dive into the earth's stratigraphy and the abyss of geological time

(the rocky escarpments of a sacred mountain; the extraction of iron; the excavations through the geological strata of the Venice Biennale). Taken collectively, they help revise the assumption that matter and objects that are 'on the move' are more significant or have more to offer to art history than those that remain halted, stuck, or marooned.[5]

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Matter, material, materiality: so far, we have used these words as synonyms. But do these notions share the same semiotic content? Today, we are still missing an accurate analysis of their distinct applications in different historical and geographical contexts. A survey of the usage and dissemination of these terms would undoubtedly surprise us with respect to our understanding of art history. With its attention to the material *facies* of works of art, our discipline is, within visual humanities, exceptionally well equipped to deal with these issues.

And yet, over the course of the last century, materiality has been neglected, partially as a result of the pull of two important artistic shifts. First, during the avant-garde, when artistic attention was increasingly focusing on ether vibrations, electromagnetic waves, radioactivity, and other invisible phenomena that could be reinvested in the aesthetic field and beyond the material world – a trend Lynda Henderson has designated as *vibratory modernism*.[6] Later on, in the 1960s, conceptual art challenged materiality in an even more radical fashion. After centuries during which artmaking was fully ruled by the paradigm of visibility, it seemed that, oddly enough, artists were interested in making their works invisible, investigating the threshold of the visible and dismissing its subject matter.

Invisibility, absence, emptiness: the new agenda promoted by conceptual practices involved long-term consequences regarding the role of museums and art institutions, as well as the function of art exhibitions in legitimizing artworks. The material that mattered was now the exhibition itself. This historical move was aptly and timely grasped in 1968 by Lucy Lippard in *The Dematerialization of Art*, a volume that offers a valuable overview of that period.[7]

Within this framework – one that challenges materiality while moving towards invisibility – one should also mention nuclear energy and radioactivity, as it is in these fields that invisibility first revealed its potentially destructive force. This *avisuality*, to use the expression coined by Akira Mizuta Lippit, threatened to engender a catastrophe that would instantly annihilate human presence on earth.[8] Nuclear energy, however, does not endorse the negation of matter but rather its transformation: a conversion of matter into the infinitesimal, into a microscopic scale that is simultaneously invisible to the naked eye and colossal in its effects. It is no accident that contemporary artistic practices have so often turned to nuclear energy as the subject matter or 'material' of art.[9]

What these practices and experiences have in common is a compelling invitation not to oppose materiality and de-materialization in a simplistic manner. As a form of de-substantialization, the dematerialization of objects and media does not necessarily lead to the immaterial. Materials – even when they are invisible to the eye – might still possess a matter of some sort, leading to an *impasse* of the modernist aesthetics grounded on the scopic regime or the oculocentric model.

More recently, according to Jane Bennett, matter has been reconceived not as a passive and inert substance but rather as an activated and energetic element, subject to timescales that are much grander than those of human history.[10] This 'deep-time' of geological history and its unyielding remoteness force the limits of the anthropocentric humanities, eluding our comprehension. Exercising our ecological and geological imagination draws attention to the visual aspect of materiality while challenging common assumptions about the paradigmatic intertwining of time and matter in visual and cultural practices. It leads us to explore the power of images to visualize the materialities that make up our present in an historical framework.

Deep time also resists being reduced to the present moment, to a form of 'presentism' that contemporary art appears to cultivate; it exceeds the human scale and perhaps even our imagination.[11] How do artists respond to the materiality that is specific to what has been now called the Anthropocene? How do they visualize an increasingly controversial and threatening geological era that eschews clear-cut and reliable representations? How do they face the catastrophic events that this might engender? How do they respond to a future that is not only unfathomable, unpredictable, or inscrutable, but also unimaginable?

These questions might offer new methodological insights into the exploration of matter and materiality: both in the historiographical weight these terms carry and in their resonance in contemporary artistic practices. With regard to this session, they provide a useful background to shift the focus away from human orchestration towards human and non-human collaborations; to consider material flows and productively rethink the relationship between matter and form beyond the hylomorphic model, the formalism of art history, and the visibility of the Western scopic regime; and to broaden the *longue durée* – encompassing, according to Fernand Braudel, the history of the Mediterranean sea in the XVI century – into an ecology of deep time towards which the current era of the Anthropocene has stretched.

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As a testament to the liveliness of the material turn, this session offers only a small selection of the many proposals we received. This final line-up follows a rough chronological order but also groups papers by the nature of the material they primarily address. With Fabian Jonietz, we start our journey into matter high above ground: from the subtle, fine particles of dust floating in the air and quietly settling on the surface of Renaissance frescoes. We then move on to the glittering marble dust that is stucco, the stuff of otherworldly, celestial softness: of clouds, wings, fleshy dimples, and garlands spreading onto the baroque ceilings of early 18th-century Palermo in Nicolas Cordon's contribution. From there, we descend to the metallic, the mineral, and the lithic. First, with Bronwen Wilson, exploring the rocky landscape of La Verna, among mountains, boulders, and cliffs and then the underground, as Amy Ogata follows iron from Algerian mines to French furnaces and forges, all the way up to the railroads and lamp posts of the Second Empire. We continue with the complex curatorial stratigraphy of the garden of the Venice Biennale in Stefania Portinari's essay, before resurfacing to organic life: to Marc Quinn's manipulation of biological matter in Liliane Ehrhart's essay and finally, with Jing Yang, to the ecological entanglements of human, animal, and vegetal life of contemporary art in China.

Francesca Borgo, Riccardo Venturi

Notes

The session is the result of the authors' cooperation and collective decisions. Borgo authored paragraphs 1-7, 16 and Venturi 8-15 of the introduction. Both authors would like to thank the contributors for their collegiality and lively exchange.

[1] N. Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Materiality, Sign of the Times", *The Art Bulletin* 101, no. 4 (2019): pp. 6-7, as well as the issue "Notes from the Field: Materiality", *The Art Bulletin* 95, no. 1 (2013): pp. 10-37.

[2] For both claims see, respectively, M. Cole, "The Cult of Materials", in S. Clerbois, M. Droth, eds., *Revival and Invention. Sculpture through its Material Histories* (Oxford, Bern, Berlin, Brussels, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Wien: Peter Lang, 2011), pp. 1-15; J. Roberts, "Things: Material Turn, Transnational Turn", *American Art* 31, no. 2 (2017): pp. 64-69.

[3] N. Heringman, "Deep Time at the Dawn of the Anthropocene", *Representations* 129, no. 1 (2015): pp. 56-85.

[4] E. Panofsky, "The History of Art as Humanistic Discipline", originally published in *The Meaning of the Humanities*, ed. T.M. Greene (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940), pp. 98-118. See C. Fowler, "Technical Art History as Method", *The Art Bulletin* 101, no. 4 (2019): pp. 9-17.

[5] For a similar conclusion, see also C. Heuer, *Into the White: The Renaissance Arctic and the End of the Image* (Brooklyn: Zone Books, 2019), pp. 174-195. On the impact of the discovery of geological time on 19th-century art, see S. O'Rourke, "Staring into the Abyss of Time", *Representations* 148 (2019): pp. 30-56.

[6] L.D. Henderson, "Vibratory Modernism: Boccioni, Kupka, and the Ether of Space", in B. Clarke, L.D. Henderson, eds., *From Energy to Information: Representation in Technology, Art, and Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 126-149.

[7] L. Lippard, *Six Years: The dematerialization of the art object from 1966 to 1972* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1973, 2001).

[8] A. Mizuta Lippit, *Atomic Light (Shadow Optics)* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

[9] Cf. E. Carpenter, ed., *The Nuclear Culture Source Book* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2016).

[10] J. Bennett, *Vibrant Matter. A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010).

[11] F. Hartog, *Régimes d'historicité. Présentisme et expériences du temps* (Paris: Seuil, 2003).

Small Matter and Eternity: Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*

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The history of the Sistine Chapel is most likely the single best documented account of a liturgical space of the early modern world.[1] Yet, there is no trace in the sources of the roughly a dozen cart-loads which were necessary to remove approximately 60 to 70 cubic meters of demolition waste at the beginning of 1536, when the preparation for Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* was under way. While the erection of a brick wall which served as immediate support for the fresco is documented in five payments made between February and April,[2] art historians could only speculate about the complexity of this enterprise until scientific analyses, conducted during the 1990/94 restoration, revealed the exact composition of the west wall: prior to the construction of the second layer, a colossal section in the shape of a trapezoid prism had to be chiseled away from the old quarry-stone-wall.[3] Subsequently, the rubble had to be removed from the chapel (apart from some of this material, which was reused by masons to close off the two preexisting windows), before the bricks could be walled and the rough plaster applied. It was only at that point that the 61-year-old master entered the scaffolding and started what he probably considered his final monumental project.

All this laborious preparation, however, served a purpose which even the most attentive observers such as Herman Grimm ("I didn't notice it") missed, and which remains unnoticed by most visitors today: Michelangelo had ordered that the upper part be canted by half a *braccio fiorentino*, in order to make the west wall of the Sistine Chapel lean slightly towards the viewer. Thus, the *Last Judgment* is painted on a non-vertical surface.[4]

Astonishingly, few modern art historians have dealt with the specific purpose of this alteration and of the highly unusual preparation for the fresco. The wall's inclination is prevalently dismissed as an additional means to achieve the perspectival effect, created by the difference in size between the figures in the lower half of the fresco and those painted near the top – an argument which has never been discussed comprehensively, nor demonstrated in a satisfactory way.[5] As a matter of fact, I believe that the very slight inclination of only about 0.9 to 1.3 degrees is almost insignificant for a viewer standing close to the painting, and absolutely negligible for the viewing experience from a distant point of view.[6]

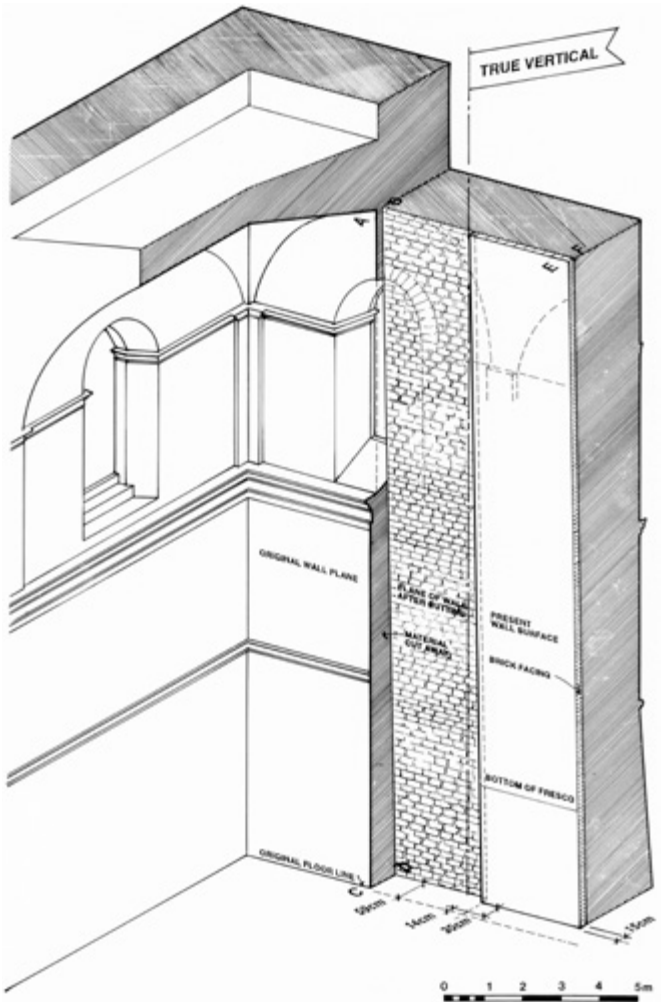

Fig. 1. Layout of the west wall prior to Michelangelo's intervention and today, drawing by © Peter Schmitt 1997. (From *Michelangelo: The Last Judgment. A Glorious Restoration*, New York: H.N. Abrams, 1997, p. 11).

Although Michelangelo was indeed concerned with non-rectangular geometries in relation to distant observation, I will argue in what follows that the architecture of the Sistine Chapel's west wall has little to do with optics. Rather, the complex and costly alteration of the wall can be explained as the result of Michelangelo's concerns about the preservation of his painting, as the only 16th-century source dealing with this matter has already suggested. Following this proposition, the west wall is connected directly to the Cinquecento discourse on the specific qualities of fresco painting, its durability, material transformation over time, and on art as an aging object – thus, an issue intrinsically tied to the subject depicted in the *Last Judgment*.

1. Francisco de Holanda and Ascanio Condivi, two intimate witnesses of Michelangelo's considerations, do not mention the wall's inclination, although Condivi discusses the application of rough plaster (*arriciato*).[7] On the other hand, Giorgio Vasari, who published his biography three years earlier, provides a description which not only includes the exact depth of the canting wall, but also explains the presumed reason for this unusual undertaking:[8]

> Since Michelangelo was very eager and assiduous, he had made, as it had not been before, a projection of bricks on the wall of the above-mentioned chapel and contrived that it should overhang half a *braccio* from above, so that no dust might be able to settle upon it, nor something else might harm it.

In Vasari's second version, published eighteen years later, he rephrased his description only slightly, supplementing, among other details, the generic concept of 'dirt' to the beforementioned dust (*né polvere né altra bruttura*).

Yet, Vasari's decisive statement has been vehemently rejected by art historians and restorers. For Loren Partridge, for example, claiming that the inclination was supposed to prevent the settling of dust is "a clearly illogical explanation. A forward-leaning wall, in fact, promotes the opposite result". This argumentation evidences, however, that Partridge considers almost exclusively rising dirt particles, that is to say "dust and grim (such as the smoke from burning candles or incense used during Mass)".[9] In the early modern period, the term *polvere* could indicate different small materials, such as smoke particles and ash and, in specific contexts, even reduced matter such as ground pigments. Nevertheless, it primarily referred to simple house dust, or the dry dirt brought by visitors from the outside: whenever interiors were accessible to large crowds in the period before roads were paved and cleaned daily, the public carried dirt with them in such quantities that the rooms "appeared to smoke with dust", as an early visitor of the Louvre, for example, reported some centuries later.[10]

Vasari's description of the effect of *polvere*, and the differentiation of the two kinds of dirty aerosols that can be identified by this term, stopped being considered seriously around the time when it became fashionable to generally disavow Vasari's statements. Biagio Biagetti, former director of the Musei Vaticani, who was responsible for the restoration of the *Last Judgment* in 1931, was the last scholar to attempt a reconciliation of Vasari's words with the results of the recent intervention. Biagetti observed that the lower third of the fresco had undeniably been darkened by candles and incense, probably more than in the case of a vertical wall. The upper part, on the other hand, had mostly avoided the pollution usually caused by dust — the wall's inclination, Biagetti concluded, had indeed prevented two-thirds of the fresco from being damaged, including the most important section with the figure of Christ.[11]

In contrast, the argument endorsed by Partridge, among others, is based on the wrong assumption that most of the dirty particles in a room float straight upwards as a result of the hot sources they originate from. This, however, is only relevant in the case of sources in close proximity to the altar wall. In reality, the greater risk for wall paintings is posed by the large number of already risen particles moving in the chapel's micro-atmosphere. When these particles cool down, they slowly start to sink due to their weight, thereby sticking to rough surfaces such as plastered walls. Even though this small matter does not fall in a precise, perpendicular way, the recess of a wall does have a small but significant impact in reducing the settlement of dust. This reasoning would hardly have come as a surprise to Michelangelo, as the laws of movement of solid aerosol particles had become a new subject of study for artists only a few decades earlier. Leonardo da Vinci, in

an analogous way to his contemplation of waves, had begun to meticulously observe the motion of dust and other small particles in order to find an alternative way of depicting movement in battle scenes, or weather phenomena, via clouds of dust and smoke — thereby clearly distinguishing the *attomi di poluere* from the *attomi del fumo*.[12]

Finally, a similar distinction between regular dust on the one hand, and grime on the other (*pulveribus et aliis immunditiis, etiam ex fumo luminarium [...] provenientibus*) is also made in the papal breve with which Paul III created, immediately following the completion of the *Last Judgment*, the official position of *mundator picturarum cappellarum*, 'cleaner of the chapel's paintings'.[13] This measure, anticipating the modern concept of 'preventative conservation', was the result of the observation of extensive damages resulting from pollution on the earliest decoration. Precisely at the time when Michelangelo started his work on the west wall, one visitor noted that all of the previous wall paintings had already darkened and were barely visible.[14] The successors in the office of the cleaner are documented throughout the next decades, and in the 17th century, a complete dusting of the whole chapel was carried out at least twice – in 1625 and 1693. The cleaning of the Sistine Chapel was, however, not novel but rather followed common practice for mural paintings. The Cappella Sassetti by Ghirlandaio, master of the young Michelangelo, for example, had to be cleaned "at least annually from top to bottom with reed panicles, or with feathers of a large bird".[15]

2. The necessity to clean artworks was so common that a 17th-century Spanish author, when describing how dusty travelers were treated when entering a house, used an expression that indicated that they were dusted off 'just like paintings' (*como a retablos*).[16] Michelangelo's acquaintance Francisco de Holanda, when arguing in favor of the superiority of painting over sculpture in antiquity, claims that panel paintings were always "well preserved and kept clean" (*conservar e ter limpa*) by their owners.[17] Certainly, avoiding the settlement of dust was important for sculpture, too — in 1610, for example, Pietro Bernini was advised to take this issue into consideration (*che la polvere con il tempo non la innegriscia e non se gli attachi sopra*).[18] However, painters have foremostly sought ways to safeguard their delicate artworks from such deposits, as well as to improve their technique in order to enhance the work's durability since Apelles's invention of the *atramentum*, described by Pliny (*Nat. hist*. XXXV, 97) as a layer serving as a protection from dust and dirt (*pulvere et sordibus*).

In this regard, one needs to reconsider Vasari's ambiguous phrasing when describing Michelangelo's intervention into the chapel's structure (*che non v'era prima*), as it could refer to the novel idea of a leaning wall, or simply to the brick wall which did not exist before.[19] In around 1900, William H. Goodyear had formulated a provocative thesis, based on an extensive measuring campaign with plumb lines, according to which a great number of medieval and Renaissance church facades and walls are intentionally leaning forward, an observation which he interpreted as a spatial and perspectival corrective.[20] In any case, Michelangelo could draw upon a much more familiar tradition of non-vertical, inclined surfaces in liturgical spaces. Painted objects were frequently installed leaning towards churchgoers, as is suggested by metal rings for mounting on the backside of such objects, and depictions of such hangings in the Arena Chapel. Even some of Giotto's wall frescoes in the lower church of St. Francis in Assisi are physically inclined towards the viewer.[21] In all of these earlier cases, the inclination allows the light sources to reflect on the gilded parts, inlays, and three-dimensional *pastiglie*, as well as, arguably, it favors a specific perspectival perception. Whether this effect was intentional or not, church visitors in the Cinquecento would have also observed different effects of dust on vertical and non-vertical painting surfaces. Michelangelo must have taken such traditions into consideration, as he became interested — precisely in the years in between his two major projects in the Sistine Chapel — in orthogonal anomalies. His experiments aimed at creating innovative spatial solutions by non-vertical structures are manifest in a range of different projects, such as in his trapezoid designs for the top windows of the New Sacristy, or for Piazza del Campidoglio, which follows a similar design without right angles.

3. There is reason to believe that Michelangelo trusted his architectural competence more than his own painterly knowledge.[22] In the case of the Sistine ceiling – Michelangelo's first fresco since his training in Ghirlandaio's workshop – he had

to learn his craft through failure. Condivi reports that already during the work, the fresh fresco began to become mouldy (*cominciò l'opera a muffare*), and that Giuliano da Sangallo had to be called in. He then realized that the plaster was too wet, and thus instructed Michelangelo on how to continue.[23] Apart from the previously mentioned testimony by a visitor – according to whom all paintings in the chapel had already darkened in 1536 – ten years after the completion, Paolo Giovio writes that the ceiling fresco was already severely damaged by saltpeter, and that cracks were visible (*si va consumando con il salnitro e le fessure*).[24]

When he began his second work, Michelangelo changed one fundamental aspect. While he had executed large parts of the ceiling with oil paint, the *Last Judgment* was a veritable *buon fresco*. Pellegrino Tibaldi argued that Michelangelo's decision was partly due to difficulties in painting the effects of light, but more importantly, because oil paint on plaster tends to change in color over time.[25] The fact that Michelangelo was indeed deeply concerned about the durability of his painting is supported by a story according to which Sebastiano del Piombo had proposed to have the *Last Judgment* executed in oils, and even started to prepare an *incrostatura* or *imprimatura grassa* which Michelangelo eventually had stripped off in rage. The report about this controversy, added in the 1568 edition of Vasari's *Vite*, is substantially supported by payments regarding the mason's work in the chapel, which confirm that a first layer of plaster was removed (*disfare lo primo intonicato*) weeks before the brick wall was built.[26] This chronology further suggests that the new wall did not serve – or at least not exclusively – a perspectival purpose, but that the reason was to be attributed to the painterly technique used.

At that time, the quarrel about durability was no longer fought exclusively between sculpture and painting, but between the advocates of different painterly techniques.[27] The fact that Michelangelo would decidedly refuse a method which was linked to the late Raphael's work in the Vatican is hardly surprising. However, it is significant that by doing so, he rejected a technique proposed to him by the very artist who at that time was appraised for his improvements to mural oil painting and ability to create works that were almost 'eternal'.[28] Hence, Michelangelo was convinced that he could do better than Sebastiano. All mural paintings are susceptible to damage since the humidity in the wall eventually leads to the expulsion of minerals, or even to the detachment of the *intonaco*. Michelangelo's novel brick wall, however, serves as a barrier between the quarry stones and the plaster, preventing humidity, which would otherwise deteriorate the painted surface, from entering the *intonaco*.[29] Yet, the greatest advantage of oil murals, which do not chemically unite with the surface, is that they are protected from dirt and dust by a top coat of varnish. Michelangelo's canting wall was therefore intended to make up for the fresco's inherent disadvantage, in order to prevent it from 'turning into dust', as many writers put it when they commented on the unfortunate destiny of most artworks over time — thus intentionally parallelizing the fate of men and that of art (*quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris*).

4. The destructive effect of *polvere* on art was caused by a combination of different factors. When describing Cimabue's choir frescoes in the upper church of St. Francis in Assisi as being consumed by both time and dust (*oggi dal tempo e dalla polvere consumati*), Vasari laments a complex process that is characterized by the permanent settling of dust particles, the continuous abrasion of the surface due to the obligatory cleaning, and the chemical dissolving of the colored top layer into mineral dust.[30] In any event, paintings usually needed to be 'brought back to life' from time to time by a conservational revision of this process, as Federico Zuccari claims he did for some works by Correggio (*che erano piene di polvere, si ritornarono in vita*).[31]

Michelangelo, in contrast, intended to create a fresco which he had hoped would not need such measures — even though time proved that his work was not as *immortal* as Francisco de Holanda had claimed regarding the Sistine Chapel's decorations.[32] Since it was the only commission during which Michelangelo had to destroy two of his own artworks — the lunette frescoes executed only two decades earlier — the artist must have been painfully aware of the brevity of a painting's life at the time when the *Last Judgment* was conceived. It was inevitable for him to deal with the problem of the material expiration of his art, and, arguably, to even question his own legacy and afterlife following the potential loss of his art.[33] Michelangelo

responded to this threat as no other artist of his time had done before him: by devising the most paradoxical preservation measure, a non-perpendicular surface which, despite the seemingly instable or collapsing construction, was intended to stabilize his work of art, and to grant it eternal life.

Notes

[1] E. Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle* (München: Bruckmann, 1901-05). For a recent overview of scholarship on the *Last Judgment*, see C. Bambach, *Michelangelo. Divine Draftsman & Designer* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017), pp. 199-212.

[2] L. Dorez, *La cour du Pape Paul III d'après les registres de la Trésorerie Secrète* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1932), II, pp. 25, 26, 32, 34, 38. Cf. e.g. D. Redig de Campos, *Il Giudizio Universale di Michelangelo* (Milano: A. Martello, 1964), pp. 105-107.

[3] Cf. E. Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, cit., II, p. 489; B. Biagetti, "Tecnica di esecuzione, stato di conservazione e restauri", in D. Redig de Campos, B. Biagetti, eds., *Il Giudizio Universale di Michelangelo* (Roma: Arturo Facioli, 1944), I, pp. 73-163, here p. 94; L. Partridge, "Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*: An Interpretation", in *Michelangelo: The Last Judgment. A Glorious Restoration* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1997), pp. 8-154, here 11.

[4] Information about the inclination of the wall varies in modern scholarly publications between 15, 20, 24, 25, 28, 30 and 35 cm.

[5] See e.g., L. Partridge, "Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*", cit., pp. 144-146, and below, n. 9.

[6] Neither has the inclination a measurable effect on the finding that the area most illuminated by daylight seems to be the section around the figure of Christ, as observed e.g., by B. Barnes, *Michelangelo and the Viewer in His Time* (London: Reaktion Books, 2017), p. 135.

[7] A. Condivi, *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti*, ed. G. Nencioni (Firenze: SPES, 1998), p. 49.

[8] G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, ed. R. Bettarini, P. Barocchi (Firenze: SPES, 1966-97), VI, p. 69.

[9] L. Partridge, "Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*", cit., p. 11. The same rejection has e.g. been repeatedly expressed by F. Mancinelli, coordinator of the 1990s restoration; cf. also G. Colalucci, "Tecnica e metodologia operativa di Michelangelo sul Giudizio Universale", in *Michelangelo. La Cappella Sistina. Documentazione e Interpretazioni* (Roma: Istituto Geografico De Agostini, 1999), I, pp. 51-60, here 54. Cf. most recently e.g., U. Pfisterer, *La Cappella Sistina* (Roma: Campisano, 2014), p. 105, following the interpretation of the wall's inclination as serving a perspectival purpose. Studies that are willing to accept Vasari's reasoning are exceptional, cf. among them e.g., A. Nesselrath, "The Painters of Lorenzo the Magnificent in the Chapel of Pope Sixtus IV in Rome", in Jorge Maria Cardinal Mejía, et al., eds., *The Fifteenth Century Frescoes in the Sistine Chapel* (Città del Vaticano: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 2003), pp. 39-75, here 45.

[10] K. Garlick et al., eds., *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978-98), V, p. 1863.

[11] B. Biagetti, "Tecnica di esecuzione, stato di conservazione e restauri", cit., p. 136.

[12] See e.g., Windsor Castle, Royal Library, 12665r; Ms. A, fol. 111r; the quotation in Cod. Leicester, fol. 4r.

[13] E. Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, cit., II, pp. 757-58, doc. 7. The first appointee was Francesco Amadori, who qualified for this job due to his prior task of grinding Michelangelo's pigments to finest dust.

[14] "quarum tamen colores nunc non mediocriter obfuscati videntur, quod haud dubie propter quottidianas accidit suffumigationes". J. Fichard: "Italia", *Frankfurtisches Archiv für ältere deutsche Litteratur und Geschichte* 3 (1815): pp. 1-130, here p. 48. Mistakenly, the visitor Fichard attributes all frescoes to Raphael; he ascribes the layer of dirt to the smoke caused by candles, torches, and incense.

[15] *La chiesa di Santa Trinita a Firenze* (Firenze: Cassa di Risparmio, 1987), p. 347, n. 182.

[16] F. de Quevedo, *El Buscón*, ed. A. Rey (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2007), p. 359.

[17] F. de Holanda, *Vier Gespräche über die Malerei*, ed. J. de Vasconcellos (Wien: Braunmüller, 1899), p. 160.

[18] A. Muñoz, "Il padre del Bernini: Pietro Bernini scultore (1562-1629)", *Vita d'Arte* 4, no. 22 (1909): pp. 425-70, here p. 468. By 1640, the dusting of sculptures in Saint Peter's had to be conducted on a weekly basis; see O. Pollak, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*. (Wien: Filser, 1928-31), II, p. 451, doc. 1754.

[19] G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori*, cit., VI, p. 69.

[20] W.H. Goodman, *A Renaissance Leaning Façade at Genoa* (New York: Macmillan, 1902); Id., *The Architectural Refinements of St. Mark's at Venice* (New York: Macmillan, 1902).

[21] I thank G. Guazzini for pointing out this case to me.

[22] Cf. also Clement VII's specification in 1525 to avoid structures that might collect dust: *Il carteggio di Michelangelo*, ed. G. Poggi (Firenze: Sansoni, 1965-83), III, pp. 186-87, doc. DCCXXVIII and pp. 194-95, doc. DCCXXXII.

[23] A. Condivi, *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti*, cit., pp. 33-34.

[24] P. Giovio, *Lettere* (Roma: Società Storia Comense, 1956-58), II, p. 85, n. 261.

[25] *L'Architettura di L.B. Alberti nel Commento di P. Tibaldi*, ed. S. Orlando (Roma: De Luca, 1988), pp. 140-141.

[26] G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori*, cit., V, pp. 101-102; L. Dorez, *La cour du Pape Paul III*, cit., II, p. 20. Cfr. G.B. Armenini, *De' veri precetti della pittura*, ed. M. Gorreri (Torino: Einaudi, 1988), p. 141.

[27] Cfr. e.g. B. Varchi, *Dve lezzioni* (Firenze: Torrentino, 1549), pp. 97, 102 and 134; A.F. Doni, *Disegno* (Venezia: De' Ferrari, 1549), p. 20v.

[28] P. Bembo, *Delle lettere da diversi re, et principi, et cardinali, et altri huomini dotti a Mons. Pietro Bembo scritte. Primo volume. Di nuovo stampato* (Venezia: Francesco Sansovino, 1560), p. 110v; G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori*, cit., V, p. 97.

[29] I would like to thank L. Somenzi for bringing to my attention earlier methods based on using straw and wood as isolating buffers, e.g., in the case of the frescoes in the Camposanto of Pisa.

[30] G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori*, cit., II, 38.

[31] F. Zuccari, *Il passaggio per Italia*, ed. A. Ruffino (Lavis, TN: La Finestra, 2007), p. 107.

[32] F. de Holanda, *Da pintura antiga*, ed. A.G. Garcia (Lisboa: Casa de Moeda, 1984), p. 202.

[33] Cf. in this regard Vasari's conclusion of the 1550 *Vite*, claiming — prior to an allegorical woodcut inspired by the iconography of the day of resurrection — to "make these glorious artists immortal, freeing them from dust and oblivion". G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori*, cit., VI, p. 411.

The Liveliness of Stucco: Vanishing Statues and Creamy Clouds in Baroque Palermo

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During the Renaissance and later on in the Early Modern period, stucco was employed in the modelling of high-relief and free-standing figures, quite often challenging the appearance of marble statues although it stemmed from a quite different, quasi contrary, creative process. Unlike the marble sculptor, who carves his figures out gradually from the hard and rigid material, the stucco artist starts by handling a malleable paste composed for the most part of lime and/or gypsum, a whitish and ductile blend which hardens once it is permanently exposed to air.[1] Comparing both practices, time appears to be a key factor in the relation between matter and form: on the one hand, the expected form emerges from the rough block of matter in a time-consuming effort which has been a source of inspiration to many poets and philosophers, on the other, time functions as a complementary agent to the artist's gesture, for the setting of the expected form, the way it transforms from a doughy matter into a solid object, only occurs progressively in contact with the surrounding carbon dioxide. This paper will share a few remarks on the transformative nature of stucco and the way it interacts with artworks and artistic invention. The early 18th-century city of Palermo will provide an ideal context, as it was marked by the impressive and original works of its local genius, the great master of stucco Giacomo Serpotta (1656-1732).

Matter vs. Form

At the threshold of the Madonna della Salute chapel in the church of Santa Ninfa dei Crociferi, which I visited during a trip to Palermo in March 2019, a *moving* spectacle caught my eye. Standing on some kind of promontory, just before the wall, on the left of the altar painting, the statue of a woman wearing an elegant dress and with her hair arranged in a sophisticated hairstyle appeared to be melting or dissolving (fig. 1). The figure was in poor condition, its left arm was missing and parts of its body and form had started vanishing in a pasty and a bit trickling metamorphosis. The chapel's stuccoes are attributed to a follower of Giacomo Serpotta and date back to the early 18th century.[2] Our statue is doubtlessly the feminine personification of a virtue – some guidebooks identify her as Justice, on the basis of contemporary descriptions, although symbolic attributes like the sword or the scales are now missing. Representations of virtues and allegories in the shape of aristocratic ladies are typical features of Serpotta's style, who was prone to liven up the atmosphere of churches and oratories with images of appealing Palermitan fashionistas.[3] In the close-by Oratory of San Domenico, another *Justice*, no less elegantly distinguished although brandishing a sabre, makes a good basis for comparison with the Santa Ninfa statue, although in a much luckier state of preservation.

What happened to Santa Ninfa's virtue? Let us imagine it. The melting suggests the idea of an intense heat, while the dissolving may evoke the corrosive biting of some chemical product or toxic substance. Some details of the damaged figure also suggest a kind of disease, or the invasion of organic life, like a fungal growth. All of these images might firstly come to the mind while staring at this unrestored statue without taking any notice of the nature of its material components. It is part of its communication, not only its human and secular appearance or symbolic significance, but also the way its physical state, at this point, can produce ideas of vanishing or transformation. In truth, it is probable that the apparent disintegration of the artifact was partly caused by the progressive ingress of rainwater into its surface. Humidity may have infiltrated the walls and ceiling of the chapel and reached the stucco figure, which is mostly composed of white plaster – a material especially sensitive to humidity and dampness.

Fig. 1. Follower of Giacomo Serpotta, *Justice*?, mid-18th century. Stucco, Palermo. Santa Ninfa ai Crociferi, chapel of the Madonna della Salute.

In the early 18th century, the kind of plaster used for the modelling of stucco figures was generally composed of a mixture of burnt gypsum (calcium sulphate) and lime (calcium carbonate) in variable proportions, together with sand, marble powder and changing aggregates.[4] Once it is set, gypsum plaster is less water-resistant than lime plaster and it is likely that the deteriorated aspect of the statue is due to the artist's inaccuracy in preventing the potential risks of a humid atmosphere.

Becoming Marble

An interesting aspect of the usage of stucco during the early modern period is that a resemblance to marble artifacts is usually sought-after by artists and patrons. In the very church of Santa Ninfa, in the Crocefisso chapel, a *Crucifixion* belonging to Giacomo Serpotta's workshop shows a plurimedial composition: before a painted landscape stands a wooden Christ on the Cross with Mary, Magdalene, and saint John around him. These last three figures are made of stucco but are carefully polished in order to simulate the shiny finish of white marble. Serpotta's commitment to give his stuccoes a marble look has often been commented on, by repeatedly alluding to a secret 'recipe' or special treatment applied once the plaster was already set.[5] The reference to marble is well rooted in the theory of stucco since the Renaissance, especially when it comes to praise the durability of a good work executed in the right manner. For instance, in Giorgio Vasari's technical introduction to his *Lives of the artists* (1550), in the chapter concerning stucco work, the author stated that: "[...] one should not doubt and take a work done in this manner for something slightly durable, for it lasts infinitely and hardens so much when being worked, that with time it becomes like marble".[6] By means of a comparison with marble, Vasari's intention was to underline the solidity of a good

stucco work, but with the expression 'with time' he also recalled that this property was the result of a process that required a duration, as the plaster sets progressively. 17th-century theorists like Filippo Baldinucci (1681) repeated almost literally Vasari's statement: "it is very hard, for in process of time it gets hard almost like marble".[7]

What Santa Ninfa's *Justice* shows, in its current state, is almost a reverse process. We can presume that the figure, once freshly displayed beside the altar in the Madonna della Salute chapel, took on a shiny epidermis, but this lustrous appearance has now drastically faded. Likewise, the infiltration of water threatens the formal integrity of the figure and makes manifest the ductile quality of the original plaster. The figure gradually loses the hardness it once acquired while the material was setting. However, its disappointing state of preservation is also a turning point in the way it communicates. For Jane Bennett, author of *Vibrant Matter, a Political Ecology of Things* (2010), matter has an agency of its own that does not depend on human's intentionality, and we should not keep on sealing too hermetic boundaries between life and materiality.[8] A lively power is inherent to matter and things, and is patent in their propensity to change properties, to assemble, to interact, to merge, to create new bodies, and take shape again and again. This philosophy, developed from a large convening of thinkers on life and matter including Spinoza, Thoreau or Deleuze, aims at promoting the idea of a material vitality which, far from being passive and subordinate, acts, produces effects, and alters the course of events in much the same way as humans do. In the field of an artifact's understanding, such a philosophy would be an appeal to give more autonomy to matter and to consider the material handled by the artist as active as his will or design, in a collaborative perspective.

Serpotta's Clouds

Although diligent in conferring a marmoreal lustre upon his statues, Giacomo Serpotta's use of stucco displays an equally thoughtful dedication to exploiting the proper characteristics of the medium and allowing the statues to have a voice of their own. An important feature of his style is the use of childish figures as lively agents who animate large-scale decorative systems. In the Oratory of San Lorenzo, as it is the case in many of the Palermitan halls decorated by the sculptor, numerous child-like angels stand at the border of windows and pilasters, exhibiting a catalogue of cheerful attitudes and dynamic gestures.[9] The communicative power of these *putti* is rooted in the transitional function taken on by this motif in early modern art since its resurgence during the Quattrocento. However, a peculiar aspect of Serpotta's stuccoes in San Lorenzo is that, in many instances, no clear distinction is perceived between the coating of the wall – made from a similar plaster – and the body of the *putti*, between the architectural frame and the decorative invention. Figures are literally coming out of the omnipresent coating, whose luminous whiteness seems to open towards an indefinite space. What seems to be sought after is an impression of continuous flow, and the transition between wall and figure is made fluid by using a simulated cloud – a recurring expedient in Serpotta's art – which here serves as a kind of shelf for the *putti* but also induces an idea of malleability, of changing forms and patterns, of a transitory state. Indeed, changing forms and patterns is what a human mind would naturally attribute to clouds. Yet, Serpotta's stuccoes do not intend to simulate the steamy texture of true clouds; they look pretty much more like whipped cream or ricotta fillings, the pasty quality of their plaster being left almost unpolished and raw. Their generous and whitish consistence is not absorbed, subsumed by the symbolic form but it rather transforms and enhances its communicative power in order to give the tangible suggestion of smooth transition. From the abstraction of the coated wall to the concreteness of the creamy clouds and the lively presence of the *putti*, a pervading energy bursts from the flexible matter handled by Serpotta. It is an energy of potentiality rather than completion, of becoming rather than being, of a material which is not hard but *hardens*.

This exploitation of the transformative properties of stucco in the Oratory of San Lorenzo is not left to secondary motifs. Situated above the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, a group of figures representing the Christ bearing the Cross with the help of angels, to be interpreted as a *Glory of Christ with the Cross*, uses a similar method (fig. 2). Indeed, the figure of the Saviour, reacting to the suffering of saint Lawrence just below, is carried by a creamy cloud whose intended function is apparently to blur the transition to the architectural framework of the *Martyrdom*, in a 'out of the frame' effect enhancing the symbolic connexion

Fig. 2. Giacomo Serpotta, *Glory of Christ with the Cross*, 1700-1705. Stucco. Palermo, Oratory of San Lorenzo.

between the two sculpted groups. Furthermore, Christ's body is partly hidden within the stucco cloud, whose curvy folds take the shape of the serpentine posture of the Saviour's bust in such a way that figure and cloud appear to be as one. The body of the sacred figure is carefully polished in order to show the lustre of a noble sculpture but its merging into the raw and pasty motif subtly qualifies the permanence of any property attached to a hard and solid artifact. The versatile materiality of stucco paradoxically stresses the immateriality of the sacred apparition, in an artful manner comparable to the *Glory of Saint Andrew*, modelled in stucco by Antonio Raggi for his master Bernini in the church of Sant'Andrea del Quirinale in Rome. Dating back to the early 1660s – about forty years before Serpotta's stuccoes in the Oratory of San Lorenzo – Raggi's Saint Andrew transported by a cloud is meant to signify the saint's apotheosis, his soul's ascent to heavens leaving the corporeal envelope of an earthly existence.[10] This holy transportation is staged by Bernini and Raggi in order to establish a clear transition between the body of Saint Andrew depicted in the altar painting below and its dematerialization towards another realm. It is hardly paradoxical that stucco was seen as the appropriate technique to suggest this process in a figure, for the three-dimensional and tangible aspect of the sculpture is compensated by the very adaptable and transformative nature of its medium. The reference to marble, here, lies less in a quest for equivalence than in potentiating the image of an emancipation that surpasses and abandons any property attributed to stone.

Conclusion

In Santa Ninfa, the progressive blurring of the virtue's outline, and the threat to its formal integrity, were by no means part of the artist's plan. The transformation of the figure in time highlights, al-

beit accidentally, the lively energy of matter and its interaction with human design. Contemporary to the statue and placed just beside it, a group of stucco cherubs are represented in the act of awakening from a malleable and ductile cloud (fig. 1). In this case, the noticeable degradation of the work, its propensity to get back to some kind of indeterminacy through its loss of formal steadiness, seems less disturbing. Indeed, indeterminacy and transformation are here an integral part of the motif's original agency: its ability to make manifest the transitory nature of celestial creatures. Both propositions – the statue and cloudy cherubs – are connected within the same decorative whole, which is a derivative of Giacomo Serpotta's versatile plastic poetry.[11] The master understood stucco as a challenge to marble sculpture but also as a vibrant matter, autonomous and infinite, a vector of the lively energy of what goes on, of what transforms perpetually.

Notes

[1] For an introduction to the technical aspects of the stucco technique, see: C. Gapper, "What is Stucco? English Interpretations of an Italian Term", *Architectural History* 42 (1999): pp. 333-343.

[2] See A. Giuliana Alajmo, *La chiesa di Santa Ninfa dei Crociferi in Palermo, sede della Parrocchia di S. Croce* (Palermo: Scuola Grafica don Orione, 1964).

[3] See, amongst many other publications, D. Garstang, *Giacomo Serpotta and the Stuccatori of Palermo 1560-1790* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1984); M.G. Aurigemma, *Oratori del Serpotta a Palermo* (Roma: Palombi, 1989); P. Palazzotto, *Giacomo Serpotta. Gli oratori di Palermo. Guida storico-artistica* (Palermo: edizioni d'arte Kalós, 2016).

[4] See M. Sebastianelli, "La tecnica di Giacomo Serpotta dal cantiere di restauro", in P. Palazzotto, M. Sebastianelli, eds., *Giacomo Serpotta nelle chiesa di Sant'Orsola di Palermo. Studi e restauro* (Palermo: Museo Diocesano di Palermo, 2011), pp. 49-77.

[5] See G. Montana, F. Ronca, "The "recipe" of the stucco sculptures of Giacomo Serpotta", *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 3 (2002): pp. 133-145; See also P. Palazzotto, "Technique and Inspiration in the work of Giacomo Serpotta, Master of Ornament", in P. Caye, F. Solinas, eds., *Les Cahiers de l'Ornement* (Roma: De Luca, 2016), 1, pp. 175-196.

[6] "Né si debbe dubitare di lavoro cosí fatto come di cosa poco durabile, perché e' si conserva infinitamente et indurisce tanto nello star fatto, che e' divento co'l tempo come marmo", G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue, insino a' tempi nostri*, ed. L. Bellosi, A. Rossi (Torino: Einaudi, 2011), I, pp. 55-56.

[7] "è durevolissimo; perché in processo di tempo si fa duro quasi quanto lo stesso marmo", F. Baldinucci, *Vocabolario toscano dell'arte del disegno* (Firenze: Santi Franchi al Segno della Passione, 1681), p. 159.

[8] J. Bennett, *Vibrant Matter, a Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

[9] See S. Grasso, G. Mendola, C. Scordato, V. Viola, *Giacomo Serpotta. L'Oratorio di San Lorenzo a Palermo* (Leonforte: Euno Edizioni, 2013).

[10] G. Careri, *Bernini. Flights of Love, the Art of Devotion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 85-100.

[11] See also G.C. Argan, "Il teatro plastico del Serpotta", in Id., *Studi e note. Dal Bramante a Canova* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1970), pp. 455-463.

Lithic Images, Jacopo Ligozzi, and the *Descrizione del Sacro Monte della Vernia* (1612)

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Diverse lithic formations, their irregularity accentuated by dense cross-hatching, vie for our attention on a large page, 40 cm in height, of a printed book (fig. 1). A dark rock surges upward on the left, its growth obstructed by the pressure of a luminous slab that presses against it. With extremities that evoke limbs, the anthropomorphic contours of the slab are echoed in the rocks on the bottom right that jut into the scene, as if shrouded visitors. These fossilized forms reverberate above in the animated branches and trunks of trees, their roots probing rocky crevices below. The ghostly outcrops on the lower right direct us along horizontal seams to the far left, where a wall appears with a doorway. Easily overlooked in this setting, the human artifice of the masonry blocks contrasts purposefully with the irregular boulders to the right, which – surprisingly – are devised to be manipulated. Cut out from paper and glued to the edges of the page, they can be pulled down, exposing a pilgrim and his guide navigating a path. Much of the mountain is itself devised as an over-

Fig. 1. Jacopo Ligozzi (draftsman), Domenico Falcini (engraver), *The Site of the Bed and Oratory of Saint Francis* [Plate R], in Fra Lino Moroni, *Descrizione del Sacro Monte della Vernia* [Florence] 1612. © Chicago, Newberry Library.

Fig. 2. Detail [Plate R]. © Chicago, Newberry Library.

slip, which viewers turn to reveal the stone bed where St. Francis of Assisi once slept (fig. 2). The volume is anticipatory, its irregular flaps foreclosing knowledge in order to activate the physical and spiritual journey. Virtual pilgrims contend with rocky terrain, its lithic formations slowing down the passage, amplifying its difficulties, and accordingly also its rewards.

The design is one of twenty-two made by Jacopo Ligozzi for the *Descrizione del Sacro Monte della Vernia*, a folio-sized compilation of etchings and engravings that was printed in 1612, probably in Florence.[1] Conceived in 1607 by Cardinal Arcangelo da Messina, the archbishop of Monreale and general of the Observant Franciscan order, the volume presents the saint's famous retreat in Casentino, a valley in the province of Arezzo.[2] The mountainous site, which had been donated to the Franciscans early in the 13th century, had fallen into a state of disrepair. It had been damaged by a fire and appropriated to house troops.[3] Remaking La Verna in a printed volume was therefore a means of reigniting interest in the site and the cult. The Cardinal tasked Fra Lino Moroni, an observant Franciscan from Florence, with the project. Ligozzi, who had been employed by the order during the 1590s for a fresco cycle in the cloister at San Salvatore di Ognissanti, then the new home of the order in Florence, was commissioned to undertake the drawings. He travelled with Fra Moroni to La Verna where they recorded its dimensions and its stories.

Lucilla Conigliello has studied the *Descrizione* in detail, examining the images, the iconography, and its relation to Ligozzi's career. She also notes the unusual combination of accurate measurements and miracles that Fra Moroni excitedly recounts in the brief legends that accompany the printed images. Revisiting the *Descrizione*, my study takes off from Conigliello's intriguing assessment of the volume as a "guazzabuglio", as a jumble of scientific intentions and religious zeal.[4] For it is this apparent confrontation in the volume between "scientific facts" and "speculative fabulation", to borrow Donna Haraway's terms, that generates new kinds of environmental thinking.[5] Instead of drawing a line between empirical observation of stones on one side, increasingly viewed from a distance and quantified as resources during the early modern period, and, on the other side, their magical poetic meanings for natural historians and theologians, this essay fastens onto earth's creative potential. Still perceived by some to be a living substance, stone attested to the inventive power of nature. It is a protagonist in Ligozzi's designs for the printed *Descrizione* and in the *pietra dura* (hard stone) altar front he designed for Ognissanti, its obdurate yet dynamic and otherworldly nature expressing diverse conceptions of time in both works.

The extraterranean cliffs of the sacred mountain come into view in the first etching, one of two executed by Raffaello Schiaminossi, that unfolds to the right (fig. 3). Cross-hatching converges in inky crevices of rocky escarpments that undulate horizontally across the three sheets. The sacred mountain shoots upward, its verticality underscored by the valley rendered on the left. Cliffs fracture into perilous shards as they ascend, accenting the precipitous settings where miracles and visions were believed to have occurred in the past and are recreated in the volume. Vertiginous bluffs begin to metamorphose, their surfaces swelling and softening as we move to the right, where a stone marked with a cross divides the path. We see more clearly here, where a small building demarcates the edge of the page on the right, and the diagonal path on the left is marked by a human-made parapet wall. Two pilgrims, setting out on their journey, are depicted above the entrance, just beyond the turn in the road.

The *Descrizione* presents La Verna as a second Calvary, and there are also connections between the volume and the phenomenon of Sacri Monti that I consider elsewhere.[6] Visitors to these pilgrimage sites followed the route with printed maps, pamphlets, and books that prescribed performative modes of devotion, which also characterizes Fra Moroni's and Ligozzi's volume. In contrast to such portable guides, however, the folio size of the *Descrizione* requires a table or an easel for support. And producing the detailed illustrations, sheets that unfold, and overslips, would have been a costly enterprise.[7] Instead, as indicated in the Cardinal's brief to Fra Moroni, the volume was intended for those "absent from our whereabouts" and unable to make the journey.[8] The large-scale format would enable virtual pilgrimages, thereby promoting the cult and ideally also contributing to the restoration of the mountain.

To introduce the site, Fra Moroni recalls his own encounter with the mountain – his disorientation, astonishment, and recognition, as he anticipates our experience to come with the images. The ap-

Fig. 3. Jacopo Ligozzi (draftsman), Raffaello Schiaminossi (etcher), *View of the Mountain of La Verna from the Road of Casentino* [Plate, A], in Fra Lino Moroni, *Descrizione del Sacro Monte della Vernia* [Florence] 1612. © London, Wellcome Collection.

pearance of the terrain continually changes, he explains in his brief address to viewers and readers. Impressions of the mountain vary according to one's distance from it. What can be seen and comprehended depends upon the vantage point: "one discovers it to be the most obscure view, but then one recognizes buildings, and then habitations, and yet it appears more grand than that". He describes "nude rocks…of a height so vast that they appear to be some immense structure [una gran fabbrica]".[9] The scale and composition of the mountain are impossible to grasp all at once. Seen closer, he adds, "near a quarter mile away, the perspective changes distinctively, as the mountain and its many things appear marvellous".[10] To make sense of the site entails moving closer, stepping back, and looking over time.

The *Descrizione* remakes the sacred landscape from La Verna, its lithic imagery unmooring beholders in order to manage their experiences and reorient their visual focus. Fra Moroni implies this purpose when he observes that the site and its sequence of chapels were designed to make the visit "clear, perfect, and intelligible".[11] After navigating the looming cliffs, the journey begins with a stop for food and water, one of the twenty designs that were engraved by Domenico Falcini. Beginning the ascent, we are propelled back to the 13th century with a vision of Francis on the path, surrounded by birds, a scene to which I return later in the essay. Continuing the journey, we arrive at the piazza, which unfolds to the right where the two sheets have been pasted together.[12] Fortifications run across the lower edge of the left page; initially blocking access, this wall directs us to a portal on the right through which a pilgrim progresses. The smooth surfaces and vaulted ceiling of the entrance are set in contrast with the irregular rocks that flank the opening. Above the wall, on the other side of the piazza, is a church whose nave is also rendered parallel with the picture plane. An arcade running along the nave accentuates the orderly arrangement of buildings.

Throughout the volume, architecture works in concert with the book format; paper facades and perspectival boxes become virtual spaces. On the sheet representing the facade of the minor church and the portal to the convent, for instance, the buildings are almost flush with the picture plane, and their entrances and details arranged symmetrically and systematically, as if a text to be read.[13] Franciscans, pilgrims of diverse status, such as the poor or ill, lie prostrate in the foreground or bend their bodies deferentially, as demonstrated by the man to the right, who stands at the door of the convent. Friars distribute alms, presumably

donated by those of means, whose interest in the cult might be aroused by the book. Such patrons are suggested by two men on the left, who pose in wealthy attire before the door of the church. Human figures model forms of behaviour in architectural interiors that correspond to the format of the page. Looking into the Chapel of the Cross (sheet L), for instance, once a cell of St. Francis, pilgrims, the infirm, and patrons sit on benches observing from a distance, stand in doorways, or kneel at the altar.[14] The perspectival structure of the chapel manages how and what we can see.

Images of cliffs and boulders, in contrast, thwart easy understanding. Their lack of scale and ragged forms purposefully defy the book format. Lithic formations prompt uncertainty about directions, their unruly character destabilizing sure footing. Consider the engraving with which I began (fig. 1). Boulders obscure our vision, and yet the uneven surfaces appeal to our sense of touch as if we are blind. Irregular rocks provoke us to reach out, to make sense of their shapes by tracing their contours. Fingering the uneven edges of the paper to move the boulders enhances the revelatory vision of the mysteries. Pulling back the overslips restores the mountain to its earlier appearance, returning virtual pilgrims to the 13th century. The irregular flaps also contribute to the anticipatory character of the volume, foreclosing knowledge in order to reactivate the physical and spiritual journey. Manipulating the flaps, beholders enact their own on-going religious conversion – from blindness to sight.

Regarding sight, consider one of the engravings of a small chapel where a miraculous beech tree once grew, said to have cured the ill, particularly the eyes.[15] When the volume was made, the tree was no longer present at the site. This explains why one of the two pilgrims in the foreground has turned to inspect the tabernacle while the second man listens to their Franciscan guide. Since none of the three men sees the image of the tree in the chapel, the vision is easily overlooked. However, the legend on the facing page informs readers of the tree's former magic, prompting us to look again – to recognize the vision. Ligozzi conjures an image of the past in the present, endowing beholders with a vision of the miraculous powers of nature.

The design was one of three used by Ligozzi for the panels of the pietra dura altar front in the apse at Ognissanti, dated to 1593-1605.[16] To make the panels, hard stone is cut and polished into shapes to create images that employ veins, coloration, and natural formations found in the material. The altar front may have been inspiration for the *Descrizione*, but it seems more likely that the panels were completed later, following the artist's journey to the mountain in 1607.

The artist, who arrived in Florence in 1577, was recommended to the Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici by Ulisse Aldrovandi, the natural historian in Bologna. Remarking on the artist's paintings of flora and fauna in a letter to Francesco that year, Aldrovandi writes that they seem "to be made from nature", "as if born in their natural habitat".[17] Numerous paintings of specimens – the focus of Ligozzi's work in the 1570s and 80s – attest to his systematic engagement with the diversity of the natural world. He was court artist to the Medici dukes, producing natural history illustrations and decorations in the Uffizi that include paintings of wildlife in the Tribune.[18] He instructed members of the family in drawing and painting and produced designs for an array of luxury objects, from embroidery to festival decorations. He served as *capomaestro* of the Florentine Academia del Disegno, but a falling out with the academy resulted in his dismissal as court artist. He continued working for the Medici but was employed to design pietra dura furnishings when the family consolidated many workshops into the state-run Galleria dei Lavori in 1588. The Medici Dukes imported stone, studied it, restricted access to local quarries in order to control extraction of resources, and managed artistic production through the Opificio della pietra dura.[19]

Two designs for pietra dura table tops, executed in the years around Ligozzi's involvement with the *Descrizione*, exemplify his deft expertise with depicting natural phenomena. One example is a painting in oil on paper that translates skilful observation of flora and fauna into a canny essay on the elements.[20] Diverse flowers, sometimes isolated and sometimes gathered into bundles, populate the black ground as if suspended in some indeterminate space – the sky at night or in a subterranean cavern. Contributing to the ornamental, even abstract character of the composition, are butterflies that look, from a distance, like single blossoms. Wings, petals, and foliage resemble each other, creating uncertainty for viewers about what they are seeing, especially since these transient forms will be created from hard stones.

This transformation of natural elements into luxury furnishings for the Medici and for gifts to their associates is also demonstrated by a seascape in which the flow of water, vessels, architectural structures, and landscape are cut from stones to depict Livorno, a port strategic to Medici expansion.[21] The pulsating viscosity of the lithic frame, with its variegated coloration and blurred edges, reveals invisible elemental forces. Pietra dura, as the conversion of formless matter into a meaningful sumptuous object, was understood as an alchemical process.[22]

The fusing of ancient and Christian ideas about the earth together with alchemical theories persisted into 16th-century ideas about mining.[23] Still in 1546, in *On the Origin and Cause of Subterranean Things*, the natural historian Agricola writes that stone grows, citing the narrowing of tunnels as one moves deeper into the earth's surface. He adheres to the ancient idea that minerals grow underground like trees.[24] Another account of the generation of stones is the German mining manual, written by Hans Uttman in 1601. The first chapter, "On Mineral Powers", as Warren Alexander Dym explains, discusses theories on the principles of change – salt, quicksilver, sulfur – and how, through the power of God, they convert into metals underground. "These things", Uttman writes, "are brought to a certain suggestion of solid earth from the four elements and the influence of Heaven, according to the nature and quality of the particular metal, which more or less works within it, and well-ground [vielgemahltes] mercury, salt, and sulfur".[25] Reviewing ancient and alchemical theories, Uttman describes the metamorphosis of natural elements and divine forces that result in phenomena such as veins.

Perceptions of stone as a living substance and its associations with divine images maintained by some natural historians, such as Agricola and Uttman, could also instigate new lines of scientific inquiry, as Aldrovandi's reflections on stone and its formative properties suggest.[26] In his studies of minerals and in his letter to Francesco I, the natural historian explores connections between rocks, mines, and geography. As Hannah Baader observes in her analysis of the Livorno table top, Aldrovandi identifies this study as geology in 1603, which is the first time the science is identified as such.[27] Geological formations – the origins, textures and qualities of stones – are topics he discusses in the letter, citing specimens from Bohemia, Saxony, Naples, and Egypt. He wrote extensively on stone, describing, in his *Musaeum metallicum*, the natural images found in specimens.[28] For example, describing a section of Alabaster, he compares the veins running through it to a flowing river.[29]

Aldrovandi gathered knowledge on the specific locations from which stones came, describing the "place 'on or beneath the surface of the earth' where the stone is 'born' or 'generated'".[30] He comments on dangers to his life resulting from the study of minerology that entailed entering mines "to make their true anatomy".[31] "Personal expenses and bodily exertion", he explains, were needed "in order to write the truth of these things and to verify many doubts", and also for "verifying so many beautiful speculations I had recorded".[32] Harnessing vision to the exploratory hand of the anatomist, he declares "not writing anything that I have not seen with my own eyes and touched with my own hands, and opened up by anatomy of the exterior and interior parts".[33] Probing the mines in the dark, Aldrovandi recalls feeling the surfaces of the stone with his hands.

In Florence, local stones provided vivid evidence of images created by divine and natural forces. Especially spectacular were the landscapes and cityscapes or ruins, and impressions of cloud formations painted by nature on the faces of *pietra paesina*. Horizontal strata of the limestone and fissures were permeated by hydroxides of iron and manganese. Pietra paesina and pietra dura attested to earth's creative forces, forces that reverberate in the lithic formations on the Franciscan altar front.[34] Cutting stones open exposed natural formations that resembled other elements, and in doing so, it engendered inventive reconfigurations. Consider the left panel, which presents the miraculous beech tree. On the left of the panel, natural coloration in the stone simulates the stump of a tree. Bereft of foliage, it refers to Christ's death. Above, to the right of the seam, another stone metamorphoses into a tree, but a verdant one, its green marble foliage set against a lapis blue sky with clouds. The material conversion of stone into tree multiplies the Christological significance through references to Christ as the living stone.[35]

These material and spiritual resonances further the special relation between Christ and Francis created in the other two panels on the altar front, and in the printed *Descrizione*. In the right panel

for the church, the saint appears with the birds, whose multiplicity and movements are conveyed by a variety of stones. In the central panel, Francis receives the stigmata from the seraphim, its otherworldly appearance startling as a result of an efflorescence of luminous white marble and vibrating onyx. This dynamic and floating assemblage transforms rock into a vision, rendered miraculous through the combination of art and nature. In doing so, the deep geological time of stone and the biblical time of Christ's death metamorphose into the vertical movement of birds into the air, who take flight and disappear from sight. The Savior reappears, through the vision of the seraphim, seen in the centre, as Francis, receiving the stigmata, becomes a second Christ. This spiritual vision is beyond time, an idea suggested by the pulsating luminescence surrounding the seraphim, but also from images concealed in stone, like those discussed above. Not unlike acheiropoieta, icons made without human hands, these images were shaped by divine and natural forces, and revealed by slicing them open. As a material that endures, stone could condense and express theological and geological time.

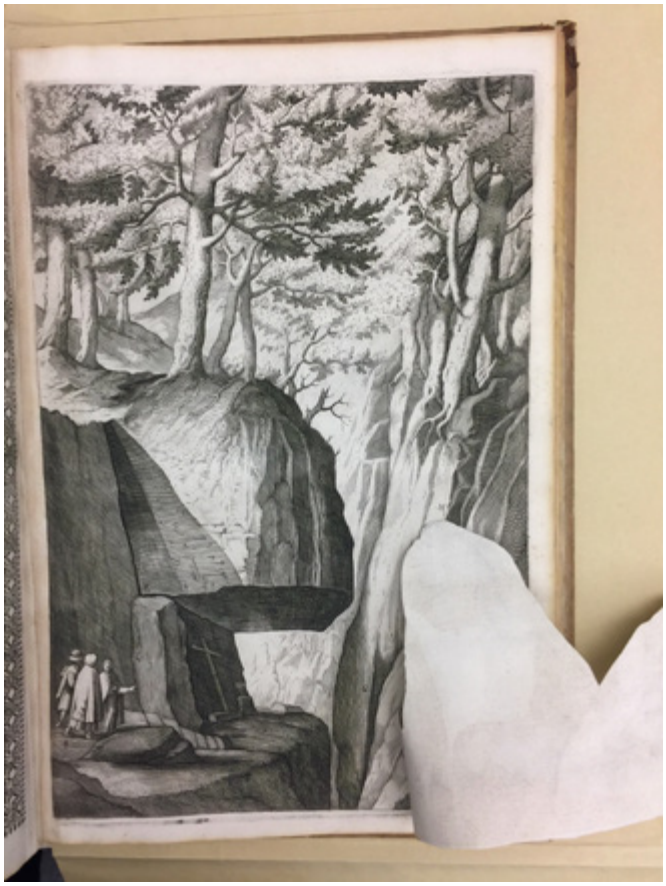

Fig. 4. Jacopo Ligozzi (draftsman), Domenico Falcini (engraver), *The Prominent Rock* [Plate I], in Fra Lino Moroni, *Descrizione del Sacro Monte della Vernia* [Florence] 1612. © Chicago, Newberry Library.

With this in mind, let us return to the printed images of the monastic retreat, and the engraving with the Sasso spicco, the prominent rock (fig. 4).[36] This site furthers connections between St. Francis and Christ as well as between the two mountains, Calvary and La Verna. The printed image presents the location where St Francis reported his vision that the fissures in the rock at La Verna were created by the earthquake when Christ was crucified. According to the saint's vision, with Christ's death, the earth opened up to create La Verna – a distinctive convergence of biblical and geological time. The distinctive shape of the projecting rock and the cross erected under it are at first obscured by large boulders. Pulling the flaps down allows a view of the passage where a guide shows the location to two pilgrims. In this instance, manipulating paper rocks cut from scissors resonates with stone relics hewn from the lithic surface depicted in the print. Pilgrims to the site would chip at the stone, taking pieces away as relics of both the body of Francis, and of the sacred mountain created from the earthquake at the Crucifixion.

Ginger Hammer has commented on the similarity of the moveable parts in the *Descrizione* to those used in anatomy treatises and on fugitive sheets.[37] A common example of the type is Jacob Frölich's *Anatomy, or a Faithful Reproduction of the Body of a Female (Anathomia oder abconterfettung eines Weibsleib).*[38] The woodcut, printed in 1564 after Heinrich Vogtherr, presents a female figure sitting on a high bench, her legs parted. A large vessel-shaped flap lifts upwards to display her internal organs. A separate illustration of a womb, carrying a tiny infant, is one of the surrounding details seen adjacent to her open belly. The comparison is worth underscoring, but not only for the mechanical character of the flaps. For understandings of rocky formations, underground spaces, and quarrying were intimately connected both to remote sites and to the womb of the Virgin Mary. According to a 9th-century abbot, the mountain from which the rock was cut was identified with the Virgin; the rock itself…"was Christ" born without "conjugal labour".[39] This legend is evoked by Mantegna in his *Madonna of the Rocks* (Madonna delle Cave), c. 1466, or 1488-90.[40] The Virgin and Christ are enthroned on a crystalline rock with a cave which

refers both to her body and to Christ. In the cave, stone cutters are at work quarrying and mining, which has been linked, through the mythological structure of Pliny's *Natural History*, with the fall of the iron age and robbing mother earth of minerals and metals. The detail of the cave suggests internal forces, according to Jacob Wamberg's keen analysis – the coming into being of art and external forces of mining and quarrying. In the face of growing exploitation of the mineral wealth of nature in early modern Italy, Mantegna's painting betrays a "tension", writes Wamberg, "between seeing art as both fulfilling and corrupting nature".[41]

With this in mind, I turn to one final example from the *Descrizione, The Temptation of St. Francis*, that contributes to the book's story of La Verna as a living mountain.[42] The precipice seen in the etching was measured by the artist, and Fra Moroni provides readers with the dimensions in the adjacent legend. These scientific annotations – testimony to the facts of nature – contribute to the legend of the miracle. A precipitous escarpment takes up three-quarters of the page, its surface faceted by cross-hatching that also calls to mind folds of a robe that hangs along the edge to which three trees cling. A dark triangular opening draws attention to the figure of Francis standing on the edge of the cliff, resisting a demon who flies behind menacingly. The demon sought to propel the saint over the edge. But according to the legend, the rock softened like wax beneath Francis, creating a cavity of sufficient depth that he was no longer vulnerable. To convey this material transformation, a moveable flap can be raised to emulate the barrier of stone that remained to protect the saint. Natural historical and alchemical understandings of rock as a living substance were thereby brought together with the theological and Franciscan legends of stone's generative forces to further the order's claims that the saint was a second Christ. Not unlike the anatomy treatises, the overslips in the *Descrizione* conceal bodies and sacred sites. But in contrast to anatomical and other moveable flaps, which are normally located centrally, the overslips in the Franciscan volume are pasted at the edge of the precipice, or along the bottom, or sides of the pages. In this way, their revelations operate at the interstices – between material and divine worlds, and between natural history and religion.

I have been arguing that it is the creative potency of earth – manifested in powerful vertical and irregular forms, in its obdurate density, in its panoply of colors and dazzling effects, in its potential for making things, and, for early moderns, in images created by natural, alchemical, and divine forces – that engendered the *Descrizione*. Ligozzi also had a role in this environmental imagination. The combination of scientific engagement with the natural world and with fabulous tales and miracles also connects with the trajectory of the artist's career. As noted, he was an illustrator of flora and fauna, his reputation forged by attentiveness to the natural world in the 1570s and 1580s. It was only in the 1590s that the artist, unusually for the period, began to produce religious paintings and artefacts, including the frescoes of the life of Francis at Ognissanti, noted above. From painting flora and fauna, the artist moved to creating images from stones, and only later, to rendering religious mysteries. Not only did the facts of nature enhance miracles in the *Descrizione*, then, but perhaps the act of imagining how to portray miraculous legends also fostered inventive environmental thinking.

As I stated earlier in this paper: instead of drawing a line between empirical observation of the earth's elements on one side, seen from a distance and quantified as resources, and on the other side, the magical poetic meanings of the elements, I am suggesting that we acknowledge the creative potential of their early modern interconnectedness. The otherworldly legends – the volume's 'speculative fabulations' – also foster wonder about the physical dimensions of the mountain. Neither technology nor God are answers, as Harraway reminds us. And in the *Descrizione,* science and religion are *not* reconciled but rather confront each other in ways that insist we contend with the potency of nature. Earth's unruly character, its particulars, and its material density generated alchemical, natural historical, and magical-poetic modes of description, and Ligozzi's *Descrizione*, like the lithic imagery with which it was intertwined, appeals to us to engage with earth's complexities.

Notes

[1] Lino Moroni, Jacopo Ligozzi, *Descrizione del Sacro Monte della Vernia*, [Florence] 1612. On the volume as a conversion machine, see B. Wilson, "Sacred and Material Conversions: Jacopo Ligozzi and the *Descrizione del Sacro Monte della Vernia* (1612)", in B. Wilson, P. Yachnin, eds., *Conversion Machines in Early Modern Europe: Apparatus, Artifice, Body* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, forthcoming).

[2] On the volume, see L. Conigliello, *Le vedute del Sacro Monte della Verna: Jacopo Ligozzi pellegrino nei luoghi di Francesco* (Firenze: Polistampa, 1999); Ead., ed., *Jacopo Ligozzi. Le vedute del Sacro Monte della Verna: i dipinti di Poppi e Bibbiena* (Poppi: Edizione della Biblioteca comunale Rilliana, 1992).

[3] Ead., *Ligozzi* (Milano-Paris: 5 continents-Musée du Louvre, 2005).

[4] *Ibid*.

[5] D. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), p. 3.

[6] B. Wilson, "Sacred and Material Conversions", cit.

[7] For examples of earlier publications see L. Conigliello, ed., *Jacopo Ligozzi*, cit., Z. Sarnecka, "Experiencing La Verna at Home: Italian Sixteenth-Century Maiolica Sanctuaries and Chapels", *Religions* 11, no. 1 (2019): p. 6.

[8] L. Conigliello, ed., *Jacopo Ligozzi*, cit.

[9] L. Moroni, "Al lettore", Moroni and Ligozzi, *Descrizione*, np.

[10] *Ivi.*

[11] *Ivi*.

[12] Image: https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008411585/page/n25/mode/2up.

[13] Image: https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008411585/page/n29/mode/2up.

[14] Image: https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008411585/page/n53/mode/2up.

[15] Image: https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008411585/page/n73/mode/2up.

[16] Image: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/7a/Ognissanti%2C_altare_maggiore_su_disegno_di_jacopo_ligozzi%2C_1593-1605%2C_02.jpg.

[17] H. Baader, "Livorno, Lapis Lazuli, Geology and the Treasures of the Sea in 1604", *Espacio, tiempo y forma no. 5, Revista de la facultad de geografía e historia*, no. VII (2017): p. 35.

[18] L. Conigliello, ed., *Jacopo Ligozzi*, cit., p. 23.

[19] A. Giusti, M. Mariottini, "Stones: Ornament of Florence", *Carta geologica d'Italia,* LXVI, *Servizio geologico d'Italia*, 2004.

[20] Image: https://www.wikigallery.org/wiki/painting_342458/Jacopo-Ligozzi/Model-for-a-pietre-dure-table-top.

[21] Image: https://wsimag.com/museo-degli-argenti/it/artworks/67161.

[22] See I. Horacek, "Alchemy of the Gift: Things, Material Transformations, and Geopolitics at the Court of Rudolf II", PhD. dissertation (University of British Columbia, 2015).

[23] W.A. Dym, "Alchemy and Mining: Metallogenesis and Prospecting in Early Mining Books", *Ambix* 55, no. 3 (November 2008): p. 232.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

[25] H. Uttman, Bericht, von denen Ertz-Gebürgen, Streichenderer Gänge, Stöcke, Flöze, Klüffte, Ertze, Berg Arthen und allen Metallen, auch von Schürffen, Seiffenwercken und andern Arthen der Bergwercken, 1601. Saxony Government Archive, loc. 36070. 11b. Cited and translation in *ibid*., p. 247.

[26] On Aldrovandi and mineralogy, see W. Cavazza, G.B. Vai, "Ulisse Aldrovandi and the Origin of Geology and Science", in G.B. Vai, G.E. Caldwell, eds., *The Origins of Geology in Italy* (Boulder: The Geological Society of America, 2006).

[27] H. Badaar, "Livorno, Lapis Lazuli, Geology", cit.

[28] J.B. Lohff, "Antonio Tempesta's Paintings on Stone and the Development of a Genre in 17th-Century Italy", in P. Baker-Bates, E. Calvillo, eds., *Almost Eternal: Painting on Stone and Material Innovation in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 180-219.

[29] Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Musaeum metallicum in libros 4 distributum Bartholomaeus Ambrosinus … labore, et studio composuit cum indice copiosissimo* (Bologna, 1648), p. 749.

[30] H. Baader, "Livorno, Lapis Lazuli, Geology", cit., p. 370.

[31] Ulisse Aldrovandi, "Discorso Naturale". http://www.filosofia.unibo.it/aldrovandi/pinakesweb/main.asp?language=it. (Bologna: Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, 1572-73), np.

[32] *Ivi.*

[33] *Ivi.*

[34] Image: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ognissanti,_altare_maggiore_su_disegno_di_jacopo_ligozzi,_1593-1605,_04.jpg.

[35] Among numerous references, see Peter 2:4; Deut. 32:4.; also see C. Gerbron, "Christ Is a Stone: On Filippo Lippi's Adoration of the Child in Spoleto", *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 19, no. 2 (2016): pp. 257-83.

[36] Image: https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008411585/page/n45/mode/2up.

[37] G. Hammer's observation is from a video that accompanied the exhibition she curated. https://www.nga.gov/features/description-sacred-mountain-la-verna.html. On moveable prints, see S.K. Schmidt, *Altered and Adorned: Using Renaissance Prints in Daily Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011); S.K. Schmidt, *Interactive and Sculptural Printmaking in the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); S. Dackerman, *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, exh. cat. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Art Museums, 2011).

[38] Image: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Anatomical_fugitive_sheets_Wellcome_L0055179.jpg.

[39] J. Wamberg, "'A Stone and yet Not a Stone': Alchemical Themes in Northern Quattrocento Landscape", in Id., ed., *Art and Alchemy* (København: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), p. 67.

[40] Image: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f9/Andrea_Mantegna_104.jpg.

[41] J. Wamberg, "'A Stone and yet Not a Stone'", cit., p. 46.

[42] Image: https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008411585/page/n61/mode/2up.

Making Iron Matter in Second Empire France

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Georges Haussmann, the powerful Prefect of the Seine, famously recounted that Emperor Napoléon III desired "iron, iron, nothing but iron!" for the new central markets in Paris.[1] Iron construction, exemplified in monumental market halls, train sheds, and exhibition buildings is a longstanding motif of a modernist history of art and architecture. The influential Swiss architectural historian Sigfried Giedion claimed industrially produced 19th-century French iron as a singular catalyst for modern architecture in his 1928 book *Bauen in Frankreich, Eisen, Eisenbeton*, and in subsequent writing. Giedion fixed on iron's material qualities, which served his teleology of ever-larger spans, greater internal openness, and the uniform production of cast parts.[2] This avant-garde image of French iron was also canonized in the writing of Walter Benjamin, who enthusiastically read Giedion's book while preparing his own manuscript, the *Passagenwerk*, or *The Arcades Project*. For Benjamin, iron was the technological 'signature' of the 19th century, and the city of Paris was its undisputed capital.[3] These 20th-century views have dominated our reading of 19th-century buildings and materials. They have also obscured a fairer assessment of the ubiquity of iron in the Second Empire. By focusing on freestanding iron structures as innovative new building types, we have neglected the larger history of this material. Despite its cultural significance, art historians pay little attention to this mass-produced metal.[4] Industrially produced iron, I will argue, was a fluid material that was not just structural, but also ornamental. It was precisely this relationship between structure and decoration that made it so powerfully transformative. The mineral, material qualities of iron were not only its resiliency and strength, but also its capacity for seemingly endless reproduction. From extraction, to processing and then to consumption, iron was a material in perpetual motion.

The crucial era of French metallurgical expansion occurred during the Second Empire, between 1852, when Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte crowned himself Napoléon III, emperor of France, and 1870, when he abdicated the throne during the Franco-Prussian War. The large rise in industrial investments, the completion of railways, and the expansion of the metallurgical industry was showcased to flatter the imperial image at home and abroad. The engineer and Second Empire statesman Michel Chevalier proclaimed that iron was

> the most useful of all of the metals. Gold could disappear from the world without much troubling civilization. But if, tomorrow, by some extraordinary event, iron was suddenly taken away, it would be an indescribable calamity. All would become retrograde; civilisation would become impotent.[5]

The extraction of iron ore from the earth set production in motion. Shallow ore deposits were traditionally processed with wood and water. Coal and coke gradually displaced traditional charcoal smelting. In the 19th century, the largest forges implemented new blast furnaces and huge pouring halls. Railway lines and canals created a public network of transportation for the importation of coal and export of finished goods. The exploitation of fossil combustibles greatly increased the output of iron to unprecedented quantities. Although coal was unevenly integrated into French industries, one engineer proclaimed: "If coal is the bread of industry, then one might reasonably say that iron is its instrument par excellence".[6] The massive growth of the industry resulted in lower prices and a wider variety of production. However, the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty of 1860 opened French markets to British goods, precipitating a drop in prices and increased competition.

The movement of iron ores and products concerned Charles-Alfred Oppermann, engineer and editor. He created the *Propagateur et Travaux en Fer*, a monthly publication that he edited and largely wrote himself under the patronage of the Comité des Forges, a powerful union of actors in the metallurgical industry. Although it existed only from 1867 to 1869, the *Propagateur* painstakingly documented the metallurgical universe. Its aim was to publicize new uses of iron and to stimulate consumption, especially in France. Oppermann documented the fluctuations in the output and the market and proselytized for its structural and decorative use in the construction industries. Oppermann's tables and charts showed the amounts of iron entering and exiting the country and entering the building trade as a visual guide to iron's increasing ubiquity.

Oppermann also argued that standardization and stable prices would allow engineers, architects, and contractors to adopt iron more readily in new projects. He used engraved plates in the *Propagateur* to promote all forms of iron fabrication, from I-beams, rails, balconies, fountains, to screws, which served uses both grand and modest. The large-scale serial manufacture of iron shifted from an informal system of production on demand toward an endless variety of possible pre-cast parts. Like his tables of statistics, these engraved images showing flat- and round-topped screws nested in formation, lamp posts, garden furniture, stoves, and cooking pots were a visual guide, an inventory, to the diversity and abundance of the possible applications of iron. In the mid-1860s, Oppermann's *Propagateur* argued both in text and image for iron's material flexibility.

The iron structures Gideon celebrated were new types of commercial buildings with wide spaces. Yet iron quietly displaced, in less visible ways, the traditions and techniques of other types of construction. Parisian building codes required a 50 cm stone facade, however, a net of iron bars allowed builders of the apartment houses going up along the new wide boulevards to build more quickly and efficiently, increasing the internal spatial area of the building and lightening the load of the roof. Oppermann encouraged iron joists not only as a more durable material, but also as a useful measure of fireproofing. While wrought, or rolled, iron was championed for its tremendous tensile strength, cast iron possessed compressive strength and in the Second Empire the two forms were often used in tandem. If structural iron was hidden behind the pale ashlar facades, decorative iron emerged forcefully on the exterior. Muscular cast iron balconies embroidered a pattern of contrasts on the stone facade. They also added a strongly horizontal accent to the visual experience of the boulevard. Unlike earlier forms, these brawny mid-century balconies extended the space of the apartment into the street itself. Their repeating patterns, whether tightly inverted heart-shaped forms or undulating *rinceaux* patterns, were cast in the image of earlier eras, but their mass and solidity were hallmarks of the new streetscape.

The Second Empire transformations in Paris have been well studied, but without suggesting the ways the city itself was rendered anew in iron forms. Not only did these urban upheavals stimulate a market of structural iron, but they also enhanced the demand for artistic production that would decorate new spaces in the city itself. As Charles Marville's photographs show us, the long dark horizontals formed by the requisite balconies on the new streets and the expansion of gas lighting, which nearly doubled during the Second Empire, required vast amounts of cast iron.[7] This was joined by the integration of tree grates, kiosks, and urinals and other kinds of iron street furniture.

The two largest firms of this era, Durenne and Barbezat, specialized in cast iron decoration and monumental iron sculptures and fountains, which were erected in cities and towns across France. For public monuments, cast iron was more durable and cheaper compared to bronze. Even though iron lacked bronze's artistic esteem, important sculptors such as Pierre Rouillard and Mathurin Moreau created plaster and wood models for Durenne and Barbezat, firms prized for their artistry. A reviewer of a Durenne fountain exhibited in 1862 observed, "Iron enters the furnace as ore… it leaves as living flesh, human skin. One might think a sorcerer dreaming of sculpture suddenly exhaled and transmuted it".[8] Iron, then, was understood as ore in material and mineral terms, but it was also imagined as something far more dynamic and life-like. By 1868, Durenne had already erected some 100 monumental fountains.[9] That same year, the popular writer Louis Simonin observed that iron was everywhere, creating new pathways, replacing wood in shipbuilding and in architectural construction, in the erection of bridges and columns. He also added that "in casting, [iron has] dethroned bronze".[10]

Metallurgical activity underwrote the convulsive motion of modernity: extraction of ores, development of railways, expansion of steamships, excavation of canals, and the making of exhibitions. At the Exposition Universelle of 1867, metallurgy and metallic objects were conspicuously displayed to flatter the image of the Second Empire. Édouard Vasseur has argued that the 1867 exposition was a commercial strategy for industrialists, the government, elites, and a validation of the economic system.[11] Like other exhibitions of the time, this fair was an invitation to view technical and artistic wealth. The ellipse-shaped iron building was erected on the Champ de Mars and set in a pleasure garden dotted with pavilions and attractions. The main building was largely made of iron and many of the buildings on the grounds were also metallic.[12] Throughout the exhibition, French metalwork industries recovering from the upset of the free-trading Commercial Treaty were prominently showcased.

The classification system organized materials from raw to finished, with the most refined at the center. The ceremonial entry to the French section on the outer ring, which was dedicated to heavy industry, was embellished with an elaborate trophy of metal parts (fig. 1). A 'temple' of copper boiler drums and columns of copper piping was ornamented with a Napoleonic eagle made of nails. The Ars-sur-Moselle company created a triumphal arch in iron, allowing a glimpse of huge iron and steel coils, but not the I-beams, nor the blocks of ores crowned by a garland of iron chains.[13]

Throughout the French sections, manufacturers showed the full range of materials that had been mined, moved, and processed. The spectacle of materials in motion was embedded in the exposition's display culture; wonder was the spectrum of material potential. Thus, piles of ores were closely associated with finished products in the exhibitions of the major firms. The single-span trellis bridge

Fig. 1. Nicolas Barbant, *Exposition universelle: The metallurgy trophies at the entry of the French section, in the grand vestibule of honor*, 1867. Wood engraving. Paris, Musée Carnavalet.

connecting two banks along the Seine was the first to be erected in France using steel resulting from the Bessemer process, that would transform the iron industry into steel-making enterprises.[14] This process required iron ores of exceptional purity and a vast quantity was imported into France from a French-owned mine in northern Algeria. This enterprise, which exported 200,000 tons of iron a year to French factories, exhibited a 7,000 kg specimen in the Algerian section that was called the 'eighth wonder of the world'.[15]

The visual dynamics of the exposition's spectacle, which promoted iron as both structure and ornament, was extended to the entire newly remade city. The streets, parks, and a complement of metallic boulevard ornaments were designed in the Department of Promenades and Plantings. By evoking the splendors of the 18th century, as in Gabriel Davioud's grand gilded gates for Parc Monceau or the smaller Square Montholon, with its heavy cast iron fence, iron forms delineated these new areas of leisure, setting them deliberately apart from the upheavals of renovation and from street life. Iron was not only a material in motion, but also a material that *created* motion, that served as an active guide and partner that directed behavior. Just as elaborate enclosures separated these new green spaces from the street, the promenade was itself defined according to a careful arrangement of new trees set within gothic cast iron skirts, benches for resting under the canopy, iron guards to protect entryways from carriage wheels, and the ever-growing presence of streetlamps. These iron markers, aligned in perfect formation, gave solidity and physicality to the motion of the city itself.

The proliferation of iron in all aspects of French life, from railways to streets to stoves to skirts, may be interpreted as a singular sign of the hand of industrialization. Yet, the forms that these iron figures adopted were resolutely beholden to established aesthetic codes. In this sense, iron may have replaced other materials and marked a new era of public investment in an urban image of wealth and power, but it did not unseat tradition. Instead, these forms paraded their historical ornamental knowledge, re-inscribing the importance of the past in this era of momentous change.

Iron was a material in motion and also a figure of migration. Just as Algerian ores fueled French forges, many cast iron structures and ornaments created in France were exported abroad. The material logic of mass casting made iron easy to transport. In the early 1860s, a cast iron bridge, erected over a deep gorge at El Kantara, was produced entirely in France, shipped to Algeria, and assembled to serve local and colonial interests. Fountains cast in France were erected throughout Europe, such as the Ross Fountain in Edinburgh. They were also exported to sites in Latin America, like Rio de Janeiro.

Tim Ingold asks us to assess materials themselves, apart from the object-forms they take.[16] I have argued that in the Second Empire iron should be understood as a material in motion – extracted, processed, and transformed into both structural and ornamental forms. 19th-century iron was a dynamic material of the industrial age. To see it as heroically rational, or beholden to a discourse of unprecedented innovation, is to miss the ways it was always in flux.

Notes

[1] P. de Moncan, C. Mahout, *Le Paris du Baron Haussmann, Paris sous le Second Empire, Centenaire du baron Haussmann 1891-1991, Les Mémoires* (Chartres: Sodexic, 1991), p. 367.

[2] S. Giedion, *Bauen in Frankreich, Eisen, Eisenbeton* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1928).

[3] W. Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 157.

[4] C.S. Smith, A *Search for Structure* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1981).

[5] M. Chevalier, *Rapports du jury international* (Paris: Dupont, 1868), p. 35.

[6] C.A. Oppermann, *Propagateur des travaux en fer*, no. 1 (January 1867).

[7] M. de Thézy, *Paris la rue: Le mobilier urbain du Second empire à nos jours*, exh. cat. (Paris: Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, 1976), p. 21.

[8] A. Luchet, "Exposition des Beaux-Arts", *Le Monde Illustré* (October 31, 1863): p. 286.

[9] C.A. Opperman, *Propagateur*, no. 17 (May 1868).

[10] L. Simonin, *La vie souterraine* (Paris: Hachette, 1867), p. 323.

[11] E. Vasseur, "Pourquoi organiser des Expositions universelles? Le 'succès' de l'Exposition universelle de 1867", *Histoire, Économie et Société* 24 (2005): pp. 573-594.

[12] F. Walch, "Das Gebäude der Pariser Weltaustellung 1867", PhD dissertation (Technische Hochschule Karlsruhe, 1967).

[13] F. Ducuing, ed., *L'Exposition universelle 1867 illustrée* (Paris: Administration de l'exposition, 1867), II, p. 98.

[14] The steel was produced at the Terrenoire factory.

[15] Dr. Warnier, "Premières matières", *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, cit., p. 183. See also J. Duval, "L'Exposition universelle de Paris, L'Algérie", *Journal des débats* (4 September 1867).

[16] T. Ingold, "Materials against Materiality", *Archaeological Dialogues* 14 (2007): pp. 1-16.

The Venice Biennale as a World Map: Cartographies, Geological Interventions, Landmark Layers

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The Venice Biennale, with its national pavilions, is like a map of the world but also like a geography handbook. Not only is the history of this international art exhibition marked by contrasting geopolitical and creative forces, but also by landscape transformations taking place in the building of its structures and the gradual expansion of this periodical exposition throughout the city.

In 1807, a visionary metamorphosis even took place in a remote area of Venice which would become the headquarter of the Biennale: an area of vegetable plots and gardens was turned into a public park planned by the architect Giannantonio Selva. This also involved demolishing three old churches and their cloisters and using some of the rubble to create a low hill that between 1812 and 1813 was completed with a coffeehouse on top, and then became the British Pavilion. According to the writer Goffredo Parise, it is the park's fascinating landscapes, with its selected trees and views of the lagoon, that make the Venice Biennale *the* Biennale,[1] the first biennial and blueprint for all of the other biennials in the world – now about 300 – and distinguish it from its competitors, like the Bienal de São Paulo or Documenta in Kassel, founded in 1951 and 1955 respectively.

If we consider the Biennale as a whole, as a sort of living, complex organism, we will see that it is subjected to a process of uninterrupted creation and destruction. Its nature has always been ephemeral: from the times of its 'ancestor', the National Artistic Exhibition, which took place in 1887 in a temporary building erected on the site of a demolished stable, and which was followed by a new venue rebuilt for the First International Exposition of 1895.

Its cartography has therefore both real and unreal borders. National pavilions expanded from the main Giardini area to the meadow behind it, in a sort of territorial conquest. They are like embassies sharing the 'territories' allocated by the Biennale but their positioning is empirical, dictated by the geographical design of 19th-century gardens. And so, the Belgian Pavilion appeared in 1907, followed in 1909 by the British, Hungarian, and Bavarian Pavilions (the latter was renamed 'German Pavilion' in 1912); in 1912, France and Sweden built their own (the latter was given to Holland two years later); in 1930, the USA built a neo-Palladian-style pavilion and others followed. Pavilions could also change in their appearance, as in the case of the Central Pavilion: its facade was modified in 1914 and then again in 1932, 1962, 1968, and 1988; or in the case of Belgium and Germany, which both completely rebuilt their pavilions (the first in 1930 and 1948, the second in 1938).[2] The City of Venice issued the building permits and built them, while the State Governments paid for and owned them. They have their own curatorial 'governments' but refer to a higher institutional authority – as in the UN – since the artists of single pavilions are chosen by national curators while, in the past, shows in the main pavilion (originally called the Art Exhibition Building, in 1899 Palace of the Exhibition, in 1932 Central Palace) were conceived by a directorial committee, sometimes also by a jury, and later by a curatorial team or, as at present, by a single curator.

In 1962, the art historian Giulio Carlo Argan recommended demolishing those structures, describing them as 'ungovernable' – suggesting that they give a disorienting overview of contemporary art; in 1967, the critic and editor Bruno Alfieri was of the same opinion, and proposed to spare only the Austrian pavilion designed by Josef Hoffmann and to replace the complex with a minimalistic space where all the works could be exhibited together. After the 1968 Biennale, Germano Celant, promoter of the Arte Povera group, even suggested that the Giardini be allowed to return to a natural 'primordial state', hosting just encounters between artists and the public.[3]

The pavilions have instead become the distinctive feature of the Venice Biennale; even more so in the last decade, which has seen them spring up all over the city as new States all want their own and has started renting spaces and palaces where they can show works of art. The Biennale itself has been expanding into external venues since 1972, doubling its exhibition space in 1980 with the addition of the Arsenal.[4]

Its shaping, transforming matter is the very essence of the Biennale, given that temporary exhibitions are constantly being set up and dismantled, and even the layout of the Central Pavilion changes with every new show. The category of obsolescence belongs to its destiny, as in the city of Leonia, in Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities* (1972) – which is gifted with new objects every day and throws away the old ones – so, each edition of the Biennale is erased at the end. Nonetheless, they sometimes leave traces influencing subsequent editions, marking isobars of intellectual allusions and contour lines of effective physical signals.[5]

Changes in materials used by artists also became a driving force for unprecedented visual and aesthetic practices. In the 1970s, several works of art involved alterations modifying the structure of the pavilions or their surrounding ground by means of 'geological' excavations and infiltration of matter or changes in landmark layers. In 1967, Germano Celant explained what he meant by 'Arte Povera' by writing that "animals, plants and minerals have risen up in the art world", and artists, as producers "of magical and marvellous facts", feel attracted "by their physical, chemical and biological possibilities".[6]

Geological interventions and environments, already presented at exhibitions in Rome ("Fire, Image, Water, Earth" in The Attico Gallery in June 1967), Foligno ("The Space of the Image" at Trinci Palace between July and October 1967), Genoa ("Arte Povera and Im-Space" at La Bertesca Gallery from September to October 1967), and Amalfi ("Arte Povera + Poor Actions" at the Ancient Arsenal of the Amalfi Republic in October 1968) introduced the possibility of considering geology as a driver for visual and aesthetic practices. The art critic Alberto Boatto stated that art seemed to be occupying a "broadened" space and that he felt as if he were consulting "nautical charts" towards a new itinerary where works of art, conceived as "primary structures", became a series of "epicentres".[7] Tommaso Trini wrote of the feeling he had that the materials of some impermanent works might even "evaporate", becoming merely a device for a "relationship" between public and artist and opening the field to performance.[8]

Thanks to young militant art critics, the Central Pavilion of the Biennale became the epicentre of minor curatorial 'earthquakes'. After 1972, the Venice Biennale was not held on a regular basis until 1976, when a unifying theme was proposed for the very first time, described by the title "Environment, Participation, Cultural Structures". In the twenty rooms of "Environment/Art 1915-1976", Celant ordered that the architect Gino Valle dismantle Carlo Scarpa's structures and remove plaster from the walls to propose an exhibition of exhibitions, as landmark layers of memories: partly a re-enactment of historical environments – from rooms created by Italian Futurists and Russian avant-gardists to the *Salon of Madame B.* (1923) by Piet Mondrian, from the facade of *Le Plein* (1960) by Arman at Iris Clert Gallery in Paris to the environment with horses (1969) by Jannis Kounellis – and partly new creations by thirteen artists including Joseph Beuys, even if he failed to create a zone for land art outside the building.[9]

This kind of operation had already been performed not only at the Venice Biennale in 1968, for one of Lucio Fontana's works (the *Environment*, created in 1949 for the Naviglio Gallery in Milan, re-enacted for the exhibition "Lines of Research"), but also by Harald Szeemann in 1968 in Berna. However, in these new environments, quite a few of them sought a contact with the outside, as in the first room by Blinky Palermo and its open door (*North South East West*, or *Himmelsrichtungen*, 1976). Sol Lewitt asked for his room, entitled *Environment* (1976), to include a large opening looking out onto the garden to promote a dialogue between logic and chaos, mathematics and nature. Similarly, *Untitled* (1976) by Robert Irwin consisted of a perspective window overlooking the outside landscape on the canal, and the pavilion wall of *Untitled* (1976) by Maria Nordman was cut open from top to bottom by a crack to create an environment made only of natural light and dark.

These energy connections extended to places like the British Pavilion. Here, Richard Long created a *Stone sculpture* (1976) with a triple row of 608 pink and white marble rocks looping through the rooms to mark a spiritual and material path. Also, as part of Joseph Beuys' *Tram Stop* (1961-76), an

actual hole was excavated in the German Pavilion; it was conceived as a monument to the artist's childhood memory and involved inserting a 21-metre-long iron probe into the ground. This totem, made of three segments of cast iron, combined a piece of an old cannon, four 17th-century mortar bombs and a sculpture representing the head of a man to recreate the idea of a monument dedicated to the war dead that he knew as a child. The totem was juxtaposed with a track and a probe that was inserted into a hole drilled into the floor to ideally reach the cold water of the lagoon far below, creating a topographic link and a utopian alchemical bond with the artist's hometown of Cleve. Since his first on-site visit the previous November, the artist noticed the slow changes time had impressed on the building and indeed said he wanted to create a sculpture made of metal and water.

In the 1978 Biennale, based on the theme "From Nature to Art, from Art to Nature", invasive interferences and landmarks also affected common spaces, as the great *Wall* by Mauro Staccioli, a real 64-square-metre wall made of bricks and concrete, erected after digging a foundation to obstruct the main boulevard and change the point of view of visitors, forcing them to deviate from their path and to explore hidden aspects in greater depth. The wall installed by Santiago Serra at the entrance of the Spanish Pavilion in 2003 had instead a more political intent, as it granted access only to Spanish citizens.

In the special exhibition "Six Stations for Art/Nature, The Nature of Art" curated by Jean Christophe Ammann, Achille Bonito Oliva, Antonio Del Guercio, and Filiberto Menna for the main pavilion, re-named Italian Pavilion since 1974, energy conduction is evoked again in Beuys' *Feuerstätte* (*Hearth*, 1974) with six groups of copper or iron rods leaning against walls. Geological potential also emerges from Richard Long's *Circle of Stones* (1974) lent by the Sperone Gallery; while *Wide View. Dwelling* (1978), also referred to as *Paesaggio. Abitazione* in the catalogue (that is, *Landscape. Dwelling*, fig. 1), by Charles Simonds, features a huge hole smeared with clay in the pavilion wall. The artist used it to create the appearance of ruins and give rise to a place of absence and abandonment that allowed visitors to see the outside through this unique frame, creating a new fantastic landscape at the same time.[10] Vito Acconci sought to create a thin layering of cultural memory and a landmark implying the material history of the building and mysterious perceptions, using a part of the pavilion designed by Carlo Scarpa in 1952 and called the Garden of the Sculptures. It was a courtyard featuring a projecting concrete canopy (*La Pensilina*), a fountain pool, and a little Japanese-style garden, a special place where the artist Alberto Viani had refused to exhibit his works in the 1950s, arguing that the canopy was a sculpture itself and an exhibition of sculptures could not be held beneath another sculpture. This idea was so persistent that, in 2003, Gabriel Orozco replicated the projecting roof in birchwood, actually conceiving it as a sculpture, and placed it inside the pavilion.

Fig. 1. Charles Simonds, *Wide View. Dwelling*, 1978. Venice Biennale 1978, Italian Pavilion, special exhibition "Six Stations for Art/Nature, The Nature of Art". (Courtesy Archivio Storico della Biennale di Venezia – ASAC).

Acconci wrote to Bonito Oliva and Amman that he intended to "install a new piece. Done specifically for this occasion", even though he had actually created a work with three ladders leading to a clerestory in the ceiling, *Venice Belongs to US*, for the show curated by Celant for the Venice Biennale in 1976 – enclosing "detailed plans" drawn by hand so that it could be constructed without requiring his presence.[11] *Flag* (figs. 2-3) was a "whispering room" consisting of a wooden ladder one and a half times as high as the courtyard wall that was connected to the tops of the

three pillars by three steel cables – each one of them supporting a speaker (although one was fake). A hidden tape deck contained an audiotape sent by the artist from New York reproducing sounds recorded by him. The top third of the ladder was supposed to ideally be "left free to sway in the air", like a flag, or a territorial landmark.

In 1980, as painting was once again reclaiming its supremacy, with the emergence of the Italian Transavanguardia group and the so-called Neue Wilde in Germany, an exhibition on the 1970s art was held at the Biennale, where also some land artists such as Long, Robert Smithson, Michael Heizer, Walter De Maria, and Christo were invited to display photographs of their works. Achille Bonito Oliva composed a text recalling the way artists had adopted new approaches to materials and had, with a "happy kleptomania" used reality in its "energetical and mythical aspects": art had really "established a magical territory".[12]

At the time, many works of art used earth, metals, or even gardens, while water or a liquid element have come to be quite pervasive more recently: from Pamela Rosenkranz at the Swiss Pavilion to Vincent J.F. Huang at the Tuvalu Pavilion in 2015, and from Giorgio Andreotta Calò's *No Title. The End of the World* in the Italian Pavilion in 2017 to Laure Provost's *Deep See Blue Surrounding You,* featuring an actual fake sea made of resin, in the French Pavilion in 2019. These case studies have taken on a special value in a time marked not only by the renewal of artistic languages, but also by ecological concerns. If, as Jane Bennett suggests in *Vibrant Matter. A Political Ecology of Things* (2010), materials tremble and can affect our behaviour or thinking as unexpected but powerful agents, in the same way that, in the evolution process, a mineralisation of certain tissues created bones that emerged as new material for the 'construction' of living creatures, then maybe the encounters offered by the layers of these unexpected works of art and the very different national cartographies of the Venice Biennale can help us develop a deeper, more all-encompassing awareness.[13]

Fig. 2. Vito Acconci, *Flag*, 1978. Venice Biennale 1978, Italian Pavilion, Garden of Sculptures, special exhibition "Six Stations for Art/Nature, The Nature of Art". (Courtesy Archivio Storico della Biennale di Venezia – ASAC).

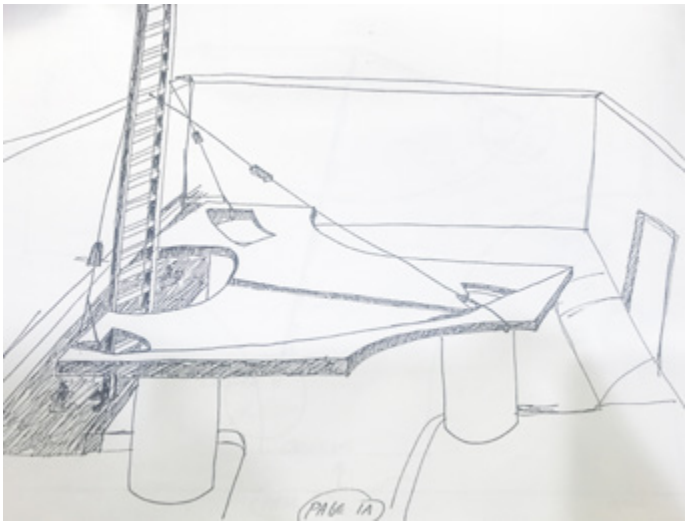

Fig. 3. Vito Acconci, *Flag*, 1978, project from a letter to Achille Bonito Oliva, June 9, 1978. (Courtesy Archivio Storico della Biennale di Venezia – ASAC).

Notes

[1] G. Parise, "Vedo i mari della Sonda", *Corriere della Sera* (August 23, 1980); about the Venice Biennale see, among others, E. Di Martino, *La Biennale di Venezia 1895-1995. Cento anni di arte e cultura* (Milano: Mondadori, 1995); *Venezia e la Biennale: i percorsi del gusto* (Milano: Fabbri, 1995); S. Portinari, N. Stringa, *Storie della Biennale di Venezia* (Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2019), http://doi.org/10.30687/978-88-6969-366-3); L. Alloway, *The Venice Biennale from Salon to Goldfish Bowl* (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society, 1968); P. Budillon Puma, *La Biennale di Venezia dalla guerra alla crisi 1948-1968* (Bari: Palomar, 1995).

[2] G. Romanelli, *Ottant'anni di architettura e allestimenti alla Biennale di Venezia* (Venezia: Archivio storico delle arti contemporanee, 1976); M. Mulazzani, *I Padiglioni della Biennale di Venezia* (Milano: Electa, 2004); Id., *Guida ai padiglioni della Biennale di Venezia dal 1897* (Milano: Electa architettura, 2014).

[3] See S. Portinari, *Anni Settanta. La Biennale di Venezia* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2018).

[4] In 1972, an exhibition with sculptures was held partly in the Giardini, partly in squares and courtyards all over Venice; in 1974, the Magazzini del Sale building in the Zattere area was especially set up to host a show devoted to Ugo Mulas' photographs on the Biennale and, in 1975, the venue was chosen for "The Bachelor Machines" by Harald Szeemann and "Proposals for the Mulino Stucky" (with the participation of architects and artists) by Joseph Ryckwert and Pontus Hulten; in 1976, the Biennale expanded its collateral exhibitions to other 11 venues, including deconsecrated churches and underground spaces. In 1980, the 1st International Architecture Exhibition, titled "The Presence of the Past" and curated by Paolo Portoghesi, acquired a new space near the Giardini: the Corderie of the Arsenal, the ancient dockyard of The Venetian Republic. The Venice Biennale is also responsible for the 'biennalisation' of the art world, see E. Filipovic, S. Øvstebø, M. Van Hal, *The Biennial Reader. An Anthology on Large-scale Perennial Exhibitions of Contemporary Art* (Berlin: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2010).

[5] The process itself of the setting-up, with regard to the architect Carlo Scarpa's interventions, is similar to a geological stratification: in 1968, for instance, he made a very delicate reconstruction of the spaces in the main part of the Central Pavilion for the exhibition "Lines of Research", that contained also a nucleus of an architecture exhibition, creating a mezzanine and an underneath sector divided in cells, see O. Lanzarini, *Carlo Scarpa. L'architetto e le arti. Gli anni della Biennale di Venezia 1948-1972* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2003); P. Duboÿ, *Carlo Scarpa. L'arte di esporre* (Milano: Johan & Levi, 2016); M. Guccione, *Carlo Scarpa. Disegni di Carlo Scarpa per la Biennale di Venezia. Architetture e progetti, 1948-1968* (Roma: Gangemi, 2000); F. Dal Co, G. Mazzariol, *Carlo Scarpa. Opera completa* (Milano: Electa, 1984); S. Portinari, "1968. XXXIV Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte di Venezia. L'Ambiente di Carlo Scarpa", in G. Beltramini, ed., *Carlo Scarpa e la scultura del '900* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2008), pp. 281-287.

[6] G. Celant, "Arte Povera. Appunti per una guerriglia", *Flash Art* no. 5 (November-December 1967): p. 4.

[7] A. Boatto, "Lo spazio del presente", *Metro* no. 13 (February 1968): pp. 33-34.

[8] T. Trini, "Nuovo alfabeto per corpo e materia", *Domus* no. 470 (January 1969) now in A. Boatto, *Mezzo secolo di arte intera, Scritti 1964-2014*, ed. by L. Cerizza (Monza: Johan & Levi, 2016), pp. 282-283: the article was also published in the catalogue of the exhibition "Live in Your Head. When Attitudes Become Form" curated by Szeemann in 1969.

[9] La Biennale di Venezia. Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Fondo Storico, Arti Visive (ASAC, FS, AV), b. 246: *Ambiente/Arte.* A year later, in 1977, Celant published a volume, *Ambiente/Arte. Dal Futurismo alla Body Art*, not as a mere catalogue of the exhibition but as a work with a historiographic intent, a sort of manual, posing as the art historian he was not. He was also criticised by the press for his concern for aestheticism and neglect of social issues.

[10] *La Biennale di Venezia 1978. Dalla natura all'arte, dall'arte alla natura* (Milano: Electa, 1978), pp. 41-45, Simonds's works were actually two site-specific *Dwelling*, 30x40x20 cm; see also C. Simonds, *Dwelling* (Köln: Walther Konig, 2016); a magic conception of gestures and connection with land also emerges from critical texts as in A. Bonito Oliva, *Il territorio magico. Comportamenti alternativi dell'arte* (Firenze: Centro Di, 1971) or G. Celant, *Beuys. Tracce in Italia* (Napoli: Amelio Gallery, 1978) with text and interviews by Bonito Oliva.

[11] ASAC, FS, AV, b. 291: Correspondence with artists, Letter from Acconci to Bonito Oliva, June 9, 1978. Acconci wrote: "it's important that the title be known by viewers. Hopefully, some kind of title-card can be placed near one entrance to the garden".

[12] A. Bonito Oliva, "L'arte degli anni Settanta", in *La Biennale di Venezia* (Venezia: La Biennale di Venezia, 1980), p. 12.

[13] J. Bennett, *Vibrant Matter. A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), pp. 11-13.

Towards the Creation of Original Material Depictions of the Human: Marc Quinn's Sculptures

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During the Italian Renaissance, it was common to see wax votive offerings (a donation embodying the vow or the gratitude of a person to a saint) of all sorts in Florentine churches: not only were there life-size effigies hanging from the ceiling and miniature representations of Catholic believers dropped in front of saint icons, but also candles and masses of pure wax equaling the weight of the patron. The fact that the votive offering does not necessarily have to take the shape of the giver to represent the believer or the vow illustrates the power of the material of the offerings. In the essay *Ex-Voto*, Georges Didi-Huberman questions the materiality of votive offerings and the domination of a limited range of materials over others to embody the vows: Why, he wonders, have "wax [...], papier mâché, clay, softwood and beaten silver leaf [...] most exclusively constituted the appropriate materials of the votive offering"?[1] According to Didi-Huberman, explaining the reason for the use of such a limited range of materials would lead to understanding "the symbolic and phantasmatic, temporal and figurative implications of plasticity", and the material's aptitude to fabricating *images*.[2]

Didi-Huberman explains how votive offerings allow art historians to understand the figurative force of the material itself and the way a material addresses issues of figuration and resemblance. Through the case of *ex-voti*, he claims that there are diverse ways to enact an "organic representation": it can be figurative or abstract and symbolic.[3] Considering a human-shaped figure and a block of wax, he asks the question: "But how can we understand the coexistence, and even the anthropological equivalence, of a *mass* of wax silently pressed out on the floor and a wax surface rhetorically erected into a form of devout mimicry, even into the liturgical gesturings of a whole effigy?"[4] His response makes use of the concept of "resemblance": "Spontaneously to affirm that only the wax *surface* modelled or moulded on the face of its donor constitutes a likeness is to exhibit a highly restricted view of the operational field of resemblance: it is precisely to ignore that resemblance forms a *field* and admits of a plurality of objects, criteria, media, and operations".[5] Didi-Huberman proposes that the indexical relationship as developed by Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotics – an existential fact relating the sign and the object – invites viewers to see some resemblance in the matter.[6]

Indirectly, contemporary English artist Marc Quinn offers an artistic response to the problems and interrogations raised by Didi-Huberman on the *ex-voti* by highlighting the "resemblance" that exists between the models and the material that he uses to represent them. While Quinn has not conceived votive offerings *per se*, throughout his career, he has explored the ability of different materials to figure the human at different levels. In fact, Quinn's oeuvre is distinguished by the organicity of various materials, his efforts to figure liveliness, and his desire to capture something about humans. Moreover, his practice is bound to the development of techniques or installations incorporating a wide range of materials, whether traditional artistic ones (such as marble, bronze, and wax) or more atypical ones (such as DNA, rubber, bread, and ice) to encapsulate an aspect of the human and to activate a different understanding of the human through a specific material. In short, Quinn extracts a certain property of the material – whether chemical, cultural, transhistorical, or theoretical – that complicates the issue of human likeness not only through figuration, but also through materiality.

This paper interrogates how Quinn renegotiates figuration through several materials and observes how he allows the material to say something about the human that an imitative or hyper realistic representation would not necessarily express. The artworks that he creates invite for a re-

definition of the notion of realism in art that is no longer solely approached through appearances, but through the agency of the material, the properties it contains, and the thoughts it conveys. I argue that Quinn's work with materials finds its roots in the history of alchemy and that approaching this artist as a modern alchemist allows for a better understanding of the way he makes a specific material speak, and how he animates it. It also allows us to see what exactly he triggers at the chemical, cultural, and symbolic levels to activate the expression of the material. To approach Quinn's process, I focus on three main works: "The Complete Marbles" series (1999-2005), *Self* (1991), and *DNA Portrait of Sir John Sulston* (2001). These works explore the forces at play between the form and the material, the representation of the human in art, and the translation of the complexity of the human through the material. The first I study, "The Complete Marble" series, highlights the expression of a traditional material, marble, in the reception of modern sculptures and shows how viewers rely on a certain artistic grammatology to interpret contemporary art. The second, *Self*, relies on a highly symbolic material, blood, to embody or express a human feature and epitomize the alchemical sensibility of the artist. Finally, *DNA Portrait of Sir John Sulston* extends the possibilities of the figural through its use of genetic materials.

Figuring the Present Through the Past

Quinn works with artistic materials that are ordinarily present on the art scene and which visitors may not question because they are so common. While he fabricates many of his artworks with traditional materials such as bronze, marble, or gold, he always emphasizes the way a material influences the reception of an artwork by questioning the artistic and cultural conventions associated with that material. Indeed, certain materials historically used in artwork incorporate ideas that are to a certain extent consciously integrated in people's minds today. Quinn is particularly interested in this inheritance of form and the way it has shaped the modern-day "Western aesthetic sensorium".[7]

"The Complete Marbles" series (1999-2005), one of Quinn's most famous installations, relies on this exploration of the modern through the antique to stress a sociocultural contradiction present in modern society. Quinn often explained that this project relies on a simple observation: today, visitors to the British Museum or the Louvre see the antique sculptures on display as superb, despite the fact that they are fragmented, worn out, or missing a body limb. Viewers acknowledge that these sculptures were subject to time and exposed to various degradations or alterations. Yet, the artist realized that the fragmentary bodies of classical marble sculptures, which are praised for their beauty, would be perceived in another way if "literally" viewed as fragmented bodies.[8] To highlight this paradox, which pinpoints a discrepancy between what people see as beautiful in society – because it is culturally celebrated – and what people reject as beautiful – because it is not socially seen as such – the artist created a series of marble sculptures representing people who are born with missing limbs or who had lost a member in an accident.

At the material level, this series activates the "cultural and normative meaning of marble".[9] It emphasizes the aesthetics and symbolism associated with one of the most noble artistic materials, and its artistic role in human figuration. The choice of working with marble for this series participates in displacing disabled bodies from the social realm to the artistic sphere – from invisibility to visibility – and include them in a long statuary tradition that invites beholders to look at them as artworks. At different levels, the marble showcases the beauty of these bodies that are generally invisible in the public sphere. The people who partook in the project are no longer only perceived as disabled, but as modern heroes. Indeed, through the material in use and the persons portrayed, "The Complete Marbles" questions the definition of the heroic and its artistic and cultural embodiments.

In this series, Quinn proposes a comparison that orients the reading of disabled bodies through the artistic interpretative framework of ancient sculptures. He activates the cultural properties of white marble to shape a depiction of the human that becomes recognize at a socio-artistic level through the mediation of this particular material. In other works, Quinn's approach explores the ways in which the agency of the chosen material elucidates something about the human, through three main possible axes: human representation, the vitality of existence, and the essence of life.

Art, Life and Matter: The Vitality and Organicity of Biological Material

To conceive the place that a material can take in expressing its subject, Quinn has often worked with biological matter, implying a multifaceted

reading that relies on the fields of sciences, art, and culture. With *Self* (1991), Quinn worked with blood that came from his own body and explored figuration through the casting technique.

Self (1991), his self-portrait, is composed of a glass vitrine that contains a Plexiglas mould of the artist's head filled with about 4.7 liters of his own blood, completely surrounded by liquid silicone to stabilize the blood and prevent it from oxidizing. The blood and silicone are kept at a temperature of -18 °C to prevent the head from melting. This innovative set-up is not only a technical achievement. Artistically, the work expresses self-portrait in a double figurative form: the artist depicts himself through the mould and the portrait contains part of the self it is ostensibly depicting. The casting technique, through which Quinn has crafted the head's structure, has been one Quinn's favourite practices. According to him, the cast underlines the ephemerality yet permanence of the body by stabilizing a transient moment: "I am the sculpture for that moment, the moment the mould is made. Then I vacate it, leaving a frozen moment of change".[10] Because of the "direct" contact of the material on the model's skin and the automatism involved in the creative process, a cast is, in Quinn's own words, "the most photographic way of doing a portrait".[11] Quinn has then chosen to fill this "photographic" cast, which reproduces the sitter in negative or in hollow, with his own blood, a substance that comes from him, and the piece comprises both the idea of containing and being contained.[12]

The piece leads to reconsiderations of the self-portrait as well as contemplation about the human figure – not only in pictorial, but in biological and metaphysical terms. As such, it designates the vibrancy of biological matter as figurative of the person from whom this material comes.[13] Quinn chose to work his blood as a material for his artwork, because "the material is life", it is essential to survival.[14] But the artist also defies the material, by keeping the blood in a "frozen moment on life support" and preventing its natural oxidation.[15] The necessity of keeping blood in a frozen state prompts viewers to reflect on the fragility of life and of living beings as well as on dependency on an ecosystem. This action can also be read as an attempt to defy time. Moreover, Quinn conceived of this work as a series of self-portraits that he will create every five years (should his health allow), which gives another dimension to the project. Paradoxically, the seriality highlights the artist's attempt to cheat death through art, but also emphasizes Quinn's ineluctable extinction since only his frozen self-portraits will survive him.

The "Self series" explores the relationship between the mortal body and the imperishable soul through what James Romaine identifies as an "aesthetics of transcendence celebrat[ing] the potential transformation of, even ascension from, an abject state of existence".[16] Romaine identifies both an alchemical and chemical approach of the material through this series. While he identifies an alchemical approach to blood in Quinn's process, he considers that Quinn might be more a chemist than an alchemist, because of his pursuit of incarnation rather than transmutation. Historically, alchemists aimed at transmuting low-rated metals into nobler ones, such as gold, in order to find the secret recipe for a longer or eternal life. Whilst Quinn may not be an alchemist in the traditional sense, I argue that his process finds its roots in the history of alchemy and that he may be seen as a modern alchemist. Indeed, Quinn works with diverse biological and organic materials that orient, through an artistic gesture, the material so that it symbolically and materially embodies or expresses a human feature.[17] His alchemical exploration not only translates something about the human through the artistic orientation of the expression of a material, but also through the way a material can express something, metaphorically, transcendentally, or literally, about the human body.

Figuring Through the Material

In the 2000s, Quinn turned to the sole power of the material and chose to represent a person without the help of cast or facial features. He has since explored the issue of embodiment by working with matter that is an integral part of the person, such as DNA, which contains the imprint of the person. Queen has been working with material that has been recently discovered to adjust the figuration to our time. As a result, the artist proposes to reflect on the way art can approach and translate, as realistically as possible, the very nature of the human through non-traditional material. By doing so, Quinn seeks to create a portrait that does not necessarily conform to past conceptions of realism, but that would be seen as "realistic" by 20th- and 21st-century viewers, as much as by viewers of the future.

DNA Portrait of Sir John Sulston (2001), the first portrait of Quinn's "DNA portrait series", shows how the material itself can become portraiture. This artwork calls into question figurative art, and by extension hyperrealistic or photographic figuration, as the conventional way to portray a person. Commissioned by the National Portrait Gallery in London, the piece displays a yellowish paper that exhibits several stains within a stainless-steel frame. Quinn describes this abstract portrait of the scientist as more realistic than his other figurative artworks. To conceive it, Quinn worked in collaboration with scientist John Sulston, Nobel Laureate for his work on the sequencing of the human genome. Made from the DNA of the scientist, based on a sample of his sperm, *DNA Portrait of Sir John Sulston* relies on a figuration that is not mimetic, but material. Yet, the material is no longer "visible". Indeed, DNA is only readable at a level inaccessible to the naked eye.[18] Similar to *Self*, this is a double portrait in the sense that the artwork not only represents Sulston's work (his research on DNA), but it is also made with the actual DNA of the scientist. Paradoxically, the work appears abstract, yet suggests that in the 21st century, the closest realistic representation of a person may lie in his biological code rather than his physical features.

Quinn invites viewers to reconsider identity and resemblance through the lens of genetics and scientific matter in art, within the space of the National Portrait Gallery. Bridging art and science, the artwork relies on a language, with which the viewer needs to be acquainted in order to understand how the project redefines figuration. Moreover, Quinn explained that beyond containing information that is proper to each individual, DNA contains inherited information from the past and thereby translates the biological and ancestral nature of humans, and each person's genealogy, which complicates the definition of portraiture.

Conclusion

Quinn approaches and translates the human body through a kind of "realism" that he redefines and reinvents with every new piece. The materials with which he works play an important role in the expression of the artwork. Germano Celant observes that in Quinn's works, the material is "the face of the contents, it is the mechanism with which [Quinn] articulate[s] [his] discourse".[19] Van der Zijpp remarks that "[t]hrough his atypical use of materials he seems to want to make the public aware of the way in which certain things and materials in our culture acquire meaning".[20] By switching the beholder's focus beyond the form to the material, and by using matters that are not usually associated with the art world and which need a different mode of reading, the artist has developed an original approach that actively participates in the expression and interpretation of the figuration. The works I have analysed highlight both the importance of experiencing the artworks in person and of reading them conceptually.

Quinn's artworks interrogate iconological representations and abstract portraitures and complicate generally accepted distinctions between the figurative and the non-figurative. One might ask whether the viewer would be able to read this artwork as a figurative representation of the human without knowing in which conceptual realm Quinn locates his work and without Quinn's own interpretation of the material. Indeed, the way the artist reads DNA as a more realistic means of representation than a hyperrealistic sculpture entails a different "modality of reading", which requires pedagogical indications for beholders to approach the material. Analysing the use of biological material, Danilo Eccher notes: "Blood and organic material are the intimate alphabet of a primeval language which is still not articulate and declined: they are the elements of an intimacy which is jealous of its own original secret. The apparently intractable decision to compose his own image [...] using his own body fluids is a conceptual choice, even before being a linguistic hazard. It is a lunge into that mysterious culture medium from which all things take life".[21]

Eccher's analysis emphasizes the importance of the bodily and intellectual experience of the artwork. While an artwork like *Self* is figurative and relies on layers of transparency (the glass, the Plexiglas, the exposition of blood), it is not entirely transparent to the viewer. Until the audience discovers that the artwork is a self-portrait made out of the blood of the artist, the full nature of the work remains opaque. Only after this realization does the figural significance of blood as material render the piece more layered, more complex. Information about the artwork and the origin of the blood thus becomes essential for the piece to unveil its complexity, and link an artistic discourse with a scientific one. A different modality of reading is also at stake with DNA portraits. An abstract

work is not perceived as realistic or figurative at first. It needs a title, a text, or a common understanding of what the representation means. With the "DNA series", Quinn suggests that figuration does not necessarily have to appear through vision anymore, but through the choice of material and the justification for working with a particular material.

Quinn's conception of art often constrains viewers to adapt to a different visual experience as well as to multidimensional and interdisciplinary visual language. This approach to figuration is characterized by a drive to explore different and often unexpected ways to represent humans and life in art. I would argue that many of Quinn's artworks do not earn their whole meaning without a text – whether it be a museum label or an artist's statement – to inform the viewer of the material used for the creation of the piece. Only then can the image create life and become realistic, gaining in semiotic complexity, with the material, most often, at the centre.

Notes

[1] G. Didi-Huberman, "Ex-Voto: Image, Organ, Time", *L'Esprit Créateur* 47, no. 3 (Fall 2007): p. 8.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 9.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 7.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 11.

[5] *Ibid*., p. 12.

[6] "The votive practice of *contrepoids* is characterized by a kind of exploration of relations of significance and resemblance. [...] [I]t resembles" by means of a criteriological choice that makes resemblance a quality internal to the material: a secret but extremely precise quality, directly linked to the compactness, to the density of the material. [...] It is this quality, however, that will give the formless mass its incontestable 'individuality', its organic aura, its 'magic' efficacity" (*ivi*).

[7] M. Squire, "'Casual Classicism': In Conversation with Marc Quinn", *Int class trad* 26 (2019). https://doi.org/10.1007/s12138-017-0451-9.

[8] "The Complete Marbles", *Marc Quinn*. (Accessed February 15, 2021). http://marcquinn.com/artworks/the-complete-marbles.

[9] S.-A. van der Zijpp, *Marc Quinn: Recent Werk = Recent Sculptures* (Rotterdam-Groningen: NAi-Groninger Museum, 2006), p. 21.

[10] J. Hall, "A very good head for figures", *The Guardian* (July 8, 1995), cited in G. Celant, ed., *Marc Quinn: memory box* (Milano: Skira, 2013), p. 72.

[11] M. Quinn, Interview with S. Whitfield in *Marc Quinn* (Liverpool: Tate Liverpool, 2002).

[12] In Quinn's own words, *Self* is therefore "a representation which not only has the form of the sitter, but is actually made from the sitter's flesh". "Frozen blood sculpture on display at National Portrait Gallery", *The Telegraph* (September 9, 2009), February 15, 2021. https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/bloody-self-potrait-goes-on-display-at-national-portrait-gallery-7rr7bscdkd2.

[13] D. Itzkoff, "Bloody Self-Portrait Is Headed for Museum", *The New York Times* (Sept. 10, 2009). https://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/11/arts/11arts-BLOODYSELFPO_BRF.html.

[14] S. Hattenstone, "Marc Quinn: Blood Brother", *The Guardian* (October 25, 1999), p. 4., cited in G. Celant, ed., *Marc Quinn*, cit., p. 17.

[15] Marc Quinn ('Self'), *National Portrait Gallery*. https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw138260/Marc-Quinn-Self. (Accessed February 15, 2021).

[16] J. Romaine, "Marc Quinn: The Matter of Life and Death", *Image*, Issue 69. https://imagejournal.org/article/marc-quinn-matter-life-death/. (Accessed February 15, 2021).

[17] His early works, *Faust* (1988) and the "Emotional Detox" series (1994-1996), epitomize an alchemical sensibility since the sculptures are primarily made of lead, one of the quintessential alchemical materials.

[18] The choice of sperm is also playing with the ideas of reproduction and representation.

[19] G. Celant, "About Change and Life", in Id., ed., *Marc Quinn*, cit., p. 16.

[20] S.-A. van der Zijpp, *Marc Quinn*, cit., p. 15.

[21] D. Eccher, "Marc Quinn: Like in No Man's Land", in A. Bonito Oliva, D. Eccher, *Marc Quinn* (Milano: Electa, 2006), p. 112.

The Human and Non-human Interconnectedness in Three Chinese Contemporary Artists

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Today, we live in an era known as the Anthropocene. The interconnectedness between humans and other living entities and environments is an essential part of the theme of the Anthropocene and a central concern in contemporary culture and art. Through the emphasis of the role of non-human agents, new materialism and posthumanism radically problematize the binaries of subject/object, human/nonhuman, cultural/natural, and mind/body, and challenge the superiority of the human. Although both Chinese and Western scholars widely acknowledge that Chinese traditional culture and art are deeply based on less anthropocentric modes of thinking, the contemporary Chinese artists' expression of the interconnectedness between human and non-human in the context of the Anthropocene still deserve more academic attention. This essay is dedicated to revealing how Chinese contemporary artists perceive our complicated interconnectedness and interdependences with other co-beings and entities by examining the engagement of three artists with non-human agents – silkworm, stone, and plants.

Liang Shaoji: Pursuit of the Dao through Silkworm

The Chinese artist Liang Shaoji has been working intensively with silkworms for almost 30 years since he started to raise them and introduce living silkworms into his art-making in 1989. In his studio – which is actually a sericulture laboratory – the artist carefully observed, from a morphological perspective, silkworms' egg-laying, growing, spinning, cocooning and becoming moths, and he made a detailed record of the process. In ecological art, the materials and mediums often come from natural phenomena and processes. Through his working with living silkworms, the essence of Liang's art-making is to transform the life cycle of silkworms, such as their creeping state, their movement when spinning, the shape of the cocoons, and the scent and sound of the silkworm, into elements of art. He compares his method to ink splashing painting: starting from a rough idea, he makes adjustments according to circumstances after the silkworms begin to spin. For example, by controlling the humidity, temperature, and light in the shed, Liang can adjust the silkworm's biological clock, so that he may control the direction and speed of spinning and the shape of the cocoons. Over the course of a conversation about his work, Liang described his long-term observation of the silkworms and his mastery of the laws of their life cycle. He made clear, however, that he tries to avoid excessive intervention and makes the most of what he calls the 'factors' in natural ecology that can grow into art so as to achieve the effect that "though it is the work of a human being, it looks as if it is from heaven".[1]

His numerous art practices under the *Nature Series* have become a unique phenomenon in Chinese contemporary art. Among his many works, *Broken Landscape*, an installation he first displayed in 2008 may best reflect his attitude toward the living material and his approach towards silkworms.[2] Liang raised silkworms on a huge piece of silk, letting the larvae hatch from eggs, then grow, eat mulberry leaves, excrete, molt, pupate, develop into moths, copulate, lay eggs, and finally die. The countless yellow and black dots and stains that represent the traces of their life course remain intact on the silk roll and form natural textures and patterns, creating the effect of a Chinese landscape scroll. The artist juxtaposes the landscape scroll with camphor tree stumps. In the Chinese language, the pronunciation of the words translating 'silkworm' (蚕), 'broken' (残) and 'Zen' (禅) are very similar, so in a sense a landscape of 'silkworm' is a 'Zen' painting that depicts the contemporary 'broken' landscape. This work establishes a symbolic connection between the ephem-

erality of the silkworm's life and the fragility of the environment, trampled by contemporary humans.

Liang's work embodies the artist's deepest sympathy, appreciation, and respect for a non-human species. Employing the living predicament of silkworms as a metaphor for human society, he opens up the emotional barrier between human and non-human species. In his work, every small aspect of these humble little lives is expressed in a beautiful and poetic way. The discovery of the beauty and poetry of natural life prompts us to review the relationship with nature and other species, and only in this way can we find the right way to deal with nature.

Zhan Wang: Interaction between Human and Stone

Unlike Liang's engagement with living animals, Zhan Wang, a Beijing-based sculptor, chose to work with stone to express his philosophical thinking about the interrelationship between human and non-human. Zhan coined a neologism, *conceptual sculpture*, to describe his idea of concept-material combination. Inspired by Western conceptual art, the term 'conceptual sculpture', however, does not approach a pure conceptuality; it is deeply rooted in Chinese traditional philosophy, where idea and material are not as strictly separated as they are in Western philosophy.[3]

Zhan was first known for using stainless steel to copy traditional rockeries. Since ancient times, Chinese literati have put rocks resembling real mountains in their gardens and study rooms to create an illusion of living in nature. As rockeries are an imitation of 'real' mountains, which is the first layer of mimesis, stainless steel rockeries are an imitation of real rockeries – thus, an imitation of an imitation, creating a meta-mimesis.[4] Using human power to reproduce something is not unnatural but it is a way to let human power follow

Fig. 1. Liang Shaoji, *Broken Landscape*, 2008. Exhibition view: *Broken Landscape*, ShanghART Gallery Beijing (15 November-31 December 2008). © The artist and ShanghART. (Courtesy of the Artist).

nature, representing the saying in Daodejing according to which "human beings follow the law of earth, earth follows the law of heaven, heaven follows the law of the Way (Dao), and the Way follows the law of nature".[5] Employing the human ability to transform nature, while remaining in harmony with it instead of against it, should be of primary importance in modern science and technology, and that was also Zhan's focus during the conception and execution of his *Artificial Rock*. This work has therefore become a platform where art and technology meet.

The *Artificial Rock (Jiashanshi)* series determined Zhan's basic approach for reflecting the relationship between man and nature through the interaction between human labor and the conceptualized material of stone. For his 2010 performance at the Today Art Museum in Beijing, *One Hour Equals One Hundred Million Years: Suyuan Stone Generator*, he invented a machine that can imitate complex geological movements and natural forces. First, a mixed raw material that can be solidified in one hour is stirred and sent to the tempered glass box. After the operator switches on the machine and initiates the program, heavy rain starts to wash the dough of artificial material, gusts of wind blow over its surface and waves repeatedly crash into it. Then, an artificial earthquake causes an unexpected fracture on its surface and strong light and heat bake the stone hard. Finally, a rock with the characteristics of traditional rockeries, described as 'skinny, sturdy, transparent and wrinkly', is made. The whole process takes about an hour and the audience can watch it through tempered glass.

In the present day, an interpretation of the Anthropocene inextricably binds humankind with geologic processes in cultural imaginations. This work pushes his idea of *conceptual sculpture* forward by integrating the reflection on man's simulation and control of nature with the concept of geological time. On the one hand, this work reflects one of the main characteristics of contemporary society, that is, the increasingly dominant significance of 'speed'.[6] In fact, modern people consider speeding up – that is, the compression of time – as the purpose of technological inventions and the source of sensory stimuli. On the other hand, the artist has created the machine, and the man-made object has replaced the artist, and even replaced nature itself to imitate the millions of years of evolution. The machine, manipulated by the artists, creates a Taihu rock in one hour whereas nature takes hundreds of millions of years to form it, and the artificial rock looks no different from a genuine Taihu rock. In an ironic way, this work reveals the disturbing fact that the compressed sense of time is consistent with human beings' acceleration of the exploitation of the earth, as we consume in such a short time what the earth has created in hundreds of millions of years.

Zheng Bo: Plant-Politics Discourse

The Hong Kong based artist Zheng Bo is a fast-rising figure in contemporary Chinese art circles. Since 2013 he has been working with plants and made numerous installations, workshops, and videos. Echoing Latour's argument that there has been a breakdown in the distinction between the social and natural sciences,[7] Zheng believes that since the border between politics and nature does not exist, not only does politics concern the relationships within human communities, but also the relationships between humans and all coexisting living and nonliving things and environments. He has established a unique discourse of 'plant-politics' to explain the complicated entanglement between humans and plants. In his works, botanical research and the socio-political, community participation, pedagogy, and artistic imagination are integrated into one complex yet unified web of interrelations. Zheng's plant-politics discourse refers to the roles of plants in human history, their existence and predicaments in current political and social life, and the imagination of a new human-plant relationship for the Anthropocene. While a thorough analysis of the content and approach of his numerous works is beyond the scope of this essay, in the following paragraphs I will just discuss how politics and plants interact in *Kindred*, a work that combines on-site installation and workshop.

In the summer of 2017, Zheng was commissioned a work by the Ming Contemporary Art Museum in Shanghai (McaM) for the exhibition *Precariat's Meeting*. During his visit to the McaM, Zheng noticed that weeds were growing on the edge of the museum lobby. He removed the curtains and transplanted the weeds into five disused industrial lifts hanging outside the museum façade and added LED grow lights. He organized a workshop and invited residents to come write

and read letters to the weeds. In this work titled *Kindred*, he let weeds enter the art museum space and proclaim their existence to the museum and the public. The gap between social classes represented by the space was challenged, and possible communication with those outside the system created.[8] In addition to producing an allusion to the social stratification of contemporary China, this work leads to broader thinking about a potential communication between humans and weeds. Since the early 20th century, there have been several studies on the sentience and even intelligence of plants.[9] Scientific studies on their feelings and possible intelligence have generated more ethical and philosophical thinking concerning our relationship with and attitudes towards plants. Morton once pointed out that if non-human beings are capable of aesthetic contemplation and enjoying art, it would be essential to find out whether this contemplation was an advanced cognitive state or a simple one. So, the question to ask is whether we share this capacity of ours with non-human beings, as "these questions get to the heart of some of our cultural and political assumptions regarding non-human beings".[10] Zheng has expanded similar questions to plants: do weeds have consciousness and emotions? Can they respond to people's act of reading? If they can, how would they respond to us? The artist's witty irony reveals the similarity between social divisions and the gap between humans and plants and suggests a possibility to erase the gap between social groups as the gap between humans and non-humans.

Social ecologists used to emphasize that "the domination and exploitation of nature by society is but a facet of the domination and exploitation of some humans by others".[11] By projecting the exploitation, oppression, and inequality within human society on the human exploitation and oppression of plants, Zheng has established a connection between nature and society. His discursive plant-politics discourse creates a way to re-understand human history. He believes that the entire human history has been a continuous and accelerating process of manipulation and exploitation of other species. The invention of agriculture is regarded as the beginning of the Anthropocene; for Zheng, the essence of agriculture is the human exploitation of plants, with the energy that people get from plants exceeding the energy they expend, thereby creating a surplus value.

Fig. 2. Zheng Bo, *Kindred*, 2017. Exhibition view: *Precariat's Meeting*, Ming Contemporary Art Museum (McaM), Shanghai (8 November-7 January 2018). (Courtesy of the Artist).

Taking the above-mentioned *Kindred* as an example, herbaceous plants often appear in Zheng's works. Many of these herbs are alien species, humble but tenacious, growing everywhere in urban environments. Zheng called these marginalized plants 'weeds'. The definition of 'weeds' highlights the hierarchical divisions in human society. According to Zheng, on the one hand, weeds are the oppressed class in the kingdom of plants. On the other, the existence of weeds in Earth's history far outlasts that of humans, and their ability to survive is far greater than that of humans. Therefore, weeds are today's political avant-garde on Earth.[12] However, Zheng's analogy between the hierarchical relationship within human society and a human-imposed hierarchy in the natural ecosystem bears a plausible meaning from a socio-ecological perspective, as Murray Bookchin considers that ranking species within an ecosystem is "anthropomorphism at its crudest" and believes that it is problematic to describe natural ecosystems in hierarchical terms borrowed from human social hierarchies.[13] The juxtaposition and contradiction of anthropocentrism and anti-anthropocentrism in Zheng's 'plant-politics' discourse therefore produced a provocative yet interesting tension.

Conclusion

The three artists' conceptual and practical engagement with non-human entities challenges the ontologically distinct categories of human and non-human and the hierarchical dichotomy between nature and culture, materials and life. First, their work has revealed that non-humans, both living and non-living things, are no longer passive and inanimate. The study on the artists' engagement with silkworms, stone, and plants will lead to what Bennett called an aesthetic-affective openness to material vitality and will consequently develop an affective ethical engagement with others.[14] Furthermore, the artists' engagement with non-humans and the emphasis on the vitality of non-human things challenges the special status of human artists as the sole creators of art. In the age of the Anthropocene, it is necessary to further liberate art and aesthetics. This means to expand the inter-subjectivity to the cross-species inter-subjectivity, to include other non-human things into artistic creation and appreciation. As Zheng Bo points out, only if we change the belief that art-making is an exclusive human experience into an understanding that artistic creativity includes the creativity of

Fig. 3. *Kindred*, 2017.

all things, with art museums becoming a space for all things, will we be able to reach a good Anthropocene.[15] Last but not least, their work highlights the least anthropocentric modes of thinking that are rooted in Chinese traditional philosophy. As articulated by the Chinese philosopher Tu Wei-Ming, in traditional Chinese philosophy, regardless of Taoism or Confucianism, the appropriate metaphor for understanding the universe was biology rather than physics.[16] To say that the cosmos is a continuum and that all of its components are internally connected is also to say that it is an organismic unity, holistically integrated at each level of complexity. The study of the concepts of non-human things and the attitudes towards them in the discussed artworks, particularly in Zhan Wang and Liang Shaoji, reveals how ancient ecological wisdom still inspires contemporary Chinese artists to seek solutions to the problem of the Anthropocene.

Notes

[1] Liang Shaoji's conversation with the author on 7 August, 2017. See the interview transcript published by the Open Science Centre at the University of Jyväskylä. doi:10.17011/jyx/dataset/59988. In a large number of interviews and creative notes, Liang repeatedly talked about the enlightenment of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu's philosophy.

[2] *Broken Landscape* was first displayed in Liang's solo exhibition *Broken Landscape* at the ShanghART Gallery Beijing (15 November-31 December, 2008).

[3] B. Erickson, "Material Illusion: Adrift with the Conceptual Sculptor Zhan Wang", in D.A. Fan, ed., *Garden Utopia* (Beijing: National Art Museum, 2009), pp. 238-239. Garden Utopia was published on the occasion of Zhan Wang's solo exhibition *Garden Utopia* at the National Museum of China, May 11-May 21, 2008.

[4] M.A. Wang, *Double Imitation and Nature*, in *Zhan Wang: Garden Utopia*, p. 207.

[5] See Lao Tzu, *Tao Te Ching*, chapter 27, English translation by James Legge.

[6] H. Wu, *One Hour Equals One Hundred Million Years: Suyuan Stone Generator and Zhan Wang's art experiment*. http://www.zhanwangart.com/article/9. (Accessed 20 January, 2019).

[7] B. Latour, *Diplomacy in the Face of Gaia: Bruno Latour in conversation with Heather Davis*, in H. Davis, E. Turpin, eds., *Art in the Anthropocene: Encounters among Aesthetics, Politics, Environments and Epistemologies* (London: Open Humanities Press, 2015), p. 44.

[8] In the Chinese context, the system, or authorial system *(体制 ti-zhi)*, has special meaning. The system means governmental institutions, state-owned enterprises, universities, and the permanent employees at these institutions are the so-called 'people inside the system'. On the other hand, private entrepreneurs, freelance workers, farmers, and assembly line workers are people outside the system. Being inside the system means more privilege and better welfare on the one hand, yet, on the other hand, stricter obedience to authority, especially that of the government.

[9] In 1900, the Bengali biophysicist and botanist Jagdish Chandra Bose found that plants have a nervous system that allows them to transmit electrical information among their roots, stems, leaves, and other parts, enabling them to explore their environments and adjusting their behavior with purpose. More recent studies reveal that plants have significantly developed abilities in experiencing sensations, awareness, integration of information, long-term memory, and adaptive learning, which suggest more similarities between animals and plants and lead to consider the possibility that plants might be intelligent, even more intelligent than we used to believe. See P. Calvo, et al., "Are plants sentient?", *Plant, Cell & Environment* 40, no. 11 (2017): pp. 2858-2869. Also: M. Marder, "Plant intentionality and the phenomenological framework of plant Intelligence", *Plant Signaling & Behavior* 7, no. 11 (November 2012): pp. 1365-1372.

[10] T. Morton, *The Ecological Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), p. 13.

[11] D. Pepper, "Anarchism and the Green Society", in Id., *Eco-Socialism: From Deep Ecology to Social Justice* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 165.

[12] B. Zheng, "Weedparty: Kindred", Uncut Talks. https://soundcloud.com/uncuttalks/5zkoo8wygqk4. (Accessed 15 December, 2018).

[13] M. Bookchin, "The Concept of Social Ecology", in Id., *The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy* (Palo Alto, CA: Cheshire Books, 1982), p. 26.

[14] J. Bennett, "Preface", in Id., *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010): p. x.

[15] B. Zheng, "Ecological Art Practices in a Good Anthropocene", *New Arts: Journal of the National Academy of Art* 39, no. 6 (June 2018): pp. 5-9.

[16] Tu Wei-ming, "The Continuity of Being: Chinese Visions of Nature", in Id., *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1985), p. 39.

SESSION 8

The Ghost in the Machine: The Disappearance of Artists, Critics, Viewers?

CHAIRS

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Kwan Kiu Leung
Visibility and Criticism in the Public Sphere: Marcel Duchamp & He Chengyao

Nadia Radwan
Invisible Stories: The Other Criteria of Art Criticism in the Middle East

Ling Min
What is Lost in the Transformation of Art Criticism in China?

José Antonio González Zarandona
Destruction of Images; Images of Destruction: Critical Stances on Contemporary Heritage

Francesco Guzzetti
Standardizing the Author: Emilio Prini and Conceptual Art

Lola Lorant
From Art Criticism to Art History: Challenging the Environmental Exclusion in the Writings of Nouveau Réalisme in the Transatlantic World

Maria de Fátima Morethy Couto
Bringing the Spectator to the Foreground: Julio Le Parc and Lygia Clark at the Venice Biennales (1966 and 1968)

Leonardo Impett / Peter Bell
Reverse Engineering Michael Baxandall's Pictorial Plot

Pamela Bianchi
Digital Curating and Ephemeral Artworks: Three Case Studies

Sara De Chiara
Edmond de Belamy *or* Bel Ami*: The Rise of the 'Non-Artist' vs. the Artist's Retreat*

Introduction to Session 8

Session 8 – *The Ghost in the Machine: The Disappearance of Artist, Critics, Viewers?*, is dedicated to the three specters that reside in each of these last three terms. This session, diverse as its papers and themes are, as varied the geographies under consideration may be, has one simple and unifying goal: *to make the tables dance*.

This line is inspired by Karl Marx, who in a footnote in *Capital* brought together two worlds – Western and non-Western – of the 1850s. They reflect in the German novelty of spiritualist seances where the upper-classes were 'table-turning' and in China's Taiping Rebellion, where there was a confrontation with state power.

> One may recall that China and the tables began to dance when the rest of the world appeared to be standing still – *pour encourager les autres* [to encourage the others].
>
> Marx, *Capital* I, p. 164.

'To encourage the others' is a line from Voltaire's *Candide* describing an episode in which a random bystander is shot to spur the others to action. Our contributors are in safe hands today, I assure you, but the spell of Marx and the dancing tables by unseen spirits, remain (fig. 1).

Artists-critics-viewers: we are haunted by three specters – three ghosts – three phantoms. This session deals with the types of (1) destruction (2) disappearance (3) 'spirits without bodies' that define our experience of art today. The title 'ghost in the machine' references a concept coined by British philosopher Gilbert Ryle in a 1949 work which challenged the mind/body dualism of René Descartes. Where does consciousness lie in the 21st century? In art, body, mind, or machine? Or, more to the point for our session, does it lie in an acknowledgment of the lacunae of histories and the ways in which they have been written?

Fig. 1. A seance with the Italian medium Eusapia Palladino at the home of the French astronomer Camille Flammarion, Rue Cassini, Paris, 12 November 1898. Gelatin silver print.

We have an excellent session where the contributors reflect on this question from varied angles across geographies. While our goal is to consider the way each paper in the session takes on the forces that 'make the tables dance', or the unseen and contingent forces of history and/or shifts in power and/or technology that both shape and shake loose narratives, some concerns come to fore. Has the changing nature of institutions around the world forever transformed the relationship between artists, critics, viewers? What role does the geographical position play in determining the way art histories and criticisms are shaped and written? Does the shifting nature of art in the contemporary from materiality to immateriality, to formalism, to Artificial/Machine Intelligence, play a part in the investment or collapse of these roles?

Our ten panelists, or investigators, think about this question from their respective areas of research and specialization. Each brings to light issues of destruction, disappearance, or of what I term a 'spirit' without body: a ghost in the machine. The results are surprising: how can societal change provoke the disappearance of certain forms of art criticism, as in China; why has art history 'erased', or made invisible, the contribution of certain artists from the Global South (such as Latin American artists in Paris) in spite of their significant role at biennials? How do artists and art critics from the Middle East participate in forms of self-erasure to actualize power? How have institutions sidelined, ignored, or made certain narratives of art history invisible, and what happens when they seek to retrieve them? How does ecological and environmental damage and destruction (and our blindness to it) shape our view of a particular art movement in France? What was the invisible 'standard' to which artists were drawn in the United States and Italy in the 1960s? Where do we place 'ephemeral', lost, or unrealized works which have no institutional home? How can we compare the destruction of art heritage and culture with the early 20th-century iconoclasm of the avant-garde? Finally, what status do we give to the disembodied 'eye' of technology? How can it help reshape, for example, 21st-century perceptions and critical views of Renaissance paintings? How can machine intelligence come to question, aid, or – dare I suggest it – *replace the critic?*

Is AI the teleological end to the artist's disappearance over time? Or even the disappearance of the critic? To paraphrase the Mumbai art collective CAMP: *Is the dream of the future a room full of computers that make art with no 'humans' present?* No humans, I say, but what about their ghosts? Can our subjectivity be disembodied so that once separated, we can come back to haunt

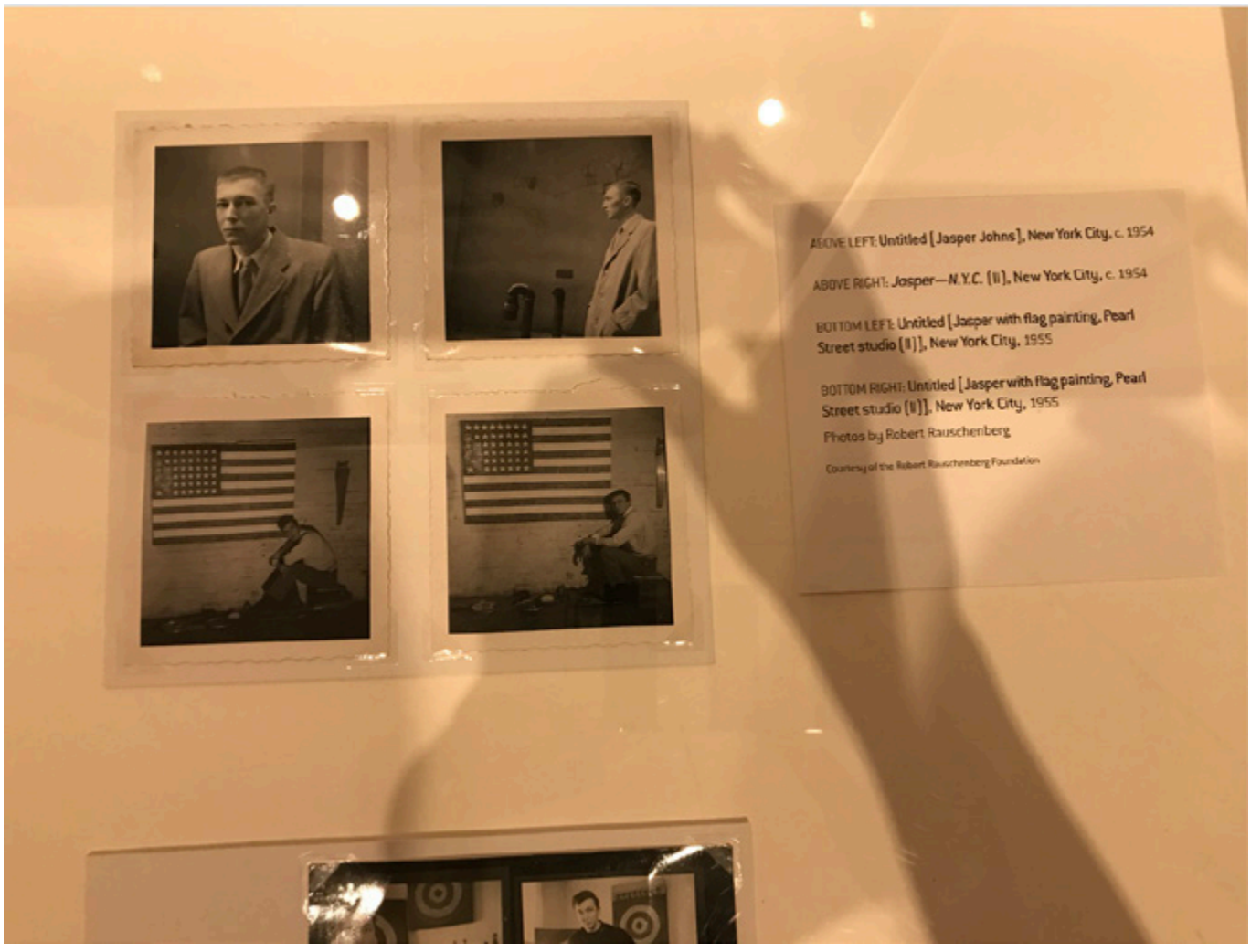

Fig. 2. Photograph of an installation display of Jasper Johns, Williams College Museum of Art. (Photo by the Author).

ourselves – as Jacques Derrida once speculated in his hauntology – by what troubles or disturbs us? Or, taken from the perspective of critics and historians, is there a ghostly presence in what we write about, what we speculate about, what questions we raise through the other, *who is always only ourselves*? This is best seen in a series of images or 'ruined' photos which blend the role of artist, critic, viewer as seen in the images of [artworks in museums with reflective shadows on the glass] (fig. 2), where a 'ghost' in the form of shadows comes to assist, change, and create reflections on the actual artwork. You will forgive me, as critic and viewer play the artist in this proposition for our session. (This is what art historian Griselda Pollock would term a 'gambit'). It is a moment to materialize our own subjectivity in relation to what we study and how we speak about it; or to make visible the contingency that is captured in the moment of change in an artwork, or its image, through our shadows.

The questions from today's session are necessarily polyvalent, layered, nuanced and address diverse areas. They point not to a single direction, but to several – north, south, east, and west – that decenter any single position of privilege. The papers challenge inherited frameworks through a ghost's singular ability to inhabit multiple dimensions, perspectives, and temporalities at once. The narratives are not always chronological, rather they are nonlinear, they run counter, trace back and are sometimes circular. So, perhaps, by virtue of the number of references to Marcel Duchamp in this session, it is appropriate to revisit his *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2.* Duchamp, as you will see, certainly does haunt our session. And we are indeed haunted by his alter-ego, who was not Rose Selavy, after all, but rather the ghost, the trace, the specter, the phantom in the form of the Brown Lady of Raynham Hall descending the staircase (fig. 3). That is not only Duchamp's ghost, but also that of each one of us, everywhere at once.

In looking at art that spans the early part of the 20th century, we see that the apparition of Marcel Duchamp and his iconoclasm continue to haunt our concerns. The 'Dada' spirit of anarchy and destruction found resonance in the papers of Kwan Kiu Leung and her example of a woman artist in China and in José Antonio González Zarandona's consideration of the anti-art and avant-garde tendencies towards 'destruction' in light of images of

Fig. 3. 'Brown Lady of Raynham Hall'. Photograph taken by Captain Hubert C. Provand. First published in *Country Life* in 1936.

destroyed heritage. Francesco Guzzetti refers to Duchamp in connection to the Italian artist Emilio Prini. Kwan Kiu Leung further shows us the way Chinese women artists can challenge the position and hegemony of Duchamp by desexualizing and decentering his legacy.

Geographical positions also shape narratives of art history: such is the case of China with its transformation of art criticism over time, as pointed out by Ling Min. Nadia Radwan describes the way changing art criticism in Egypt and the impact of globalization create forms of loss in French and Arabic historical discourses in a region where local identities disappear with the institutionalization of practices. Maria de Fátima Morethy Couto reveals the way artists from the Global South – even recognizable names such as Lygia Clark and Julio Le Parc – have had their contributions sidelined to different degrees in spite of their participation in European biennials.

Lola Lorant writes about the impact of environmental destruction and the ecological concerns inherent in some of the works of Nouveau Réalisme, which have been too long ignored in art history.

Meanwhile, Pamela Bianchi focuses on ephemeral works, issues of loss, and unrealized works that need a home, lest they disappear forever. Antonio Zarandona too presents us with case studies that challenge the way we look at heritage destruction in view of our own valorization of avant-garde art practices.

Finally, Peter Bell and Leonardo Impett use 21st-century technology to make visible, and simultaneously reinforce and shift, aspects of art criticism that have long guided our understanding of Renaissance art and the Annunciation scene. Sara De Chiara, on the other hand, tells us a story about the disappearance of artists which has been taking place more and more frequently, even before an art collective produced a work of AI art that was seen at an auction at Sotheby's in 2018 – which signals a teleological end, or a beginning of new narratives.

So, it is within this panoply of rich contributions that I open this session to explore the critical stakes for artists, critics, and viewers and bring to light where we stand, or stood, or will stand in our contemporary condition. Perhaps our papers point to the retreat from such hegemonic or monolithic positions? We welcome questions, observations, dissent.

Let's rattle the tables!

Rakhee Balaram

Visibility and Criticism in the Public Sphere: Marcel Duchamp & He Chengyao

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In the 1910s, the Dadaists shouted their anti-traditional, anti-war, and anti-bourgeois messages advocating a change in perception and introducing new modes of art such as the readymade – introduced by the Dadaists that included Marcel Duchamp. In this paper, I argue that these developments parallel the suffragettes' mission to obtain emancipation and women's right to vote in the 1910s.[1] For example, one of the artists, Hannah Höch, used a direct reference to the growing suffrage movement in her photomontage from *Cut with the Kitchen Knife Dada Through the Last Weimar Beer Belly Cultural Epoch of Germany* (1919-1920), where she uses a map of the European countries where women had the right to vote – in Germany, and also in the UK, women obtained the right to vote in 1918.

Akin to the Dadaists, in the 1960s and 1970s feminist artists in different countries also questioned authority and tradition, which laid the groundwork for their own subjectivity. The spirit of the suffragettes continued to help influence a new generation who fought for the rights of women, better working conditions, better pay, child rights, and protection against violence. These struggles are similar to those of Dadaist artists, whether male or female, who used their art as the basis to assert their freedom of expression and demonstrated how the lack of aesthetic subjectivity and a political agenda were a means to find a new way to visibly protest with their bodies during this historical passage. The impact of the growing influence of women on the arts was not recognised at this time. Some European and American women had just begun: (1) to vote, and (2) to obtain a glimpse of consciousness of female subjectivity through the suffrages. However, during this time, women artists still faced gender discrimination and their work was often undervalued.

Duchamp's rejected 1917 *Fountain* evokes confusion to this day. At the time, Duchamp and his collaborators attempted to provoke the art establishment – the Society of Independent Artists in New York – with readymades. Many artists joined the Dadaists' effort to raise awareness on the fact that their work was being overshadowed by gender bias, and women's artworks were not seen as a priority. Moreover, women artists were not recognised as artists, much less good or great artists, as Linda Nochlin's 1971 article "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" argued.[2] Since 1917, criticism in art practice has changed due to women's emancipation with the suffragette movement. This encouraged female artists' subjectivity to achieve freedom to enter the public sphere through their right to vote, and they used their art practice to raise awareness on women's rights and to see a glimpse of their own subjectivity in art practice for a global endeavour. The art establishment took longer to acknowledge the contribution of female artists.

Nevertheless, recent attempts to excavate the past or present in contemporary art revealed new discoveries that the work *Fountain* of 1917 may have been created by a female artist rather than Duchamp alone, or that it was more a col-

Fig. 1. He Chengyao, *Marcel Duchamp as My Opponent*, 2001. Western Chess, Photograph, Studio, Beijing. Courtesy of the Artist. (Photo by Han Lei).

laboration. This suggests that *Fountain* was possibly sourced and implemented by the female artist Baroness Elsa in 1917. Irene Gammel's book *Baroness Elsa: Gender, Dada, and Everyday Modernity* (2002) discussed the impact of Baroness Elsa's ideas on Duchamp, as she was one of the main members of the Dadaist group at the time, and Gammel further discusses this to imply that *Fountain* in 1917 was presented by a female artist using the pseudonym 'R. Mutt', rather than by Marcel Duchamp alone.[3] A letter by Duchamp was found in 1983 in which he wrote to his cherished sister Suzanne on April 11, 1917: "One of my female friends under a masculine pseudonym, Richard Mutt, sent in a porcelain urinal as a sculpture".[4]

Although this could be another 'game' played by Duchamp to disguise his own handy work, it nonetheless revealed some discrepancy in who presented *Fountain* in 1917. Duchamp's relationship with women and the art world around him was a sort of game, similar to the game of chess that he normally played to challenge his mind. Julian Wasser's iconic photograph of Duchamp and Eve, *Playing Chess With a Nude (Eve Babitz)*, 1963, shows Duchamp fully dressed playing chess with the naked Eve Babitz. Duchamp did not compose this photograph – it was the photographer Wasser who saw a photo opportunity and asked Eve and Duchamp to play chess for a photo shoot, but Duchamp's presence did have an impact on the work.[5] This photograph continued to influence many artists and many fields worldwide.

The Dadaists' attitude and Duchamp's 'ready-mades' also had an impact on many artists in China, such as He Chengyao (b. 1964). Chengyao's photograph of *Marcel Duchamp As My Opponent*, 2001, pays homage to Duchamp through the work of Wasser, and furthermore she claims Duchamp as her opponent.[6] Nude self-portraits are highly unusual for Chinese artists, even more so for Chinese women artists in China, due to a cultural difference between the East and the West. Chengyao's performance photograph shows her half naked, with her head looking down at the chessboard, her arms resting on the table, suggesting confidence and bodily freedom, and shows that she is ready for the mental challenge of a chess match – a game usually reserved for male players, but for Chengyao chess games are normal part of growing up in China. She is consciously evoking the mise-en-scène of *Playing Chess With a Nude (Eve Babitz)* in 1963, for her art practice. Chengyao places herself in a long and established lineage of art practices that blurs past and present, East and West, male and female, modern and contemporary, insider and outsider, rules and rule-breakers. In attempting to come to terms with the relationship between her life and art practice to make sense of things, Chengyao said, "despite an economical growth, China is still the same, the political regime has remained unchanged since 1989".[7] This suggests a change is needed. Multimedia art practice around the world provided Chengyao with the freedom to explore her subjectivity, endurance, and determination. She plays chess with the 'master' Duchamp – albeit by imagining his spectre opposite her – as she re-writes the rules of a chess game with the help of the spectre of Duchamp and creates her own subjectivity in art history.[8]

Fig. 2. He Chengyao, *Homage to Duchamp* 2001. Performance, Photograph, Beijing. Courtesy of the Artist. (Photo by Han Lei).

While Chengyao saw Duchamp as her opponent in the game of chess, simultaneously, in this work, there was a sense of evoking an 'old master', or in the spirit of Chinese tradition, where artists create copies from old masters' paintings, in order to learn from them. However, as for Duchamp since 1917, he chose objects with no masters, he rejected 'old masters' to create his own ideas, in favour of industrial objects to which he granted an 'art-life', thereby considering himself a master. Furthermore, in choosing to play in the spirit of Duchamp, Chengyao embraces the influence of Western artists and reveals the Chinese women artists' art practice that draws attention to the imbalance of power, not only in terms of gender, but also of female subjectivity.

Fig. 3. He Chengyao, *Opening the Great Wall* 2001. Performance, Photograph, Great Wall, China. Courtesy of the Artist. (Photo by Tian Yibin).

Chengyao's *Homage to Duchamp* is a tribute to the cubist-inspired painting *Nude Descending a Staircase, no 2*, 1912, where she 'performs' the action depicted on Duchamp's canvas. Chengyao portrays her own female body descending the stairs in motion, thereby actualising her subjectivity to be visible in the public sphere. When she comes down the staircase, is to suggest she is leaving the bedroom. The image on the right shows a nearly invisible nude female figure whose motion is blurred, attempting to show her visibility, while the other image on the left shows motion visibly.

By using motion, Chengyao emphasises her performativity by actualising and affirming her subjectivity with her body, which becomes part of Duchamp's work. It is through these artworks that Chengyao highlights the ambiguity presented by Duchamp's 1912 canvas: woman, muse, sexuality, and the speed of industrial production. Chengyao's photographs capture the duality of what is happening to the female body around the world – lacking in female subjectivity on the one hand and asserting her subjectivity on the other. She is voicing a concern for women who may not be ready to apply agency of their own. Furthermore, she is making sense of her world by creating her art practice.

In another works, *Opening the Great Wall* in 2001, Chengyao walks on the Great Wall in China, and she said:

> If my mother did not run about, day and night, stark naked with disheveled hair, shouting through the streets and alleys of my hometown. If she did not use this method to expose the confining morals of patriarchy, to protest its discipline and violence, and to look with contempt on its authority using her extreme insanity to realize her freedom, then I wouldn't have used the identity of artists for my behaviour on the Great Wall. I understand that I similarly violated the prohibition of male-dominated society against women freely controlling their own bodies, especially in the name of art. I believe that I cannot allow myself to sink into the dust my predecessors left behind and become one more sacrificial offering to patriarchal society. I acted instinctively to make a new start.[9]

Her mother's influence is felt in another of her performance pieces, *99 needles* in 2002, where she examines her mother's suffering from mental health issues. In the performance, pins are placed on her body to evoke a Chinese tradition of practising acupuncture to treat the ill, an ancient heal-

Fig. 4. He Chengyao Teaching Young Monks in a Monastery in Tibet, 2013. (Courtesy of the Artist).

ing method prescribed to her mother. Chengyao is also questioning the societal restrictions placed on women and the violence inflicted on their bodies over centuries. The artist stated: "My body is a weapon to challenge restrictions that are hundreds of years old".[10]

In July 2017, Chengyao went to Nepal, India, and took the decision to become a Buddhist nun. As a practicing Buddhist, she spent a year in Tibet and taught young monks how to read and write Chinese. In my discussion with Chengyao, she mentioned how Buddhism influenced her thinking, so it was not a surprise when she pursued Buddhism in a monastery in Nepal for peace and solace.[11] It is unknown when she will return to communicate her experience in art practice again.

Indeed "The Ghost in the Machine" is complex,[12] but we merge, we connect, we explore, we critique, and, as Adrian Moore says, metaphysics is "Making Sense of Things",[13] and perhaps in all our criticisms there is a glimpse of ontology, to make sense of things for our practice, for ourselves, because the spectre hangs around knocking on doors – but do we listen?

Notes

[1] K.K. Leung, *Uncompromising Female Aesthetic Subjectivity: Ontological and Ethical Self in Contemporary Art* (Berlin: De Gruyter, to be published in 2021). Chapter 2.

[2] Extract from L. Nochlin, *Women, Art and Power and Other Essays* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988), pp. 147-158.

[3] I. Gammel, *Baroness Elsa: Gender, Dada, and Everyday Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2002), pp. 12, 14, 63, 223-228. Also see SRB's review of Irene Gammel's book, "How Duchamp stole the Urinal", *Scottish Review of Books* (November 4, 2014). (No Author mentioned by SRB).

[4] *Ivi*, Gammel and SRB. On 11th April 1917, Duchamp wrote to his cherished sister Suzanne, "One of my female friends under a masculine pseudonym, Richard Mutt, sent in a porcelain urinal as a sculpture". Gammel claims the female friend is Baroness Elsa.

[5] C. Tomkins, *Marcel Duchamp: The Afternoon Interviews* (New York: Badland Unlimited, 2013), pp. 23-93.

[6] He Chengyao, Skype interview with Kwan Kiu Leung, Beijing 2013 and March 2016 at Today Art Museum Artificial Garden Beijing Group Exhibition, curated by Liao Wen.

[7] Conversation between He Chengyao and Kwan Kiu Leung, at Today Art Museum, March 2016, curated by Liao Wen. For the exhibition's review see – contemporary art to create an "Artificial Garden". Source: Global Times Published: 2016-3-27 19:13:01.

[8] F.M. Naumann, ed., *The Recurrent, Haunting Ghost: Essays on the Art, Life, and Legacy of Marcel Duchamp* (New York: Readymade, 2012).

[9] M. Gao, "The Great Wall in Chinese Contemporary Art", *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 12, no. 3 (2004): pp. 773-786.

[10] He Chengyao, Interview with Kwan Kiu Leung, March 2016, at Today Art Museum, Beijing, Group exhibition Artificial Garden, curated by Liao Wen.

[11] K.K. Leung, *Uncompromising Female Aesthetic Subjectivity* see Chapter 4. Chengyao also discussed this in our interview.

[12] G. Ryle, *The Concept of Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949). He used the phrase "the dogma of the Ghost in the Machine" to argue against dualism, p. 5.

[13] A.W. Moore, *The Evolution of Modern Metaphysics: Making Sense of Things* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 25-39, pp. 107-142.

Invisible Stories: The Other Criteria of Art Criticism in the Middle East

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This paper aims to bring to the fore the issues of translatability, transposition, and anachronism in the field of art criticism in the Middle East by focusing on the case of the permanent collection of Modern and Contemporary Arab Art of the Sharjah Art Museum in the United Arab Emirates.[1] By demonstrating how new narratives come into play in art spaces and institutions that are conceived and run locally in the Arab world, it questions the effects of the shifting place of enunciation of art criticism in the region. More importantly perhaps, it discusses the way the so-called global institutions conceal other stories – stories that are marked by antagonisms and differences. It suggests looking closely at these stories by taking into account art and exhibition practices that offer a third path by disrupting both Western and Middle Eastern narratives.

From the Intimate Critic to the Institution

From the early 20th century until the 1980s, several factors marked a change in the field of art criticism in the Middle East. First, it is essential to underline that in this region, art criticism was dominated by scholars and critics, who positioned themselves as privileged witnesses of the art scene, being artists themselves, art professors, or relatives of artists. Therefore, in that specific context, the form of *testimony* was the form of *art criticism* that became *art history*.

In the case of Egypt, for instance, this literature was published both in French and Arabic. While the publications in French insisted on the cosmopolitanism of the art scene and the presence of European artists and professors, the writings in Arabic, in particular the texts published during the Nasser Era (1950s-1970), provide the reader with a nationalist narrative that essentializes the Egyptianness of artists and tends to minimize foreign influence. However, even though these local historiographies call for a double reading, they constitute a fundamental body of knowledge that deserves to be taken into account in scholarship in the field of art practices in the region. The witnesses have also been possibly overlooked because of the style of the testimony, which may be perceived as non-scientific from a Western academic perspective.

A first shift breaking away from the intimate critic is marked by the disappearance of the witness in favor of the emergence of art criticism produced by the global art market. At the beginning of the 2000s, particularly after the tragic events of 9/11, the place of enunciation of art criticism was progressively transferred from the testimony to the institution. This literature was superseded by other narratives mainly published in English by Western museums and art galleries. Through exhibitions and art sales, the latter signaled the existence of contemporary art and art-makers from the Middle East, and consequently erased multiple other stories of modernism in the region. Indeed, the apparent newness associated with contemporary Middle Eastern art, emphasized over the past twenty years, notably through exhibitions organized in Europe and in the United States,[2] contributed to the strengthening of the already well-established idea of a void between the glorious past of Islamic art and contemporaneity. One may recall the infamous commentary of the British journalist Brian Appleyard regarding the exhibition *Unveiled: New Art from the Middle East* held at the Saatchi Gallery in 2009: “It would be hard to classify anything in the Saatchi as great art. But that is not really the point. What matters is the fact that it is art, and that it detonates our simple conceptions of the Middle East”.[3] This comment reflects the general tendency to canonize contemporary art from the Middle East in Western institutions and to consider the artist as a social and political critic.

While the events of the so-called Arab Spring and, more recently, the war in Syria have once

Fig. 1. A sampling of the body of knowledge of art criticism in Egypt (Author's Personal Archives).

again shed light on this phenomenon, artists from the region – although mainly belonging to the diasporas – positioned themselves as commentators. Hence, one may question the role of the Middle Eastern artist. Is it to bear witness to his/her time? A critic producing a commentary on global issues or Middle Eastern politics?

I argue that the disappearance of the intimate critic led to the formulation, by Western institutions and the art market, of criteria for Arab contemporary art that should be mainly oriented towards identity politics and reflect otherness, subsequently excluding from the canon artworks that did not meet these criteria and that rather pointed towards sameness.

A second shift is to be found in the documentary turn that the field has witnessed since more than a decade now, notably with initiatives such as the publication of the Primary Documents series[4] by the MoMA, or the valuation of archives by exhibitions, such as, for instance, the exhibition on the Egyptian surrealist group Art et Liberté held at the Centre Georges Pompidou in 2017.[5] This Derridean 'archive fever' brings to the fore the question of the discursive power but also of the commodification of the archive, of what is included or excluded from it – that is to say, of what is made visible for the viewer or the critic and what is relevant to the (re-)writing of stories of art in the Middle East.

Finally, one should mention the leading role played by art institutions in the Gulf region – global platforms such as Art Dubai, the Sharjah Biennial, Christie's Dubai, as well as the establishment of iconic museums designed by contemporary 'starchitects', such as the Louvre and the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi – in defining the value and criteria of artworks but also in providing a narrative about art from the Middle East.

Behind the Lure: the Case of the Sharjah Art Museum

The abovementioned ambitious cultural projects implemented by Gulf states also conceal invisible

stories. Already in 1990, Rosalind Krauss, in her seminal essay entitled *The Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalist Museum* foresaw the global turn of the museum, announcing its shift towards a corporate identity linked to the world of leisure in which the encounter with the work of art would be superseded by the subjective "simulacral experience" of the museum space.[6] This idea was pursued in a postcolonial perspective by Saloni Mathur, who coined the term "McGuggenheim effect" to describe the export of the museum brand as a homogenized commodity.[7] While the hegemonic power of museum branding as a cultural legitimization in the Gulf and the problematic notion of universality deserve to be further debated, here I would like to focus on less obvious and more discreet yet significant initiatives that coexist alongside these branded institutions.

They concern different actors and audiences and are formed in the pursuit of distinctive curatorial goals that are not necessarily related to the global art market or the promotion of the ideal of a universal cultural heritage. Rather, these institutions seek to position the United Arab Emirates – a region which has historically constituted a platform for transnational exchange and the connectedness of the global and the local – on the map of Middle Eastern art history.

They therefore form hybrid spaces in which other stories are told, namely, counter-narratives that involve a production that has not only been excluded from Western modernism, but also from the recent canonization of Middle Eastern art by international biennales and art fairs. They seem to escape the paradigms of a global art history which, despite its claim of mapping new art regions and their geographic and cultural differences, seems to remain indebted to the system of inclusion and exclusion by major Western contemporary art platforms, such as the documenta in Kassel or the Venice Biennale.

This is the case, for instance, of the Sharjah Art Museum and in particular of its permanent exhibition entitled Collection of Modern and Contemporary Arab Art inaugurated in 2015. The Sharjah Art Museum was established by the Ruler of Sharjah, Sheikh Sultan bin Mohammad Al-Qasimi in 1997 and can therefore be defined as relatively old in the context of the UAE's history of museal institutions. Initially, the museum centered around the Sheikh's personal collection of 19th century European orientalist paintings.[8]

The Collection of Modern and Contemporary Arab Art is mainly comprised of gifts received by the Ruler of Sharjah and acquisitions made during various events, such as the Emirates Society of Fine Arts annual exhibition. In this sense, it differs from the Sheikh's collection of orientalist paintings and does not follow the logic and coherence of a collector's collection. Rather, it is the peculiar result of an accumulation of eclectic works, including both notable and unknown artists.

The works consist primarily of paintings, featuring portraits and landscapes, in addition to several abstract works. The collection is certainly not significant for its international reception when compared with other neighboring collections, such as, for instance, the Barjeel Art Foundation's collection, established by the critic, patron, and collector Sultan Sooud Al-Qassemi. This impressive collection of modern and contemporary art from the Arab World was exhibited at the very high-end Whitechapel Gallery in London at the same time as the new wing in Sharjah was inaugurated. It includes figures that have already earned their place in the white cube, either as pioneers of Arab modernism, or as contemporary artists. The exhibition catalogue of the Barjeel Art Foundation's collection was signed by prominent international curators and scholars, and the goal of the collection itself, as explained by Sooud Al-Qassemi, was to provide a coherent narrative of modern and contemporary art in the Arab World:

> Certainly, art is borderless and there are intertwining narratives and ethnic groups at play. However, in addition to the obvious matter of a shared language, there are also common causes, at the forefront of which is the Palestinian cause that permeates across all cultural and artistic expressions in the Arab world.[9]

Clearly, in comparison, the Sharjah Art Museum's collection belongs to another story of art, outside, or perhaps even beyond the canon. But the question remains: why then is its collection so meaningful both on a local and global level?

One could argue that the significance of the collection resides in the variety of represented countries, as it includes works from Sudan, Yemen, and Bahrain, which are relatively rare on the art scene. However, although this diversity would seem a relevant aspect of the exhibition, the display neglects to reference the artists' origins. The gallery labels

include only the artists' names, and the titles and dates of the artworks, which may indicate that, in the eyes of the curators, the common denominator of Arabness surpassed regionalisms.

Sameness and Arab Art Histories

Amongst the central pieces of this Pan-Arab collection are two portraits by the Syrian artist Louay Kayali (1934-1978) and the Iraqi Faiq Hassan (1914-1992), painted in 1971 and 1989, respectively. This generation of artists is characterized by mobility between the Middle East and Europe. Most were trained in Europe and, upon returning to their homelands, they took part in the institutionalization of art education and the establishment of museums. For instance, Faiq Hassan created and directed the Department of Painting at the Institute of Fine Arts in Baghdad after studying at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and Louay Kayali studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Rome. Therefore, the genres and styles in which these paintings were executed in the late 20th century do not reflect otherness and are perceived as anachronistic on the one hand, and as westernized on the other. Indeed, Kayali's 1989 'impressionistic' portrait may be labelled as 'outdated' if considered in the light of Western criteria.

Fig. 2. Faiq Hassan, *Student model*, 1989. Oil on canvas. Sharjah, Sharjah Art Museum. (Courtesy of the Sharjah Art Museum, Sharjah, UAE).

However, in the case of Arab art histories, it seems more relevant to ask *how* and *why* these works were created, rather than *when*. It was indeed a clear choice by many Arab artists to abstain from adhering to European avant-gardes. A commitment to realism and a conservative aesthetic actually resulted in a translation of European academic training, creating new meanings. Thus, for the viewer and critic, the challenge is to discern the newness of something which, aesthetically, seems completely familiar and even maybe outdated. The curatorial approach to such works can therefore play a major role by emphasizing stories of mobility, circulation, and cultural transfer – in other words, by translating "the appropriation of and simultaneously the emancipation from a cultural object, a transposition that would impart as much legitimacy as the 'original'".[10]

Another question tackled by this collection is the notion of translation and translatability of certain terms and genres. This is the case, for instance, with abstraction (*fann al-tajrid*), which encompasses multiple genealogies of Western and Islamic art, but conveys specific politics and aesthetics when practiced in the context of the Middle East.[11] Etel Adnan, for instance, became internationally famous after exhibiting at the documenta 13 in 2012 and, since then, has been absorbed by the global art market. While her work maintains such a subtle and particular relationship with abstraction, Arabic poetry, and calligraphy, it tends to be over-simplified by institutional narratives.

This equally pertains to *hurufiyya*, a genre that appeared towards the end of the 1950s, when Arab artists began to engage with the art of calligraphy. Deriving from the word *harf* ('the written sign') and playing on the dialogue between the aesthetics, form, and meaning of the Arab letter, it was developed at a time when cultural identities were crystalizing around the question of Arabness. *Hurufiyya*, when simply translated as 'lettrism' or 'calligraphy', obscures multilayered aspects linked to the dimension of form, politics, and the hidden meanings of the Arabic written sign.[12] Over-simplified translation is a recurring issue in the writing of art histories in the Arab World, and arguably, in non-Western contexts in general. In conclu-

sion, the permanent collection of the Sharjah Art Museum brings to the fore issues of anachronism, translatability, and the complexity of defining other criteria for Middle Eastern art history. It demonstrates how new narratives, which are concealed by apparent formal similitudes, come into play in institutions that are conceived and run locally.

Moreover, it draws attention to the sameness trap, in regard to Arab modernism. For the viewer of this permanent exhibition, novelty may not be readily apparent. Indeed, his/her experience of the Collection of Modern and Contemporary Arab Art will differ from the spectator's subjective experience of newness once described by Leo Steinberg as the 'plight' of the audience when discovering new forms of art and being "confronted with an unfamiliar style".[13] Likely owing to familiar styles and easily identifiable genres, the counter-narratives conveyed by this collection of works are rendered nearly imperceptible, or murmuring, and demonstrate how engagement with art history in the Middle East calls for a decentering of the discipline – one which implies a very close look at sameness rather than otherness.

Notes

[1] A longer version of this paper has been published in K. Imesh-Oechslin, *Authenticity and Cultural Translation in the Global City and Community: The Case of the Greater Middle East* (Oberhausen: Athena, forthcoming 2021).

[2] Emblematic of the post-9/11 exhibitions underlining the newness of Middle Eastern contemporary art was the Saatchi Gallery*'s Unveiled: New Art from the Middle East*, exh. cat. (London: Saatchi Gallery, 2009).

[3] B. Appleyard, "Islam Stripped Bare", *Sunday Times* (January 25, 2009).

[4] A. Lenssen, S. Rogers, N. Shabout, eds., *Modern Art in the Arab World: Primary Documents* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2018).

[5] S. Bardaouil, T. Fellrath, *Art et Liberté: Rupture, War and Surrealism in Egypt (1938-1948)* (Paris: Skira, 2017).

[6] R. Krauss, "The Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalist Museum", *October* 54 (1990): p. 15.

[7] S. Mathur, "Museums and Globalization", *Anthropological Quarterly* 78, no. 3 (2005): pp. 698-700.

[8] On Orientalist collections in the Middle East, see: M. Volait, "Middle Eastern Collections of Orientalist Painting at the Turn of the 21st Century: Paradoxical Reversal or Persistent Misunderstanding?", in F. Pouillon, ed., *After Orientalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 251-271.

[9] S. Sooud Al-Qassemi, "The Arab World: A Sum of Its Parts", in *Imperfect Chronology: Arab Art from the Modern to the Contemporary – Works from the Barjeel Art Foundation*, exh. cat. (London: Whitechapel Gallery, 2015), p. 15.

[10] M. Espagne, "La notion de transfert culturel", *Revue Sciences/Lettres* 1 (2013). http://rsl.revues.org/219.

[11] This issue has been addressed elsewhere, see: N. Radwan, S. Naef, eds., *Art, Abstraction and Activism in the Middle East*, Special issue of *Manazir Journal* 1 (2019). https://bop.unibe.ch/manazir/issue/view/1009.

See also the Catalogue presenting the Barjeel Art Foundation's collection of Abstract Art: L. Gumpert, S. Takesh, eds., *Taking Shape: Abstraction from the Arab World 1950s-1980s*, exh. cat. (New York and München: Grey Art Gallery in association with Hirmer Publishers, 2020).

[12] See Nada Shabout's discussion about the term *Hurufiyya* in N. Shabout, *Modern Arab Art: Formation of Arab Aesthetics* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007), pp. 75-96. See also: C. Dagher, *Arabic Hurufiyya, Art and Identity*, tr. S. Mahmoud (Milano: Skira, 2016) and I. Dadi, "Rethinking Calligraphic Modernism", in K. Mercer, ed., *Discrepant Abstraction* (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press-Institute of International Visual Arts, 2006), pp. 94-114.

[13] L. Steinberg, *Other Criteria. Confrontations with Twentieth-Century Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 5.

What is Lost in the Transformation of Art Criticism in China?*

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Introduction

Art changes and evolves. Historically, art criticism is no different, as it too is subject to a process of change and evolution. What are the social roles of artists, critics, and viewers in this process? What are the objects that are critiqued? What methods and criteria does art criticism employ? What changes have there been? What is the cause of these changes? What is the general tendency? To get to the bottom of these questions, it will help us not only to try to understand the historic role of art criticism, but also to recognize its current reality. A study of its evolution will help us discover some kind of pattern and enable us to develop new theoretical approaches, thereby enriching our idea of what art criticism is, and deepening our understanding of current practices.

China is a country with a written history of around 5,000 years. From the past to the present of Chinese art criticism, not only does the social role of critics show historical features and obvious characteristics of the time, but it also tells us a great deal over time about the objects that are studied and the methods and aesthetic criteria that are employed. More to the point, if, in the long term, history is divided into classical agricultural and modern industrial society, Chinese art criticism, too, can be divided into two parts: classical and modern. Changes in the classical period (5th century BC-1911 AD) need to be measured by timescales of more than one hundred years; the modern and contemporary periods (1912-present) are evaluated on a timescale of ten years or less. If we make a comparative analysis of this, we will find that the evolutionary trajectory of modern and contemporary art criticism almost replicates that of the classical period in China and presents us with a miniature version of classical art criticism. How can this be so? Why has this happened? What are the problems that modern and contemporary art criticism face? What gets lost? This series of questions is both surprising and adds special interest to the further exploration of the issue.

The Evolution of Modern and Contemporary Art Criticism

As it may be seen from its evolution over more than three thousand years, Chinese classical art criticism possesses three characteristics: first, critics had diverse social roles but, with the awakening of the public's aesthetic consciousness, the main function of artistic expression shifted from education to aesthetics. Critics transitioned from playing the role of politicians to that of literary masters, who were proficient in art. Secondly, the object of art criticism became diversified. However, with the continuous enrichment of creative themes, the focus of art criticism gradually shifted from subject-matter and content to form and style. Thirdly, criticism itself changed over time. Excessive emphasis on form and style led to a formulaic production and a rigid approach to artistic appreciation; given the interdependence between critic and artist, this inevitably led to a decline in artistic creativity and, eventually, to a move towards change. It was this that marked the evolution of classical art criticism.

Since then, in contrast to the long evolution of classical art, contemporary criticism has taken only one hundred years to evolve. What has been its trajectory then? In line with historical developments, I would suggest dividing the last century into three periods, as follows: 1912-1949, 1949-1979, and 1979 to the present. After performing a comparative analysis of this period, I find that there are many places where this evolution runs parallel to that of the classical tradition. This is very surprising. Here, let us first look at the characteristics and key aspects of art criticism in these three periods.

In the first period (1912-1949), there were two major social changes. One of them was the dis-

integration of the Qing Dynasty in 1911, which marked the end of thousands of years of Chinese classical society. The other was the withdrawal of the old regime from mainland China in 1949, and its replacement by the new government. What changes occurred in art criticism during this period? Here again, I have selected four representative figures: Kang Youwei (1858-1927), Chen Duxiu (1879-1942), Li Puyuan (1901-1956), and Mao Zedong (1893-1976), with the aim of finding out what they can tell us. Kang Youwei was a scholar and political commentator. In his "Preface to Wanmu Caotang's Collection of Paintings", he said that "the execution of modern Chinese paintings is extremely disastrous. Unless the old style of painting changes, Chinese traditional painting will soon die out".[1] Chen Duxiu was a politician; in *The Art Revolution - Answering Lu Zheng*, he said, "Improving Chinese painting, we can't fail to adopt the realism of Western painting".[2] In his publication *Collecting Art*, Li Puyuan, who was a literary critic, said: "Artists and Art Life are a reflection of the social consciousness of their time!".[3] Mao Zedong was the leader of the new China; he published the *The Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art* in 1942, stating that: "Literature and art are a good part of the entire revolutionary machine. Our literature and art are for the people, first and foremost for the workers, peasants and soldiers".[4] Obviously, art criticism in this period had to respond to historical changes, and also to indicate the future direction to be taken. It became highly historical and political.

In the second period (1949-1979), the new political power entered a phase of building of a national economic, social, political, and cultural framework. During this period, art criticism focused not on the views of a few individuals, but on the mission and purpose of the new government agencies in the field of art, such as artists' associations, art colleges, and painting institutes. The charter of the Chinese Artists' Association, published in 1953, stated that "art should serve the people, taking socialist realism's creative methods and critical methods, and striving to develop the artwork that the people need".[5] Art colleges were to become places for cultivating talent. In 1955, the National Association of Drawing Teachers declared that: "drawing is the foundation of realistic art, faithfully depicting the concrete objects seen in the actual environment, and this is the only true purpose of teaching people how to draw".[6] When the Chinese Academy of Painting was established in Beijing in 1957, the teaching program was drafted on the basis that "The specific tasks of the Academy are to nurture Chinese painting, to train Chinese talent, to investigate the theory of Chinese painting, and to teach and promote the creation of foreign-style paintings".[7] It can be seen that during this period, art was used as a tool for serving the country, and its social function was very prominent.

The third period (1979-present) is a new era in which the Chinese economy has been fully transformed from a planned to a market economy. During this period, the state's total monopoly and centralization of all exhibition resources and communication outlets were broken.

The situation of artists and critics have profoundly changed. Art and criticism have begun to switch over to contemporary production. Many influential contemporary artworks are not from official institutions, and some newcomers to the art scene are not members of the Artists' Association. All forms of contemporary art appear to feature without restriction in numerous private art museums. At the same time, the emergence of independent curators and critics has revolutionized the old approach to exhibition organization. Critics no longer express their opinions in ways that are determined by official institutions, but actively participate in exhibition making as curators, and are starting to plan different types of art exhibitions that show off their individual views and artistic judgments. Various styles and types of exhibitions, such as biennales, have been introduced from abroad. Artists and their works are no longer promoted in keeping with the ideas and methods of the official institutions; they end up creating an entirely different, multi-disciplinary artistic atmosphere.[8] Although the artistic creation and criticism of the period are entirely different, this period has not yet produced any outstanding genius, and there has been no major breakthrough on the theoretical front. The whole pattern has changed, and artists and critics have begun to move from an emphasis on aesthetics to something wholly different. This has become an irreversible trend.

The Loss of Criticism: Changes and Breakthroughs

Although Chinese modern and contemporary art criticism have gone through three stages of development over more than one hundred years, its

exponents, their motives, and the objects of their critique seem to be different from those of the classical period but may still appear to have gone through the same three stages of development, when placed in a larger historical framework. These three stages are equivalent to the three small fluctuations between the first and second phases of the classical period. The trajectory of change has been the same as that of the classical period, which basically fits with the evolutionary logic of art criticism.

For example, in the first two stages (1912-1949; 1949-1979), which make up the modern period, the representative figures of art criticism were mainly thinkers and politicians who tried to transform society. Starting from their own political outlook, they put forward their own ideas for an artistic revolution. They even sought to use art as a political tool, as a means of achieving their principal goal of transforming society and sought to do this through administrative means. This was very similar to the situation in the pre-Qin and Qin-Han periods, when the educational and political role of art was significantly highlighted. By the third stage (1979-present), which is the contemporary period, the subject, object, and purpose of art criticism had changed. Freelance or professional art writers (predominantly academics or journalists) have become the protagonists of art criticism, and the aesthetic function of artistic expression has received their attention. This is very similar to the Wei, Jin and Southern and Northern Dynasties, when art criticism began to enter the stage of self-awareness. However, so far there has been too little time to build a whole body of reflexive creative and critical practices. So far, Chinese contemporary art criticism has not yet produced great works or new theories that offer an insight into the past and the present, or that attempt to integrate both Western and Eastern traditions; and critics are still lost in the mists of time. What might be the reasons for this?

Before discussing the possible reasons, we shall need first to look at the situation of Chinese contemporary art and art criticism in order to understand the situation. Then we should be able to explore the question in much more depth, as a way of discovering the relationship between classical and modern mindsets. Judging from the current situation, Chinese contemporary art criticism is under a dual pressure, from the inside and outside, both in theory and in practice. The internal pressure is caused by the emergence of two opposing attitudes towards traditional culture and classical art theory: one is to reject tradition and treat classical art as something to be abandoned; the other is to worship tradition, to value classical art as a treasure. These two attitudes seem to be contradictory, but amount to the same thing. Neither can find the correct explanation for both the past and the present, and they both fall into the trap of self-limitation. The external pressure is due to the fact that after China woke up from its state of ignorance of the outside world to reach its current condition of blind bedazzlement (when did this happen?: critics have been left in a state of perplexity; their judgment has been confused and, in the short time that has elapsed since then, they have not yet been able to formulate fresh opinions of their own. Therefore, under the dual effect of these internal and external pressures, both art and criticism are condemned to go through a period of hesitation, cynicism, or even paranoia.

Why should that be the case? This is directly related to the way our civilization has evolved. In 1912, when China's last feudal dynasty was destroyed, it became clear that the country would have to go through a conscious or unconscious process of transformation that would turn it from an agricultural into an industrial country. But the economic and social forms of the industrial and agricultural civilizations are completely different. In ancient China, which was based on an agricultural civilization, economic growth had continued at an extremely gradual pace over a long period.[9] Throughout this situation of ultra-stable – but gradual – growth, people's lives changed slightly for thousands of years, and their ideas and aesthetic concepts were never subjected to dramatic change. The industrial civilization is just the opposite. From 1912 to 1979, society changed several times: especially after 1979, China's process of industrialization accelerated, the economy doubled, hundreds of millions of peasants flocked to the cities to become industrial workers, and the whole of society rapidly changed to become an industrial civilization. In these circumstances, it would be strange if people's ideas too had not undergone some form of dramatic change. This is a good explanation for the fact that art criticism in the classical period is often measured in centuries, while the changes in modern and contemporary art criticism in just a few decades.

For the Chinese, what is changing is not only all aspects of the economy and social life in the current period. What is more important is the humanistic spirit and aesthetic consciousness that have lasted for thousands of years. Even the traditional cultural elements that have infiltrated the minutiae of ordinary life are bound to be replaced. How is this to be done? By abandoning all traditions and replacing them with modern technology and modern industrial civilization? Or is it to be done by integrating the essence of traditional culture into contemporary life? This is a tough choice. At the same time, the problem of alienation caused by industrialization, environmental problems, problems of sustainability, and so on, also come with the rapid development of the economy. These contemporary issues, which are superimposed by social transformation, not only test the social players, but also challenge artists and critics. In this era of openness, the focus of people's attention has completely changed. In the past, closed art criticism – ranging from ideological theory to linguistic methods – did not adapt to the requirements of the new era, and everything was deconstructed. In particular, artistic creation, criticism, and appreciation have also lost their sense of identity. Therefore, it has become a matter of urgency to do something to recalibrate contemporary art criticism. China's current choice is to adjust the relationship between past and present through cultural renewal.

From the gradual changes of the classical period to today's sudden changes, Chinese art criticism shows that when a country or region turns from an agricultural to an industrial civilization, and when people's lifestyles and methods of production change drastically as a result of modifications in the socio-political and cultural structure, an equivalent transformation to artistic creation and criticism will follow. What is the role of critics in the event of a sudden change in civilization? What are the objects, methods, and standards of criticism? What changes will occur? These problems are emerging again, and this is a sign that art criticism is constantly evolving. Today's reality is also the history of the future, a cross-section of history; historical developments have an inherent logic. Chinese classical art criticism has provided a model that will need to be changed from beginning to end, and current art criticism is in the process of creating a new structure; the evolutionary aspect of art criticism will develop its own characteristics. This is where we need to study the difference between classical art criticism and contemporary art criticism. Because the current economic, technological, political, and cultural environments are completely different from those of ancient society, and art criticism will definitely be generated in the new environment. To a certain extent, the dilemma faced in China's latest art and criticism, and the ways and means that have been developed for dealing with them, can also serve as good points of reference for countries and regions that are in the process of economic and social transformation, and are on the road to industrialization. This is the value of the Chinese case.

Notes

* This paper is an abbreviated version of a somewhat longer contribution, in which the author originally examined the early periods of Chinese art critics. No attempt is made here to define the precise role of art criticism, or to draw the line between 'criticism' (a Western concept), aesthetic appreciation, or art history. Nor is there room here to attempt a description of the role of the 'art critic', as it is commonly understood today.

[1] Yin Shuangxi, *Selected Works of Chinese Art Criticism in 20th Century* (Shijiangzhuang: Hebei Fine Arts Publishing House, 2017), p. 71.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 75.

[3] Lang Zhaojun, *On Chinese Modern Art* (Nanjing: Jiangshu Fine Arts Publishing House, 1988), p. 23.

[4] Mao Zedong, *The Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art* (Shanghai: Huadong Xinhua Publishing House, 1943).

[5] Yin Shuangxi, *Selected Works of Chinese Art Criticism in 20th Century*, cit., p. 71.

[6] *Ibid*., p. 75.

[7] Jia Fangzhou, *Chinese Modern Art Theory Criticism Series, Jia Fangzhou vol.* (Beijing: Peoples Fine Arts Publishing House, 2009), p. 51.

[8] *Ibid*., pp. 79-81.

[9] A. Maddison, *World Economy: A Millennial Perspective* (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 2003), p. 30.

Destruction of Images; Images of Destruction: Critical Stances on Contemporary Heritage

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"[...] the image that survives the work of destruction is the image of destruction".[1]

In this paper, I will analyse the work of Forensic Architecture (FA) in producing the exhibition *Maps of Defiance* (2018) on heritage destruction. To achieve this aim, I will briefly describe how art historians have characterised the destruction of heritage through the aesthetics of destruction to explain the work of artists who are inspired by destruction when creating their art. I will then use Critical Heritage Studies (CHS) to analyse and interpret *Maps of Defiance*.

While I do acknowledge that there are well-established practices in the artworld that have analysed how artists have used heritage sites – such as institutional critique, participatory art, and site-specificity – I will address the discourses around heritage that inform the creation of images of destruction as critical stances of contemporary heritage.

Aesthetics of Destruction

Artistic appropriations of the discourse of destruction are not new. Avant-garde artists incorporated the trope of destruction into their art and writings with varying results.[2] However, while avant-garde artists considered destruction a necessary act to create a new world and erase the old one (established authorities, canonical iconographies, and cultural institutions), contemporary artists use the discourse of heritage destruction to critique the destruction carried out by particular political forces such as colonialism, fundamentalism, authoritarianism, capitalism, and neoliberalism. These forces are part of a destruction that, in some cases, is performed by machines such as mining robots. Therefore, acting out against this destruction may seem futile because "we are made of flesh, we get tired, but we are battling against a machine, and machines don't get tired".[3]

Avant-garde artists operated under the premise that destroying artworks also creates new works of art: "an art destined to show the end of art".[4]An iconoclastic impulse was the drive behind such artistic practices which also showed the traces that the destruction left behind, in a conscious effort to expose the drive to destroy, as in the case of Rauschenberg erasing a De Kooning. While for avant-garde artists the destruction of art was an aesthetic or political choice, contemporary artists focus on the destruction of images and cultural heritage as a result of the politics of heritage, creating new images of destruction. If iconoclasm "became an almost inevitable component of avant-gardism" in the 20th century,[5] in the 21st century the destruction of cultural heritage has become an inevitable component of contemporary art. This is most evident in the growing number of artists who have created artworks that are influenced, inspired, or informed by heritage destruction.[6]

The Politics of Heritage

Boris Groys claimed, echoing Warnke, that by the turn of the 21st century, iconoclasm was a thing of the past because "people no longer had any interest in actually destroying cultural icons".[7] What caused then the shift from the destruction of art, as was practiced in the 20th century by avant-garde artists, to the destruction of heritage as an art topic in the 21st century? What prompted the interest in heritage destruction? Firstly, the politics of heritage, which raised awareness of cultural heritage outside the academic world with the rise of the so-called 'Heritage Industry'.[8] Secondly, the emergence of discourses centred on the role of heritage as social glue that contributed to the creation and preservation of national memories and identities.[9] Thirdly, the destruction of monuments and statues in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union to remove the traces of communism

(1989-1992), and the destruction of cultural heritage (mosques, archives, libraries, architectural buildings) as part of the cultural genocide that swept the territories formerly known as Yugoslavia in the 1990s – particularly the dissemination of images depicting the destruction of the university and National Library in Sarajevo and the Mostar Bridge in the media and press.[10] Fourthly, the destruction of the Buddhas of Bamiyan in Afghanistan in 2001 by the Taliban regime, which made evident the fragility of cultural heritage, particularly in sites located outside the Western canon, and the lack of power of UNESCO to prevent such destructions. The destruction of the Buddhas, in particular, provided an opportunity to critically revise the theoretical scaffolding on which Heritage Studies were founded, leading to the draft of a UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage because, when it comes to the destruction of religious monuments, there is more than just stones involved.

Today, the methods and techniques available to analyse the destruction of heritage in detail on both a macro and a micro level (analysis of visual material, archival documents, interviews, satellite images, remote sensing, etc.) are well established. Using different methods and techniques, contemporary artists also explore the materiality of art and heritage, which can be analysed in the same way as a human corpse is routinely examined by a forensic scientist. The work inspired by iconoclasm and heritage destruction converges in an archive of destruction composed by images, aesthetics, and discourses of destruction. This archive of knowledge on destruction[11] offers the scholar an array of techniques of destruction, as well as insights as to how destruction informs the artistic practices of certain artists and how heritage destruction is understood in different contexts. Under these conditions, "destruction is the best form of conservation. For we live in a culture today that documents, archives, interprets and processes artistically all forms of destruction on many different levels".[12] As we shall see, the exhibition *Maps of Defiance* works as an exhibition that both creates and archives heritage as a result of heritage destruction.

All these factors contribute to a state of anxiety towards cultural heritage and its demise that continues to escalate. This is especially true in our Digital Age, in which images can be easily deleted with the touch of a key, and consequently, there is an anxiety that museums and heritage initiatives seek to assuage by digitising heritage, storing the metadata in archives, and sanctioning the destruction of artworks and heritage while creating more *heritage* about heritage destruction. Under the auspices of modernism, "a strategy of 'museumising', archiving and monumentalising important memorials developed" to prevent iconoclasm.[13] The climax of this strategy is the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention, composed today by over 1,100 sites, buildings, and traditions. However, recent debates in Heritage Studies echoing avant-garde artists like Malevich or the radical posture of the Futurists have argued that accumulating objects and knowledge, like the UNESCO World Heritage List does, may have negative effects on how we value our past. While destruction is not offered as an alternative to solve this problem, scholars argue that re-thinking our relationship with the past can lead to more positive effects on the conservation of cultural heritage.[14] Re-thinking this relationship is one of the tasks of Critical Heritage Studies (CHS).

Critical Heritage Theory

Focusing on socially engaged contemporary art, CHS may be a useful tool to understand how contemporary artists deal with heritage destruction. There is no standard theory of CHS and the term is understood differently in many contexts.[15] Underlying all these positions, however, there is a critique of old heritage practices embodied in the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) that Laurajane Smith identified as the main discourse that nurtured heritage management in different countries, where the figure of the expert was extolled and privileged, while local voices were marginalized in favour of universal concepts of heritage – monumental, aesthetically pleasing and derived from the Western canon. In sum, CHS marks the shift of the discipline of Heritage Studies, from the moment when scholars started to pay attention to the political, cultural, and social consequences of heritage discourses, as opposed to analysing the technical problems faced by conservators and heritage managers.[16] Thus, CHS is in a position to address the issues that humankind is facing at large – such as climate change, the destruction of natural and cultural resources, and migration – by bringing "a critical perspective to bear upon the socio-political complexities that enmesh heritage; tackling the thorny issues those in the conserva-

Fig. 1. Overview of the *Maps of Defiance* exhibition at the Triennale di Milano 2019. © London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

tion profession are often reluctant to acknowledge".[17]

I argue that this conversation is currently being held by contemporary artists and audiences in galleries and museums around the world – the same spaces that CHS have been critiquing for their colonial associations, their reliance on scientific positivism and authoritative expertise. One reason for this conversation to take place within contemporary art is that heritage professionals working in the industry are not always free to be critical about their work, since they must follow strict policy guidelines. In contrast, contemporary artists are usually free – the case of Ai Weiwei in China being an exception – to comment precisely on those critical issues that humankind is facing at large. They do so by using the concept of destruction as a metonym for the tension that exists between endurance and fragility, the central role power plays in human history and culture, and the underlying desire for novelty that (sometimes) motivates destruction. This freedom allows contemporary artists to be critical about how heritage is being appropriated by governments and ideologies, thus blurring the lines that dictate the relationship between authority, the so-called heritage experts, and communities and their heritage.

Blurring the Lines

The exhibition *Maps of Defiance*, curated by the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 1)[18] is an example where the line between communities, authority, and heritage experts was blurred. This exhibition is the result of different organisations and communities that teamed together to create a critical apparatus that looked at the destruction of Yezidi mausoleums in the Sinjar region, in northern Iraq, by the so-called Islamic State (IS) in August 2014. Trained by FA, members of Yazda – an international Yazidi NGO founded in response to the 2014 genocide – collected information on the destruction of these mausoleums using photogrammetry, a photographic recording technique, and drone footage, which enabled the documentation of the targeted Yezidi heritage sites. Through this data, coupled with media and screenshots from news outlets, historical aerial images, and photo-

Fig. 2. A panel describing the process of reconstruction of the Amadeen mausoleum through photographs of the ruins taken by Yazda members, and satellite and historic images. Triennale di Milano 2019. © London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

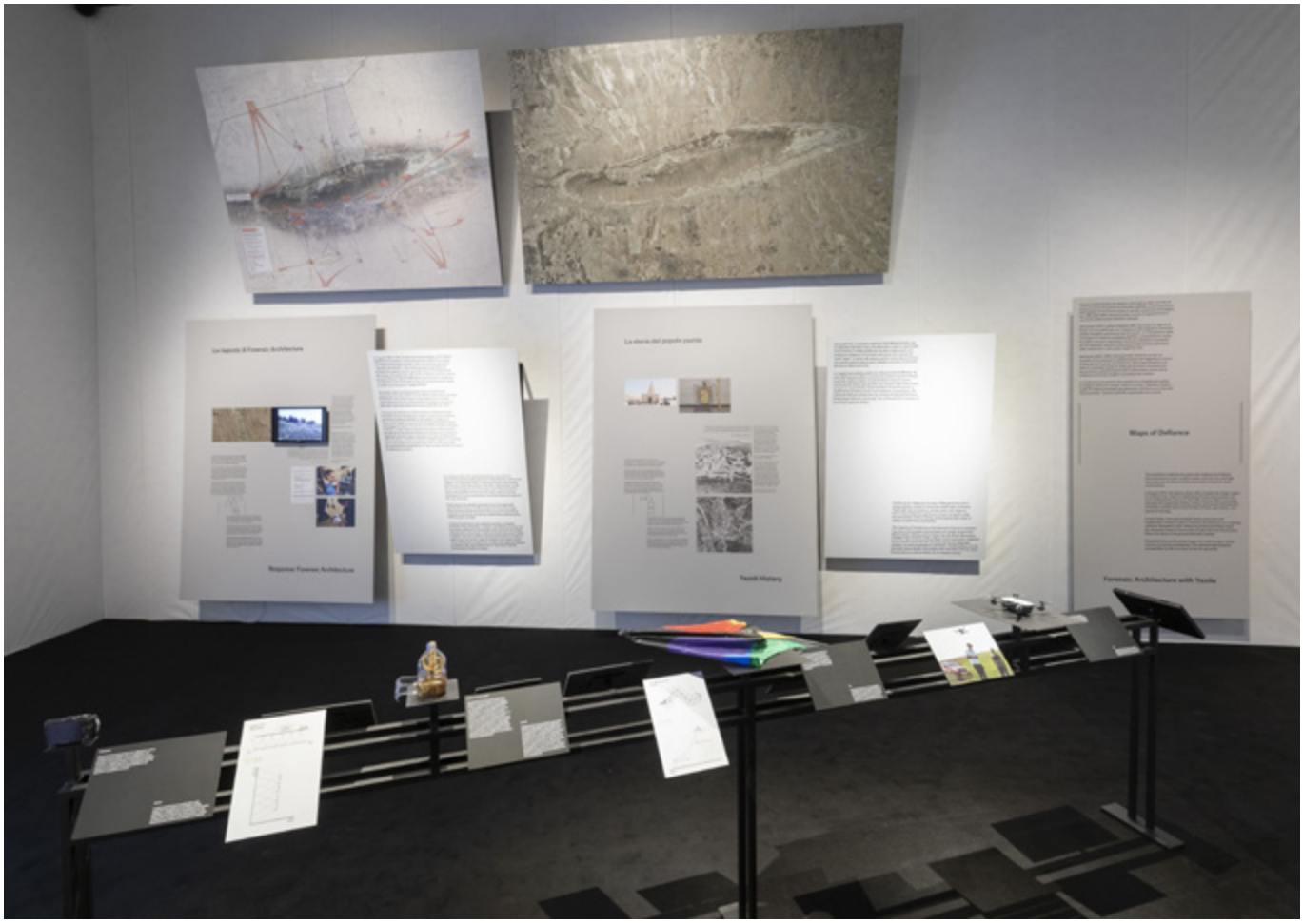

Fig. 3. In the foreground, objects used by the FA team to train Yazda volunteers to document the targeted heritage sites. From left to right: a digital camera; a plastic bottle to tie the camera to; a kite to fly the camera attached to the bottle; a drone. In the background, the two maps on the wall show Mount Sinjar (Iraq) and the movements of the IS and Yezidi refugees. At the bottom, there are several panels explaining the history of the Yezidis and the training process. Triennale di Milano 2019. © London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

graphs of everyday contemporary Yezidi life, FA was able to digitally reconstruct the destroyed mausoleums (fig. 2). In doing so, FA recreated the object to register its destruction, which is now part of the Yezidi history and collective memory. According to FA's website, the exhibition aims to "reclaim lost histories, not only through documentation and archiving, but also through speculation and imagination".

Maps of Defiance was roughly divided into two parts. In the first part, it set the context by providing an explanation to the motives behind the destruction by the IS as part of their iconoclastic and genocidal campaign against the Yezidis and other minority religious groups living in Iraq and Syria.[19] In the second part, it told the story behind the making of the exhibition, by including the objects and tools (digital cameras attached to plastic bottles, kites, balloons, and drones; fig. 3) that were used to train the Yazda staff and document the damage. No different from heritage conservators assessing the damage caused by other types of destruction, these tasks were performed not without risks. Although the IS had already left the region, visiting these sites was still dangerous for the Yezidi, who had to flee their villages and escape to the mountains to avoid being killed or, in the case of women, becoming sex slaves. The fact that it is designed in two parts, I argue, makes *Maps of Defiance* a critical exhibition for two reasons.

On the one hand, the meta-exhibition shows viewers the process of creation of the exhibition. In doing so, the exhibition offers a critical perspective to bear upon the socio-political complexities that affect heritage conservation in such a dangerous location, surpassing those issues that Winter mentions and that those in the conservation pro-

fession are often reluctant to acknowledge. The meta-reference is also timely because in studies of heritage destruction, there are no established methods to study this topic. Displaying its process sheds new light on how heritage destruction is evaluated, beyond a conservation point of view, in a space devoted to the criticism of artworks. On the other hand, other objects in the exhibition – such as the 3D models – informed viewers about the process of *re-making* of heritage. The exhibition remakes heritage, mostly in digital format, by reconstructing the destroyed sites through digital techniques that produce a surplus of heritage-related information concerning places targeted to precisely erase the signs that identify them as culturally significant for the Yezidi community. But rather than explaining heritage destruction as an isolated case of iconoclasm, the exhibition further draws attention to the impossibility of discussing such destruction without mentioning the people who were affected by it. This aim is achieved by using the heritage that the exhibition already created, highlighting the bond between the Yezidis and their mausoleums, which played a role in important rituals and, with their unique aesthetics, were an integral part of the Iraqi landscape. The exhibition addresses critical issues – heritage destruction, cultural genocide, the destruction of the landscape – while showing the methods and techniques used to create the exhibition. In doing so, the exhibition makes *heritage* by documenting the destruction of the past, in the present, for the future Yezidi generations. The exhibition also places emphasis on the role that the Yezidi community played in the making of the exhibition not only by documenting the destruction of their heritage at the risk of their own lives, but also as creators contributing with other types of material, such as old photographs of people standing in front of the mausoleums (fig. 4). These archival items made the digital reconstruction of the mausoleums possible since many of them were never formally photographed or documented before their destruction. Both heritage objects (the photographs and the digital reconstructions) will be of particular significance in the near future, as Yezidis are planning to demand reparations in an international court due to their experiencing a cultural genocide, which includes the destruction of mausoleums by the IS. The strong bond created between the Yezidi community and FA is crucial. Operating under the principles stipulated by CHS,

Fig. 4. Panel explaining how, by using old photographs (top left) provided by the Yezidi community, the FA team was able to digitally reconstruct the destroyed mausoleum of Sheikh Mand. Triennale di Milano 2019. © London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

FA approached the destruction of heritage from a bottom-up perspective. It was the Yezidi community who provided the knowledge and interpreted their landscape, however, as opposed to highly criticised heritage practices, FA did not provide the aesthetic criteria, or the cultural metrics, to analyse the architectural structures. Instead, FA's bottom-up perspective demanded accountability by exposing the violence taking place against the Yezidi people and their landscape. *Maps of Defiance* may be an exhibition for a gallery space, but its aim is to tell a story of heritage destruction.

By adopting a critical stance towards heritage or looking at the destroyed landscape in Iraq as "both the means of violation and a source of evidence that can bear witness to the events that traversed it",[20] FA uses a methodology that is more commonly applied to the violation of human rights than to heritage destruction. Their stance is critical,

I argue, because through the analysis of destruction not only does FA document the act, but it also deals with a world outside of the heritage discourse – and on a practical level. This action produces new images while simultaneously re-imagining a heritage in collaboration with the Yezidi community. Rather than acting as heritage 'experts' who provide an authoritative voice to explain destruction and its meaning, FA focuses on the value of the targeted buildings for the community, thereby placing a community-based heritage making initiative at the centre of their investigations.

Notes

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[1] B. Groys, "Becoming Revolutionary: On Kazimir Malevich", *e-flux*, Journal 47 (September 2013).

[2] S. Spieker, ed., *Destruction* (London: Whitechapel Gallery, 2017), pp. 14-15.

[3] A. Weiwei, "When there's no Darkness, there's no Light. A Conversation", in Id., *Ai Weiwei: restablecer memorias*, exh. cat. (México: MUAC, Museo Universitario Arte Contemporáneo, UNAM, 2019), p. 133.

[4] Badiou in S. Spieker, ed., *Destruction*, cit., p. 35.

[5] D. Gamboni, "Portrait of the Artist as an Iconoclast", in *Ai Weiwei: Dropping the Urn. Ceramic Works, 5000 BCE-2010 CE*, exh. cat. (Glenside, PA-Portland, OR-London: Arcadia University Art Gallery-Museum of Contemporary Craft-Victoria and Albert Museum, 2010), pp. 82-95: 83.

[6] See for example: P. Eleey, R. Katrib, eds. *Theater of Operations. The Gulf Wars 1991-2011*, exh. cat. (New York: D.A.P., 2019).

[7] B. Groys in N. Fischer, M. el Sani, eds., *Nina Fischer & Maroan el Sani: Blind Spots* (Zürich: JRP Ringier, 2008). See also M. Warnke, ed., *Bildersturm. Die Zerstörung des Kunstwerks* (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1973), p. 8.

[8] R. Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen, 1987).

[9] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2006); P. Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), pp. 7-24.

[10] It was the end of the Cold War and the investigation of war crimes in Yugoslavia that prompted the rise of forensic sciences, and the 'forensic turn' which saw a revision of the political violence exercised by the state through images of destruction as forensic evidence, to expose the violence in legal and artistic forums. See E. Weizman, P. Tavares, S. Schuppli, Studio S., "Forensic Architecture", *Architectural Design* 80, no. 5 (2010): pp. 58-63.

[11] S. Spieker, ed., *Destruction*, cit., p. 16.

[12] B. Groys in N. Fischer, M. el Sani, eds., *Nina Fischer*, cit.

[13] *Ivi*.

[14] R. Harrison, "Forgetting to remember, remembering to forget: late modern heritage practices, sustainability and the 'crisis' of accumulation of the past", *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 6 (2013): pp. 579-595; C. Holtorf, "Averting loss aversion in cultural heritage", *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21, no. 4 (2015): pp. 405-421; F. Vidal, N. Dias, eds., *Endangerment, Biodiversity and Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015).

[15] See for example D. Byrne, "Western hegemony in archaeological heritage management", *History and Anthropology* 5, no. 2 (1991): pp. 269-276; L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006); L. Meskell, *Cosmopolitan Archaeologies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); R. Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013).

[16] K. Gentry, L. Smith, "Critical Heritage Studies and the legacies of the late-twentieth century heritage canon", *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25, no. 11 (2019): pp. 1148-1168.

[17] T. Winter, "Clarifying the critical in Critical Heritage Studies, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 6 (2013): pp. 532-545.

[18] Up until December 2020, the exhibition was showcased in the following venues and events: 05/09/2020-29/11/2020, *The Destruction of Yazidi Cultural Heritage at Schafhof – European Center for Art Upper Bavaria* Schafhof – European Center for Art Upper Bavaria; 10/10/2019-15/02/2020 *Phantom Limb at Jameel Art Centre*, Jameel Arts Centre, Dubai; 03/10/2019-05/12/2019 *Inner Space at the Lisbon Architecture Triennale*, The National Museum of Contemporary Art, Lisbon; 07/09/2019-10/11/2019; *Collective Cities: Seoul Biennale of Architecture and Urbanism*, Dongdaemun Design Plaza (DDP), Seoul; 01/03/2019-01/09/2019 *Maps of Defiance at XXII Triennale di Milano*, La Triennale di Milano, Milan; 04/09/2018-23/09/2018 *Maps of Defiance at London Design Biennale 2018*, UK Pavilion, London Design Biennale, Somerset House, London.

[19] B. Isakhan, J.A. González Zarandona, T.J. Al-Deen, "Cultural Cleansing and Iconoclasm under the Islamic State: Attacks on Yezidis and Christians and their Heritage", in F. Oruc, ed., *Sites of Pluralism: Community Politics in the Middle East* (London: Hurst/Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 181-194.

[20] E. Weizman, P. Tavares, S. Schuppli, Studio S., "Forensic Architecture", cit., p. 59.

Standardizing the Author: Emilio Prini and Conceptual Art*

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This essay takes its cue from the notion of conceptual art, as elaborated by Benjamin Buchloh,[1] and focuses on the modalities by which artists in the 1960s and early 1970s integrated the concept of *standard* in their practice as the ultimate way to question the subjectivity of the author in the artistic creation. Major attention will be paid to the Italian artist Emilio Prini (1943-2016), arguing that his practice between the 1960s and the 1970s, despite the lack of recognition, was characterized by one of the most rigorous discussions of the tenets of artmaking, and compares to the work of leading figures of international conceptual art.

The Word Standard *and Foucault's Theory*

Before looking at art, it is worth retracing the origin of the etymology of the word *standard*. According to etymological dictionaries of modern English, the origin of the word entails two major meanings. First emerged in mid-12th century and modeled after the French *estandart*, meaning "flag or other conspicuous object to serve as a rallying point for a military force", the English word *standard* then evolved during the 14th century, with the meaning "weight, measure, or instrument by which the accuracy of others is determined".[2] The first definition implies the sense of conventionality of an object all the members of a community relate to by virtue of a shared knowledge. Through its iteration within a social context, an object is turned into a generally accepted and acknowledged symbol of a collective living practice. The second definition introduces a sense of authoritativeness:

> The standard weights and measures were set by royal ordinance and were known as the king's standard, so perhaps metaphoric, the royal standard coming to stand for royal authority in matters like setting weights and measures. Hence the meaning 'authoritative or recognized exemplar of quality or correctness' (late 15th century). Meaning 'rule, principal or means of judgment' is from 1560s.[3]

By virtue of the combination of conventionality and authoritativeness, the word defines a hierarchy-based set of rules which a community complies with. How the concept meandered its way through the cultural debates in the 1960s is rather self-explanatory. A preliminary distinction should be made in this respect; the notion of *standard* considered here is not related to the iteration of standard forms deployed by minimalist artists, which refers mostly to an internal attitude of artistic practice and vision. Nor is it related to the specific sense of standard art as an "exclusive, negative, absolute, and timeless"[4] art to which Ad Reinhardt's extremely rarified abstraction tended. The cultural debates around the modes of production and structures of societies extensively contributed to the integration of standardized practices into conceptual art. In the lectures given at the Collège de France in Paris in the Fall-Winter 1971-1972, Michel Foucault addressed the subject of *Penal Theories and Institutions* and expanded on the concept of *power-knowledge*, by which he meant to indicate the reciprocal reinforcement of social power and governing epistemes. He analyzed the forms of *power-knowledge* which include *examination*, understood as the "form of power-knowledge linked to systems of control, exclusion, and punishment characteristic of industrial societies". Based on the alternate process of selection and exclusion, *examination* was a "means of setting or reinstating the standard, the rule, the distribution, the qualification, the exclusion; but also a matrix of all the psychologies, sociologies, psychiatries – in short, of what is called the human sciences".[5] Foucault developed the analysis further in his famous essay *Discipline and Punish*, published in 1975. Combining standardization and

normalization, examination is a ritualized form of power-knowledge that

> combines the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalizing judgment. It is a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them.[6]

Backed up by a huge apparatus of registration and documentary writing through which individuals are catalogued, archived, and treated as 'cases', examination defines the practice of disciplinary power. A major identifying aspect of disciplinary power is the switch from visibility to invisibility between power and those over whom it is exercised. As opposed to the traditional hierarchy, the examination process requires the relative invisibility of power and the visibility of those it subjects. However, the regime of visibility transforms individuals, turning them from subjects into objects. The objectification of those who are subjected is essential to the functioning of the normative apparatus of registration, documentation, and information.

Conceptual Standard

The words with which the vocabulary employed by Foucault was mostly identified, such as 'examination', 'archive', 'normativity', 'documentation', 'registration', and 'information', were all extensively used in the debates around conceptual art. By internalizing the modes and practices of conventional systems of language, political power, and social and individual habits, artists were able to "subject the last residues of artistic aspiration toward transcendence (by means of traditional studio skills and privileged modes of experience) to the rigorous and relentless order of the vernacular of administration" and to "purge artistic production of the aspiration towards an affirmative collaboration with the forces of industrial production and consumption".[7] These quotations are taken from the famous essay in which Benjamin Buchloh coined the definition of 'aesthetic of administration'. Among the precursors of conceptual art, Buchloh focused on Ed Ruscha, whose use of photography and explicit deployment of format and distribution of commercial books addressed the social implications of the standardization of habits induced by authoritative conventions and means of mass communication. In early 1963, the artist published the famous photo-book *Twenty-six Gasoline Stations*, containing, as per its title, images of twenty-six gas stations photographed along Route 66 between Los Angeles and Oklahoma – although it is important to notice that the road itself is never depicted or referred to in the book. The concept of the book has already been thoroughly discussed.[8] The sense of standard is first evoked by the artlessness of the photographs, which the artist chose for the documentary style of their depictions. By stressing the stillness of the fixed lens of the camera and the frontal treatment of the roadside edifices, the result is a sequence of anonymous pictures iterating similar shots, views, angles, and frames unfolding through the pages and resembling images produced for commercial use.[9] The whole book conveys a sense of anonymity, to the extent that it does not provide any clue as to whether the artist actually made the journey to photograph those gas stations, or if he assembled pre-existing photos instead. Devoid of any atmospheric or situational content, the photos make up an anti-travelogue that lacks any reference to the author's subjectivity. The images documenting a gas station evoke the *standardization* of industrial and capitalist societies, and the preference assigned by the artist to the Standard Oil Company could resonate with the meaning of that word.[10]

Artists like Lawrence Weiner further expanded Ruscha's vision. Referencing the artist's famous formula regulating the open-ended parameters of the work, its authorship and production, and even its use and ownership, Buchloh noticed that

> it is a recognition that materials and procedures, surfaces and textures, locations and placement [...] are always already inscribed within the conventions of language and thereby within institutional power and ideological and economic investment.[11]

Significantly, the analysis of the *Statements* that the artist published in 1968 and distributed through Seth Siegelaub reveals consistent occurrences of the word *standard* that defines the conventional average size, aspect, layout, weight, and color of several objects, often referencing social and political forces, administrative institutions, and conventional infrastructures, such as *A 2" wide 1" deep trench cut across a standard*

one car driveway (cat. #019) or *One standard dye marker thrown into the sea (cat. #022)* – referring to the dye marker of the US armed services.[12] The actions described in the sentences are thereby turned into acts of awareness, mimicking the style of administrative regulations.

Emilio Prini

The attitude of institutional critique, as formulated by Buchloh vis-à-vis conceptual art, and the theory of examination as it was envisioned by Foucault resonate with the work of Emilio Prini on multiple levels. Prini is probably the most hidden figure associated with the group of Arte Povera. From the beginning of his career in 1967, his work unravels a thorough analysis of conventions and systems impacting everyday life as well as those that define the process of artistic creation and fruition, which the artist aligned with procedures. The artist largely employed means of mechanical reproduction to record actions he performed as well as visual layouts of installations. The pictures compose a repertoire of the artist's performing self and the surrounding environment, rendered through ambiguous and rather impersonal images by virtue of the technical specificities of the recording camera and the sense of objectivity usually associated with the photographic image in the mass media. The body of work created by Prini addressed major issues of capitalist society through the categories and procedures of technological means of reproduction and communication.

There is no Italian translation for the word *standard*. The term was borrowed from English, with no adaptations, and immediately linked to economics since its earlier known occurrences. In his *Dizionario moderno* ('Modern Dictionary') of 1905, a repertoire of new words and phrases of common use in Italian, the novelist and lexicographer Alfredo Panzini included the word *standard* as a synonym of "banner, model, rule, norm, type" as an "English term employed in commerce to indicate that the quality of a good or a product of industry is the typical, the normal one".[13] Panzini devoted an entry also to the phrase 'standard of life', defined as an "English locution meaning norm, lifestyle, type of life in a given economic and social condition", and continued: "Standard means not only flag, banner, but norm, type, a rule accepted and acknowledged in common use, by public opinion and authority or all these forces together".

Prini fully embraced the notion of standard in his work. In 1967, the artist created *Standard-Asta di comportamento* [Standard-Pole of Behavior], a 6.5 meters long aluminum rod with a green edge. He placed it in the space of the Galleria La Bertesca in Genoa but also in the street, forcing the passers-by to bend over and pass under the work. The rod was elastic, so it could curve or expand depending on the size of the space in which it was positioned.[14] The notion of standard referenced in the title is then dual. First, it relates to the standard size of the rod, which is fixed but looks different depending on the space where it is placed, thus exposing the conventionality of the parameters on which common life experience is based. In this respect, the work evokes the seminal *3 stoppages étalon (3 standard stoppages)* by Marcel Duchamp, a piece which seems to be prescient of conceptual art.[15] Furthermore, the behavior of the people bending over to pass under Prini's rod is another standard, a commonly accepted reaction to the obstacle represented by the work. Actually, the concept of standard expanded to include a third layer of interpretation. The rod is in fact known only through photos: the 'real' artwork did not coincide with the object, but with its reproduction. In 1973, the artist placed another rod, reminiscent of the first one, on the floor of Galleria Toselli in Milan, for one or two days, during an exhibition of Robert Mangold.[16] After then, he produced a work comprised of the photograph of the curved rod at Galleria La Bertesca in 1967,

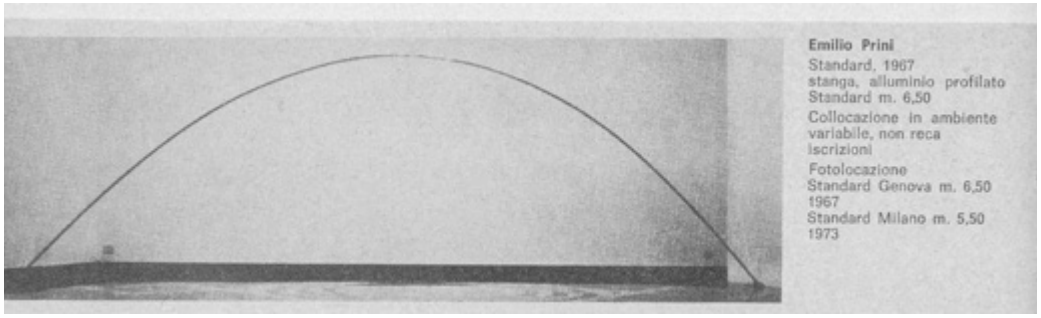

Fig. 1. Emilio Prini, *Asta curvata* (*Curved Rod*), 1967-1973. Offset print on paper, 7.8x10 cm. Private Collection. (Courtesy Archivio Emilio Prini).

accompanied by a caption in standard typeface describing its dimension, the different measurements in Genoa in 1967 and in Milan in 1973, and specifying "Installation in variable settings, no inscriptions" (fig. 1). Two different rods, varying in size, were standardized to an average by being rendered through the presumptive objectivity of the photographic documentation and a minimalist caption.

Prini increasingly entrusted his work to the medium of photography. While focusing on the standardized (and standardizing) properties of the medium, the artist explored the notion of use. The twofold meaning of the word 'use' – referring to the common use as well as the actual usage of an instrument – was investigated by the artist between 1969 and 1971 to the extent that he had it coincide with the concept of consumption. In those years, the artist developed a project titled *Magnet*, which comprised different works, the most important of which is based on the image of an Exakta Reflex camera which the artist took from an advertisement or an instruction manual and replicated it in several iterations on a black or white background (fig. 2). Published in 1970, the illustrations of the work were accompanied by a description which perfectly encapsulated the sense of the project:

> Magnet / photographic series / group of 2,000 sheets related to September 1968 (4 phases) / a normal camera takes photos over and over again until the consumption of the mechanism / expected duration of use for the apparatus / 20,000 takes / expected time of execution of the work / 10 years / annual series of 2,000 elements / technique / black and white photograph / Ferrania sheet / 3M / K203/ 3 / 30 x 40 cm each / fixed aperture lens and shutter speed / tripod with fixed inclination / 1969.[17]

According to the description, the work, be it realized or not (even though the version known today comprises almost 20,000 prints), emphasizes the functioning of the apparatus. The artist defines precise conditions of the photograph: the fixed time, diaphragm, shutter speed, and inclination, the standard size and quality of paper sheet (the sheets measuring 30 x 40 cm and coded 3M/K203/3, provided by the company Ferrania) and the regular distribution of shots per year. The only criterion was established by the actual duration of the work, which did not depend on artist's choice, but rather on the machine's 'consumption'. The notion of 'consumption' relates to Prini's practice. In fact, by setting out an essential system of rules, the artist then programmed the camera to operate until the mechanism broke down. Such process resulted in a series of works which complied with the instructions set up in *Magnet*. Prini realized a series of photos of public buildings in Genoa, taken regularly by placing the tripod on a bus and keeping the inclination fixed, printed on 30x40 paper sheets, thus composing a *Self-made narration* revolving around the places hosting and representing the institutions of power. Likewise, another work is comprised of 26,160 photos of a closed-circuit television monitor seen from the same, standard frontal view (fig. 3). Referring to a video that the artist made in 1970, which is now lost,[18] the photographs are divided into three groups according to the image displayed on the screen of the monitor: in the first group, the monitor screen shows a large TV displaying the image of another TV positioned in an anonymous office; in the second, it shows the large TV turned off; in the third, the screen itself is turned off, thus showing a blank image. Just like the buildings of public institutions in Genoa, the closed-circuit television monitor, the TV, and the anonymous open space-like office act like devices of control, means of communication, and workspaces, defining the average living standards. By accumulating prints, Prini visualizes the bulimic consumption of images on which communication systems are based, and the notion of a self-sufficient apparatus repeating itself until it does not work anymore. By doing so, the identity of the author disappears behind the technology of the system, his creative contribution being solely the activation of a process in which use, standard, and consumption get tangled up. Actually, the artist collaborated with a photographer named Antonio Leale to realize most of his works at that time, thus reducing even further the already small contribution of his activity.[19] The apparatus is turned into the subject of the work and a powerful symbol of the critique of a social model based on the conventions of capitalism and consumerism.

Around the same time, the term *standard* resurfaced in the titles elaborated by Prini. In 1969, he produced a large silkscreen whose size and bold typeface resemble advertising posters (fig. 4). Titled *Standard – L'U.S.A. USA* ('THE U.S.A. USES'),

Fig. 2. In the foreground: *Magnete* (*Magnet*), 1969/1970. 18,915 offset prints on paper, 23x17 cm each. Private Collection. On the wall on the right: *Racconto che si fa da solo* (*Self-made narration*), 1969. 90 b/w photographs, 30x40 cm each. Private Collection. Exhibition view: *Emilio Prini*, Fondazione Merz, 29/10/2019-09/02/2020. Courtesy Fondazione Merz, Archivio Emilio Prini. (Photo by Renato Ghiazza).

Fig. 3. *Magnete – Film TV, 5 min* (*Magnet – TV Film, 5 mins*), 1969, 26,160 b/w photographs and offset prints, 30x40 cm each. Private Collection. Exhibition view: *Emilio Prini*, Fondazione Merz, 29/10/2019-09/02/2020. Courtesy Fondazione Merz, Archivio Emilio Prini. (Photo by Renato Ghiazza).

the inscription reads "the recorder records up to the consumption of the mechanism" on the left, and "the used recorder using a used equipment records up to the consumption of the mechanism" on the right. A political critique is played out in the title: the word *standard*, an anglicism, relates to the American model of production, implying the commodification of human life by virtue of its meaning. Recorders do not record anything specifically, rather they expose themselves and the control and 'registration' operated on individuals. Humans are objectified, no margin of subjectivity is left, even to the artist, who hides behind industrial and automatic processes. The automatism induced by standardized practices evokes the depersonalization of individual and collective life, which follows the ritual imposed by standard systems. In 1971, on the occasion of a solo show titled *Merce Tipo Standard* [*Commodity Standard Type*], the artist positioned sound and video recorders recording each other;[20] in a sort of everlasting happening, whose use of closed-circuit system may be aligned with the work of Dan Graham, the viewers saw themselves as the powerless cases of a 'registration' procedure described by Foucault.

The reduction of the subjectivity of the author and the receivers encapsulated in Prini's work is a political statement. The sense of anti-subjectivity that his work achieves encompasses the *aesthetic of administration* in all the invisible power of *registration*. As is consistent with the major trends in international conceptual art, the work of Emilio Prini confronts us with the loss of identity in modern society and the disciplinary power entailed by any process of standardization.

Fig. 4. Emilio Prini, *Standard – L'U.S.A. USA* (*Standard – The U.S.A. USES*), 1969, Print on paper, 112x87 cm, Courtesy Sammlung Goetz, Munich, Archivio Emilio Prini. (Photo by Genevieve Hanson/Hauser & Wirth).

Notes

[*] Special thanks to Chiara Caroppo, Christiane Meyer-Stoll, Sara Moneta, Valentina Pero, and Timotea Austoni Prini.

[1] B.H.D. Buchloh, "Conceptual Art 1962-1969: From the Aesthetic of Administration to the Critique of Institutions", *October* 55 (1990): pp. 105-193.

[2] See: https://www.etymonline.com/word/standard.

[3] *Ivi*.

[4] A. Reinahrdt, "Twelve Rules for a New Academy", *Art News* 56, no. 3 (1957): p. 38.

[5] M. Foucault, *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth* (New York: The New Press, 1997), I, p. 18.

[6] Id., *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), p. 183.

[7] B.H.D. Buchloh, "Conceptual Art 1962-1969", cit., p. 143.

[8] I. Walker, "'A Kind of a "Huh?"': The Siting of *Twentysix Gasoline Stations* (1962)", in P. Di Bello, C. Wilson, S. Zamir, eds., *The Photobook: From Talbot to Ruscha and Beyond* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), pp. 111-128.

[9] J. Coplans, "Edward Ruscha Discusses his Perplexing Publications", *Artforum* 3, no. 5 (1965): p. 25.

[10] See the interview with Paul Kastrom, in E. Ruscha, *Leave any Information at the Signal* (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2002), pp. 153-154.

[11] B.H.D. Buchloh, "Conceptual Art 1962-1969", cit., p. 136.

[12] L. Weiner, *Statements* (New York: Seth Siegelaub, 1968), n.p.

[13] A. Panzini, *Dizionario moderno. Supplemento ai dizionari italiani* (Milano: Hoepli, 1905), p. 462.

[14] N. Bätzner, M. Disch, C. Meyer-Stoll, V. Pero, eds., *Entrare nell'opera: Processes and Performative Attitudes in Arte Povera* (Köln: Walther König, 2019), pp. 519-520.

[15] B.H.D. Buchloh, "Conceptual Art 1962-1969", cit., p. 126.

[16] See the photo by Giorgio Colombo in G. Celant, *+ spazi. Le gallerie Toselli* (Milano: Johan & Levi, 2019), p. 261.

[17] G. Celant, ed., *Conceptual Art Arte Povera Land Art* (Torino: Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna, 1970), n.p.

[18] Titled *Magnet*, the video was made for the exhibition *Gennaio 70* in Bologna, see M. Disch, C. Meyer-Stoll, V. Pero, eds., *Entrare nell'opera*, cit., p. 524.

[19] *Ivi*.

[20] M. Fagiolo dell'Arco, "Lettera da Roma", *Art International* 16, no. 1 (1972): pp. 58-59.

From Art Criticism to Art History: Challenging the Environmental Exclusion in the Writings of Nouveau Réalisme in the Transatlantic World

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Introduction

Tuez-les tous, Dieu reconnaîtra les siens (1961),[1] an accumulation of used insect sprayers by Arman (1928-2005) tells of the inevitable death of pests. At the turn of the 1960s, Arman went bargain-hunting for objects at flea markets or went through bins to find the materials for his sculptures. His colleague Martial Raysse (1936) preferred opting for the colorful packages and brand-new objects, including plastic ones, that filled the supermarket shelves. In Paris, in 1962, Christo (1935-2020) erected an "iron curtain",[2] a wall of barrels "meant for the transport of gasoline and oil for cars".[3] While these artists found their artistic materials in the world of goods and exchanges, Yves Klein (1928-1962) was pondering over the sensitive potentials of the IKB color to occupy space and signify invisibility. In his text *Ma position dans le combat entre la ligne et la couleur*, he declared that his artistic research was topical in the atomic era, in which the material and physical world "[could] disappear overnight to give way to the most abstract things imaginable".[4]

Plastic, pesticides, garbage, oil, and atomic power resonate like potential ecological hazards. Raw materials for the Nouveaux Réalistes' artworks conjure up environmental issues that have been set aside in the interpretations of their work.[5] Arman, Martial Raysse, Christo, and Yves Klein, together with Gérard Deschamps (1937), Raymond Hains (1926-2005), Niki de Saint Phalle (1930-2002), Mimmo Rotella (1918-2006), Daniel Spoerri (1930), Jean Tinguely (1925-1991), and Jacques Villeglé (1926), belonged to the neo-avant-garde group of Nouveau Réalisme launched by the art critic Pierre Restany in Paris at the turn of the 1960s. The objects used as they were found by the artists were considered as an objective tautological and sociological appropriation of what is real. They expressed the ebullient urban and industrial environment of the French booming economy of the 1960s. These ready-made objects distanced themselves from their dadaist heritage, as they were declared to be "40 degrees above Dada",[6] that is to say, devoid of any polemical tone and aggression. Following these official declarations, Nouveau Réalisme could only mirror a society without any shadows. Consequently, the relationships it established with its immediate environment excluded ecological concerns. For that reason, I would like to investigate the gap between the environmental issues conjured up in artworks and their denial in the historiography dedicated to this neo-avant-garde.

This approach may be deemed anachronic. We could object to a contemporary point of view determined by a growing awareness of the ecological ravages caused by human activity. As global warming and the extinction of species are increasingly being felt, ecology delves into mainstream public debates and shapes our representations of the environment. The notions of environment and ecology, often used interchangeably in common language nowadays, stem from a long history. The word 'ecology' appeared in 1866 through the pen of the German biologist Ernst Haeckel to designate the study of organisms with their environments. From the field of science, the notion of ecology entered the political field and common discourse at the turn of the 1970s. Alongside this discursive shift, 'environment', meaning 'what surrounds', gradually became a synonym for 'ecology', implying a concern to protect the environment from human activity.[7] 'Environment' also became an institutional term with the creation of the United States' Environmental Protection Agency in 1970 and several Ministries for the Environment in OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries. In France, the first Ministry for the Environment was created in 1971 and the first green candidate, René Dumont, campaigned for the French presidency in 1974. Thus, ecology gained more visibility at the turn of the seventies, a decade after the creation of Nouveau Réalisme.

However, environmental reflexivity existed before, in other terms and through other representations.[8]

By highlighting environmental issues not considered in the interpretation of artworks classified under the banner of Nouveau Réalisme, this paper is indebted to ecocriticism, as defined by Alan C. Braddock:

> Briefly defined, ecocriticism emphasizes issues of environmental interconnectedness, sustainability, and justice in cultural interpretation. When historically oriented, ecocriticism may bring attention to neglected evidence of past ecological and proto-ecological sensibility or it may cast canonical works and figures in a new light by revealing previously unnoticed complexity regarding environmental concerns.[9]

The polysemic works by the Nouveaux Réalistes encompass the ambivalence of their multifaceted contemporary capitalist world, including its ecological side-effects, whether it is explicitly recognized by the artists and critics or not. In addition, regarding environmental issues, Nouveau Réalisme inevitably integrates a wider transnational context than its Parisian base, where it has been tied by its historiography. The circulation of the Nouveaux Réalistes in the United States, a country France was eager to catch up with economically, provides an asymmetric counterpoint to the French situation.[10] These transatlantic perspectives aim at unsettling the environmental exclusion anchored to the discursive framework of Nouveau Réalisme.

A Thrilling Modern Nature

In the first manifesto of the group in 1960, Nouveau Réalisme was described as the expression of human activities and exchanges.[11] The second manifesto was more specific when it stated that the fragments the artists found came from: "the city, the street, the factory and mass production".[12] Artists could find their language, as well as their materials, in their immediate, fast-paced everyday surroundings which were a stage for efficiency, productivity, and leisure. This context was associated with an ambiguous notion of nature in the third and last manifesto of the group in 1963. According to Restany, the Nouveaux Réalistes seized "*the nature of the XXth century*".[13] Although defining this nature by the XXth century could suggest an evolving nature through time, from an uncontaminated state to a conquered one, the nature described by Restany exclusively results from human activity and is fully emancipated from an original state of nature. The critic claimed "the return of an *anthropocentric* naturalism"[14] from both sides of the Atlantic by artists using found objects. Naturalism, as a polysemic term, can refer to a philosophy that considers nature as a fundamental principle at the core of our understanding of the world, as well as to the literature of Émile Zola (1840-1902) who strove to give a faithful and accurate account of XIXth-century society. But the emphasis on the term 'anthropocentric' tips the scale in favor of a vision of the world determined by human values and activities, to the detriment of natural laws. This idea of a 'new' nature, which paradoxically separates human societies from nature, was understood as an autonomous system evolving independently from human societies. In addition, the exclusive focus on nature within the scope of the urban context ignores its connection with near or remote spaces as providers of material resources. As such, it reflects a capitalist ideology that considers human and social nature as an alternative that develops through its own means of production.[15] This is in contradiction with ecological concerns for a balanced relationship between human societies and their near or remote surroundings. Since its inception, Nouveau Réalisme has been part of a system where ecology could not exist.

This idea of nature aligned with the myth of modernity in the aftermath of the Second World War, which associated progress with economic growth and productivity. To describe the period of scientific, technical, and industrial development in the aftermath of the Second World War until the beginning of the 1970s, Jean Fourastié chose the enthusiastic term "les Trente Glorieuses",[16] which excluded the environmental issues caused by modernization until recent rewritings.[17] This optimistic point of view on the post-war decades resulted from his staunch, biased commitment to a productivist economic system at the end of the 1940s and 1950s, before it became part of history.[18] Similarly, Nouveau Réalisme made its way into art history through its active promotion by a founding father whose disregard towards ecology had little to do with his right-wing political position (as was common to the whole political spectrum at that time), but instead was a reflection and demonstration of his adherence to mainstream modernist ideology. In art history too, a consensual narrative embracing post-war progress and consumer society clung to historiography.[19]

An Unheeded 'Metamorphosis in Nature'

Being one of the few French art critics to recognize the growing influence of the American art scene after the Second World War, Restany was eager to expand his neo-avant-garde group across the Atlantic Ocean. However, the choice to get closer to the American art scene was also based on ideological affinities. France, in ruins after the war, benefited from the help of the United States through the European Recovery Program, signed in 1947, which fostered the reconstruction of the country. In addition, with the growing Soviet threat at the beginning of the Cold War, France – among other Western European Countries – and the United States, became military allies when they signed the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949. Although the Western bloc that France belonged to was not homogenous, the American way of life was seductive, and the capitalist economic model was a driving force to rebuild the country. In this context, Restany argued that the Nouveaux Réalistes and the American neo-dada artists, such as Jasper Johns (1930) and Robert Rauschenberg (1925-2008), shared a common nature, while specifying that the Americans were in contact with an industrial society that emerged earlier. In the *New Realists* exhibition organized at the Sidney Janis Gallery in New York in 1962, he expected his artists to be grouped with those he deemed their equivalents – the American neo-dadaists. According to his plan, he wrote the text *A Metamorphosis in Nature* for the catalogue, where he stated:

> In Europe, as well as in the United States, we are finding new directions in nature, for contemporary nature is mechanical, industrial and flooded with advertisements [...] The reality of everyday life has now become the factory and the city. Born under the twin signs of standardization and efficiency, extroversion is the rule of the new world [...].[20]

However, upon his arrival in New York, he discovered that the American artists soon to be known as 'pop artists' had replaced the neo-dadaists initially planned for the exhibition and taken over the show.[21] The art critic Brian O'Doherty, in his two exhibition reviews published in the New York Times, saw in the American artists' works a satire of mass market and mass culture, as he compared them to throwaway objects with a social commentary.[22] Concerning the European New Realists, his laconic comments such as "bad" or "good",[23] were representative of a dominant chauvinism towards recent European art. The French critic's considerations, associating the emergence of new artistic languages with a new contemporary society, were neither discussed to apprehend the Nouveaux Réalistes' artworks nor to see affinities with the American artists. The historiography that followed the transfer of Nouveau Réalisme to the United States focused on this collective exhibition to map competing national artistic categories rather than to consider how American and European artists could have interacted in a shared capitalist, urban, industrial, military, and economic transatlantic world.[24] In addition, the New Realists' show became a textbook case in American art history. It underlined the mixed reception of Nouveau Réalisme in the country and dismissed subsequent works made by some of its members that brought up important ecological issues, sometimes unequivocally, in the United States.

The USA: a Change in Scale

The environmental issues conveyed by the Nouveaux Réalistes' artworks stemmed from a way of producing, exchanging, and consuming, as well as from a way of waging war in an international context. Arman's accumulations of insect sprayers do not only refer to the French chemical product brand Fly Tox patented in 1934. It slightly precedes warnings against the toxicity of pesticides published in *Silent Spring* by the American biologist Rachel Carson in 1962. The sculpture, ironically titled *Tuez-les tous, Dieu reconnaîtra les siens*, meaning 'Kill them all, God will recognize his own' gives the pests hope for salvation. According to the legend, the sentence was supposedly pronounced by an abbot during the sack of Béziers, in France, during the Middle Ages, in 1209. The military reference is also reminiscent of the use of chemicals for war purposes, including the use of DDT by the Allied forces during the Second World War.[25]

Environmental damage was not to be attributed only to the United States. However, the artists might have encountered ecological drawbacks of consumer society that appeared on a larger scale in the United States.[26] In Paris, Christo planned to pile up rusty oil barrels labeled with various brand names such as ESSO, SHELL, and BP, which were involved in international geopolitical strategies of oil exploitation and distribution. In the United States too, in subsequent projects, he stacked barrels – this time shiny ones – in places known

for being strategic areas for the oil industry. He created *1,240 Oil Barrels Mastaba* at the Institute of Contemporary Art in Philadelphia in 1968, a city which, during the XIXth century, flourished thanks to the black gold industry. The use of barrels was seen on an exponential scale in an unrealized monumental mastaba shape for Houston-Galveston, one of the major oil ports in Texas in 1970.[27] The project, 200 feet high, would have depicted the seemingly unlimited use and trade of oil in the United States.

The idea of an overflowing production was explored by Jean Tinguely's machine *Rotozaza no. 2*, which was activated on the occasion of the congress Vision 67: Survival and Growth at the New York University's Loeb Center in 1967. The work mimicked an industrial assembly line, except that it destroyed bottles instead of producing them. The machine's performance epitomized the absurd production of large quantities of objects meant to be destroyed, as well as the waste of energy required for it. The performance was accompanied by Clarice River singing: "*Too many tellyphones, too many cars, too many cigars, too many guns, too much of everything*".[28] Through accumulations of garbage, Arman gave a similar account of waste, although less overtly. The 15-minute film *Sanitation,* made in collaboration with Jean-Pierre Mirouze in 1972, shows the side effects of a city's activities. It starts with street views, shop windows and neon lights displaying an attractive, entertaining urban life. Behind the scenes, this world of plenty produces an inevitable huge amount of garbage, whose putrefaction is transferred to the city's outskirts. The film follows the garbage trucks of the *Sanitation* company through the city until they reach a dump on an artificial island near Battery Park. The shots create striking contrasts between the growing mountains of garbage in the forefront and the American symbols, such as the Statue of Liberty and the Empire State Building in the background. It pictures a world that is about to drown in its own invasive garbage.[29] Arman witnessed a difference between the French garbage at the beginning of the sixties and that of the Americans:

> Just a little bit of dust, a lot of paper, little thread for package, container for yoghurt and ceramic, box for cheese in wood. It was very [...] almost primitive comparatively to the supermarket American garbage.[30]

The art critic David Bourdon also compared Christo's packaging to the growing use of packages in industrial societies, especially in the United States.[31] However, despite an economic gap between the two countries, France witnessed a rapid economic growth in the sixties that went hand in hand with an Americanization of its way of life. Between 1960 and 1972, household waste rose by 50% in France.[32] Arman witnessed this change in the garbage he gathered for his new *poubelles* series at the turn of the 1970s: "you cannot say if they were made in France or in the United States".[33]

Conclusion: an Unwavering Writing Disconnecting the Transatlantic World

Restany's promotional activities strongly shaped the narrative of the Nouveau Réalisme by providing art historians with convenient landmarks, frames, and classifications.[34] Thus, ecological denial, in accordance with the myth of modern progress, quickly shifted from art criticism to art history without being questioned. Encouraged by international competition, especially between Paris and New York, artistic categories based on national borders and defined by art criticism were perpetuated in art history under fixed labels such as Neo-dadaism, Pop, or Nouveau Réalisme. Restany frequently emphasized the American activities of his neo-avant-garde group to cast a favorable light on their international circulation rather than widen the artworks' interpretative scope. As such, the critical dialogues which could have been established between artworks by comparing their similar, interconnected, and transnational environments were excluded. The ecological resonance brought forth by some artworks remained outside the battles art critics engaged in during the cold war. In his book *Les Nouveaux Réalistes*, published in 1968, Restany insisted once more on the pragmatic and anthropocentric character of the modern world seized by the artists, a world "created by humankind for humankind, for its own and entire use",[35] a "product of this unceasing human activity we call progress".[36]

The notion of ecology would appear later through Restany's pen. It would be associated with the Argentine artist Uriburu, who colored water with a green pigment to warn about pollution. In 1982, in a very emphatic text, Restany wrote:

> In the middle of the Falklands war, Uriburu's language talks about oxygen, chlorophyll, and peace.

> This artist's language is global, it concerns all of us in the medium to long run; let us listen to him if we want to avoid the apocalyptic catastrophe that would entail the deforestation of the two million square kilometers of Amazonian green land.[37]

According to the critic, Uriburu's Argentinian background and landscape represent an unspoiled nature to be preserved, described as: "the ideal symbol of a wealthy planet", that the artist "felt threatened by the industrialisation from the far north".[38] However, what was at stake, for the critic, were not the transnational tensions with regard to environmental preservation, but rather sensitivity and perception, in accordance with the concept of "integral naturalism" he conceived during his trip to the Amazon in 1978.[39] He declared he was more interested in "fighting against subjective pollution than against objective pollution, [...] than the one in the air and in water".[40] He drew a line between the 'original' and 'industrial' landscapes, which both shared potentials for creation: "Two eco-systems find themselves face to face. They both function according to the same emotional and sensitive logic in the development of the creative process".[41] Between what the critic called "two senses of nature", the "ancestral one" and the "modern" one, he stated: "We can opt for one or the other".[42] Uriburu's primitive nature only added to the Nouveau Réalisme's industrial one, in contradiction with ecological ideas of interconnected systems on a global scale. Additionally, when the critic started to write about Uriburu, his narrative of the Nouveau Réalisme had already crystallized in historiography for at least two decades.

Notes

[1] Arman, *Tuez-les tous, Dieu reconnaîtra les siens*, 1961, accumulation of Fly-Tox insect sprayers in a wooden box, 80x60x12 cm. The artist made a similar sculpture few years later: *Tuez-les tous, Dieu reconnaîtra les siens*, 1964, accumulation of insect sprayers in a cardboard box made of plexiglas, 60x60x60 cm.

[2] Christo and Jeanne-Claude, *Wall of Barrels – The Iron Curtain*, temporary installation, rue Visconti, Paris, 1962.

[3] My translation from the French: "Exclusivement construit avec les tonneaux métalliques destinés au transport de l'essence et de l'huile pour voitures", in Christo and Jeanne-Claude, *Projet du mur provisoire de tonneaux métalliques (Rue Visconti, Paris 6)*, 1961, collage of two photographs by Shunk-Kender and a typed text, 24x40.6 cm. https://christojeanneclaude.net/mobile/projects?p=wall-of-oil-barrels---the-iron-curtain.

[4] My translation from the French: "Il nous faut – et ceci n'est pas une exagération – penser que nous vivons à l'ère atomique, où tout ce qui est matériel et physique peut disparaître du jour au lendemain pour céder la place à tout ce que nous pouvons imaginer de plus abstrait". Y. Klein, "Ma position dans le combat entre la ligne et la couleur", Paris, April 16, 1958, in M.-A. Sichère, D. Semin, eds., *Le dépassement de la problématique de l'art et autres écrits* (Paris: Éditions Beaux-Arts de Paris, 2011): pp. 50-51.

[5] Ecology in neo-avant-garde practices has received little attention. However, it is worth mentioning: B. Ramade, *Infortunes de l'art écologique américain depuis les années 1960: proposition d'une réhabilitation critique*, PhD. thesis (Université Paris 1, 2013); M. Fowkes, *The Green Bloc: Neo-avant-garde Art and Ecology under Socialism* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015); J. Nisbet, *Ecologies, Environments, and Energy Systems in Art of the 1960s and 1970s* (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2014).

[6] P. Restany, *À 40° au-dessus de Dada* (Paris: Galerie J, 1961).

[7] The word 'environment' comes from *environner*, which originally means 'to surround'. The etymology of 'ecology' comes from the Greek *oikos* meaning 'house' and *logos* meaning 'science'. For a detailed semantic history of ecology and environment see: G. Petiot, "Les mots de l'écologie", in *Mots. Les langages du politique* 39 (1994): pp. 69-78; J. Picoche, "Champ actanciel du mot *environnement* et discours sur l'environnement", in L. Panier, S. Rémi-Giraud, eds., *La polysémie ou l'empire des sens: lexique, discours, représentations* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 2003), pp. 255-262.

[8] P. Acot, *Histoire de l'écologie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988); M. Bess, *The Light-Green Society: Ecology and Technological Modernity in France, 1960-2000* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); C. Pessis, S. Topçu, C. Bonneuil, eds., *Une autre histoire des «Trente Glorieuses»: Modernisation, contestations et pollutions dans la France d'après-guerre* (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2013); C.-F. Mathis, J.-F. Mouhot, eds., *Une protection de l'environnement à la française* (Seyssel: Éditions Champ Vallon, 2013).

[9] A.C. Braddock, "Ecocritical Art History", *Art in America* 23, no. 2 (Summer 2009): p. 26; For further developments on ecocriticism, see L. Buell, *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005). More specifically, in the field of art history, see A.C. Braddock, "From Nature to Ecology: The Emergence of Ecocritical Art History", in J. Davis, J.A. Greenhill, J.D. LaFountain, eds., *A Companion to American Art* (Malden, MA and Oxford, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015).

[10] On the development of the transnational turn in the ecocritical approach see S. Oppermann, "Transnationalization of Ecocriticism", in *Anglia – Zeitschrift für englische Philologie* 130, no. 3 (2012): pp. 401-419.

[11] P. Restany, "Les nouveaux réalistes", April 16, 1960, Milan in *Les nouveaux réalistes: un manifeste de la nouvelle peinture* (Paris: Éditions planète, 1968), pp. 204-205.

[12] P. Restany, "À quarante degrés au-dessus de dada", May 1961, Paris, in *Les nouveaux réalistes*, cit., pp. 205-207.

[13] Emphasized in italics in the text. P. Restany, *Le nouveau réalisme: que faut-il en penser?*, February 1963, Munich, in *Les nouveaux réalistes*, cit., pp. 207-212.

[14] *Ivi.*

[15] On the idea of nature produced by capitalism see N. Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space* (London and New York: Verso, 2010 [first ed. 1984]): pp. 49-91.

[16] Literally 'the Glorious Thirty'.

[17] C. Pessis, S. Topçu, C. Bonneuil, eds., *Une autre histoire des «Trente Glorieuses»*, cit. For a critical historic survey of this period in a broader context outside France see: S.A. Marglin, J.B. Schor, eds., *The Golden Age of Capitalism: Reinterpreting the Postwar Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

[18] Fourastié wrote successful popular books on economy, he was a teacher and appointed advisor of Jean Monnet in

the context of the European Recovery Plan (ERP) to elaborate a plan to increase productivity. For a critical account of Fourastié's diverse activities, see "Jean Fourastié, apôtre de la productivité: Dire et administrer le progrès", in C. Pessis, S. Topçu, C. Bonneuil, eds., *Une autre histoire des «Trente Glorieuses»*, cit., pp. 81-98.

[19] The short-lived PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié) is an exception in the 1960s France. The party was against nuclear power and promoted self-governance.

[20] P. Restany, "A Metamorphosis in Nature", in *The New Realists* (New York: Sidney Janis Gallery, 1962).

[21] For a detailed account of this exhibition see K. Cabañas, "'Maigres et poussiéreux': les Nouveaux Réalistes à New York", in C. Debray, ed., *Le Nouveau Réalisme* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, Centre Pompidou, 2007), pp. 126-127.

[22] B. O'Doherty, "Avant-Garde Revolt: 'New Realists' Mock U.S. Mass Culture in Exhibition at Sidney Janis", *The New York Times* (October 31, 1962): p. 59.

[23] B. O'Doherty, "'Pop' goes the New Art", *The New York Times* (November 4, 1962), p. 23.

[24] Rather, canonical American history puts forward the preeminent role the United States had enjoyed around the world since the rise of Abstract Expressionism in publications such as *The Triumph of American Painting* by Irving Sandler, published in 1970.

[25] DDT was widely used by the American army since 1942 in the Pacific to fight typhus and malaria. E. Russell, *War and Nature: Fighting Humans and Insects with Chemicals from World War I to Silent Spring* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[26] A comparison between British, American, and world carbon dioxide emissions from the XIXth century to 1950 shows the overwhelming historical share of emissions of the United States. In 1955, 55% of carbon dioxide emissions were produced by Great Britain and the USA. The figures are based on the Carbon Dioxide Information Analysis Center. C. Bonneuil, J.-B. Fressoz, *L'événement Anthropocène: La Terre, l'histoire et nous* (Paris: Seuil, 2016 [first ed. 2013]), p. 138.

[27] In a collage for the project, Christo chose the title *One Million Stacked Oil Drums (Project for Houston-Galveston Area Texas)*. The work was drawn in pencil, charcoal, and wax crayon and comprised other media, such as a photograph by Harry Shunk, a map, and tape. 71x56 cm. https://christojeanneclaude.net/projects/projects-with-barrels.

[28] During the performance, she was holding a paper whose copy might be the one housed at the Museum Tinguely in Basel, on which we can read: "For you 1 zillion cars/for you 1 million tampax/Drink machine/for you/eat machines/80,000 teacups/for you/buy machine/9 million shoes/for you/be machine for you".

[29] Arman, Jean-Pierre Mirouze, *Sanitation*, 15 min, 16 mm, color film, 1972. For a comment on the film see J.-M. Bouhours, "De la petite mort à l'apocalypse", in J.-M. Bouhours, ed., *Arman* (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 2010), pp. 94-99.

[30] Arman, interview with Carol Mancusi-Ungaro, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, November 1991, video, 43 minutes, The Artists Documentation Program.

[31] David Bourdon cited a specific publication: *The role of packaging in the U.S. economy: report to the American Foundation for Management Research, Inc* by A. D. Little, published in 1966, to interpret Christo's work in relation to the economy. D. Bourdon, *Christo* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1970). He would later write a book which testified to his interest in the environment: *Designing the Earth: The Human Impulse to Shape Nature* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1995).

[32] C. Bonneuil, S. Frioux, "Les 'Trente Ravageuses'?", in C. Pessis, S. Topçu, C. Bonneuil, eds., *Une autre histoire des «Trente Glorieuses»*, cit., p. 49.

[33] Arman, interview with Carol Mancusi-Ungaro, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, November 1991, video, 43 minutes, The Artists Documentation Program.

[34] The art critic Michel Ragon listed Restany's activities in the foreword of his book dedicated to the Nouveau Réalisme: "organising exhibitions, being member of juries, spreading new artistic actions for all new techniques: cinema, television, radio, slides, recorded tapes". My translation from the French: "organisateur d'exposition, de membre de jurys, de diffuseur des nouvelles actions de l'art pour toutes les techniques nouvelles; cinéma, télévision, radio, diapositives, bandes enregistrées". M. Ragon in "De la critique considérée comme une création", in P. Restany, *Les nouveaux réalistes: un manifeste de la nouvelle peinture* (Paris: Éditions planète, 1968), p. 11.

[35] "The artist only has to choose 'his' work in this world, which is a canvas, in this nature created by humankind and for humankind, for its own and entire use". My translation from the French: "L'artiste n'a qu'à choisir 'son' œuvre dans ce monde qui est un tableau, dans cette nature créée par l'homme et pour l'homme, pour son propre et entier usage". P. Restany, *Les nouveaux réalistes*, cit., p. 89.

[36] My translation from the French: "Produit de cette incessante activité des hommes que l'on nomme le progrès, la morphologie du réel est en perpétuel changement. Le phénomène urbain y occupe une place de plus en plus importante". *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[37] Restany probably met Uriburu in the 1970s. My translation from the French: "En pleine guerre des Iles Malouines le langage d'Uriburu nous parle d'oxygène, de chlorophylle et de paix. Le langage de cet artiste argentin est planétaire, il nous concerne tous à plus ou moins long-terme; écoutons-le si nous voulons éviter la catastrophe apocalyptique qui entrainerait le déboisement des deux millions de kilomètres carrés de vert amazonien; [...]". P. Restany, *Voir la vie en vert*, reproduction of a three-page manuscript, Paris, May 1982, Collection INHA-Archives de la critique d'art, Rennes, [FR ACA PREST ART 364 (1/4)].

[38] My translation from the French: "le symbole idéal de la bonne santé de la nature", "il le sent menacé par l'industrialisation venue du grand nord". P. Restany, *URIBURU UTOPIA DEL SUR*, typed text, 68 pages, undated, Collection INHA-Archives de la critique d'art, Rennes, [FR ACA PREST ART 364 (1/4)].

[39] P. Restany, "Manifeste du Rio Negro. Du naturalisme intégral", August 1978, in *L'autre face de l'art/L'altra faccia dell'arte/The Other Face of Art*, Milano, Domus, 1979. On Restany's trip with Sepp Baendereck and Frans Krajcberg along the Rio Negro and Integral Naturalism see C. Palumbo, *A Amazônia como lugar de conflito: o Naturalismo Integral de Pierre Restany*, PhD thesis (Universidade de São Paulo, 2018).

[40] My translation from the French: "Il s'agit de lutter beaucoup plus contre la pollution subjective que contre la pollution objective, la pollution des sens et du cerveau, beaucoup plus que celle de l'air ou de l'eau". P. Restany, *URIBURU UTOPIA DEL SUR*, cit.

[41] My translation from the French: "Deux éco-systèmes se trouvent face à face: l'originel et l'industriel. Ils fonctionnent tous les deux selon la même logique émotionnelle et sensible dans l'élaboration du processus créateur". *Ivi.*

[42] My translation from the French: "Nous vivons aujourd'hui deux sens de la nature. Celui ancestral du donné planétaire, celui moderne de l'acquis industriel et urbain. On peut opter pour l'un ou pour l'autre [...]". *Ivi.*

Bringing the Spectator to the Foreground: Julio Le Parc and Lygia Clark at the Venice Biennales (1966 and 1968)

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Introduction

The Argentinean Julio Le Parc (1928-) and the Brazilian Lygia Clark (1920-1988) both lived in Paris in the 1960s and had won over the attention of a few European critics who had a common interest in new forms of expression that went beyond painting and saw the invitation to spectator participation as one of the main contributions of contemporary art. Combining experimentalism and critique, transcending the image by highlighting the 'direct experiential element', their proposals revolved around the observer and were no longer self-exhausting.

However, as we shall see, although they knew each other and their work was exhibited in the same spaces and commented on by the same critics, Clark and Le Parc were not friends and did not share the same ideas about artistic forms of social engagement.[1] During these years, in Europe, their names were linked to kineticism, both by cultural agents wishing to quickly construct a history for the movement and those who were truly interested in their work. At that time (the 1960s), kinetic art was rapidly gaining admirers throughout Europe, and the term 'kineticism' was still being established by various intellectuals and artistic groups, such as GRAV (in France), New Tendencies (in former Yugoslavia), Zero (in Germany), Gruppo N and Gruppo T (in Italy).

For many, kinetic art could contribute to the building of a future beyond alienation and oppression for different reasons. Those who were most enthusiastic about the emancipatory potential of the relationship between art and technology exalted its parallels with science and other fields of knowledge; others, however, underlined the political and critical character of the kinetic proposals, their capacity to blur traditional artistic codes, to demystify the role of the artist and to break away from the notion of a unique artwork.[2]

In his 1968 book on the subject, *Kinetic Art: The Language of Movement*, the British critic Guy Brett acknowledged the importance of the South American contribution to kineticism, especially regarding spectator participation. At that time, Brett was one of the European critics committed to showing the originality of the production of South American contemporary artists and his approach to their work was both generous and thorough. He considered Clark's and Hélio Oiticica's works "a specifically Brazilian contribution to art, a kind of kineticism of the body", pointing out that "their work has become technically more primitive as it has evolved. But also more fundamental".[3] Concerning Le Parc, however, he does not shy away from expressing harsh criticism of his work, stating, for example, that "he may be unconcerned or unable to bring an idea to the level of expression".[4]

The years 1965-67 were perhaps the most influential in terms of Kineticism, before the protests of 1968 in Europe broadened and radicalised the debate on the role of art and the artist in society and triggered a firmer political engagement. Important awards in major international contests at the time, such as the Biennials of Venice (Le Parc 1966; Riley and Schöffer 1968), São Paulo (Soto 1963; Vasarely 1965; Cruz-Diez 1967) and Paris (GRAV 1963), celebrated artists associated with the movement, while also stimulating a debate on the true reach of its proposals.

An Unprecedented Achievement for a South American: Julio Le Parc's Award at the 33rd Venice Biennale

In 1966, Julio Le Parc won the coveted Grand Prize at the 33rd Venice Biennale. He was 38 years old and had lived in France for six years. Like his friend, the Venezuelan Jesús Rafael Soto, he had arrived in France (from Argentina) with a grant (sponsored by the French Cultural Service) and was in search of artistic and personal development. Soto and Carlos Cruz-Diez, another Venezuelan who was also living in Paris at the time,

introduced him to the French art dealer Denise René, who was committed to geometric abstraction and kinetic art.

However, unlike Soto and Cruz-Diez, who gambled on solo careers, Le Parc quickly associated himself to other young artists of different nationalities, including the Argentinean Horacio Garcia Rossi, with whom he founded the collective GRAV (Groupe de Recherche d'Art Visuel), whose first exhibition, in 1961, was held at the Denise René gallery.[5] The group soon became renowned in France thanks to its *Mazes* and *Games Room*, assembled at the 1963 and 1965 editions of the Paris Biennial, and to frequent media actions, such as the publication of several small manifestos and critical texts about the art system. The GRAV's proposals were the result of a collective effort and intended to spur the spectator into action by creating spaces of leisure and engagement where play would help in the transformation of individual and social behaviour.

Julio Le Parc was the only artist to represent Argentina at the 1966 Venice Biennale, with 41 kinetic works and objects, including projections, mobiles, vibrating mirrors, and games, made between 1962 and 1966. It is worth noting that Le Parc's presentation in the exhibition's official catalogue was extremely succinct: 22 lines that emphasised his participation in the GRAV group and the open nature of his propositions, which called into question the overvaluation of the artist-creator.

Le Parc's rooms were, according to the news of the time, some of the most visited of the whole event. They contained works that encouraged spectator participation, whether by placing them in polysensorial environments, or by inviting them to manipulate objects that changed their visual perception, such as the *Anteojos para un mirar otro* ('Spectacles for another view') or *Espejos vibratiles* ('Mirrors in vibration'). His award was an unprecedented achievement for a South American, although three other artists from the region had already been awarded smaller prizes.[6] His selection surprised everyone.

It should be noted that in 1964 Robert Rauschenberg had won the Grand Prize at the 32nd Venice Biennale, overcoming Roger Bissière, a candidate supported by France. For many, this was due to a major campaign orchestrated by the US government and led by Alan Salomon, commissioner of the United States delegation and one of the first promoters of pop art.[7] The reaction of most European critics was unequivocally unfavourable. In 1966, probably due to the political issues surrounding the Rauschenberg award, there was an anti-American sentiment in the air, especially on the part of the French critics, which possibly led the jury to choose Le Parc, who was still relatively unknown in the international circuit.

However, the prize awarded to Le Parc at the 1966 Venice Biennale did not extend to the GRAV group, and this also caused considerable controversy. According to Denise René, the award generated two distinct results, representing at once the legitimisation of kineticism and the beginning of the end of the GRAV collective project, which dissolved as a group in 1968.[8]

In her book *Argentinos de Paris*, Isabel Plante discussed at length of the effects of Le Parc's award, not only for certain Argentinean cultural agents who had endeavoured to project Argentinean modern and contemporary art beyond its borders since the late 1950s, such as Jorge Romero Brest, but also for some French critics, who were able to relate it to the retrieval of a space of international exposure and recognition for French art, since the artist lived in Paris.[9]

Following the award, Denise René produced an exhibition of the artist's works, which was accompanied by a catalogue that contained photos of the room in Venice, as well as an introduction to Le Parc's work written by Frank Popper, one of the first advocates of kinetic art, entitled *Le Parc et le problème de groupe*.[10]

In 1967, several South American cities hosted a retrospective of Le Parc's works. At the São Paulo Biennial of that same year, Le Parc was part of the Argentinean delegation, along with three other artists, but was given a special room. He exhibited 26 works, similar to those presented at the Venice Biennale, and won one of the purchase prizes awarded to foreign artists.

It must be highlighted that, up to that point, Le Parc had never displayed any interest in taking a critical stance in relation to the art system, even though he was interested in stimulating spectator participation. As Claire Bishop has pointed out in her in-depth study on the subject:

> The artistic backdrop to participatory art in Paris of the 1960s was an idea of democracy as the levelling equality of consumer capitalism. Everyday culture, accessible to all was at the core of this

> understanding of democracy; while this stood in some degree in opposition to elitist cultural hierarchies, and to figurative modes of leftist art in the 1950s, it rarely delved into questions of class difference and social inequality.[11]

In the following years, however, Le Parc's practice would take on a firmer political outlook. In May 1968, at the height of the revolutionary events, he became involved with Atelier Populaire, a workshop that printed protest posters, and took part in political demonstrations – actions which would lead him to be temporarily expelled from France.[12] In the 1970s, already back in the country, he organised a series of exhibitions with the intention of denouncing the repressive conditions of several South American countries and the practice of torture of political prisoners by different military dictatorships.

Lygia Clark in Europe: Claiming a Central Place on the International Contemporary Art Scene

Unlike Le Parc or Soto, Lygia Clark had a clear, well-established career when she arrived in Europe in 1968 to participate for the third time in the Venice Bienniale. She was one of the protagonists of the neoconcrete movement, created in 1959 to oppose the extreme rationalism of the Brazilian abstract avant-garde without relinquishing their relationship with constructivist ideas. Clark's work had already been intensively analysed and discussed in Brazil and supported by critics such as Mário Pedrosa and Ferreira Gullar. In 1961, she was awarded the prize for best Brazilian sculptor at the São Paulo Biennial (organised by Pedrosa). In 1954 and 1962, she took part in the Brazilian delegation for the Venice Biennale. Thus, unlike other South American artists who were committed to modernist doctrines and came to Europe throughout the 20th century in search of training or even inspiration – like Le Parc – Clark left Brazil with the certainty that she would leave her mark on the European scene and contribute to mainstream developments in contemporary art.

Clark had lived in Europe before, most recently in 1964, when she had established a contact with artists, critics, and intellectuals who would play key roles in the recognition of her work on the European scene. She had held an exhibition in Stuttgart in February 1964, in a show organised by philosopher Max Bense, and at the Signals gallery in London in May and June 1965. In those same years, she had partaken in minor collective shows dedicated to kinetic art in France and in the United Kingdom.

Therefore, although one cannot assert that Clark was a renowned artist in the European artistic scene, her work, especially her *Bichos* ('Creatures'), which consisted of hinged aluminium plates whose shapes could be manipulated, had already attracted admirers and provoked reviews and commentaries in the international press. Her desire to grant spectators the power to act in the experience was praised by European critics, who considered this an original contribution.

In the February 1967 edition of the magazine Studio International, dedicated to kinetic art, Cyril Barrett, author of studies into op art, writes commendably about Clark's work. He states that "on the level of spectator participation Lygia Clark is the more solid achievement to date".[13] In 1968, the French avant-garde magazine Robho dedicated an eight-page dossier, entitled *Fusion généralisée*, to the artist.[14] It contained a series of photographs of Clark's works, as well as texts she wrote and credible remarks about her ideas and artistic proposals. There was also an elegant presentation of her work by the French critic Jean Clay, in which he concludes that as such, its experience is one of the most open to the future, one of the crossroads of current art.

The understanding of Clark's work as kinetic, which in Brazil might have raised eyebrows, was widespread in Europe. Clark, however, would privately reject the association of her work with the proposals of several other artists who encouraged spectator participation at that time, including Le Parc and the GRAV group. In a letter sent to her friend Oiticica in November 1968, she explicitly mentions the subject:

> Regarding the idea of participation, there are weak artists who cannot really express themselves with thought and therefore illustrate the problem. [...] In my work, it's not participation for participation and it's not saying, like Le Parc's group, that art is a bourgeois problem. That would be simple and linear. Nothing profound has such simplicity and nothing true is linear.[15]

This indicates that any attempt to compare Clark and Le Parc or find likenesses between the two should be made with great care, as it may conceal

the many differences that exist between the proposals in question. Perhaps they both agreed that expanding the viewer's perception was the first step towards his/her de-alienation and increased autonomy. But, without doubt, the declared emphasis on play and perception in Le Parc's works was not approved of by Clark, who considered the Argentinean's propositions excessively superficial.[16] Unlike those extroverted, playful experiences, Clark was striving to achieve an existential interaction between subject and object. Thus, instead of trying to attract crowds, Clark encouraged a dialogue marked by proximity, bodily sensations induced primarily by touch.

Clark was prominently featured at the 1968 Venice Biennale, as part of the Brazilian delegation, organised that year by the Brazilian art critic Jayme Mauricio. It is worth recalling that Brazil had been under dictatorial rule since the military coup of 1964, but, until the passing of the Institutional Act 5 (AI-5),[17] in December 1968, there was still room for transgressive experiments in art. Censorship, which was becoming more and more felt in the everyday lives of Brazilians, had yet to completely envelop visual arts (music, theatre, and literature were the first types of art to be strongly censored). Moreover, documents obtained at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs prove that the Brazilian government actually gave financial support to the whole Brazilian delegation, including their commissioner, and planned a specific expense allowance for Clark's room.

Probably due to the success achieved by Le Parc at the previous Biennale, Brazil (or Jayme Mauricio) seemed to invest almost all of its resources – namely, Clark – and presented 82 of her works in a retrospective of her 10-year oeuvre.[18] The exhibition, presented in a separate room and assembled by the artist herself, who travelled to Venice with the financial support she received, brought together *Superfícies moduladas* ('Modulated Surfaces'), two *Ovos* ('Eggs'), one *Contra-relevo* ('Counter-relief'), almost 30 *Bichos* and some *Trepantes* ('Climbers'), as well as relational objects, body-clothes, and environments, such as *A casa é o corpo* ('The house is the body').

It is worth noting that a separate and refined catalogue was published exclusively for Brazil by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Olivetti, with an introduction and text explaining the selection of works written by Jayme Maurício in Italian, English, and Portuguese.

Clark was widely expected to be awarded a prize at this biennial but, despite the undeniable originality of the works exhibited, she did not win any.[19] Nonetheless, in this troubled edition, the big winners were artists committed to the doctrines of op art and kinetic art: the English Bridget Riley won the Grand Prize for painting and the France-based Hungarian Nicolas Schöffer won the sculpture prize. Regarding South America, only the Colombian Edgar Negret was awarded a prize (by the Fullbright Foundation).

The 1968 Venice Biennale was marked by a series of criticisms, which had started to be made at the Milan Triennial, after the students and workers' protests in France spread through Europe. The event was inaugurated with a strong police presence, due to fears that the works could be damaged, and the awards jury only gathered at the end of the exhibition and not at the start, as was customary. The awards ceremony was postponed, and then abolished for the subsequent biennials. According to the French critic Pierre Restany, the Biennale opened in a "heavy atmosphere, full of petty-minded machinations and laden with opportunism".[20]

The Conditions of Success

Clark remained in Paris until 1976, probably due to the political situation in Brazil, but progressively moved away from the art scene and into a therapeutic activity, motivated by the collective artistic experiences she developed with her students from the newly created UFR d'Arts Plastiques et Sciences de l'Art - Paris 1 (known as Saint Charles), where she began lecturing in 1972, and also by her own personal experience with psychoanalysis.

At that time, she failed to earn the recognition she previously sought, and to the extent she expected, despite having attracted admirers in the European circuit. Indeed, for a long time she was left out of the main narratives of the history of Western art, and has only recently been included in them, perhaps prompted by the retrospective exhibitions held in major European and North American museums since the late 1990s.[21] On the other hand, Le Parc, whose artistic career was almost entirely played out in France, would rapidly become a hotly contested artist on the international commercial circuit.

Alan Bowness's account of the different steps that lead visual artists to success and consecration may help us, despite its schematism, comprehend

the process of gaining an international reputation.[22] According to him, there are four conditions that lead to an artist achieving recognition in the established art world: the first is peer recognition; the second is the attention of those who write and talk about art; the third consists in the recognition of patrons and collectors; while the fourth stage comprises the recognition of the public. Each condition clearly depends on the previous one, and they all work in each other's best interests.

Le Parc, as we have discussed, travelled a more traditional route than Clark, gaining a widespread public recognition very early in his life, with the Venice Grand Prize. This award represented a turning point in his career and stimulated other situations of institutional recognition. Furthermore, Le Parc did not retreat from the commercial circuit, even when his work took a more critical approach.

Clark, on the other hand, worked outside the hegemonic centres for most part of her career. While living in Paris, her ideas and actions led her to gradually distance herself from the traditional art circuit and focus on other forms of engagement. Back in Brazil, whilst still occasionally presenting her works in collective shows, she developed a therapeutic method, the *The Estruturação do self* ('Structuring of the self') that involved manipulating ordinary objects and provoking sensations capable of awakening the body from its torpor. As Suely Rolnik points out, while Clark explored the therapeutic potential of her artistic propositions in her last years, she also revealed the vital power of art itself, therefore creating "an entirely new territory situated neither in the sphere of art as a department of social life [...]; nor in the sphere of therapy [...]; nor in the border between the two".[23]

Notes

[1] Thinkers like Frank Popper, Stephen Bann, Guy Brett, Max Bense and Jean Clay have written about their work during those years, serving sometimes as interlocutors for them.

[2] On the subject of kinetic art and its early reception in Europe, see the many articles published by Arnauld Pierre in recent years, such as "De l'instabilité. Perception visuelle/corporelle de l'espace dans l'environnement cinétique", *Cahiers du Musée national d'art moderne* 78 (Winter 2001-2): pp. 41-69 and "L'art optique et cinétique, quelques enjeux", in *Let's Move* (Brussels: La Patinoire Royale, 2016), pp. 11-18.

[3] G. Brett, *Kinetic art. The language of movement* (London: Studio-Vista, 1968), p. 65.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 56.

[5] The group, active between 1960 and 1968, was formed by the artists Horacio Garcia Rossi, Julio Le Parc, Francisco Sobrino, François Morellet, Joël Stein, and Jean-Pierre Yvaral.

[6] Aldemir Martins was awarded the Drawing prize in 1956, and Fagya Ostrower and Antonio Berni the Engraving prize in 1958 and 1962, respectively.

[7] On this subject, see L.J. Monahan, "Cultural Cartography: American Designs at the 1964 Venice Biennale", in S. Guilbaut (ed.), *Reconstructing Modernism. Art in New York, Paris, and Montreal: 1945-1964* (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 1990), pp. 369-416.

[8] C. Millet, *Conversations avec Denise René* (Paris: Adam Biro, 1991).

[9] I. Plante, *Argentinos de Paris. Arte y viajes culturales durante los años sesenta* (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2013).

[10] In it, Popper deals briefly with the difficult issue of an individual prize having been awarded to an artist deeply involved in the collective creative process. For the full text, see: http://julioleparc.org/franck-popper.html.

[11] C. Bishop, *Artificial hells. Participatory art and the politics of spectatorship* (London: Verso, 2012), p. 80.

[12] Le Parc was arrested in a raid on June 6, 1968, near the Flins Renault Factory, where people were protesting because the police had allegedly killed a demonstrator. Five months later, the expulsion was suspended due to petitions and press campaigns and Le Parc could return to France.

[13] C. Barrett, "Lygia Clark and spectator participation", in *Studio International* 886 (1967): pp. 83-87.

[14] The dossier was published in the edition number 4 of the Robho magazine, in 1968. It also contained a translation into French of the *Neoconcrete Manifesto*, published in Brazil in 1959.

[15] Letter from L. Clark to H. Oiticica, dated 14 November 1968, in L. Figueiredo, ed., *Lygia Clark. Hélio Oiticica. Cartas, 1964-1974* (Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 1996), p. 84.

[16] In that same letter, she also declares that "they (Le Parc's group) reject the most important thing: a thinking process. I believe we (artists) are now proposers and in our proposals, there must be a thought". *Ivi.*

[17] The AI-5 granted the president the power to provisionally close Congress, intervene in the states and municipalities, revoke terms of office and suspend political rights, as well as dismiss or retire civil servants.

[18] The other three members of the Brazilian delegation presented 12 or 13 artworks each.

[19] In a letter to Clark, Oiticica asks her "And Venice, have they judged already?". Letter from H. Oiticica to L. Clark dated 15 October 1968, in L. Figueiredo, ed., *Lygia Clark. Hélio Oiticica. Cartas, 1964-1974* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, 1996), p. 41. A month later, despite not having won any prizes in Venice, she tells her friend, trying to encourage him to come to Europe: "My time has come, there's no doubt, and I think yours has too". *Ibid*., p. 81.

[20] P. Restany, "Biennales", in P. Cabanne, P. Restany, *L'avant-garde au XXème siècle* (Paris: André Balland, 1969), pp. 110-119.

[21] More recently, in 2015, a major retrospective of her work was held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, which may have put her on another level in terms of international recognition.

[22] A. Bowness, *The conditions of success: How the modern artist rises to fame* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1989).

[23] S. Rolnik, "Molding a Contemporary Soul: The Empty-Full of Lygia Clark", in R. Carvajal, A. Ruiz (eds.), *The Experimental Exercise of Freedom: Lygia Clark, Gego, Mathias Goeritz, Hélio Oiticica and Mira Schendel* (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art, 1999), pp. 55-108.

Reverse Engineering Michael Baxandall's Pictorial Plot

Leonardo Impett / Peter Bell

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Introduction

The Annunciation of Gabriel to the Virgin Mary is one of the most widely-depicted stories in Christian art – perhaps, we might conjecture, the most widely-depicted dialogue in the West, embodying the start of the New Testament itself.

There are at least tens of thousands of extant depictions of the annunciation – the same story re-told tens of thousands of times, over twenty centuries. A gift for comparative narratology, and beyond the wildest dreams of that kind of computational literary criticism that has become known as Distant Reading. Of course, a number of visual topoi, conventions and formulae have been developed over the centuries: the order of the scene (generally left-to-right),[1] the use of architecture (columns, walls, gardens), and so on. Despite its rich temporal structure, the Annunciation has a kind of curious spatial stability.

Michael Baxandall, in his discussion of the *Period Eye*, reminds us of this problem by comparing different Annunciations from the early Renaissance with a contemporary sermon by Fra Roberto da Lecce, in which the story is divided into five stages, the *Conditions of the Virgin*.[2] By Baxandall's own argument – that the Quattrocento observer follows Alberti's advice to deduce the "movements of the soul from movements of the body'" – these are *gestural* conditions, with the movements of her body suggesting emotional reactions and interactions that pin the figure of Mary to a particular narrative stage or another. Starting from Baxandall's stages, we suggest moving backwards: from gestures, to *conditions*, to temporal scaffolds.

Digital Gesturing

"The painter is a professional visualizer of the holy stories, and the effective unit of these stories is the human figure", writes Baxandall. And for Baxandall, these holy stories largely take place through the figures' movements and gestures: Leon Battista Alberti ("movements of the soul are recognized in movements of the body")[3] is quoted alongside the dance master Guglielmo Ebreo ("The virtue of dancing is as an action demonstrative of spiritual movement"). In keeping with his rhetorical bent, Baxandall recommends paying particular attention to the gestures of the "medieval type of popular preacher" in the Quattrocento – noting that Italians would have understood Latin sermons largely by following the hand movements of the preacher.

Yet, gestures actively resist description – Baxandall recounts Leonardo da Vinci's struggle:

> [Leonardo] insists again and again on the need to distinguish one sort of movement from another, he naturally finds it difficult to describe in words the particular movements he means: he planned to describe the movements of 'anger, pain, sudden fear, weeping, flight, desire, command, indifference, solicitude, and so on', but never actually did so.

The poverty of the European lexicon to accurately describe gestures – another of Baxandall's recurring concerns[4] – can be effectively sidestepped by using precise geometrical descriptions of these gestures. The richness of computational descriptions of gestures can be seen in Hollywood computer graphics, in which gestures can be directly transcribed from an actor to the animated character with no verbal mediation.

In previous work, we had both attempted to capture human artistic gestures through computational analysis in extremely different contexts. Peter Bell's previous work[5] focused on the four illuminated versions of the 'Mirror of the Saxons' (*Sachsenspiegel*), the foundational treatise of German law, where each legal case is illustrated with a gesturally explicit diorama (fig. 1). The figures

and gestures of the Sachsenspiegel are depicted in a clear, standardised way, allowing a computer to easily recognise and collate examples. They are a pictorial code, like the garments and letters that accompany them; and are well-described by discrete categories rather than continuous geometric variables.

Another work by Leonardo Impett had attempted, instead, to establish a 'taxonomy of passions' in the gestures contained in Aby Warburg's *Bilderatlas*, attempting to gain some understanding of the Warburgian concept of *Pathosformel*.[6] Unlike the Sachsenspiegel project, those images were not analysed automatically, but hand-annotated with skeletons which showed the pose of each human figure. These morphological-statistical calculations are blind to the iconography, age, gender, musculature, physiognomy, medium, etc. of the depicted figure.

The gestures in the present project, on which we report some preliminary findings, are a combination of both approaches: the gestures are extracted automatically by computer, as in the Sachsenspiegel project; yet they follow the measurement approach of the Warburg project, consisting of continuous multidimensional vectors of whole-body articulation rather than discrete categories of hand gestures. This approach is only possible thanks to recent advances in computational pose estimation, which allow to automatically estimate the geometry of human bodies from a single image, without the use of markers or multi-view photography, previously common in motion capture technology. For our experiments on the Annunciation, therefore, we used the Realtime Convolutional Pose Estimation (RCPE) model by Cao et al.,[7] implemented in Python and Caffe.[8]

Five Clusters of the Virgin

As a central case study for the Period Eye, Baxandall considers what a contemporary religious audience would have expected from professional visualisations of the holy stories. The same pious public had their own interior visualisations of these events: the contemporary "experience of a painting was… a marriage between the painting and the beholder's previous visualizing activity on the same matter". An important part of the Period Eye, therefore, is to know what kind of internal visualization might have been produced.

Although Baxandall explores novel sources in very different fields of social life – law, dance, commerce – the construction of the Period Eye is grounded in rhetoric, his major research axis. In a passage on the Annunciation, he refers to the sermons of Fra Roberto da Lecce, who scholastically dissects the gospel text to construct five emotional and behavioural stages of Mary – clarifying the "fifteenth-century feeling for what, on the level of human emotion, happened to her in the crisis the painter had to represent". Fra Roberto thus divides Mary's reactions into five chronological categories:

1. Conturbatio - Disquiet
2. Cogitatio - Reflection
3. Interrogatio - Inquiry
4. Humiliatio - Submission
5. Meritatio - Merit

Following four prototypic examples, Baxandall argues that these Marian chronological steps "very exactly fit the painted representation" of the Annunciation:

> Most fifteenth-century Annunciations are identifiably Annunciations of Disquiet, or of Submission, or – these being less clearly distinguished from each other – of Reflection and/or Inquiry. The preachers coached the public in the painters' repertory, and the painters responded within the current emotional categorization of the event.[9]

Baxandall's hypothesis is explicit: that the 15th-century Florentine patron, painter, and beholder saw the Annunciation through these five phases (or at least through a temporal lens of which these phases are a manifestation). It makes little sense to attempt to prove or disprove his thesis statistically: one can always find exceptions, and the association of individual images to the categories above is – as we have found – extremely personal. These five stages are a kind of temporal scaffolding, a rhythm to the Annunciation that may or may not be specific to the Quattrocento. Reflecting on wider depictions of the Annunciation – inside and outside Florence, inside and outside the Quattrocento – our aim is to use these five stages as gestural landmarks in the narrative and emotional space of the Annunciation: to dissect the movements of the soul through the movements of the bodies.

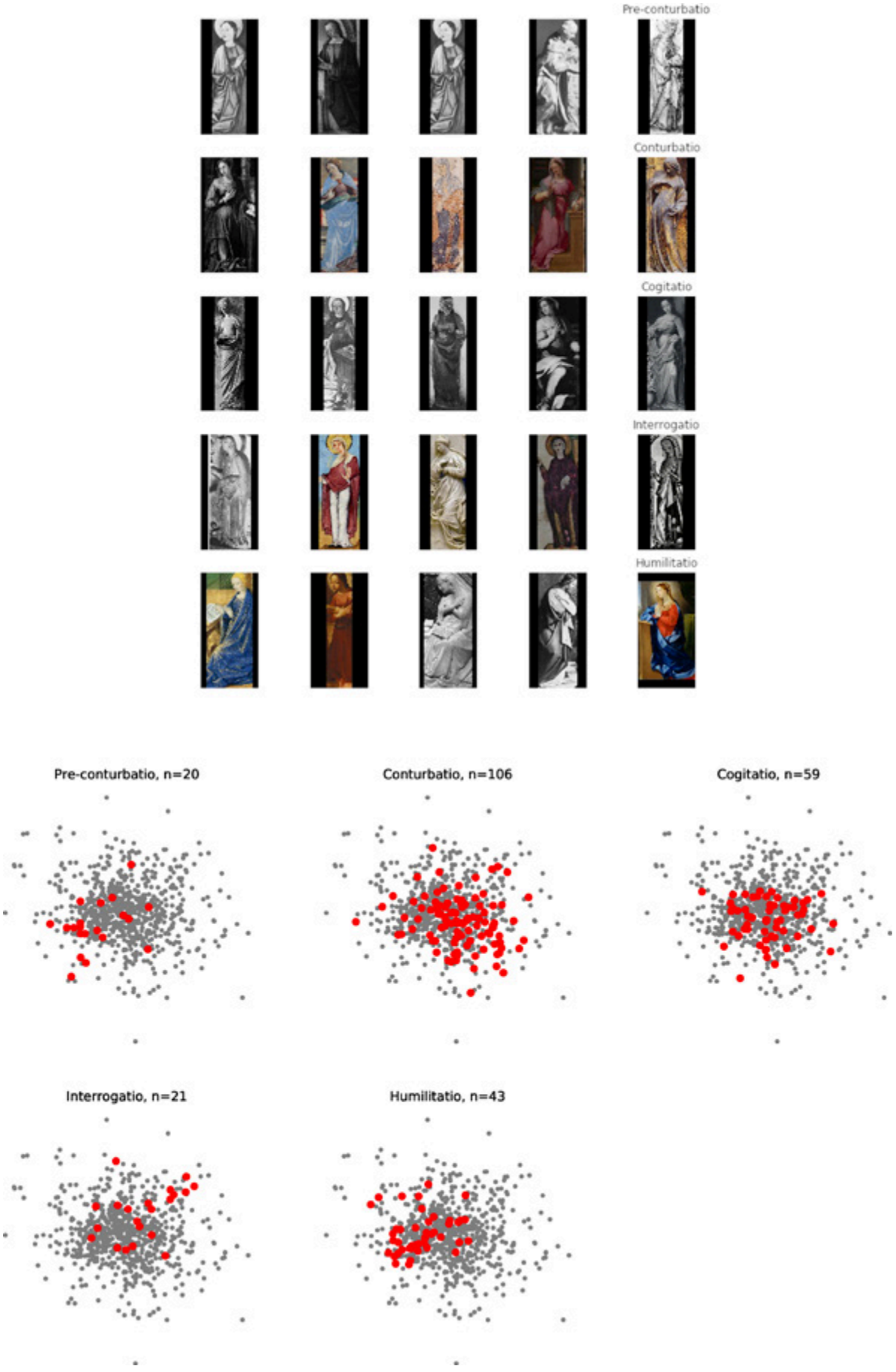

Fig. 1. Annotated stages of Mary.

Baxandall's reading of Fra Roberto gives us a precise rhythmic structure to the Annunciation scene, in this instance explicitly from Mary's perspective. It is linked to, but distinct from, the Gospel text. What might these stages look like through a digital lens? Are they really specific to 15th-century Italy, or do they simply describe the events of the Gospel? In short: what other temporal structures exist?

The first step in our study – as is so often the case in Distant Reading – was the large-scale annotation of our Annunciation dataset. Baxandall's sequence is an extremely gestural one, so our first thought was that the Stages of Mary are essentially Clusters of Mary. We hoped, for instance, that we might find some similarity in the geometric pose of the body amongst all the *Interrogatio* Maries (a raised arm), or the *Conturbatio* Maries (a twisted body), etc. So, we took the Maries whose poses had been detected by machine and annotated their 'stage' using Baxandall's taxonomy: *Conturbatio*, *Cogitatio*, and so forth.

We can then create a kind of 'gestural similarity plot', in which figures with similar poses appear as points close on the map. In truth, however, the distribution is extremely messy. *Conturbatio* and *Interrogatio* do show some kind of small statistical separation, but the others are quite indiscernible. Adding back the images, we can see that although they might not translate into Fra Roberto's phases, many of the images grouped by pose do make sense: in one instance, we see the cluster of variations of the seated Mary from the Santissima Annunziata, the miraculous image in Florence.

We tried a dozen other ways of rearranging the data, and the outcome is always the same: clusters of similar poses do not correspond to Maries of the same phase. Two questions emerge from this statistical naivete:

1. If Baxandall's stages are not gestural formulae, what are they? Are the gestural formulae too implicit or indistinct to be detected automatically, or are these stages simply a regional and temporary phenomenon?
2. What about the other 5,000 detected figures; how ought we to make sense of Gabriel?

For Gabriel, our solution was a cartographic one: to map out the space of possible gestures of Gabriel, and mark out fifteen different common groups of poses. But again, these are gestural formulae, not stages.

Going back to the first question: what are Baxandall's stages? They imply a certain gesture, perhaps a certain expression (surprise, thoughtfulness, acceptance). However, in reality, they are a temporal structure. Baxandall's categorisation is the classic narratological distinction between the chronology of *fabula* (the gospel of Luke) and *sujet* (an image's eventual realisation of one of the phases).

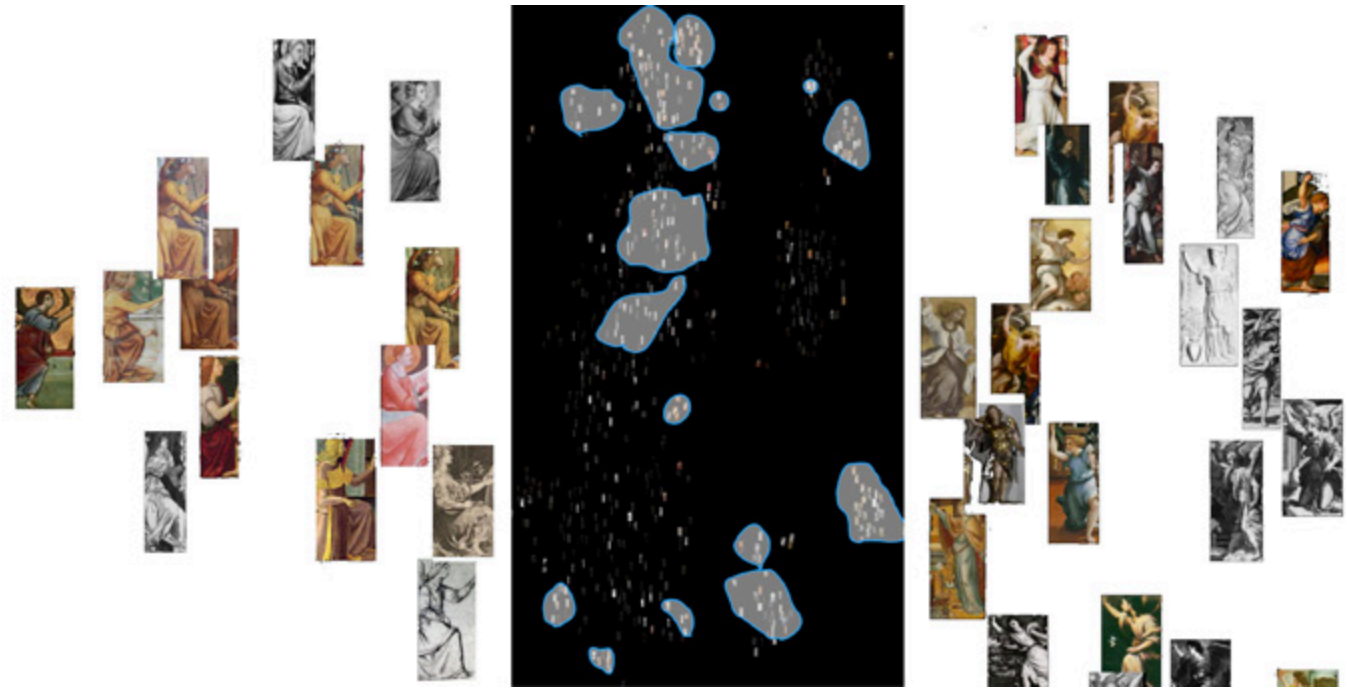

Fig. 2. Clusters of gestures of Gabriel.

Baxandall takes his stages from Fra Roberto's sermons, and so it is no surprise that this temporal structure is anchored quite regularly to the textual rhythm of the Gospel itself. So, *Conturbatio* is Luke 28-30, *Cogitatio* is 31-33, and so on.

know this from experience, but it is not obvious from the text a priori. It is not only a separation between dialogue and narration: a number of other spoken lines ('Don't worry Maria', 'You will conceive', 'How is that so?', etc.), arguably those

Tab. 1.

Gospel of Luke (1:)	Fra Roberto/Baxandall Stages of Mary	Feo Belcari, Sacra Rappresentazione of the Annunciation (stanza)	Image-texts (frequency)
26	-	1	1
27	-	1	0
-	-	2-43	0
28	I (Conturbatio)	44	139
29	I (Conturbatio)	44	0
30	I (Conturbatio)	44	0
31	II (Cogitatio)	45	0
32	II (Cogitatio)	45	0
33	II (Cogitatio)	45	0
34	III (Interrogatio)	46	0
35	III (Interrogatio)	46	4
36	-	47	0
37	-	47	0
38	IV (Humilitatio), V (Meritatio)	47	16
-	-	48	-

Baxandall could very well have chosen a different 15th-century Florentine text on which to build his metronome, such as Feo Belcari's Sacra Rappresentazione of the Annunciation [this is the 1465 version]. Belcari's play lasts for 48 stanzas of 8 lines each: Gabriel gives a prologue in line 1, but it is not until stanza 44 (of 48) that the dialogue between the Angel Gabriel and Mary starts.

Belcari's strong prologue has to do with the stage machinery that accompanies Gabriel: the woodcut on the title page of Belcari's play shows Gabriel twice, the first time while descending in the mandorla and then again performing the Annunciation. Compared to this deformation, Baxandall's stages look very similar indeed to the gospel.

It may not be possible to add images of the Annunciation to this diagram, but many of our images of course do contain fragments of the Gospel text, in the form of small scrolls, gilded speech, and so forth.

So, we have a large number of 'Ave Gratia Plena', and some 'Ecce ancilla domini'. We might

most important to Baxandall's phases, are never transcribed. We get Gabriel's first line, Mary's last line, and nothing else. So, the scrolls and written speech in our images give us another kind of temporal compression, the start and end of the dialogue. The objectification of the main message (from dialogue into scroll) is itself a temporal compression. We have an idea of the temporal distance between Gabriel and Mary, through these texts, and of the direction of causation between the two.

How to measure such a distance for images without writing? We had plenty of annotations of Mary; our next attempt was to annotate Gabriel. To do that, we needed a schema, and this is what we came up with. It aims to be quite superficial and unambiguous – much less rich and descriptive, to be sure, than Baxandall's – but also to contain a hint of temporal structure.

So, we annotated a (smaller) dataset, based on both Baxandall's categories and our own schema for Gabriel. For a truly contextual understanding of individual decisions, we should

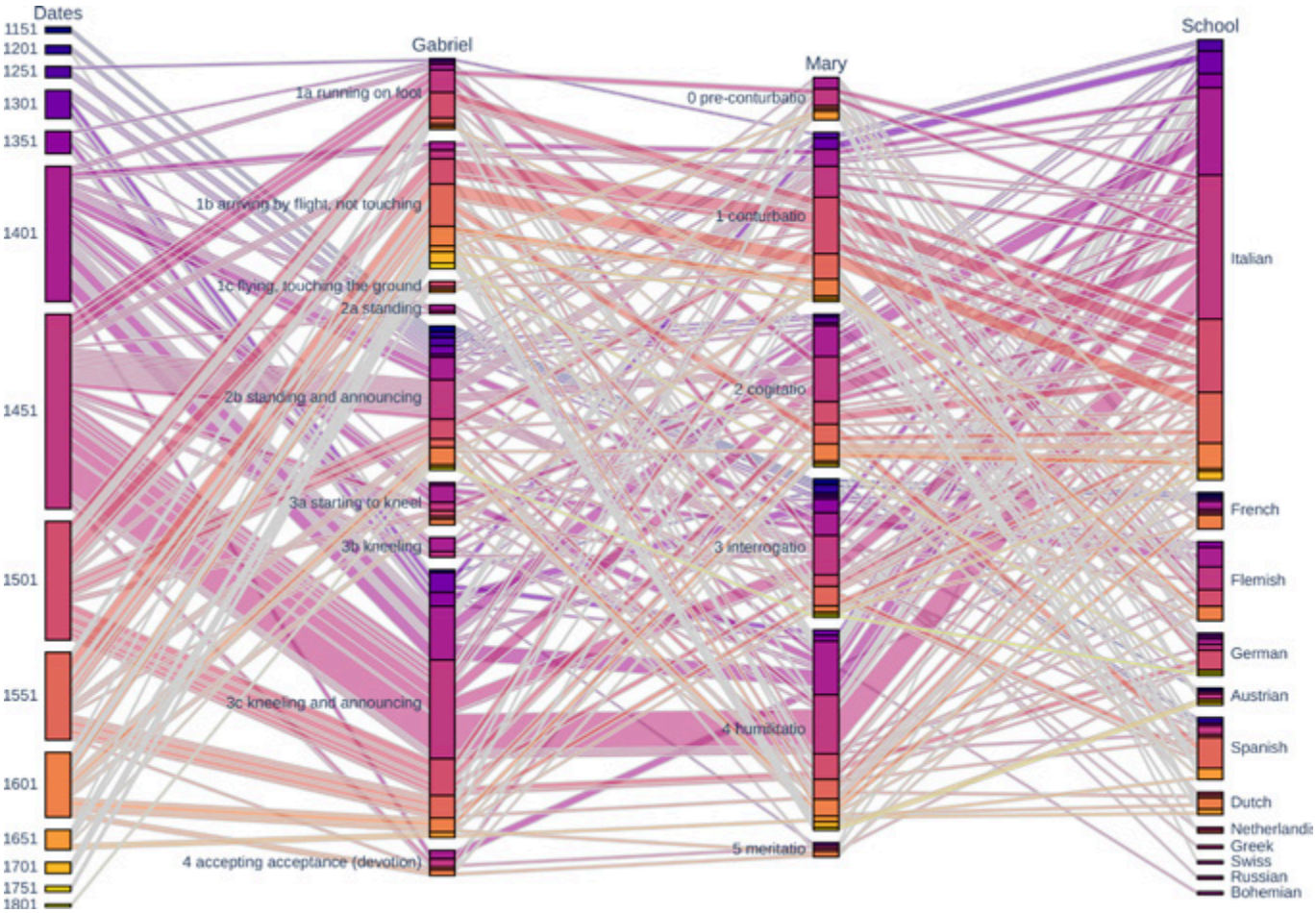

Fig. 3. The Annunciation as a knot caught amongst various times.

take every possible datum into consideration: plot-time and historical time, image-space, and geographical overlap. Unfortunately, it starts to look rather complex. Didi-Huberman referred to the Annunciation's "most improbable temporality" as caught in "a knot amongst various times, distributed across time, or even disjoint in their ontological order",[10] – and in fig. 3 below we get a glimpse of that knot.[11]

Let's try for a minute to untangle the knot. Below, we show the potential combinations between the 'stages' of Gabriel and those of Mary – not in the whole data, but rather during a century. The width of the connection between each stage of Gabriel and of Mary indicates the frequency of them appearing together.

In the 15th century (fig. 4a, above), there seems to be a strong association between a kneeling Gabriel and a Mary in *Humilitatio*. On the other hand, the line between, say, Gabriel running and *Humilitatio* is very small, because there iss only one 15th-century instance of that combination in our dataset. On the other hand, in the 16th century (fig. 4b), we see a large increase in the amount of flying Gabriels, which become mostly associated with *Conturbatio*.

We could of course make an endless list of these patterns, and with a much larger dataset we could consider dissecting the spatial dimension alongside the chronological one. But these are all just descriptions of patterns, not interpretations or explanations of them, which is the real work. Our *distant viewing* of Annunciations has shown that Baxandall's taxonomy resists being mechanised, possibly for historical and methodological reasons; nonetheless, it provides a framework for dissecting historical developments in the scene's iconography and temporality.

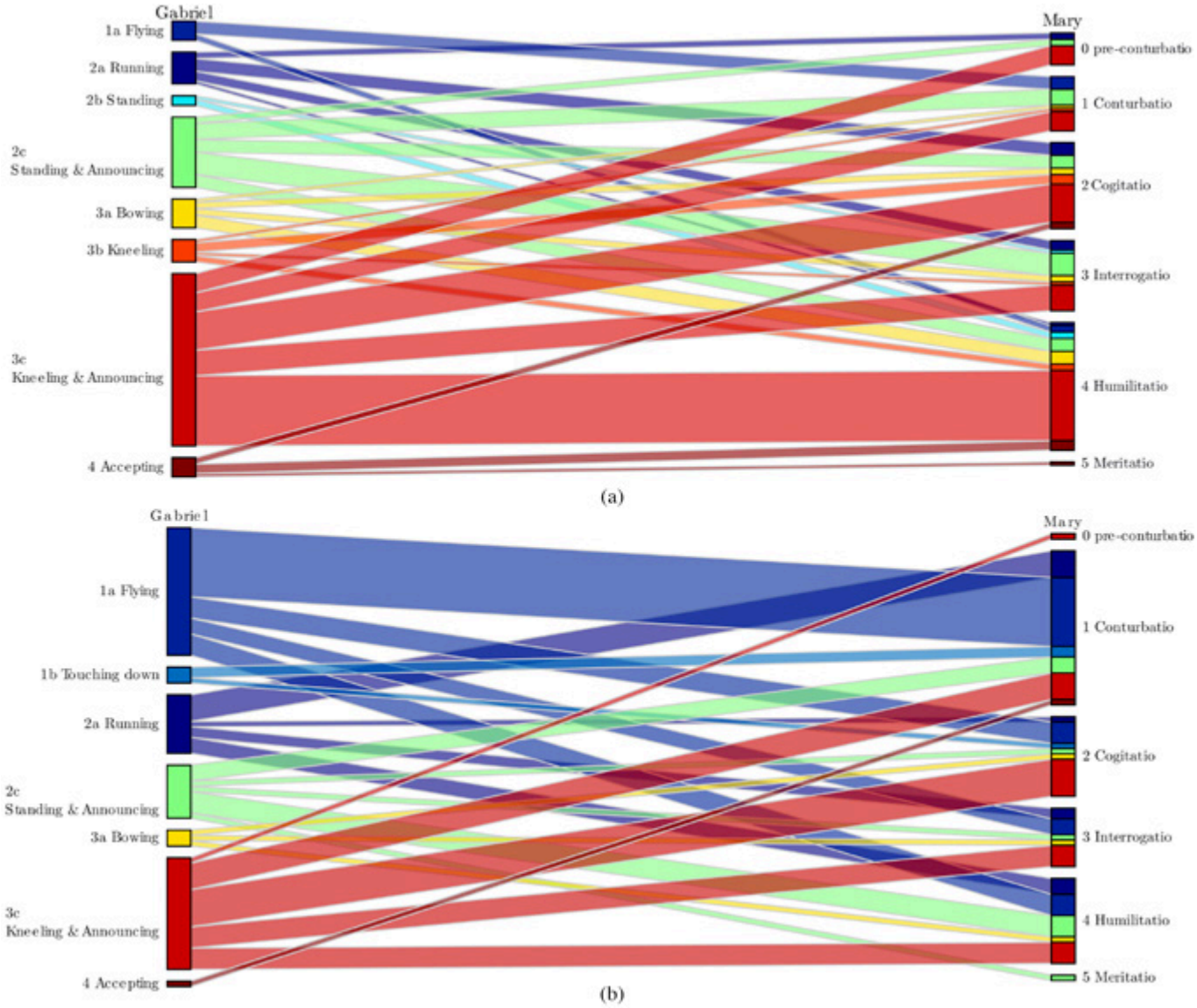

Fig. 4(a). Interaction in the gestures of the Annunciation in the 15th century; and **(b)** in the 16th century.

Notes

[1] With important exceptions, see D. Denny, *The Annunciation from the Right* (New York: Garland, 1977).

[2] M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 65.

[3] Although commonly associated with Alberti, it is also common in Medieval thought; see J-C. Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990).

[4] M. Baxandall, "The language of art history", *New Literary History* 10, no. 3 (1979): pp. 453-465.

[5] P. Bell, J. Schlecht, B. Ommer, "Nonverbal Communication in Medieval Illustrations Revisited by Computer Vision and Art History", *Visual Resources* 29 (2013): pp. 26-37.

[6] L. Impett, F. Moretti, "Totentanz. Operationalizing Aby Warburg's Pathosformeln", *New Left Review* 107 (2017): pp. 68-97.

[7] Z. Cao, et al., "Realtime multi-person 2d pose estimation using part affinity fields", *CVPR Proceedings* (2017).

[8] Available at https://github.com/ZheC/Realtime_Multi-Person_Pose_Estimation.

[9] M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, cit., p. 55.

[10] G. Didi-Huberman, *Fra Angelico: Dissemblance et figuration* (Paris: Flammarion, 1990), p. 129.

[11] Readers familiar with Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* – the founding text of narratology – might notice that the logic of the diagram is the same as Propp's, in his chart of potential combinations between consecutive narrative formulae.

Digital Curating and Ephemeral Artworks: Three Case Studies

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> What happens when a project for an artwork is rejected? Or when a work of art is destroyed, stolen, or lost? How can the institution exhibit and preserve its ephemeral heritage? Does the ontology of this kind of object/project/artwork change? How does digital culture allow improving museum practices for the enhancement of this type of new cultural objects?

This paper delves into these questions. It aims to offer a cross-section of the contemporary exhibiting and creative system, where the idea of immateriality seems to be claimed through a digital rereading. By exploring the way in which concepts of immateriality and ephemerality are experienced, performed, and represented, this paper thus studies three specific cases: an exhibition (*The Gallery of Lost Art* - Tate Gallery, London, 2012), an art project (the *Incompiuto Siciliano* by Alterazioni Video), and a museum (the Museum of Refused and Unrealised Arts Projects - MoRE).

When the Ephemeral Meets the Digital

> "What is at stake is not conservation of the past but the fulfilment of past hopes".[1]

The museum institution is living its fourth revolution. Called 'digital',[2] this revolution stems from the redefinition of the concept of heritage[3] and the increasing use of new technologies in museum practices. These two closely associated factors have led to a further characterisation of museology processes. Indeed, the "frenzied bulimia of wanting to preserve everything"[4] of contemporary society seems by now "thinkable even though it is not possible"[5] thanks to the progressive dematerialisation of the collections. At the same time, this utopia of storage ("archiving impulse")[6] reflects the appearance of other cultural objects (both tangible and intangible) and, consequently, of new forms of heritage. Ultimately, new elements to be preserved and new methods of conservation and exhibition take shape within museum institutions whose digital dimension is becoming more and more marked.

The result is a series of new methods and hybrid projects that end up invading the current museum system: platforms for archiving that turn into display settings, digital interfaces conceived as exhibiting paradigms or transitory exhibitions in virtual spaces. The digitalisation process[7] of the museum system has finally turned the notion of ephemerality (immaterial, unfinished, temporary) into a theoretical object. Several exhibitions and artistic contributions are currently probing this conceptual transformation by insisting on the heuristic potential of the 'ephemeral'. The ephemeral, understood as an epistemological category, acts both as an artwork and an exhibiting device.

Among others,[8] *Unbuilt Roads: 107 Unrealised Projects* is a case in point. Founded in the late 1990s by Hans Ulrich Obrist and Guy Tortosa, the archive collected (at least until 1997, when it was finally published) descriptions of unrealised artworks by several artists, such as Vito Acconci, or Rosemarie Trockel. In 2006, the project turned into the Agency for Unrealised Projects: a research program focused on the exhibition process of the unfinished artwork. For this program, Obrist worked in collaboration with the digital platform e-flux and the Serpentine Gallery in London by seeking to document and display unfinished works through the creation of a growing digital archive. Being both a research subject and an exhibiting tool for exhibition display, here the unfinished is exploited from both a creative and a theoretical point of view.

The exhibition *Salon des Refusés* (2003) is another example of this: organised by Roberto Pinto at the Fondazione Bevilacqua la Masa, in Venice,

the show was dedicated to unrealised projects of public art made by artists such as Lucy Orta, Bert Theis, Sislej Xhafa, and Alberto Garutti. Besides being considered as a conceptual subject, here the idea of the unfinished also served to investigate the features of the curatorial practice in itself. However, while this show tried to answer to the question of how to display and represent the ephemeral, *Invisible Art about the Unseen*, at the Hayward Gallery, in London, in 2012, used a traditional exhibiting paradigm instead. Here, the show exhibited invisible and hidden artworks, by defining an aesthetic category and thus tracing its history. From Yves Klein to Roman Ondak, the exhibition insisted on the bypassed impulse to produce visible objects in favour of the exploration of other communicative possibilities for art making.

The list of this kind of projects[9] is extensive, and this confirms the interest shown in this type of aesthetic-conceptual reflection which recognises a true creative potential in the condition of being 'unrealised'. Whether censored, forgotten, postponed, impossible, or rejected, invisible, not finished, these projects form a unique testament to the speculative power of non-action.[10] Yet, in the recent debate regarding the potential of digital curating, the idea of the unfinished has also acquired a critical role concerning the new exhibition methods, forms of spatial fruition, and exhibition design practices.

An Exhibition: *The Gallery of Lost Art*, Tate Gallery, London, 2012[11]

The exhibition was conceived as an archive, an exhibiting platform, and a source of documentation. This immersive and online one-year show told the stories of over forty masterpieces of modern art that have been lost due to destruction, censorship, or decay. It was divided into ten categories (stolen, destroyed, rejected, unrealised, put aside, disappeared, degraded, reworked, censored) and sought to represent ten types of missing works. Although the selected artworks no longer existed, the exhibition provided a specific display paradigm in which various documents were organised within a virtual space where beholders could wander at will. Each work was thus presented via a table containing the remains left behind (archive photographs, press articles, reviews, eyewitness reports, sketches, and personal letters). There, fictional beholders were shown looking at those materials, leafing through documents, reading related texts, and watching films on laptops. A specific soundscape then completed the rich exhibiting context. The virtual exhibition space was designed as a kind of digital scenography that implicitly invited real visitors to explore the various evidence of the missing artworks within a meta-space. Besides, the site also provided a platform for interaction, discussion, and commentary on the subject of lost art as a whole by offering visitors a place for engagement, private study, and reflection. Despite being a digital exhibition, *The Gallery of Lost Art* lasted for one year, before going lost itself.

By focusing on artworks that can no longer be seen, this exhibition explored the digital capability to bring these lost pieces back to life – not as virtual replicas but through visual evidence and the stories surrounding them. The result is a new way of looking at art: an immersive website in the form of a large warehouse where visitors can explore the evidence laid out for them. This exhibition exploited the heuristic potential of the ephemeral by considering it not only as a source of creativity but also as an exhibiting paradigm in itself. Here, documents, although they retain their original status of visual evidence, contributed to give life to a new exhibiting hypothesis that ended up becoming the real work of art.

An Art Project: The *Incompiuto Siciliano* by Alterazioni Video

> "[...] ruins in reverse is the opposite of the 'romantic ruin' because the buildings don't fall into ruin after they are built, but rather rise into ruin before they are built".[12]

The *Incompiuto Siciliano*[13] is a non-profit project created in 2009 by the Italian artist collective Alterazioni Video, based in Milan. For ten years now, they have been describing the phenomenon of unfinished public works in Italy from a new perspective: by collecting, mapping, and photographing more than 750 unfinished architectural sites scattered throughout Italy. They thus identify architectural artefacts (skeletons of unfinished aqueducts, or bridges, roads, and viaducts with no beginning nor end) whose construction has been suspended due to design errors, political choices, bankruptcy, or lack of state subsidies.

From an ontological point of view, these structures, often risen in the middle of nowhere, appear as sculptural forms without any architectural or social function. Even before any practical use, they thus turn into contemporary ruins of unfinished building sites, thanks to their being catalogued. Also, in these anonymous sites, the concept of place loses its social and cultural identity by ending up being denied. Eventually, it could be considered a 'third landscape' which, while referring to "[...] a space expressing neither power nor submission to power",[14] becomes a means to read and acknowledge the Italian history of the 20th and 21st centuries. However, although they lose their first function, these monoliths, and the places they occupy, also become witnesses of the past. Like contemporary ruins of an architecture 'of the abandonment', they define a specific archaeology of the future.

From an artistic point of view, these unfinished structures, although functionally useless, find a form of aesthetic completeness by being transformed into sculptural objects. Detached from the Italian social and political context, they turn into an aesthetic form thanks to their condition of *non-finito*. Here, the conflict between 'form' and 'function' seems finally resolved, while the lack of function becomes a form of art in itself.

From a technical point of view, once they are collected and located, unfinished sites are then exhibited mostly through photographic reproductions. Here, photography does not just play the role of a documentation tool but allows to transpose and suggest the aesthetic value of these sculptures thanks to the idea of reiteration and census. Simultaneously, the project has also created a kind of digital cartography of the unfinished, so that visitors can digitally locate the abandoned sites, while physically experiencing the places by wandering inside of them.

A Museum: The MoRE (Museum of Refused and Unrealised Arts Projects)[15]

> The ideas itself, even if not made visual is as much a work of art as any finished product. All intervening steps – scribbles, sketches, drawings, failed work, models, studies, thoughts, conversations – are of interest. Those that show the thought process of the artist are sometimes more interesting than the final product.[16]

The term 'virtual' stems from the medieval Latin *virtualis* and the Latin *virtus*, 'excellence, potency, efficacy'. It means: 'being something in essence or effect, though not actually or in fact'. Only after 1959 did the term start to identify the quality of something that does not physically exist but is made to appear by software. The notion of the unfinished is implicitly close to that of the virtual – if the latter is understood in its primary sense of 'potential', and not in its connection to the digital. Like the project, which refers to the first writing of what one intends to do, the notion of virtual can designate what has all the necessary conditions for its actualisation.

This observation is the basis of the MoRE: a museum dedicated to refused and unrealised art projects. Founded in 2012, this young and digital museum does not have a brick-and-mortar architectural structure, but rather lives on the net, and tries to give room to the hundreds of proposals by artists that have never been made into the projected work of art, thus remaining unrealised and invisible in the public sphere.

The MoRE exploits the virtual space as an exhibition site and digitally collects, preserves, and exhibits works of the 20th and 21st centuries, which have not been made for various reasons (censorship, rejection in a competition, lack of funding, change of intentions, utopian spaces). Far from being the simple virtual platform of a museum with a physical and architectural seat, the MoRE is a digital institution, a museum/website that has appropriated the digital language to make it an instrument of conservation, exhibiting, and mediation. Via the Omeka digital platform (specially designed for the collections archival and the implementation of digital presentations), this museum organises its activities into virtual spaces. Its collection, entirely accessible in the form of a digital archive, is composed of documents – all donated by artists – which can be consulted thanks to markers identifying reasons for their non-realisation.

By focusing only on sketches, notes, drawings, renderings, and architectural overviews used for the first study of possible artworks, the MoRE appropriated the idea of the unfinished to make it a new heritage object to be collected and preserved. A dual displacement thus emerges: while documents go concretely from a material condition to a digital one, they also live an ontological transformation leading them from the virtual

state of potential work to that of an artwork in itself. In other words, the project ontologically changes thanks to the digitalisation of the museum process and to the mechanisms of spectatorial apprehension that such a process puts in place. Indeed, the digital exhibitions organised by this museum develop thanks to the diegetic nature and literary or schematic structure of the projects. Their graphic nature engenders a reading process of imagination that makes use of the cognitive abilities of the beholder to turn the project into artwork.

From this point of view, the MoRE's collection should be considered not only as a series of images or digital documents, but mainly as a structured archive of autonomous artworks that find, through their being digital, a new identity, a new status. As a digital platform that preserves and exhibits at the same time, the MoRE goes beyond the mere process of acquisition, and generates the hybridisation of the museum process which, through the reassessment of the notion of project, ends up "aestheticising the document".[17]

The awareness of this change in status also inspires a new form of exhibiting paradigm. Indeed, by presenting documents that take advantage of the digital culture to experience an innovative artistic identity, the MoRE museum exploits the digital space as an exhibiting interface. However, it takes advantage of the spatial architecture of the web only partially, considering it as a simple instrument of dissemination. Instead of arranging the projects inside a theatrical digital scenography, as was the case for *The Gallery of Lost Art*, the MoRE exhibits projects which are previously selected, within a specific thematic exhibition, by showing them in the form of archived works. In doing so, it defines an exhibiting protocol that uses the intangible state of spatial design and digital set-up modalities to aestheticise the archive.[18]

Conclusion

The cases analysed here highlight the heterogeneous nature of the unfinished, and its various uses within an exhibition or a creative context, but they mostly allow us to insist on an epistemological hybridisation made possible by the digitalisation of the museum process. Indeed, the study of the London exhibition has offered an occasion to rethink the modes of exhibition of the ephemeral through a digital perspective, by probing the capabilities of the digital exhibition design to create new methods of spectatorship apprehension and experience. Thus, the case of the *Incompiuto Siciliano* has shed light on the value of the unfinished and its heuristic potential that not only turns a negative condition into a valued one, but also generates a new epistemological category. The case of the MoRE, in turn, by showing how new museum strategies try to probe the value of ephemeral heritage (by fostering new exhibition, valorisation, and conservation methods), has claimed the ontological turn undergone by the notion of project, which turns into an artwork in its own right. The latter, thanks to a digital process, indeed loses its nature of preparatory work to acquire the status of full-fledged artwork. As such, the MoRE museum seems to claim the articulation between the virtual space and the museographical practices to define a new museum ontology.

However, in addition to its specific case studies, the present paper has tried to question the notion of new museology in the digital era, by fostering the concepts of both the virtual and the ephemeral. Thus, the virtual, being able to simultaneously be a place of conservation, of production of content, and an exhibition space, ends up investigating the ways new technologies promote the preservation and promulgation of intangible heritage. At the same time, it assesses how to take advantage of these practices vis-à-vis the present museum system and the notion of the ephemeral. The latter, in turn, ends up appearing both as a "figurative object",[19] i.e., an archetypal cultural universe that does not refer to the real world, and also as a "theoretical object"[20] that allows to shape and hypothesise new strategies of exhibition and creation.

Eventually, by insisting on the heuristic potential of the digital in current museological processes, the articulation between virtual space, art system, artistic production, and museum processes, will further the enhancement of the ephemeral as a new cultural object to preserve and share.

Notes

[1] M. Horkheimer, T.W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944) (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. xvii.

[2] Y. Bergeron, "Musées et muséologie: entre cryogénisation, ruptures et transformations", in F. Mairesse, ed., *Nouvelles Tendances de la muséologie* (Paris: La documentation française, 2016), p. 240.

[3] Since 2004 and the ICOFOM conference on intangible heritage. See *Museology and Intangible Heritage II*, 20th International Symposium of ICOM (ICOFOM Study Series, 2004).

[4] S. Chaumier, "Pourquoi la muséologie ne devra plus être une composante du patrimoine", in F. Mairesse, ed., *Nouvelles Tendances de la muséologie*, p. 68.

[5] R. Robin, *La mémoire saturée* (Paris: Éditions Stock, 2003), p. 441.

[6] H. Foster, "An Archival Impulse", *October*, no. 110 (2004): pp. 3-22. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3397555.

[7] P. Levy, *Qu'est-ce que le virtuel?* (Paris: Editions La Découverte, 1998); C. Paul, ed., *New Media in the White Cube and Beyond: Curatorial Models for Digital Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); B. Graham, S. Cook, *Rethinking Curating: Art After New Media* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2010).

[8] See also the *ARtour* project at the Stedelijk Museum or the exhibition *WeARinMoMA* at the MoMA in New York. https://v2.nl/archive/works/artours; http://www.sndrv.nl/moma/. For further information, see P. Bianchi, "Estetica del virtuale. Spazi senza luoghi in tempi aboliti", in C. Dalpozzo, ed., *L'altro volto del reale. Il virtuale nella comunicazione e nelle arti contemporanee* (Milano: Mimesis, 2020).

[9] For further information, see M. Scotti, "*Unbuilt art*. Appunti per un dibattito sul non realizzato", *Ricerche di S/Confine. Oggetti e pratiche artistico / culturali* no. 3 (2014): pp. 19-30.

[10] Not all the projects were meant to be carried out; specific works have deliberately been left incomplete by the artists in order to claim the potential of their unfinished state.

[11] Visit the website: https://galleryoflostart.com.

[12] R. Smithson, "A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic", *Artform* (December 1967): p. 72.

[13] Visit the website of Alterazioni Video and the one of the project: http://www.alterazionivideo.com, http://incompiutosiciliano.org/index.

[14] C. Gilles, *Manifeste du Tiers paysage* (Paris: Sujet Objet, 2005), p. 9.

[15] Visit the website: http://www.moremuseum.org/omeka/. For further information, see F. Zanella, "Per un museo del non realizzato. Pratiche digitali per la raccolta, valorizzazione e conservazione del progetto d'arte contemporanea", *Ricerche di S/Confine. Oggetti e pratiche artistico/ culturali* (2014): p. 3. https://www.ricerchedisconfine.info/dossier-3/dossier3-2014.pdf.

[16] S. Lewitt, "Paragraphs on Conceptual Art", *Artforum* no. 5/10 (Summer 1967): pp. 79-83.

[17] A. Bénichou, "Ces documents qui sont aussi des œuvres...", in A. Bénichou, ed., *Ouvrir le document. Enjeux et pratiques de la documentation dans les arts visuels contemporains* (Saint-Étienne: Les presses du réel, 2010), p. 47.

[18] For further information on the MoRE museum, see P. Bianchi, "Nouvelles stratégies digitales. Musées numériques et digitalisation du virtuel", in *Revue Histoire de l'art* no. 84/85 (Paris: APAHAU/Somogy éditions d'Art, 2020): pp. 133-144.

[19] P. Francastel, *La réalité figurative* (Paris: Denoël/Gonthier, 1965).

[20] H. Damisch, "Hors cadre: entretien avec Hubert Damisch", *Perspective* no. 1 (2013): pp. 11-23.

Edmond de Belamy or *Bel Ami*: The Rise of the 'Non-Artist' vs. the Artist's Retreat

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"A Romanesque crucifix was not regarded by its contemporaries as a work of sculpture; nor Cimabue's *Madonna* as a picture", affirms Malraux while reflecting on the new attitude towards the works of art that museums have imposed on viewers, recognising in them a sort of alchemical power that is able to "transform even portraits into 'pictures'". Following this reasoning, he comes to wonder "What do we care who the *Man with the Helmet* or the *Man with the Glove* may have been in real life? For us their names are Rembrandt and Titian".[1]

At the very end of this gallery envisioned by Malraux, one could foresee the *Portrait of Edmond Belamy*, the first work of art created by AI to be auctioned at Christie's (October 2018), which sold for a surprising $432,500. The picture shows the blurred figure of a man, obtained through a system based on a selection of portraits from Western art history since the Renaissance to the present. It is signed at the bottom right with the formula that generated it – min G max D Ex[log(D(x))] + Ez[log(1−D(G(z)))] – suggesting that the algorithm should be credited for the artwork. Printed on canvas, the picture was actually produced by the Paris-based collective Obvious, formed by Hugo Caselles-Dupré, Pierre Fautrel, and Gauthier Vernier, three students with no background in the fine arts.[2]

The *Belamy* series was created by an algorithm composed of two parts: "On one side is the Generator, on the other the Discriminator. We fed the system with a data set of 15,000 portraits painted between the 14th century to the 20th. The Generator makes a new image based on the set, then the Discriminator tries to spot the difference between a human-made image and one created by the Generator. The aim is to fool the Discriminator into thinking that the new images are real-life portraits".[3]

The name *Belamy* hides a tribute to Ian Goodfellow, who invented the Generative Adversarial Network (GAN),[4] the system used by Obvious: his surname could be translated as 'Bel ami' into French.

This name weirdly echoes de Maupassant's 1885 novel with the same title, which chronicles Georges Duroy's rise to power from a poor cavalry officer to one of the most successful journalists in Paris: a brilliant career achieved by manipulating people. The novel is dotted with references to the theme of the double, weaving a subtext that shapes Bel-Ami's non-authentic character. His upcoming social climbing is metaphorically condensed in one scene: Duroy goes up the stairs to reach his future boss' home. He rented an elegant suit and, passing in front of a mirror, he does not recognize himself; he gradually gains self-confidence as he moves up the stairs, until he observes himself in a mirror on the third floor with an air of satisfaction, exclaiming: "Voilà une excellente invention" ('Here is a perfect invention').[5]

A concrete product of Western art tradition, the *Belamy* portrait seems to also fall into the category of Conceptual art, even though the outcome is formally far from its intellectually derived aesthetics. As for the issue of authorship it poses – a collective delegating the creative act to an algorithm able to emulate, in a way, human creativity – it represents an extreme step in the divergent path that has pitted the artist as 'thinker' against the artist as 'maker'. For many centuries, artists/craftsmen have sought a more individual role; the Renaissance was a turning point, as the artists' proper names started to spread regularly.[6]

Since the 19th century, galleries in Europe have started to classify their collections according to a chronology of individual masters, abandoning a taxonomy of genres: this arrangement represents a way of understanding the artists' individual talent that still contains a reflection of that 'monograph model', as Guercio has pointed out: "The life-and-work model presented the artist both as

an individual empirically linked to a body of work through historical facts and as a personality created solely by that body of work".[7] This work/artist equivalence reached its peak with the convergence between artistic creation and authentic manifestation of the self during Romanticism.[8]

But what happens if the identification of the artists' persona in their oeuvre becomes obsolete, when the unitary essence of the individual cannot be conceived anymore? What if, when in front of a work of art, we do not even know the name of its author, or if it is a fictitious one?[9]

This essay proposes a selection of practices and projects from Europe and the US which are based on virtual identities that ideally trace the shifting of values suggested by Malraux, while anticipating the issues raised by the *Belamy* series; each case below makes the aforementioned questions more pressing.

In 1920, the first appearance of Duchamp's female alter ego, Rose Sélavy,[10] was seen in a signature next to the word 'COPYRIGHT' inscribed at the base of *Fresh Widow*, a sculpture consisting of a scale model of a French window with its glass panes covered in black leather. Nesbit considers this piece pivotal in her essay *What Was an Author?*[11] where she explores how the evolution of copyright law in France had mirrored the notion of authorship over the years. For a long time, the recognition of the presence of a human intelligence imprinted in the work had been the necessary condition for distinguishing a cultural object from an industrial one. Therefore, the use of any kind of technology (including photography) was excluded from copyright protection until 1957.

No reflection of the artist is visible in Duchamp's window, there is no originality in the design, nor a single culturally certified material in evidence: all the requirements that would allow to consider it a cultural object are missing. However, Duchamp's claim to copyright was not intended to mediate the distinction between culture and industry, rather it showed that the two could become confused. "The non-cultural object could be appropriated; culture could stomach the alien"[12] – Duchamp seems to alert us, while effacing the self at each step of the work and having it signed by a fictitious persona. A few years later, he stopped making art to play chess. Actually, he was still making art, but had come to the conclusion that if artists wanted freedom, they had to keep out of the public eye: "[...] the only solution for the great man of tomorrow in art is to go underground".[13]

If, on the one hand, the cult of artistic personas has significantly increased in the last decades, on the other many artists seem to have put Duchamp's advice into practice in different ways. Some artists have attempted to elude the art system by resorting to a strategy that has responded to the imperative of 'dematerialization' – of the object, first, and of the artist, afterwards. Identity practices have entered the language of art: strategies of anonymity and camouflage, appropriation, and withdrawal, question the artist's 'authority' by replacing the actual self with a fictitious persona or a collective (inspired by the early Soviet ones), breaking the equivalence between work/artist/expression of the self/authenticity. In the same way as it had happened to the 'dematerialized' art object, the market invariably managed to capture and absorb even the most elusive artist who tried to slip away from it.[14]

"The artist ceases to be an image producer and becomes an image himself" according to Groys,[15] who coined the definition of 'self-design' to describe this transition of the artist to the virtual domain.

John Dogg is the pseudonym of a mysterious artist invented in 1986 by Richard Prince and the art dealer Colin de Land.[16] Like Prince's, John Dogg's oeuvre is rooted in US culture and its clichés, as he chooses the car and its components, especially the tire, as the protagonists of his visual universe. As a metaphor for an off-road journey, the spare tire is moved from the back of the car to the wall, enclosed in a metal shell, engraved with the artist's name written as either 'DOGG' or 'GGOD'. The tire represents the perfect object to criticize the many artists who in the late 1980s resorted to processes that were considered sclerotized, like the decontextualization of everyday objects, as well as appropriation, with Prince being one of its first and most important representatives. What makes John Dogg's production significant is its caustic approach to the market, in which the meaning of the work is distorted by moving the focus from the object to the personality of the artist. John Dogg reveals this market effect by the use of the inverted pun 'GGOD' expressed in his name.

This experiment is deeply intertwined with Prince's appropriation concerns within postmodernism. The appropriation of an already existing picture necessarily makes the focus of the work

shift from the object to the author. While developing his most iconic practice, Prince also built a nebulous, fake mythology around his personal story:[17] the starting point of both his visual work and self-narrative is fiction. He carved out for himself the role of simulator, which stands somewhere between creator and copyist, trying to bring the attention back to images. Can the repetition of fiction bring us back to reality? "I find the best way for me to make it real is to make it again"[18] is Prince's reply.

Issues of authorship resonate with Gregor Schneider's experience.[19] For over twenty years, he lived and worked in his house in Rheydt (Germany) which he transformed into *House u r* through extensive yet imperceptible interventions: he erected rooms inside rooms, closed or opened windows, moved walls. The *House* was made public in 2001, with his participation at the Venice Biennale, for which the artist transferred large parts of the house's internal architecture to the German Pavilion. At the entrance of every epiphany of the *House*, the name 'Hannelore Reuen' was written on a nameplate. Who is that?

An interview between the two was published:[20] "Who are you?" is the question Schneider repeatedly asks Mrs Reuen, the mysterious lodger of the ground floor of his house, along with other questions that investigate her relationship with the artist, in a surreal splitting of Schneider's self into the interviewer, the subject of the interview, but also the interviewee.

"How did it happen that Gregor Schneider rented you an apartment?" he asks, and she replies: "Simple. He didn't want to be disturbed any more. I was supposed to keep people away. It started with people asking: who lives on the ground floor? [...] That bothered him. So, I had to move into it".[21]

From the interview, readers learn that she is an experiment the artist wanted to carry out, that he used her name in exhibitions to avoid those he did not wish to participate in. Hannelore Reuen seems to embody Schneider's escape route from public relations, a proxy forced to answer to the questions, to perform on his behalf in order to divert the attention from the real Schneider – who, since the beginning of his career, at a very young age, developed a practice of camouflage and isolation, through the construction of hiding places, an impulse that was fulfilled with the *House u r.*

If, for artists, the invention of an alter ego becomes a way to distance themselves to practice criticism, the opposite happens too: critics or art professionals take on the role of artists.

In 2006, the non-profit exhibition space Triple Candie in New York presented *Cady Noland Approximately,* the first survey devoted to Cady Noland's oeuvre. The project consists of objects made in collaboration with four artists, based on sculptures by Noland, and recreated from images of her works found on the internet and in catalogues. "Though an attempt was made to replicate the original artworks as faithfully as possible, they are not reproductions – the press release informs us – they are inevitably approximations, largely due to lack of information on the works".[22] Noland, whose best-known works are installations made from beer cans, flags, worker's tools filled with explicit socio-political content – no reflection of the artist is explicit – ceased making art in 1994,

Fig. 1. John Dogg, *Ulysses DOGG*, 1987. Rubber and engraved stainless steel, 28x28x8 1/2 inches. Edition of 4, with 1 AP. (Courtesy of the 303 Gallery, New York).

Fig. 2. John Dogg, *Ulysses GGOD*, 1987. Rubber and engraved stainless steel, 28x28x8 1/2 inches. Edition of 4, with 1 AP. (Courtesy of the 303 Gallery, New York).

Figs. 3-4. Gregor Schneider, *u r 44, HANNELORE REUEN. ALTE HAUSSCHLAMPE*. Life action, room within a room, construction made of blockboard on a wooden construction, 1 door, light-bands, parquet floor, white walls and ceiling, 1 figure/life action (742x567x350 cm (LxWxH)). Galeria Foksal, Warsaw, Poland 06/03/2000-08/03/2000 rebuilt 2003. © Gregor Schneider/VG Bild-Kunst Bonn.

despite being acclaimed. She cut ties with galleries and refused to cooperate with them, even if she still exercises tight control over the exhibitions and publication of her extant work.[23]

In a review of this exhibition of surrogates, Saltz curiously noticed: "The ideas are interesting [...] yet the show falls flat. Ironically and significantly, the problem isn't that these are para-Nolands; it's that the room feels so visually inert and lackluster. In a way the show makes one believe in artistic aura again". [24]

Another noteworthy exercise that questions the author's position in collaborative practices and the exhibition format is *Solo Show* by the fictitious artist Robbie Williams, a project conceived by Natascha Sadr Haghighian,[25] whose disruptive work is articulated in research-based projects aimed at the deconstruction of prescribed formats and institutionalised systems of production, including the artist's identity.[26]

The exhibition brings together a sound installation and different objects that resemble fences for a jumping contest, but their traditional structure is replaced by materials that playfully refer to contemporary sculpture.

Behind the alleged author, Robbie Williams, there is actually a large group of professionals and *Solo Show*, despite the title, is the result of a collaborative effort. This project was made in cooperation with Mixedmedia Berlin, a company that helps with the manufacturing and production of artworks and was developed through a conversation with its director Uwe Schwarzer. The purpose is to reveal, document and discuss the different working processes of this company, which basically replaces the artist's hand and remains invisible to the public.

From their conversation[27] a reflection emerges concerning the fragmentation and disappearance of the author, where to draw the line that separates the idea – presented by the artist – and the fabrication – provided by the company – considering that the final object consists of both.

Schwarzer acts as a translator from the artist's imagination to concrete reality and points out the fact that the objects they produce are different from the ones people would get from a specialized company. According to Schwarzer,

> When one looks at an industrially produced door from a distance of two meters, then it looks super. But if you look at it from ten centimeters away, it doesn't look so good anymore. This is what you get from a specialized company that makes doors for apartments or for offices. But more often than not, this doesn't satisfy the artist. It has to look even better than a real door, like an ideal door.[28]

In response, Sadr Haghighian comments: "Basically, you have to produce a hyperreal object which in terms of this high quality doesn't exist in reality, which looks, however, as though it does correspond with 'reality'".[29]

Robbie Williams and *Edmond de Belamy* cause a short circuit, and yet they are two sides of the same coin: the work of artisans who try to concretely produce the unreal object existing only in the artist's mind, and a machine that recognizes and emulates the human, imperfect nature of a portrait made by the artist's hand.

To generate Belamy's portraits, Obvious did not invent the code but borrowed it from Robbie Barrat, a young artist and programmer who uploaded his algorithms on the internet for open-source use, and whose paintings are very similar to those of the Belamy's series. AI's shared nature and the exclusionary vocation of the fine arts collided in AI's thunderous debut at Christie's, which led to a controversy over the true author, shedding new light on the discourse of authorship and of where it resides.

Notes

[1] *Le Musée Imaginaire* was written in 1947 and then included as the first section of *Les voix du silence*, 1951. English edition consulted: *The Voices of Silence* (New York: Doubleday, 1953), pp. 13-14.

[2] Obvious is not the first author to use this algorithm to create paintings, but its work was the first to be auctioned.

[3] H. Caselles Dupré's explanation in "Is artificial intelligence set to become art's next medium?" in Christie's website (12 December 2018). https://www.christies.com/features/A-collaboration-between-two-artists-one-human-one-a-machine-9332-1.aspx.

[4] The system, invented in 2014, is modeled on the network of neurons in the human brain and uses these neural networks as 'generative' models to create plausible new data. Goodfellow's novelty consists in introducing a second network in the system that can interact with the first in order to obtain satisfactory results, providing the machines with something akin to an imagination.

[5] G. de Maupassant, *Bel-Ami* (Lausanne: Éditions Rencontre, 1961 [1885]), p. 41.

[6] It is no coincidence that the first artists' biographies came to light in the 16th century: Vasari's *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (1550) set a life-and-work model which remained unchanged for centuries in Western culture.

[7] G. Guercio, *Art as Existence: The Artist's Monograph and Its Project* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2006), p. 6.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

[9] For the reflection on authorship proposed in this contribution, Roland Barthes' "The Death of the Author" (1967) and Michel Foucault's "What Is an Author?" are essential.

[10] In this first appearance, the name is spelled with one 'r'; later the name would become Rrose (signifying 'eros').

[11] M. Nesbit, "What Was an Author?", in *Yale French Studies* 73 (Fall 1987), republished in M. Nesbit, *The Midnight Tempest Essays* (New York: Inventory Press, 2017), pp. 9-41.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[13] C. Tomkins, *Marcel Duchamp. The Afternoon Interviews* (New York: Badlands Unlimited, 2013 [1964]), p. 67.

[14] "Escape was temporary" claimed Lucy R. Lippard in her 1973 introduction to the famous *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972*, bitterly noting the rapid assimilation by the art system and market of the most radical, intangible experiences.

[15] B. Groys, "Self-Design and Aesthetic Responsibility", *e-flux journal* 7 (June 2009). https://www.e-flux.com/journal/07/61386/self-design-and-aesthetic-responsibility/.

[16] Colin de Land was the founder of Vox Populi, and then of American Fine Arts, Co. in New York, whose activity was marked by an unusual anti-commercial ethos.

[17] See his backdated interview with J.G. Ballard, supposedly published in *Punch magazine* in 1967, revolving around a missing identity and a sort of odyssey, nurturing that disorientating aura that surrounds the viewer's reading of his work.

[18] R. Prince, unpublished typescript: "The Closest Thing to the Real Thing" (1982) quoted in L. Phillips, *People Keep Asking: An Introduction*, in L. Phillips, ed., *Richard Prince*, exh. cat. (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1992), pp. 21-53.

[19] I owe this indication to Roberto Cuoghi.

[20] *"He is Never Going to Get Out". An interview with Gregor Schneider and Hannelore Reuen in the "Haus u r" in Rheydt,* in *Gregor Schneider*, essay by Paul Schimmel (Milano: Charta, 2003), pp. 181-204.

[21] *Ivi.*

[22] *Cady Noland Approximately: Sculptures & Editions, 1984-1999* (2006), press release of the exhibition on Triple Candie's website: http://www.triplecandie.org/Archive%202006%20Cady%20Noland.html.

[23] No monograph has been published and it is rare to see her sculptures in person, apart from a recent retrospective at the Museum für Moderne Kunst (MMK), Frankfurt am Main, 2019.

[24] J. Saltz, "Invasion of the Art Snatchers: Unintentionally playing the roles of Rupert Pupkin and Masha in *The King of Comedy*", in *The Village Voice* (May 17-23, 2006). Also published on Triple Candie's website: http://www.triplecandie.org/Triple%20Candie%20About%20Press%20Cady%20Voice%20051706.html.

[25] The exhibition *Solo Show*, curated by Andrea Viliani, was on display at the Museo d'Arte Moderna di Bologna (MAMbo) in 2008, at e-flux in New York in 2013 and at Museion, in Bolzano, in 2014-15.

[26] See the online platform: www.bioswop.net, a database for art professionals to borrow and exchange resumes, with the purpose of devaluing the use of biographical data, like the country of origin, as credentials for marketing. When she was invited to represent Germany at the 2019 Venice Biennale, Natascha Sadr Haghighian changed her name to Natascha Süder Happelmann and presented herself wearing a stone mask, having an actress speak for herself.

[27] *SOLO SHOW*, PT.1, IINN PPEERRPPEETTUUAALL PPRROODDUUCCTTI IOONN, 2013, published as part of *SOLO SHOW*, an exhibition by Robbie Williams at e-flux in New York, 2013.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[29] *Ivi.*

SESSION 9

Voyage

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David Young Kim
Notes on the Underground: The Subterranean Voyages of Giorgio Vasari and António Vieira

Maria Berbara
Representations of Brazil in Italy in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries: Between Domestication and Ferocity

Alexander Gaiotto Miyoshi
The Emigrants *(1910) by Antonio Rocco: A Voyage of a Painting and Its Painter*

Paolo Rusconi
Attraction and Artistic Mobility Patterns in P.M. Bardi's Brazilian Way

Gerhard Wolf
Beyond the Voyage

Introductions to Session 9
From Florence to São Paulo via Marozia

The link between the two parts of the Congress, *Motion: Transformation* and *Motion: Migrations*, can be found in this final, ninth section, titled *Voyage*, a theme that entails both movement and transformation, the congress' two fundamental concepts, and which can be explored in different ways. Indeed, the theme can be applied to both people and objects; it is real and metaphorical; and it does not fall within any strict definition as it permeates several different fields of knowledge and human sciences, from literature to music. It can be found in many forms of art and even cinema, which with its mythopoeic and semiotic mechanisms (the images following one after another) introjects the key elements of a story-journey: time, space, and transformation.[1]

Travel and literature have been closely connected since the days of Homer, when he wrote his poem *Odyssey*: in both, we can see a "similar exploration, deconstruction, and expedition of the world and self".[2] In classical literature, the journeys undertaken by Odysseus and Aeneas each had a purpose: for Ulysses, it was to return home; for Aeneas, it was to search for the promised land, far from his home in Troy. For the former, the journey brought the hero back to the beginning, having accumulated along the way knowledge he never would have developed – to the same extent and breadth – had he not left Ithaca to participate in the war against the Trojans. After all, upon his return, he finds himself in a different Ithaca to the one he had left behind. While Aeneas's journey involved similar hardships, plights, and obstacles, these were faced in foreign lands and amongst unknown people, leading him to complete his mission far from where he had departed. Ulysses has inspired several literary works over time, the most famous being *Ulysses* by James Joyce, published in 1922. In this novel – as is well known – the protagonist, inspired by the ancient hero, represents man's adventure into the world. A little more than twenty years later, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno revived the myth of Ulysses in *Dialektik of Aufklärung* (1947), making Odysseus a metaphor for the condition of the bourgeois Enlightenment. If, in the artistic field, the iconographic fortune of the *Odyssey* knew no solutions of continuity starting from Greek art, it was the illustration in Joyce's masterpiece that offered the opportunity to the most disparate artists of the 20th century to try their hand at *Odyssey* themes and characters.[3] More generally, it can be said that the Homeric poem has worked for contemporary artists in different ways: to confront the classic, to talk about themselves as well as their own times through the lens of social and ideological instances (remember, for example, the *Odyssey* project conceived by Ai Weiwei between 2015 and 2017).

In music, the interest in Homer's Odysseus has been equally prolific. In addition to Claudio Monteverdi's very famous opera (*Il ritorno di Ulisse in patria*, 1640) and Charles Gounod's music for Françoise Ponsard's tragedy *Ulysse* (1852), I would also like to mention that the fascination with Homer's hero can even be found among Italy's most renowned singer-songwriters of the 20th and 21st centuries. I am thinking especially about *Odysseus* by Francesco Guccini (2004), whose protagonist openly declares that he does not belong to the sea, even if the gods of Olympus and his fellow men have urged him to sail the seas, and he thanks Homer for having assured him "an eternal life enclosed within verses, rhythms, a rhyme [...]", offering him "the infinite joy of landing in previously unknown ports".[4]

The fate of Virgil's hero is more modest in comparison. Let us focus on Aeneas, taking inspiration from Virgil's poem through the incisive iconographic patency of a truly unique image in which we find a briefly summarised compelling account of the travel experiences described in Book I of *Aeneid*. I am referring to an engraving by Marcan-

Fig. 1. Alberto Savinio, *Ulysse et Polyphème*, 1929. Oil on canvas, 65x81 cm, MART 989, VAF 0666. Rovereto, Mart, Museo di arte moderna e contemporanea di Trento e Rovereto, Collection VAF-Stiftung.

tonio Raimondi designed by Raphael and known by the title *Quos Ego* (B. XIV, 264-268, 352). The artist's literary source comprises five hexameters composed by the Roman poet Vomanius, distributed across five plates in the form of epigraphs: two pairs are located at the sides, below and above the upper and lower friezes respectively, and a single plate at the centre of the lower frieze, arranged in a way that divides it into two distinct scenes. If we focus on the scene in the upper right corner, we can recognise Ilioneus and the other Trojans imploring Dido (I, vv. 520-558) to welcome him and his men – who had spent too much time at sea, at the mercy of the wind – and to allow them to repair their ships so that they can continue on sailing to Italy and Lazio.[5] Some of the words in this conversation with the queen, which takes place in the presence of Aeneas (who is invisible because his mother Venus had enveloped him in a thick mantle of mist), stand out for their surprising relevance to today:

> Queen, to whom Jupiter has granted to found a new city, and to put the curb of justice on haughty tribes, we, unhappy Trojans, tempest-driven over every sea, make our prayer to you: ward off the horror of flames from our ships; spare a pious race, and look more graciously on our fortunes. We have not come to spoil with the sword your Libyan homes or to drive stolen booty to the shore. No such violence is in our hearts, nor have the vanquished such assurance. [...] What race of men is this? What land is so barbarous as to allow this custom? We are debarred the welcome of the beach; they stir up wars and forbid us to set foot on the border of their land.[6]

By choosing to include the *argumentum* of Book 1 on the folio, Raphael referenced literature and placed it, together with painting and sculpture, under the aegis of the engraving. Therefore, the latter became a complete work of art that overcomes the clash between word and image. After all, to cultured men and artists in Rome during this time, engravings must have seemed to be the expressions and tools of a revolution in the field of communication, comparable to what happened in the 20th century with cinema. The latter provides an encapsulation of painting, theatre, music, sculpture, architecture, dance, landscape, man, visual imagery, and words, according to the enthusiastic definition of Sergej Ejzenštejn.[7]

With Claudio Magris, you could say that the journey as a symbol of the continuous movement of knowledge is closely linked with the precariousness of the methods and tools with which cultures presume to understand and judge one another. For art historians, the journey (of artists, patrons, collectors, and even objects) has contributed to surpassing the conceptual bounds of the notion of *school*, helping to comprehend the never-ending trajectory of the coming and going of people, ideas, and things, during which the original qualities of the starting point are subjected to considerable transformations and reciprocal exchanges at the time of one's arrival and return. Please note that I purposefully did not speak of influence(s), as I share the reservations expressed by Michael Baxandall regarding this hierarchical and limited term.[8] Recently, I was able to examine the inadequacy of the notion of "school" when I looked at the Spanish drawings conserved in Emilio Santarelli's collection donated to the Uffizi in 1866.[9] The artists operating in the Mediterranean, specifically in Spain and Italy, participated in a constant exchange that was quite varied depending on the timing and personal experiences. I am thinking, for example, of "los italianos escurialenses" Federico Zuccari, Luca Cambiaso, Pellegrino Tibaldi, and Giovanni Battista Castello, known as Bergamasco;[10] those who know anything about these artists' careers in Italy, first and foremost Tibaldi, cannot but conclude that from an artistic point of view, during their time at the Monasterio del Escorial (Monastery of El Escorial), they were not entirely Italian, nor were they entirely Spanish, rather they were "escurialenses".

They belonged to a place that was, above all else, a melting pot of encounters, exchanges, and

Fig. 2. Marcantonio Raimondi, *Quos Ego* (B. XIV, 264-268, 352), c. 1515. Vienna, Albertina Museum, inv. 1971/361.

expectations (on the part of Philip II), where the artists' reactions to their journey were not limited to the experiences they had during their travels from Italy to Spain (or vice versa) but continued through the creation of an original and common style. It is for this reason that studying drawing in 16th-century Spain meant undertaking a continuous journey, intended to expand geo-cultural borders and knock down barriers of prejudice. I would also like to mention the rather emblematic case of Jusepe (José) de Ribera, known as Lo Spagnoletto. Even though he was the only Spanish painter to be represented in the Florentine collection since its foundation, he was categorised in alphabetical order alongside Italian artists by Filippo Baldinucci (the first curator of the Medici collections on behalf of cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici)[11] in the 1670s.[12] Only later on, towards the end of the 19th century (starting in 1890, with Pasquale Nerino Ferri, who at the time was the director of the then Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe della R. Galleria degli Uffizi), was Lo Spagnoletto considered an exclusively Spanish artist;[13] nonetheless, he remained long described as either Ital-

Fig. 3. Pellegrino Tibaldi, *Christ Presented to the People*, c. 1586. Fresco. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Monasterio del Escorial, Escorial.

ian or Spanish in many 20th-century catalogues. Even the nickname El Greco, as Domínikos Theotokópoulos was known, is rooted in contradiction: the artist was Greek, as his pseudonym indicates, and lived in Italy before arriving in Toledo, where he blended the artistic traditions of his homeland with those of the countries he travelled in to create his evocative works of art, thereby achieving a personal and completely original style, both ancient and modern. The artist seemed to imbibe the very essence of the places where he spent his life and developed his skills, expressing it in an artistic style that could not be confined to one specific country; nevertheless, he was often classified as a Spanish artist. Even the historian Fernand Braudel, in *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, when speaking about the "Mediterranean of the sky" that stretches above the "Mediterranean of land and water",[14] dedicates a brief and intense paragraph to the artist that inextricably ties him to Toledo: "Above Toledo, the Atlantic humidity contributes in winter to bring those turbulent and dramatic skies of storm and light painted by El Greco [...]".[15]

Ribera and El Greco may represent exemplary cases of the inconsistencies and contradictions we come across when cataloguing artwork each time we favour taxonomic descriptions that divide the cultural phenomenon into single segments that are never exhaustive despite their individual importance.[16] This can especially be seen when shifting from the critical analysis of an artist's monographic studies to the analytical exposition of his/her body of work in miscellaneous tools such as some exhibition catalogues and permanent collections. Conversely, nowadays the ideal museum should be working to overcome the most rigidly unaltered interpretations of the word "school", by leaving behind its national acceptation and, more importantly, knocking down the forced cultural "customs" of 19th-century nationalism. The final objective that I believe is necessary to address is the expansion of museums and a more global circulation of culture, in line with the continuous exchanges between European and non-European countries fostered by historic, economic, and social circumstances.

"Travel teaches disorientation, to always feel like a foreigner in one's life, even at home; but being a foreigner amongst foreigners is perhaps the only way to truly be brothers. For this reason, the purpose of travel is men; [...]".[17] It was undoubtedly the choice to explore a world different from our own (and at the same time, so similar to it thanks to the phenomenon of Italian immigration) that led us to work together with our Brazilian colleagues to hold these two parts of the congress in Florence and São Paulo.

In addition to our intention of fostering a cultural exchange between the two countries (and beyond), it is important to ensure future prospects for our current work. In my opinion, this two-part congress highlights a fantastic and visionary element that is inherent in the journey from Florence to São Paulo. If we want to have an idea of the journey that awaits us and of the one we have already

Fig. 4. Jusepe (José) de Ribera, called Lo Spagnoletto, *Crucifixion of Polycrates*, c. 1649. Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 10097 S.

Fig. 5. Domínikos Theotokópoulos, called El Greco, *View of Toledo*, c. 1599-1600. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H.O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H.O. Havemeyer, 1929, inv. 29.100.6.

partly undertaken through our work together, we must emphasise that the destination of this journey is the respect for diversity, the recognition of similarities in our diversity, and the respect for the planet as a manifestation and implicit consequence of our view as it expands to include seemingly different places and peoples. At this point, I am tempted to build an invisible city, like the one described by Italo Calvino. For a brief moment I thought about Marozia, which consists of two cities, the rat's and the swallow's. Both, Calvino explains, "change with time, but their relationship does not change; the second is the one about to free itself from the first".[18] The invisible city to be built, even only in our imagination following our work together, should instead be different and regain a form that the author describes as "crystalline, transparent as a dragonfly";[19] not for a brief moment, as it happens in Marozia, but for much longer. It should exist independently from the constant presence, in our cities, of an almost irreconcilable dualism between the beauty that pervades them and its constant desecration. We are used to facing this polarity that arises, more or less openly, in metropolises around the world; however, like the inhabitants of Marozia, we prefer to interpret the Sibyl's prophecy as a forewarning of an enduring season of swallows taking flight to trace "with their wings' blade the curve of an opening horizon".[20]

Marzia Faietti

Notes

[1] I quote from M. Tirino, *Cinema e viaggio. Tre prospettive d'analisi tra scambio simbolico, sociologia dell'immaginario ed economia turistica* (online, 2010), Academia.edu. https://www.academia.edu/2174831/Cinema_e_viaggio_Tre_prospettive_danalisi_tra_scambio_simbolico_sociologia_dellimmaginario_ed_economia_turistica. (Accessed March, 2021).

[2] C. Magris, *L'infinito viaggiare* (Milano: Mondadori, 2005), p. XV ("un'analoga esplorazione, decostruzione e ricognizione del mondo e dell'io").

[3] A recent exhibition dedicated to Ulysses comprehensively illustrates the never-ending fortune of this figure throughout the centuries: see G. Brunelli, et al., eds., *Ulisse. L'arte e il mito*, exh. cat. (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2020).

[4] www.francescoguccini.it/discografia/ritratti. ("un'eterna vita racchiusa in versi, in ritmi, in una rima", "la gioia infinita di entrare in porti sconosciuti prima").

[5] R. Jones, N. Penny, *Raphael* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 183 and no. 26, p. 252, instead analyse Aeneas's first speech to Dido (referring to vv. 595 et seq.), since the profile of the male figure is very similar to that of the figure that in *Morbetto* (B. XIV, 314, 417) by Raimondi, in their opinion, represents Aeneas.

[6] "o regina, novam cui condere Iuppiter urbem iustitiaque dedit gentes fraenare superbas, Troes te miseri, ventis maria omnia vecti, oramus: prohibe infandos a navibus ignis, parce pio generi et propius res aspice nostras. non nos aut ferro Libycos populare Penates venimus aut raptas ad litora vertere praedas; non ea vis animo nec tanta superbia victis. [...] quod genus hoc hominum? quaeve hunc tam barbara morem permittit patria? hospitio prohibemur harenae; bella cient primaque vetant consistere terra" (I, vv. 522-529, 539-541): see *Virgil. Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid, Books 1-6*, tr. H. Fairclough, rev. G.P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), p. 298 (Latin text); p. 299 (English text).

[7] The judgment is formulated by Ejzenštejn in 1947 in the paper *Always ahead (like an epilogue)* in which he strongly reaffirms his full confidence in cinema: see M. Faietti, *«una specie di intricata matassa». La linea grafica di Sergej M. Ejzenštejn*, in M. Faietti, P. Nardoni, E.D. Schmidt, eds., *Ejzenštejn. La rivoluzione delle immagini*, exh. cat. (Firenze: Giunti, 2017), p. 43.

[8] M. Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention. On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 58-62.

[9] M. Faietti, *Per una storia globale del disegno «El dibujo en España» nell'età di Carlo V e Filippo II*, in M. Faietti, C.T. Gallori, T. Mozzati, eds., *Spagna e Italia in dialogo nell'Europa del Cinquecento*, exh. cat. (Firenze: Giunti, 2018), pp. 18-37.

[10] Definition by A. Pérez Sánchez, *Museo del Prado. Catálogo de dibuios. Dibujos españoles siglos XV-XVII* (Madrid: Alfiz, 1972), p. 13.

[11] On Cardinal Leopoldo, collector of drawings, see R. Aliventi, et al., *Una "muta historia": la storia dell'arte per immagini nella collezione di disegni di Leopoldo de' Medici*, in V. Conticelli, R. Gennaioli, M. Sframeli, eds., *Leopoldo de' Medici. Principe dei collezionisti*, exh. cat. (Livorno: Sillabe, 2017), pp. 116-131, with previous bibliography.

[12] F. Baldinucci, *Listra de' Nomi de' Pittori, di mano de' quali si hanno Disegni* (1673-1675), Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Post., 97: see M. Fileti Mazza, *Storia di una collezione. Dai libri di disegni e stampe di Leopoldo de' Medici all'età moderna*, Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi. Inventario Generale delle Stampe, II (Firenze: Olschki, 2009), p. 234 (there were four drawings in 1673, and nine were added by 1675).

[13] P.N. Ferri, *Catalogo riassuntivo della raccolta di disegni antichi e moderni posseduta dalla R. Galleria degli Uffizi di Firenze* (Roma: presso i Principali Librai, 1890), pp. 862-863.

[14] I consulted F. Braudel, *Civiltà e imperi del Mediterraneo nell'età di Filippo II* (1949), 2 vols. (Torino: Einaudi, 2010), I, p. 238, where the two phrases "Mediterraneo aereo" and "Mediterraneo di terra e d'acqua" (Italian translation by C. Pischedda updated to the fifth French edition of 1982) can be found.

[15] *Ibid*., p. 240 ("Sopra Toledo, grazie all'umidità atlantica, l'inverno è responsabile di quei cieli offuscati, patetici, tempesta e luce, dipinti dal Greco [...]").

[16] See M. Faietti, *I disegni di scuola napoletana agli Uffizi dall'Ottocento a Walter Vitzthum*, in F. Solinas, S. Schütze, eds., with the collaboration of M. Epifani, N. Iodice, V. Carpita, *Le Dessin Napolitain*, Actes du colloque international Ecole Normale Supérieure (Roma: De Luca, 2010), pp. 308-309 (pp. 297-312).

[17] C. Magris, *L'infinito viaggiare*, cit., p. XX ("Viaggiare insegna lo spaesamento, a sentirsi sempre stranieri nella vita, anche a casa propria, ma essere stranieri fra stranieri è forse l'unico modo di essere veramente fratelli. Per questo la meta del viaggio sono gli uomini; [...]").

[18] I. Calvino, *Le città invisibili* (Milano: Mondadori, 1993), p. 155 ("cambiano nel tempo; ma non cambia il loro rapporto: la seconda è quella che sta per sprigionarsi dalla prima").

[19] *Ivi* ("cristallina, trasparente come una libellula").

[20] *Ibid*., p. 154 ("con la lama delle ali la curva d'un orizzonte che s'allarga").

Voyage: Misplacement and Foreignness

When proposing the notion of 'voyage' for the Italy-Brazil session at the 35th CIHA – Florence in 2019, we invited our speakers to reflect on the various dimensions of travelling, one of them being the transfer and relocation of objects, concepts, and people.

In this respect, we would like to add two more terms that might give new meanings to objects, concepts, and people that move from one place to another: 'misplacement' and 'foreignness'. They may characterize the condition of an object, for instance, having as an immediate consequence its loss.

For example, let's consider the artworks by non-Brazilian artists of the Museum of Contemporary Art of the University of São Paulo (MAC USP), Brazil.[1] They have always been exhibited as part of the highlights of the Museum's collection. However, they are conveyed as misplaced objects which ended up in Brazil by chance, and do not have clear connections with the experience of modernity or modern art, neither in the country nor elsewhere. In the two general catalogues of the collection published by MAC USP, the first in 1973 and the second in 1986,[2] they appeared grouped under the label *Obras estrangeiras* ('Foreign Artworks') and *Acervo Internacional* ('International Collection'), respectively, and they were in both cases separated from the section dedicated to Brazilian artworks.[3] The use of the term 'foreign' to define artworks attributed to non-Brazilian artists is something Brazilian art historians and critics inherited from the context of the São Paulo Biennial, which had award categories in painting, sculpture, and works on paper divided into non-Brazilian and Brazilian artists. According to the Biennial's regulations, the latter were either those who held a Brazilian citizenship, or those who had been living in the country for at least two years[4] – a very fluid concept if one considers that, in the first half of the 20th century, Brazil faced strong waves of immigration.

The most common word used for 'foreign' in Portuguese is *estrangeiro*. Contrary to the definition of 'foreign' in English, *estrangeiro* has some other quite exceptional meanings in Portuguese. *Estrangeiro* can refer to someone who does not belong to a family or a group, or to someone who does not know the laws, customs, and culture of his/her own country. Among its synonyms, there are a few words that carry a negative meaning, like 'stranger', 'exotic', 'alien', and 'outlander'. Transforming words into actions, and without giving deep thought to them, it just seemed quite natural for Brazilian art historians to adopt the strategy to deal with such objects as not pertaining to Brazil. They were there, but they did not really concern the local narration of art, and there was no reason to devote any effort to research them: this was a task for 'foreign' art historians, who would know more about these objects. By assuming that they ended up in Brazil by chance, art historians overlooked the fact that they were put into circulation in the international art market due to the very specific (and violent, for that matter) circumstances of World War II. The fact is that neither Brazilians nor non-Brazilians know more about them, yet these works that seemed to be totally misplaced from their original context tell us a lot more about the history of modernity.

One recent case study is Boccioni's original plaster cast of *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space*, now in the MAC USP's collections. For many years, the museum has preferably displayed the bronze cast belonging to its collections, to show to its audience an example of futurism as an avant-garde movement. However, *Unique Forms...* is in the only piece of art illustrating futurism at MAC USP, and it cannot properly exemplify futurism as a movement in its various meanings. This is exactly the opposite of what went on when the MoMA, in New York, presented its earlier, very bright, shiny bronze cast in their gallery dedicated

to futurism. This is probably the best-known version of Boccioni's *Unique Forms...*, and it is not rare to see art experts talking about Boccioni's sculptural work having the MoMA's bronze sculpture in mind, and not the original plaster cast now in the MAC USP's collections – even though the latter is the actual piece conceived and exhibited by the artist in his lifetime, since all the bronze casts were posthumously made.

Recent research MAC USP undertook on Boccioni's *Unique Forms...*, with the collaboration of non-Brazilian specialists,[5] has made clear how important it is to consider the work's provenance and material history when interpreting it, as well as when evaluating the place it occupies in the history of modern sculpture. It revealed how Boccioni's sculpture was promoted in the aftermath of World War II as an unblemished symbol of Italian avant-garde art, and helped Italy be reintegrated into the international art system and valued by both Brazilian and US collectors. *Unique Forms...* is not misplaced. It is indeed a testimony of the network of relations in the international art system, which then helped build a certain idea of avant-garde in the second half of the 20th century. Finally, the dismissal of its materiality is very revealing of the political power of institutions and their leverage over the discourse on visual arts and art history as a field of scientific research.

Ana Gonçalves Magalhães

Notes

[1] For the museum's collection online, see: www.acervo.mac.usp.br.

[2] See W. Zanini, ed., *Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo: Catálogo geral das obras* (São Paulo: USP, 1973); and A. Amaral, ed., *Perfil de um acervo: Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo* (São Paulo: MAC USP/Techint, 1988).

[3] This is not a specific way of classifying a museum collection in a catalogue. Ever since the invention of the catalogue as a guide to a museum's collection, the school and later the nationality of the artists were the criteria by which they were organized and documented in museum collections, therefore to list them in the catalogues.

[4] See L.G. Machado, ed., *I Bienal Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo*, exh. cat. (São Paulo: Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo, 1951), p. 25.

[5] See A.G. Magalhães, R. McKever, eds., *Boccioni no Brasil: Reavaliando "Formas únicas da continuidade no espaço"* (São Paulo: MAC USP/Edusp, 2021), bilingual edition. Upcoming.

The "Orient" in the West: The Japanese Architect Itō Chūta's Travels in the Ottoman Empire and Its Challenge to the Oriental Narrative

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In September 1904, the Japanese architect Itō Chūta (1867-1954) was in Cairo, Egypt. Here, he had an experience for the first time that made him rethink his notion of *Saracen* architecture, which would correspond to today's so-called "Islamic" architecture. It was in Sultan Hassan's Mosque, with four *ivan*s of enormous scale, about which Chūta commented on his field note "モスクとは見えず doesn't look like a mosque".[1] Actually, today this masterpiece of Mamluk architecture is known to have some Byzantine influence, especially in its use of color marbles in the *mihrab*. In this same city, Chūta's idea of a Christian church was also upset by his visit to the Coptic Church of St. Virgin Mary, on which Chūta noted "教会とは思へず doesn't look like a Christian Church".[2]

Chūta noticed a similar ambivalence in the Greek port of Pireás (Piraeus), where he could not decide whether the atmosphere was "Turkish" or "Greek". According to him, the appearance of the city was "strangely Turkish", with the people speaking Turkish, and shops and food just like in Turkey. He even noted that "Or, Constantinople could be strangely more Greek".[3] For Chūta, who had read European discourses on Greek architecture before, in Japan, this ambiguity, or cultural overlapping, was a real discovery.

Born in Yonezawa in 1867, one year before the Meiji restoration, in a family of medical doctors, Itō Chūta was a person of double background – raised in feudal Edo tradition in his early childhood, he received a Western style architectural education at the Tokyo Imperial University, established by the new Meiji government (fig. 1). In one of his notebooks from his school days, we can observe handwritings both in English and Japanese, measurements in inches, meters, and *shaku*, a traditional Japanese measurement system. This shows that Western knowledge was not always immediately acceptable for a young Japanese architecture student, and that he needed some time to digest it (fig. 2). The gap between his graduation project at the University of Tokyo, a Gothic cathedral, and his first commission after his graduation, the Heian Jingu Shintoism Shrine, clearly shows this duplicity: what he had learnt at school was not at all applicable in the real world. Japan was in the middle of a process of change. In this paper, I will explore how a travel experience affected Itō Chūta"s formulation of the notion of "World Architecture", and especially of the place of "Oriental" (*Tōyō*) and "Islamic" (*Saracen-Kaikyō*) styles

Fig. 1. Itō Chūta's portrait (1867-1954) taken at the photographer Nicolaïdes' studio in Istanbul in 1904. (Ito Family Archives).

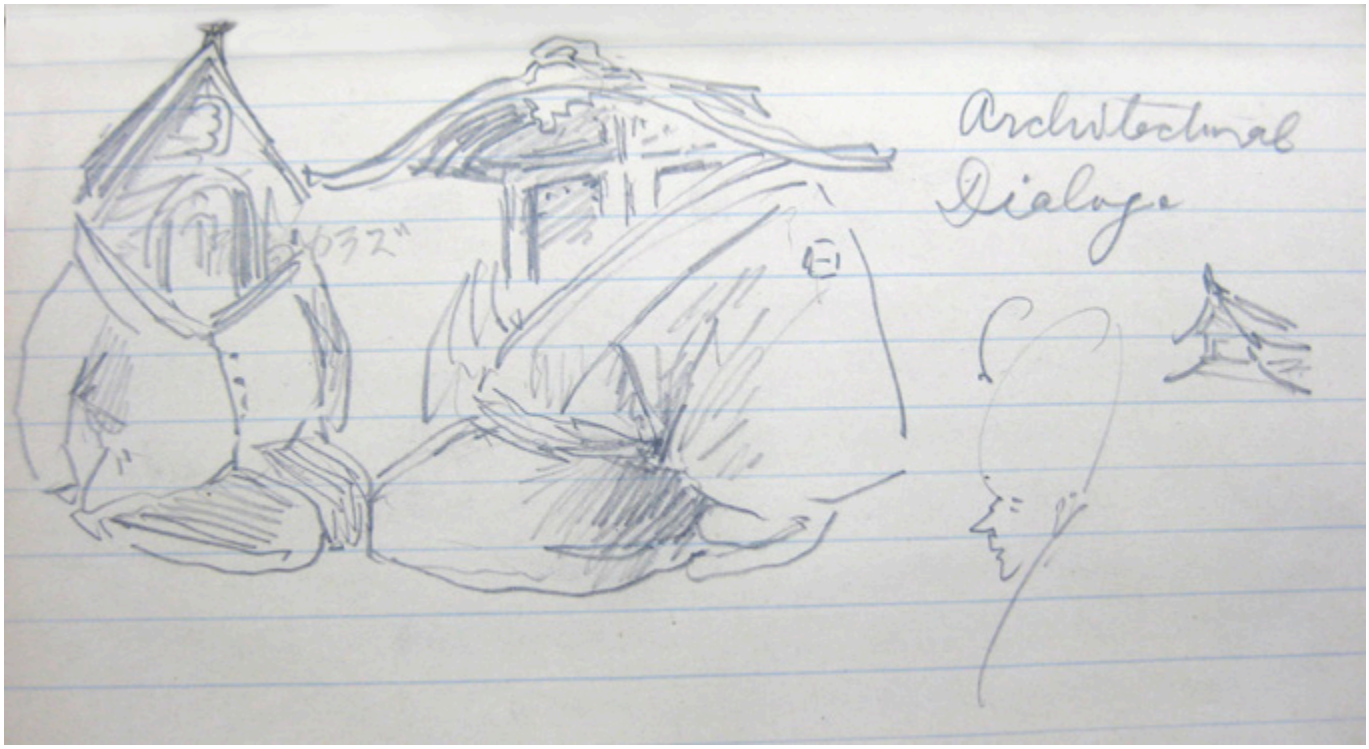

Fig. 2. "Architectural Dialogue". From Chūta's drawings of his student days. Department of Architecture, Graduate School of Engineering, the University of Tokyo.

in this context. I believe this can give some ideas to the debate on global history of art today.

Conceptually, the notions of "Oriental" (*Tōyō* 東洋), "Islam", and even of "architecture" were foreign and problematic from the Japanese perspective. Chūta was in fact the intellectual who created the Japanese word *kenchiku*, to translate "architecture". While trying to conceptualize and document the Ottoman heritage, he did not stand in the usually dominant position of the Western subject, who represented and observed the subaltern "Oriental" objects. His background and commitments brought him to shift constantly between the roles of subject and object, observer and observed, dominant and subaltern.

He is known to be the first Japanese architectural historian, and he introduced the notion of "architecture" as a fine art to Japan, by proposing its translation into Japanese, *Kenchiku* – literally "structure construction" – instead of *Zōka* ("house making"), criticizing the latter because "house does not include all kinds of built structure". According to his article issued in 1894, the Society of Zōka, as well as the Department of Architecture at the Tokyo Imperial University, changed their names.[4] Chūta was only 27 years old at that time.

One of his major achievements is his doctoral thesis 「法隆寺建築論」(A Treatise on the Architecture of Hōryū-ji Temple) published in 1893.[5] In this thesis, Chūta theorized the possible influence of Greek architecture on the Hōryū-ji Temple in Nara, a masterpiece of Japanese architecture from the 7th century, which today is also known as the oldest surviving wooden structure on earth. Chūta's basis for this argument was the *enthasis* observed in the columns of middle gate of the Hōryū-ji Temple and the proportional similarity between Hōryū-ji and Etruscan temples. In his argument, Chūta stressed that the *enthasis*, the slight swellings at 1/3 of the column's height of Greek architecture, has gradually expanded to the East via India, the heartland of Buddhism, where the traces of Hellenistic influence on the heritage of Gandhara had already been studied by British scholars.

The idea of connecting the origin of Japanese architecture to ancient Greece, regarded as the apex of a hierarchical system of Western classical architecture, automatically secured a higher rank in the Western system. The thesis was also Chūta's personal challenge to the marginality of Japanese architecture in the Western discourses on architectural history of the period, typically represented by James Fergusson's comment

in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* published in 1876.[6] Ferguson stated that Japan lacked permanent buildings, a sense of magnificence and a connection with the building races of mankind. Although it was published only in Japanese, Chūta's attempt to "nobilitate" Japanese architecture by appropriating Western criteria instead of looking for a supposedly original paradigm may be regarded as a first stage of Japanese self-representation.

Itō Chūta's originality was not only his thesis, but also his demonstration for which he followed the traces of *enthasis* throughout Eurasia. After leaving Tokyo on 29 March 1902, he traveled for three years and three months through China, Burma, Malay, India, Sri Lanka, the Ottoman Empire including Egypt, then Greece, Italy, Germany, Austria, France, Britain, and the United States. Thanks to Chūta's patient advocating and planning, this trip was financed by the Japanese Ministry of Education, which normally funded only academics going to study in the West. Itō Chūta's trip had a more specific goal – to study the architectural heritage of the region as part of a research trip to "China, India, and Turkey (the Ottoman Empire)". His choice of heading to Asia and the Middle East was quite exceptional at that time for an associate professor at the Tokyo Imperial University, where everyone had to comply with the unwritten commitment of studying in the West to attain the status of professor.

The Russo-Japanese War broke out while Chūta was in Sri Lanka in February 1904. He had to change direction to Istanbul via Europe despite his plan of travelling via Afghanistan, Iran, and Armenia.

On 8 May 1904, Itō Chūta arrived in Istanbul, where he asked for the direct permission of Sultan Abdülhamit II to visit various regions in the Ottoman lands (fig. 3). Although he was later decorated with the third rank *Mecidi* medal, documents preserved in the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives tell that an assistant professor from Tokyo Imperial University was nevertheless regarded with suspicion by the Ottoman authorities as he was considered a possible spy during the Russo-Japanese War. In the Ottoman Empire, which had no official relationship with Japan, Chūta benefited from the Anglo-Japanese alliance signed just 2 years before. After almost 3 months of waiting, at the end of July, Chūta finally obtained permissions and left for an inner-land trip to visit Ankara, Kütahya, and Konya. From here, because of tick attacks and the heat of the Anatolian summer, Chūta was forced to change his traveling route to Izmir, on the Aegean coast of today's Turkey, instead of continuing his trip in Armenia and Iraq. Actually, the Ionian monuments of Ephesus, Miletus, and Didymoi in the Ottoman Empire were the first examples of "Greek Architecture" Chūta encountered. Chūta's serious concern with the examples of *enthasis* can be observed from the drawings, measurements, and reference books on the pages of his notebooks.

Chūta embarked upon a voyage around the Mediterranean that went from Izmir to Alexandria, with calls in Chios, Piraeus, and Candia (Heraklion, Crete). After visiting Egypt, he took a ship passing to Jaffa (Tel Aviv) via Beirut and, on the way back to Istanbul, he went through Damascus, Aleppo, Mersin, and Tarsus.

Actually, Chūta's trip was seriously affected by the ongoing Russo-Japanese War; Chūta was lucky to be in the Ottoman Empire, a longtime enemy of Russia at that time. Although it was officially neutral, people were overwhelmingly on the Japanese side, feeling sympathy for this small

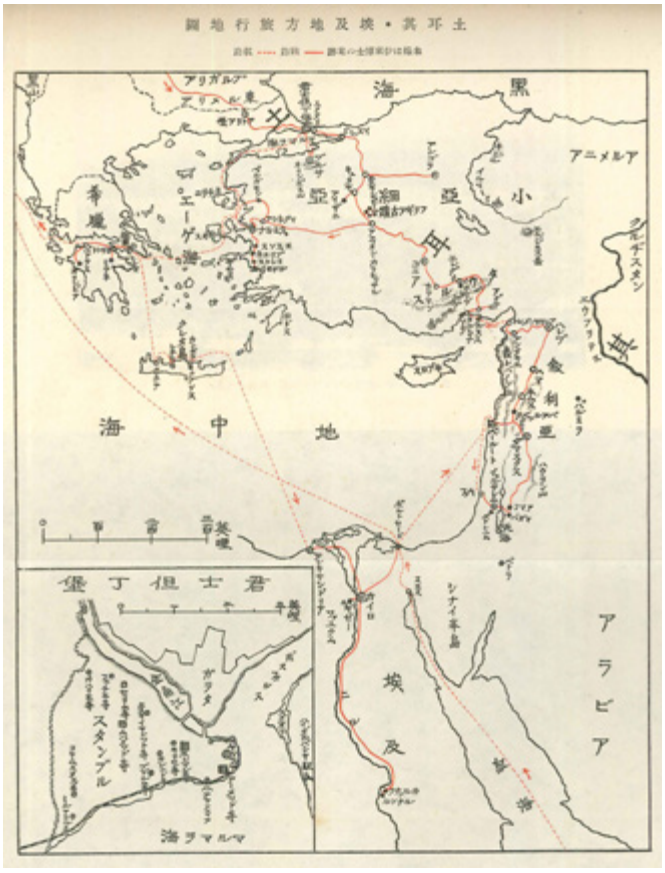

Fig. 3. Chūta's route map in the Ottoman Empire drawn by himself. From *Itō Chūta Kenchiku Bunken*.

country in Asia that challenged for the first time the Russian giant. "A Japanese" traveling in the Ottoman Empire at that time had a special meaning and aura.

Among the three ports where he landed in the Eastern Mediterranean, Chūta describes Crete as "worth seeing", praising its landscape as "the most beautiful among all islands".[7] As soon as he landed, the local people gathered around him gazing as if he were an animal of a rare species. Actually, he was just Japanese. In another city, people were disappointed to see that Chūta was not very strong and muscular because they expected a Japanese to be huge, well-muscled, beating all the Russians, who were considered "incomparably fierce".[8] When we look at Chūta's anthropological studies on local people, we understand that Chūta, who believed to be gazing himself, was in turn gazed as an object.

After visiting Egypt, Chūta took a Russian ship from Port Said to Jaffa, in Palestine. In his travel diary published in Japan, Chūta states that the reason was just to save time, "I just couldn't wait until the following Egyptian ship came",[9] but obviously he had an adventurous temperament. In personal correspondences, such as a postcard to his wife from Jerusalem, Chūta wrote "It was funny to see the Russians so surprised".[10] On board, of course he was widely noticed and talked about by all passengers and crew. One of them even came to him specifically to say that "We are enemies in the Far East, but here both you and I are Children of God, just like brothers. I hope you will be conscious of that".[11] Chūta took a first-class cabin during this time, although, being a modest scholar, he usually used a second-class one. At dinner, of course, nobody spoke about the War but, according to Chūta, other four first-class passengers – a German archaeologist, a merchant from Hamburg, an Austrian consul, and an Italian – all sided for the Japanese, and sometimes the Russian captain remained strangely isolated on his own ship.

The news of a Japanese taking a Russian ship soon reached Beirut, where Chūta came across a man who criticized him for being "too daring".[12] Chūta's answer was that "It is not at all an adventure, but the same as to buy things in a shop run by a Russian". Chūta seemed to even enjoy being gazed. He was surely conscious of being gazed in public and tried to represent himself in an international context. When we look at his imaginative drawing entitled "General Oyama chasing Kuropatkin[13] in the field of Manchuria, Dr. Itō studying ancient architecture in the field of the Turks", we understand that this architect regards himself as a representative of Japan in the Ottoman Empire, as General Oyama did in the battlefields of Manchuria.

Apart from encounters and perceptions, traveling throughout the Ottoman Empire marked a turning point for Chūta's notion of architecture. While Chūta spent eight and a half months traveling across the Ottoman lands, he had the chance to study not only *enthasis* but also various aspects of a non-classical architectural heritage such as Hittite, Lidian, Coptic, Seljukid, and Ottoman architecture.

In Jerusalem, he noticed the same 11th century Chinese mirrors he had seen among the collections of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, that were discovered here. In Damascus, Chūta met with a bishop and asked him about the ancient Syriac inscriptions on the 8th century Nestorian Stele, of which Chūta himself had made a copy in the old capital of Changan. In Aleppo, he drew and photographed the figures of the Chinese imaginary animals *quilin* and *Fenghuang* on a mural painting in an Aleppian mansion that is preserved now as one of the masterpieces of the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin: the "Aleppo Room" (fig. 4). All these experiences encouraged him to rethink the flow of culture as not going from Greece to Japan, as he used to consider it, but as a more reciprocal, dynamic, and polycentric relationship.

After visiting Europe and the United States, Chūta finally came back to Japan in June 1905. At the end of that same year, he started a course entitled *Tōyō Kenchikushi* ("History of Oriental Architecture") at the University of Tokyo. The concept of *Tōyō* 東洋, in Japanese, literally means "the Eastern side of the Ocean" and was relatively new for the Japanese scholarship at that time. Like the word *kenchiku* that Chūta himself proposed for "architecture", *Tōyō* merely emerged in Japanese academic terminology as the translation of the Western word "Orient / Oriental", on which serious studies were improving in Western scholarship, especially by German scholars such as Ferdinand von Richthofen or Friedrich Hirth.

According to the archival sources at the University of Tokyo, the first course on the history of Oriental Architecture in Japan held by Itō Chūta consisted as follows: six hours for Buddhist architecture in India, one for Jain Architecture in India, six for Hindu Architecture, one for Persian

Architecture, eight for Chinese Architecture, one for Architecture of Korea and Manchuria. Finally, Chūta dedicated 15 hours to *Kaikyō* 回教 (the so-called "Islamic") Architecture.

During the first day of the course, Chūta defined the notion of *Tōyō* as follows:

> According to the existing architectural historiography, Egypt is the beginning, followed by Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome, Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance. Muhammedan style is inserted among them and India is described as a completely different thing. Indo-China, China and Japan are out of concern. Even according to the system recently proposed, Islamic, Indian, Japanese style etc. are treated separately as "non historical". But this is a system envisaged by foreigners and it cannot be the same as our Japanese point of view. Especially, a definition like "non-historical" is not legitimate: there are important historical relations if it is well studied. Different histories are always related to each other, so that East and West cannot be separated clearly.[14]

When we look at his later formulation of a "Theory of Architectural Evolution" in 1909,[15] we understand that for Itō Chūta, the travel experiences to the "West" of Japan were a discovery of "Eastern" architecture. His ideas of the "different histories related to each other" and "overlapping borders", which may be topics of debate today, surely developed during his trip, and especially during his stay in the multi-cultural Ottoman Empire. His double background and switch between the roles of subject and object, observer and observed, dominant and subaltern, brought him to create these theories. Travel experiences that question a standard way of seeing and thinking can challenge established visions and bear fruitful rewards to an architect of the past, and also to art historians today.

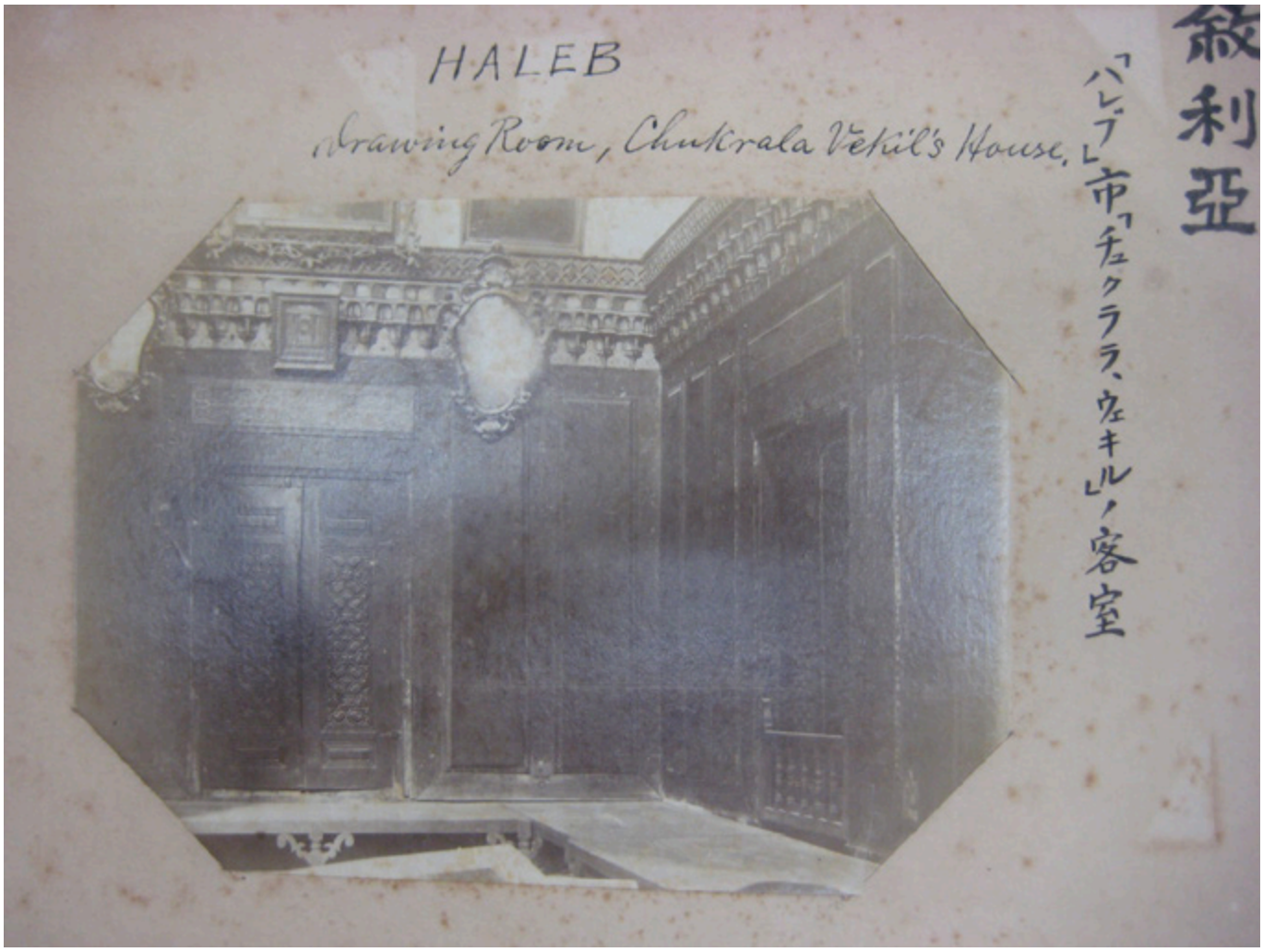

Fig. 4. Chukulala Vekil's house, photo taken by Chūta in 1904. Earliest known photo of the famous 'Aleppo Room', Department of Architecture, Graduate School of Engineering, the University of Tokyo.

Notes

[1] Itō Chūta, *Field Note*, vol. 10, Architectural Institute of Japan.

[2] *Ivi*.

[3] 伊東忠太「希臘旅行茶話」、『伊東忠太建築文献　』第五巻、昭和10年、龍吟社、東京、p. 609 (Itō Chūta, “Girisha Ryokou Sawa” (‘Conversation over the Tea on the Travels in Greece’), *Itō Chūta Kenchiku Bunken* (*Architectural Writings* by Itō Chūta), vol. 5, 1931, Ryugin-sha, Tōkyō, p. 609).

[4] 伊東忠太「アーキテクチユール」の本義を論して其譯字を撰定し我か造家學會の改名を望む」『建築雑誌』　8, no. 90 (1894-06-28): pp. 195-197 (Itō Chūta, “Aakitekuchuru no Hongi wo Ronjite sono Yakuji wo Sentei shi Waga Zouka Gakki no Kaimei wo Nozomu”, *Kenchiku Zasshi* 8, no. 90 (1894-06-28): pp. 195-197).

[5] 伊東忠太「法隆寺建築論」『建築雑誌』7, no. 83 (1893-11-28): pp. 317-350 (Itō Chūta, “Horyu-ji Kenchikiron”, *Kenchiku Zasshi* 7, no. 83 (1893-11-28): pp. 317-350).

[6] J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1876).

[7] 伊東忠太「土耳其•埃及旅行茶話」、『伊東忠太建築文献　』第五巻、昭和10年、龍吟社、東京、p. 540 (Itō Chūta, “Toruko Ejiputo Ryokou Sawa (*Conversation over the Tea on the Travels in Turkey and Egypt*)”, *Itō Chūta Kenchiku Bunken*, vol. 6, 1931, Ryugin-sha, Tōkyō, p. 540).

[8] *Ibid*., p. 537.

[9] *Ibid*., p. 548.

[10] A postcard from Chūta in Jerusalem to his wife Chiyoko in Tokyo, 20 October 1904, Architectural Institute of Japan Collection.

[11] *Itō Chūta Kenchiku Bunken*, cit., pp. 548-549.

[12] *Ibid*., p. 555.

[13] Aleksey Nikolayevich Kuropatkin (1848-1925), a Russian General, served as Imperial Minister of War between 1898 and 1904.

[14] Itō Chūta Archives, University of Tokyo. The original text in Japanese was translated by the author.

[15] 伊東忠太「建築進化の原則より見たる我邦建築の前途」『建築雑誌』23, no. 265 (1909-01-25): pp. 4-36 (Itō Chūta, “Kenchiku Shinka no Gensoku yori Mitaru Wagaho Kenchiku no Zento” (‘The Future of Our Country’s Architecture from the Perspectives in Principle of Architectural Evolution’), *Kenchiku Zasshi*).

Notes on the Underground: The Subterranean Voyages of Giorgio Vasari and António Vieira

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We usually consider mobility in the early modern era as a horizontal movement undertaken for pilgrimage, diplomacy, *Wanderlust*, trade, or the expansion of empire.[1] On cartographic images recruited as banner heads for the requisite academic event on "global" early modern art history, lines of longitude, latitude, and sailing routes indicate – perhaps all too felicitously – location and the possibility of voyaging across the earth's surface.[2] I would like to focus on a different mode of travel, one that involved descending into the ground, to encounter what lies in the depths of the earth, or to penetrate these depths entirely and re-emerge at a place beyond them. Transpiring in both physical and symbolic domains, these subterranean voyages figured in the writings of an admittedly odd pairing of authors. The first is Giorgio Vasari and his biographies of artists, the *Lives*, first published in Florence in 1550.[3] The second is the Luso-Brazilian preacher and theologian António Vieira and his preliminary book to the *History of the Future*, conceived in the 1640s, left unfinished, and published in Lisbon in 1718, some two decades after the author's death.[4] A theological work about the destiny of the Portuguese Empire, the *History of the Future* is certainly not a treatise on visual arts. However, recent research has proposed how Vieira's oeuvre constitutes an invaluable yet largely untapped primary source for formulating a transatlantic colonial art theory.[5] Now the pairing of Vasari and Vieira, as mentioned, is incongruous. Aside from a few references, Vasari's work has little to do with Portugal and its overseas territories. Vieira, as far as I know, did not refer to Vasari in his many letters and sermons. Yet what both texts share is an interest in subterranean voyages that follow routes to an ordained vision of history; in turn, this history gives access to the future through art and material culture, which function as the concrete means to peer into abstract notions of time. Taking subterranean mobility into account also reveals how the discipline of art history tends to conceive its own future as "exploration", keeping in mind that the verb *explorar* in Portuguese means both "explore" and "exploit".[6]

Time and the Underground

In *Notes on the Underground* (1990), the historian of science Rosalind Williams argued that the subterranean is often the setting of the future: it is the site where the future is imagined, and the location of its infrastructure.[7] Williams' point of departure was Lewis Mumford's study of the machine age, *Technics and Civilization*, published in 1934. Inspired by dioramas of salt and coal mines at the German Museum in Munich, Mumford considered mining as both a quintessential metaphor and a practice of modern technology. "The mine [...] is the first completely inorganic environment to be created and lived in by man", Mumford wrote, and "the miner must work by artificial light even though the sun be shining outside; still further down in the seams, he must work by artificial ventilation, too: a triumph of the 'manufactured environment'".[8] Urban environments of modernity depended on structures underground. In 19th-century Paris, galleries enclosing water systems, gas lines, and steam pipes were tourist attractions for those who wished to see the subterranean infrastructure of modern life above.[9] Telegraphic cables spanning the Atlantic Ocean and, encased in rubber harvested from Southeast Asia, were likened by some authors to an invisible technology.[10] By compressing time, telegraphic signals pulsating deep in the sea would facilitate communication and accelerate the arrival of future worlds. The telegraph routes pictured on maps from the early 20th century form a circuit analogous to voyages of early modern exploration, which laid down the communication networks for expanding colonial empires.[11]

The advent of Western modernity has long been associated with horizontal movement across the globe. In his recent book *Heaven on Earth*, T.J. Clark suggests that depicting the human condition as earth-bound acquired urgency in the climate of growing secularization in the Renaissance. In what Clark refers to as "Ground-Level Painting", Renaissance artists reflected on bipedalism, the ability to walk upright on two feet, to point to the affective and erotic dimensions of personhood.[12] One canonical Renaissance work of art – Masaccio's *Expulsion* in the Brancacci Chapel – that Clark would consider an example of "Ground-Level painting" leads us, furthermore, to connect bipedalism with the advent of human time. Banishment from paradise on foot coincides with the beginning of human history, death, and exploitation: for Adam and Eve, thus begins the process of aging; for earth, its cultivation East of Eden.[13] At the same time, the representation of the Fall – and the expanse of Earth, that awaits Adam and Eve – is a pretext to demonstrate humans' ambulatory and navigational capabilities. But for Vasari and Vieira, the world *beneath* the ground gives access to a different type of temporality, one concerned with notions of modernity and the future.[14]

Giorgio Vasari and the Underground

In the Renaissance, architects undertaking restorations and artists interested in the artworks of antiquity embarked on excavation campaigns. By tunneling into the earth, they brought to light long-buried material artefacts. The products of these subterranean journeys did not elicit a strict classical revival but formed the basis of what Vasari called the *maniera moderna*, "the modern manner". "Through seeing antiquities excavated out of the earth", Vasari states, artists discovered models to spur style to attain its summit.[15] In other words, artists were compelled not only by the sight of the artefacts themselves, but by the prospect of an ancient world emerging from the ground. The dirt and roots frequently surrounding 15th and 16th-century depictions of ruins not only register the passing of time; they also in-

Fig. 1. *Holes* in the Sala della Volta dorata (Room 80), after 64 CE. Roma, Domus Aurea, Palatine Hill. (Photo by Marco Ansaloni).

dicate the subterranean origins of new artistic growth, the possibility of classical art's resurrection for future time.[16]

In some excavation campaigns, sculptures were brought up out of the earth into artists' view; in other cases, artists physically entered into the ground to draw what had been found there.[17] Around 1480, as Vasari recounts it, the refurbishment of San Pietro in Vincoli revealed the ruins of the Domus Aurea, the "Golden House" of the Emperor Nero.[18] Subterranean chambers revealed ceilings painted with fantastical combinations of human and animal forms. To study these antique paintings, called "grotesques" after the grottoes where they were found, Renaissance artists descended into the underground ruins with pulleys and ropes. The openings through which they were lowered are still visible. Two holes, resembling potholes from the street, pierce the ceiling of Room 80, known as the Volta Dorata (fig. 1).[19] To study these grotesques, artists transformed themselves into burrowing creatures to reach a strange, artificial space.[20] Vasari recounts that along with Raphael, the artist Giovanni da Udine was "struck with amazement at the freshness of these works, especially since they had been preserved there for so long a time". Vasari describes that the paintings were neither "touched nor seen by air, which along with time, consumes all things, through the changes of the seasons".[21] Under the earth, the two artists experience an environment where *tempus* – both in the sense of chronology and weather – is suspended.[22] The underground is impervious to decay. The subterranean is not a site of decline but an "unfallen" space.

Grotesques spur artists to combine and juxtapose parts of zoomorphic and botanical entities to create forms which are, as Vasari puts it, "beyond the bounds of possibility".[23] Grotesques provided Renaissance artists the license to flout, or at least to challenge, the rules laid down by classical precedents.[24] At times, they were referred to as *bizzarie*, a term also applied to script originating from the New World.[25] Grotesques appeared not only in frames and borders but even in major pictorial fields. This shift from margin to center produces what Michael Squire describes as "frame-games of artistic illusion" in which the "surrounding" becomes the "surrounded". These ornamental forms "pose questions about the relations between reality and two-dimensional replication".[26] A prime example of this visual play are Luca Signorelli's frescoes for the Cappella Nova in the Orvieto Cathedral: in one of the scenes, we see a philosopher peering out of a roundel to witness the End of the World, which takes place above him (fig. 2).[27] Immediately next to the philosopher swarm grotesques that animate and intimate levels of depth to the surface of the otherwise flat surface of the depicted panels. "Are these phantasmagorical figures *there*", Squire asks, "or are they *not* there – at least from the perspective of this subjective figure (himself painted into this make-believe world)?".[28]

Setting aside this question, we can imagine that in his twisted posture, in the act of coming through a hole to behold something astonishing that takes place in a world beyond, the philosopher recreates the experience of the artist studying the grotteschi of the Domus Aurea. It is as though Signorelli has tipped the picture, so that the viewer too can virtually enter subterranean depths and emerge from this aperture. Like those artists who were crawling and breaking their backbones in the depths of the Palatine hill, the prophet stretches backwards to see the grotteschi, which are juxtaposed with the End of Time unfolding above. The contorted figure especially recalls a line in a period poetic account of this subterranean adventure: "We crawl along the ground on our stomachs […] appearing more bizarre than the grotesque".[29] In Signorelli's fresco, the figure's contorted pose mirrors the curvilinear patterns of the grotesques surrounding him. In entering the subterranean, "artificial" space, the artist's or philosopher's body becomes subject to its different logic, which enables greater freedom from the constraints of biology and time.

António Vieira's Antipodes

Vasari portrays subterranean exploration as time travel in service to the visual arts. His text opens up the possibility to explore other instances of voyages underground, even in texts not usually included in the art theoretical canon. In the *History of the Future*, Vieira figures himself as a seer gazing at the destiny of the Portuguese Empire.[30] His imaginative travel, informed from a life of voyaging between Portugal, Brazil, and Italy, takes him from the confined space of his library down into the depths of the earth – not physically, but through his imagination.[31] He begins with an extended metaphor comparing time to an image of a globe:

> Time, like the world, has two hemispheres. The upper and visible one, which is the past, the other *lower and invisible, which is the future*. In the middle [...] are the horizons of time, which are the instants of the present where we are living, where the past ends and the future begins. From this point our history takes its beginning, in which will be discovered for us new regions and new inhabitants from this second hemisphere of time, which are the antipodes of the past. Oh, what great and rare things there are to see in this new discovery.[32]

In this passage, time is imagined as the globe whose equator is imagined as a type of live wire separating past and future. Instead of envisioning the future in a linear fashion as a point in the far distance, Vieira locates the future *beneath* the present. Throughout the *History*, Vieira metaphorically develops the hidden and buried position of future time. He likens, for instance, the imperative to reach the future to the process of building anew: "When the architect wants to remodel over the old and ruined, he also begins by scraping, undoing, demolishing, and getting to the foundations, and

Fig. 2. Luca Signorelli, *Unknown Man (generally called Empedocles)*, 1500-1503. Fresco, post restoration. Orvieto Cathedral, San Brizio Chapel. (Photo Scala / Art Resource, NY).

then, on a new foundation he raises a new frame and new building". Deploying the ancient *topos* of *Deus artifex*, Vieira declares "So does, and does constantly, the Supreme Creator and Artificer of the world". The new building necessarily depends on the buried and hidden foundation that lies underneath. Like those artists digging into the ground commemorated by Vasari, returning to the foundations of culture is a means to jumpstart time, be it artistic or prophetic, into the future.

Elsewhere, the opposite side of the earth – synonymous to the point of arrival of the future – is described through the figure of the antipode. Etymologically, the term combines the idea of *anti* (opposite) with 'pod' (foot) to designate "those who have their feet against our feet", inhabitants who live on the opposite side of the globe. Thinkers sometimes conflated the antipodes with Austral, a mythical land of the south whose existence balanced the lands to the north (fig. 3). Vieira acknowledges that early Christian authors, such as Lactantius and Augustine, disputed the notion that peoples and places might exist on opposite sides of the earth. "As to the fable", Augustine writes in *The City of God*, "of those who imagine that there are people of the antipodes [...] where they are positioned towards us so that they step on the ground with the feet turned around towards ours, as ours are to them, it is in no way credible". Yet this inability to fathom the existence of the antipodes only further anticipates, Vieira suggests, their eventual discovery by the Portuguese.[33]

Specifically, Vieira locates the antipodes in Brazil: he justifies the land's antipodal position through his reading of the Old Testament, which is informed through the filter of his own missionary experience in the Americas. "Having seen the people, walked the lands, and sailed the waters that this text speaks of", Vieira states, "one comes to understand".[34] His discussion focuses on several verses in the book of Isaiah, commanding travel to a land "beyond the rivers of Ethiopia". According to Vieira, this passage ordains Portuguese presence in the New World. He writes, "By the text of Isaiah, one understands Brazil, because Brazil is the land that is directly behind Ethiopia". If the earth is a globe, he continues, their places on the circle position Brazil immediately "behind" Ethiopia.[35] Vieira is, of course, wrong. Ethiopia is diametrically opposite to somewhere in the Pacific. Because of the relative area of the earth's surface that is covered by water as compared with land, the antipodes of any land point most often fall in water. Vieira's own point of reference in Brazil, Maranhão, the site of his missionary activity, is opposite to somewhere near the Philippines. Yet Vieira insists he can uncover the world of this prophetic future through the metaphorical act of excavating. "We who study and work in the knowledge of Holy Scripture", he states, "are more or less all digging (*mais ou menos todos cavamos*)". This interpretative work of digging is then linked to the divinely mandated labor of traversing the sea by the Portuguese and their arrival to the New World: "And in the end", Vieira writes, "there is that last one for whom such for-

Fig. 3. Allain Manesson-Mallet, *Globe Terrestre; Carte ou Planisphere general du Monde, woodcut.* In *Description de l'univers, contenant les differents systêmes du monde, les cartes generales & particulieres de la geographie ancienne & moderne ... Tome premier* (Paris: 1683). (Photo © John Carter Brown Library, Brown University).

tune was reserved and who, always at the end, discovers the treasure almost effortlessly".[36]

Vieira bolsters his exegesis by correlating the verses in Isaiah with the topography encountered during his missionary work in northeastern Brazil. In Maranhão, he writes, "to 'walk' means constantly sailing [...] through roads, alleys, and plazas of water".[37] Vieira also reads the verses from Isaiah as proleptic allusions to artefacts fashioned by the native peoples in the region of Maranhão. The Old Testament prophet declares that in the land beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, the peoples would have "ships with wings" and "cymbals with wings". For Vieira, the ship with wings (*navium alarum*) refers to the indigenous practice of decorating canoes with feathers.[38] What Isaiah calls cymbals, Vieira suggests, is the "maracá", an instrument made from a gourd, shaken to herald festivals, dances, or war (fig. 4).[39] In Vieira's view, these small-scale objects in scripture ordain long-distance voyages around the globe. Vieira finds the justification for his locating the future in Brazil embedded in the details of material culture which are "discovered" there. Markers of indigenous culture serve, to a foreigner, as physical evidence that the prophecy of conquest and conversion will be fulfilled.

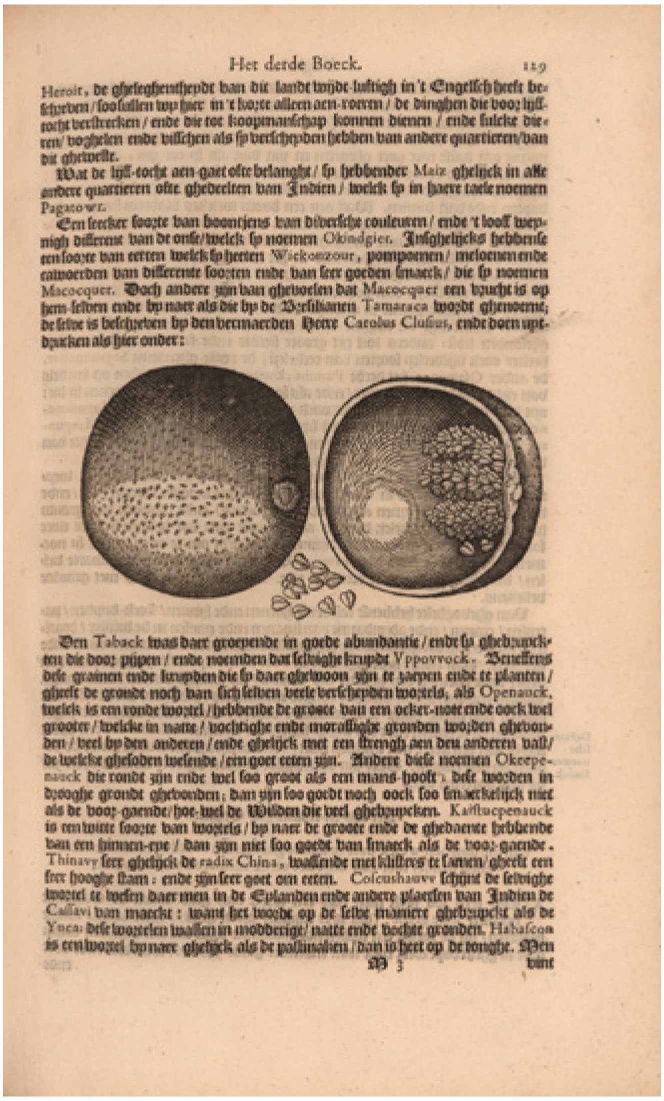

Fig. 4. Joannes de Laet, *Tamaraca* (Tamaraca or maracá, a dried gourd, showing the seeds inside). Woodcut. In *Nieuwe wereldt ofte beschrijvinghe van West-Indien* (Leiden: Elzeviers, 1630). (Photo © John Carter Brown Library, Brown University).

CIHA: The Next is Below

Vieira declares that the printed words of scripture "paint vividly the originals of that which has to be done, as if foreshadowed".[40] Print is prophecy. If we imagine Vieira in the act of reading the Bible, we can almost see in his mind the printed type descending through the page and leading to a picture of Brazil, to its topographic features such as waterways, the fabrication of things such as maracás. For the artists in Vasari's account, who descended into the earth-filled rooms beneath the hills of Rome, grotesques provided "vivid originals" for what they had to do to advance style forwards. For both authors, subterranean voyages enact the inevitability of history, a history that imagines its future to recount and justify its own actions in the past and present.

Why is this vertical mobility important? At CIHA, there seems to be a question that underlies every session, every talk: what is next? Often, the real protagonist of much art history is not an object or culture, but rather the frantic search for the new on the horizon. But this impulse can result in something not unlike the zeal that propelled missionary and mercantile voyages for the sake of "the Silver and the Cross," as the filmmaker Harun Farocki entitled his film on the colonial mining center of Potosi.[41] What would art history look like if we not only acknowledged voyages across the surface, but historicized the desire for access to the future through what emerges from the ground: the minerals inside the earth, the black and brown bodies enslaved to extract them, the grotesques that provided a theoretical placeholder for understanding otherness? To move art history forward, we must first reckon with the histories submerged *beneath* the earth, so that we can assess our own movements forward without assuming they are inevitable acts of destiny.

Notes

[1] On the historiographic underpinnings of early modern mobility in art history, see D. Kim, *The Traveling Artist in the Italian Renaissance: Mobility, Geography, and Style* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 2-7.

[2] For an institutional analysis of the "global" in the research and teaching of Renaissance art history, see the essays by Lia Markey, Claire Farago, Marie Neil Wolff, as well as the roundtable discussion in D. Savoy, ed., *The globalization of Renaissance Art: a critical review* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

[3] For recent reevaluations, see D. Cast, *The Ashgate research companion to Giorgio Vasari* (London: Routledge, 2016); F. Jonietz, *Das Buch zum Bild: die Stanze nuove im Palazzo Vecchio, Giorgio Vasaris* Ragionamenti *und die Lesbarkeit der Kunst im Cinquecento*; I. Rowland, N. Charney, *The Collector of Lives: Giorgio Vasari and the Invention of Art* (New York, NY: Norton, 2018).

[4] On the history of the writing and publication history of the *History*, see A. Valdez, "Vieira between *History of the Future* and *Clavis Prophetarum*", in L. Lima, A. Megiani, eds., *Visions, Prophecies, and Divinations: Early Modern Messianism and Millenarianism in Iberian America, Spain and Portugal* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 215-226.

[5] J. Baumgarten, "The theological debate on images between Italy and Portugal: Bartholomew of Braga and Antônio Vieira", in M. Berbara, K.A.E. Enenkel, eds., *Portuguese humanism and the republic of letters* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 219-242. For a recent assessment of early modern Lusophone art theory, see A. Russo, "Francisco de Holanda and an art history of the universal", *The Art Bulletin* no. 102 (2020): pp. 37-65.

[6] As observed in a review of a recent translation of Clarice Lispector's short story "A menor mulher do mundo" published in the collection *Laços de família* (1960). See M. Edwards, "Benjamin Moser and the Smallest Woman in the World", in *The Los Angeles Review of Books* (August 16, 2019).

https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/benjamin-moser-and-the-smallest-woman-in-the-world/. (Accessed May 18, 2021).

[7] R. Williams, *Notes on the underground: an essay on technology, society, and the imagination* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1990), pp. 1-21.

[8] L. Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1934), pp. 69-70. Cited in R. Williams, *Notes on the underground*, cit., p. 5.

[9] S.-C. Tseng, "Nadar's Photography of Subterranean Paris: Mapping the Urban Body", *History of Photography* no. 38 (2014): pp. 233-254.

[10] J. Tully, "A Victorian ecological disaster: imperialism, the telegraph, and Gutta-Percha", *Journal of World History* no. 20 (2009); pp. 559-579. *Gale In Context: U.S. History.* https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A213856508/UHIC?u=upenn_main&sid=UHIC&xid=05f3a80e. (Accessed May 18, 2021).

[11] P. Satia, "War, Wireless, and Empire: Marconi and the British Warfare State, 1896-1903", *Technology and Culture* no. 51 (2010): pp. 829-853.

[12] T.J. Clark, *Heaven on Earth: Painting and the Life to Come* (New York, NY: Thames and Hudson, 2018), pp. 74-128.

[13] See James Clifton's observation that the landscape background varies according to the gender of the Adam and Eve in "Gender and Shame in Masaccio's Expulsion from the Garden of Eden", *Art History* no. 22 (1999): pp. 637-655, here pp. 639-640.

[14] On caves housing sibyls, prophets, and oracles. V. Dora, *Landscape, nature, and the sacred in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 176-202.

[15] G. Vasari, *Lives of the painters, sculptors, and architects*, tr. G. Vere, ed. D. Ekserdijian (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), I, pp. 617-618. Cf. G. Vasari, *Le Vite de più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani* (Firenze: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550), p. 557.

[16] This observation might be brought to bear on the prominence of vegetation in the drawings of ruins or the role of antiques in sculpture gardens. See L. Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000); K. Christian, *Empire Without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350-1527* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); C. Brothers, *Giuliano da Sangallo and the Ruins of Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2022).

[17] For an excellent overview of the Renaissance reception of the grotesque, see M. Squire, "'Fantasies so Varied and Bizarre': The Domus Aurea, the Renaissance, and the 'Grotesque'", in M.T. Dinter, E. Buckley, eds., *A Companion to the Neronian Age* (London: Blackwell, 2013), pp. 444-464. On the lexical and conceptual slippage between the grotto and the grotesque, in Italian, German, and French, see R.R. Anderson, "Beitraege zur Geschichte des Wortes Grotesk", PhD. dissertation (The Ohio State University, 1958); D. Scholl, *Von den "Grottesken" zum Grotesken: Die Konstituierung einer Poetik des Grotesken in der italienischen Renaissance* (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2004).

[18] G. Vasari, *Le Vite*, cit., p. 557: "Non molto dopo, cavandosi da San Piero in Vincola fra le ruine et anticaglie del palazzo di Tito per trovar figure, furono ritrovate alcune stanze sotterra, ricoperte tutte e piene di grotteschine, di figure piccole e di storie, con alcuni ornamenti di stucchi bassi".

[19] On the mechanics of descending into the Domus Aurea, see N. Dacos, *La découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1969), pp. 9-13; F. Salmon, "Charles Cameron and Nero's Domus Aurea: 'Una piccola esplorazione'", *Architectural History* no. 36 (1993): pp. 69-93, here pp. 78 and 84; N. Dacos, *Roma quanta fuit ou l'invention du paysage de ruines* (Paris: Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2004).

[20] As the author of the poem *Antiquarie prospetiche romane*, written before 1500, described it: "In every season the rooms are full of painters. Here summer seems cooler than winter [...] We crawl along the ground on our stomachs, armed with bread, ham, fruits and wine, looking more bizarre than the grotesques... Each person resembles a chimneysweep, and our guide [...] shows us toads, frogs, barn-owls, civet-cats and bats, while we break our backbones on our knees". As cited in M. Squire, "'Fantasies so Varied and Bizarre'", cit., p. 448. Cf. *Antiquarie prospetiche romane*, ed. G. Agosti, D. Isella (Milano: Guanda, 2004): pp. 129-32: "Dogni stagion son piene dipintori / piu lastate par chel verno infresche / secondo el nome dato da lauori/ Andian per terra con nostre ventresche / con pane con presutto poma e vino / per esser piu bizarri alle grottesche / El nostro guidarel mastro pinzino / che ben ci fa abottare el viso elochio / parendo inuer ciaschun spaza camino / Et facci traueder botte ranochi / ciuette e barbaianni e nottoline / rompendoci la schiena cho ginochi".

[21] G. Vasari, *Le Vite*, cit., p. 557: "Per che andando Giovanni con Raffaello, che fu menato a vederle, restarono l'uno e l'altro stupefatti della freschezza, bellezza e bontà di quell'opere, parendo loro gran cosa ch'elle si fussero sì lungo tempo conservate: ma non era gran fatto, non essendo state tócche né vedute dall'aria, la quale col tempo suole consumare, mediante la varietà delle stagioni, ogni cosa".

[22] This suspension of time in both the sense of weather and time contrasts with period depictions of Rome as subject to the vagaries of passing time and fluctuating atmospheric effects, the latter of which was associated with insalubrious conditions. See R. Wrigley, *Roman fever: influence, infection, and the image of Rome, 1700-1870* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013);

D. Kim, "Mal'aria: Style, mobility and »influence« in Italian early modern art theory", *kritische berichte* no. 42 (2014): pp. 82-98.

[23] As Vasari did commenting on the work of Polidoro da Caravaggio and Maturino da Firenze, two artists who frequently incorporated grotesque motifs alongside figural scenes in their façade paintings. Cf. G. Vasari, *Le Vite*, cit., pp. 559-560.

[24] A. Payne, "Mescolare, *composti* and Monsters in Italian Architectural Theory of the Renaissance", in L.S. Tarugi, ed., *Disarmonia, brutezza e bizzarria nel Rinascimento* (Firenze: Franco Cesati, 1998), pp. 271-289.

[25] D. Kim, *The Traveling Artist*, cit., pp. 114-121.

[26] M. Squire, "'Fantasies so Varied and Bizarre'", cit., p. 454.

[27] On this figure, by tradition identified as Empedocles, and its incorporation within the larger program of author portraits, see S.N. James, *Signorelli and Fra Angelico at Orvieto: Liturgy, Poetry, and a Vision of the End-time* (London: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 78-90.

[28] M. Squire, "'Fantasies so Varied and Bizarre'", cit., p. 454.

[29] *Antiquarie prospetiche romane*, cit., p. 129: "Andian per terra con nostre ventresche / con pane con presutto poma e vino / per esser piu bizarri alle grottesche".

[30] For editions of the work, see A. Vieira, *História Do Futuro: (Livro Anteprimeiro)*, ed. J.J. Van Den Besselaar (Münster: Aschendorff, 1976), I-II; A. Vieira, *História do Futuro e Voz de Deus ao Mundo - Volume 1. Tomo 3*, ed. P. Calafate (Lisboa: Circulo de Leitores, 2014). Citations will be taken from the latter. Recent studies include J.J. Van Den Besselaar, "Erudição, espírito crítico e acribia na História do Futuro de Antônio Vieira", *Alfa* no. 20 (2001): pp. 45-79; A. Valdez, *Historical Interpretations of the Fifth Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); M. Abrão, *Lembra-te do Futuro: a teologia de António Vieira à luz da História do Futuro* (Recife, PE: Universidade Católica de Pernambuco, 2012).

[31] A. Vieira, *Six Sermons*, ed. and tr. M. Silva, L. Brockey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 12.

[32] K. Kottman, *António Vieira's Preliminary Book to the* History of the Future (Durham, NC: Lulu, 2018), p. 107; A. Vieira, *História do Futuro*, cit., p. 67: "O tempo, como o Mundo, tem dois hemisférios: um superior e visível, que é o passado, outro inferior e invisível, que é o futuro. No meio [...] ficam os horizontes do tempo, que são estes instantes do presente que *imos vivendo*, onde o passado se termina e o futuro começa. Desde este ponto toma seu princípio a nossa História, a qual nos irá descobrindo as novas regiões e os novos habitadores deste segundo hemisfério do tempo, que são os antípodas do passado. Oh que de cousas grandes e raras haverá que ver neste novo descobrimento!".

[33] K. Kottman, *António Vieira's Preliminary Book*, cit., p. 246; A. Vieira, *História do Futuro*, cit., p. 183.

[34] K. Kottman, *António Vieira's Preliminary Book*, cit., p. 264; A. Vieira, *História do Futuro*, cit., p. 197.

[35] K. Kottman, *António Vieira's Preliminary Book*, cit., p. 265; A. Vieira, *História do Futuro*, cit., pp. 198-199.

[36] K. Kottman, *António Vieira's Preliminary Book*, cit., p. 204; A. Vieira, *História do Futuro*, cit., p. 148.

[37] K. Kottman, *António Vieira's Preliminary Book*, cit., p. 266; A. Vieira, *História do Futuro*, cit., pp. 199-200.

[38] K. Kottman, *António Vieira's Preliminary Book*, cit., p. 269; A. Vieira, *História do Futuro*, cit., p. 202.

[39] E.S.C. Lima, "The *maracá* in the beginning of European contact: its role in Tupinambá society as a religious token and musical instrument", *Revista Música Hodie, Goiânia* no. 15 (2015): pp. 234-224.

[40] K. Kottman, *António Vieira's Preliminary Book*, cit., p. 152; A. Vieira, *História do Futuro*, cit., p. 104.

[41] H. Farocki, "Das Silber und das Kreuz", in A. Creischer, M.J. Hinderer, A. Siekmann, eds., *Das Potosí-Prinzip. Wie können wir das Lied des Herrn im fremden Land singen. Koloniale Bildproduktion in der globalen Ökonomie* (Köln: Walther König, 2010), pp. 37-39.

Representations of Brazil in Italy in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries: Between Domestication and Ferocity*

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In a famous engraving, the Florence-based Flemish artist Johannes Stradanus depicted Amerigo Vespucci – the navigator the American continent was named after – awaking an allegorical representation of the new world (fig. 1). Stradanus' print unites several iconographical elements that conform to a stereotyped construction of the newly found lands: exotic and fantastic animals, indigenous artifacts – such as the hammock or the feather headdress – and a scene of cannibalism in the background. In spite of the violence implied by some of these elements, the allegory of America shows docility as she responds to the navigator who, in turn, enlightens her with the symbols of his civility and legitimacy: the Southern Cross stamped on a banner attached to a cruciform pole and the sailors' astrolabe.

I would like to begin this paper by briefly analyzing two aspects of this engraving: the insertion

Fig. 1. Theodor Galle after Stradanus, *America, Nova Reperta* series, c. 1589. Engraving. London, The British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

of iconographical elements connected to Brazil, and the contrast it expresses between domestication and ferocity. As for the so-called Brazilian iconography, I will actually refer to the societies that inhabited the region we presently know as Brazil and, in this sense, make special reference to the Tupi, who lived in the coastal zone. Within this category – the Tupi – groups inhabiting the vast region stretching from the Captancy of São Vicente to the mouth of the Amazon came to be collectively known as the Tupinamba.[1]

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the features of the Tupi played a major role in the European ethnological imagination and in the creation of a stereotyped construction of the 'New World' in general. In paintings, prints, and reliefs, the Tupi are almost always represented either naked or half dressed. They usually wear feather headdresses, bands around their ankles, arms, and waist, bustles, and sometimes their body is covered in feathers. They often carry the *maracas*, a ritual percussion instrument, a bow, and arrows. Among the weapons commonly associated to them there is the *ibirapema* – a wooden club often used by the Tupi to execute their enemies in rituals – which, in Stradanus' print, appears leaning against the tree on the right. In book prints, as well as in earlier maps, the Tupinamba are often associated with cannibalism and with objects such as butcher tables, grills (the *moquém*), or cauldrons in which human body parts are being cooked (fig. 2). These associations frequently appear in the background of allegorical representations of the American continent, such as, for instance, the famous engraving by Adriaen Collaert after a design by Maarten de Vos.[2] Since the 1980s, anthropologists and historians have pointed out how these Tupinamba attributes could serve as a *pars pro toto* valid for the representation of the whole American continent.[3] In the Italian peninsula too, Tupinamba attributes could become a metonym to signify the whole American continent. In his famous *Iconology*, Cesare Ripa significantly employed, once again, the formula "feathers, arrow, bow and cannibalism" to depict America.[4]

Besides as emblems and allegories, depictions of the Tupinamba appeared in many other formats, again in the Italian peninsula. Aldrovandi, for example, included two representations of this society in his *Monstrorum Historia*, one of which specifically pictured chieftain Cunhambebe, who fought with the French against the Portuguese during the French occupation of Guanabara Bay, in present-day Rio de Janeiro, in the 1550s.

The second element of Stradanus' print which I would like to comment on is the tension between what appears as a docile allegory of America ready for the conversion and iconographical elements signifying violence and degeneration, such as the fantastic animals, the spit with human limbs or the *ibirapema*. From a European viewpoint, the allegory of America with Tupi attributes seems to live in a state of adamic innocence, but, at the same time, she transgresses the most basic rules of nature by committing crimes as abhorrent as cannibalism.

In his book *Innocence Abroad*, Benjamin Schmidt examines how the image of indigenous innocence is, at least partially, a Dutch formulation meant to damage the reputation of Habsburg Spain later in the 16th and 17th centuries.[5] On the other hand, the American savagery – especially cannibalism – also served the purpose of political


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detis, qui morti destinatus est: Facilis iactura vitæ, quam si eripueris, vlciscentur
cædem eam amici mei, qui mihi sunt adhuc numerosi.

His dictis, simul clauam occipiti impingit tanto impetu, vt cerebrum dispergatur. Adsunt quamprimum mulieres, cadauer abripiunt, flammis vstulãt, hinc cutem circumquaque deradunt, vt truncus totus niteat, tum ligno inferiorem gutturem obturant, ne quid inter tractandum amittat forte.

Vbi cutis denudata fuerit, vir lanio opus vlterius aggreditur, & crura supra genua, brachia autem præcisè ad humeros detruncat. Accedunt quatuor mulieres in hoc ordinatæ, quæ quatuor eas dissectas partes, crura videlicet & brachia abripiunt, & sublatis illis circum tuguria in gyrum cursitant, clamoresque præ lætitia tollunt. Hinc truncum diuidunt in duas partes æquales, ita vt femora seu coxas, & inferiorem ventrem à superiore, seu pectore & thorace per medium separent, quas inter se patiuntur. Lactes & reliquas internas partes mulieribus relinquunt, quæ eas coquunt, iusculum autem decoctum ex illis in pul-

Fig. 2. Theodor de Bry, *America*, part III (Frankfurt, 1592), p. 127. © Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (87-B24379).

and religious attacks within Europe, with Protestants and Catholics mutually accusing each other of being far worse than the Tupinamba – who, in this context, become a kind of rhetorical figure. Especially after the Reform, the perception of Americans was definitely very much connected to intra-European relations and conflicts. American societies could serve, in Europe, as a basis for comparison valid to define and measure the cruelty of other Europeans. This process could happen, basically, in two ways: either through analogy – for example, Catholics who insist on the real presence of Christ during the Eucharist could be compared to barbaric cannibals[6] – or, by opposition, by presenting Amerindians as the innocent victims of European colonizers.[7]

Stradanus' print was produced in the late 1580s, decades after Vespucci's famous feats, and in a moment when Europe was ravaged by internal wars. What was the situation like at the beginning of the century, when Europeans were starting to arrive in the American continent and trying to make sense of what they saw and experienced? How can one retrace the genealogy of this iconographical construction?

Let us go back to the first prints accompanying the editions of Vespucci's writings. The Florentine probably travelled to coastal Brazil very shortly after the official date of its 'discovery' by Pedro Alvares Cabral in April 1500. Between May 1501 and September of 1502, while at the service of Dom Manuel of Portugal, he reached – according to the letters written by or attributed to him – the north-eastern coast of South America, and from there went south to present-day Rio de Janeiro. Two of these letters were published during his lifetime: the first of them, later named *Mundus Novus*, had been sent from Lisbon by him to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco Medici and described his voyage to South America at length. A couple of years later, the second letter, known as *Letter to Soderini*, would also be published. In the second half of the 18th century, three other letters – known as *familiari* – were discovered.[8] Vespucci's description of coastal Brazil includes the melodious singing of birds and the fragrant smell of plants. They were so beautiful, he wrote, "that we thought we were in a terrestrial paradise".[9] Contrary to Columbus, who assumed that the terrestrial paradise was situated southeast of the Gulf of Paria, Vespucci believed he had reached it in Brazil. He also mentions his efforts to identify the southern pole star, as well as the Crux. As for the peoples, Vespucci observes that they are cannibals, walk around entirely naked, and have no king, commerce, nor religion; on the other hand, they are brave warriors, live according to nature, and most of the times, treat Europeans with friendliness. The topic of ingenuousness appears many times in his descriptions and not just in relation to the inhabitants of present-day Brazil; when talking about those who lived in the Bahamas, for example, he writes: "they were all timid people of small intellect; we did what we liked with them".[10] The *Mundus Novus* became a best seller; between 1503 and 1506, it was printed in different European cities no less than 12 times, in Latin. Almost twenty translations in Dutch, German, French, and English appeared in the following ten years. Before the half of the century, the two Vespuccian letters appeared in more than 60 editions.[11]

Vespucci's description of South America as a terrestrial paradise resonates in many of the engravings that accompanied these earlier editions. In the frontispiece of the fourth Latin edition of the *Mundus Novus*, for example, two Amerindians are represented standing next to each other, naked, with a tree in between – a composition that, clearly, goes back to representations of Adam and Eve. The front page of a German 1506 edition, in which the couple appears next to the king of Portugal, is even more explicit.[12] But the most famous stamp to ever accompany a *Mundus Novus* edition is the one published in German, in 1505/1506, by Johan Froschauer.[13] In this print, for the first time perhaps, it is possible to identify attributes and attitudes that would conform to the stereotyped perception of Brazilians in general, and the Tupi, in particular, in keeping with the descriptions provided by Vespucci: the feather ornaments and clothes, face piercings, partial nudity, and, last but not least, the representation of cannibalism. In this print, as well as in Stradanus' engraving, innocence and barbarism coexist.

Let us return, now, to the previously mentioned print by Stradanus. The representation of Vespucci is actually part of a series, the *Nova Reperta*, which includes 19 engravings depicting various recent inventions or discoveries. They were printed for the first time with the renowned types of the Galle atelier, in Antwerp, in the late 1580s. Lia Markey has pointed out that the iconography of Stradanus' engravings is firmly connected to Florence: all the prints in the series were dedicated to

the members of the Alamanni family; Stradanus was at the service of the Medici court; and the Florentine Accademia degli Alterati, to which Luigi Alamanni was connected, had the discovery of the New World as a main topic of discussion and allegorical elaboration. As for the Medici family, Markey convincingly argues that Stradanus' prints evoke the interests of the Grand Duke Ferdinando during the first year of his dukedom.[14] Ferdinando, a former cardinal who had become Grand Duke after the sudden death of his brother Francesco in 1587, collected American objects such as featherwork and hammocks and planned the creation of an outpost in the New World mainly for the production and trade of sugar. In 1608, in fact, he would finance a Tuscan expedition under Captain Robert Thornton to explore northern Brazil – but the colonial project would be halted after the Duke's death the following year. As stated by Giuseppe Marcocci, this was perhaps the most organic attempt by an Italian state to create an institutional structure that could be fully integrated in the new global order.[15]

On the frontispiece of the print series *Americae Retectio* – dedicated to Columbus, Vespucci, and Magellan – Stradanus represents the discovery of America as an Italian endeavor. Flora and Zephyr, symbolically connected to Florence, Janus and a pelican (a symbol for Genoa), and Oceanus present the globe under portrait medallions with the effigies of the Florentine and Genoese navigators Columbus and Vespucci. The scene floats above a cartographic representation of Italy including both Genoa and Florence.[16]

Specific references to the region of Brazil appear in the engraving dedicated to Vespucci in the *Americae Retectio* (fig. 3). Here, the navigator is represented proudly standing on the deck

Fig. 3. Adriaen Collaert after Stradanus, *Amerigo Vespucci, Americae Retectio* series, c. 1589. Engraving. London, The British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

of his ship as he watches the sun rise over the discovered lands. The waters surrounding him are filled with fantastic creatures and mythological characters, the most preeminent ones being a couple of half-sea monsters, half-American cannibals. Both the feather headdress and the human limbs on a spit derive from the Tupi iconography. Ancient mythology, here, has been combined by Stradanus with the representation of American cannibalism in order to create monsters that are both new and old, native and foreign. Stradanus may have become acquainted with Tupinamba artifacts such as the *ibirapema* and the feather clothing in the Medici collection, which nowadays is part of the National Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology. In other prints accompanying the editions of his writings too, the persons depicted on the shores to which Vespucci's caravels arrive at are, undoubtedly, the Tupinamba, such as, for example, in a 1505 German edition printed in Nuremberg.[17]

In sum, even though Italian states did not actively participate in the colonization of the Americas, the representation of the continent in connection to Italy – either in images made by Italian artists, or that represented Italian navigators or political entities – should also be understood against the background of Europe's internal conflicts. In the first half of the 16th century, the representation of America in Italy was particularly expressive – surely in connection with the publication of travel literature by Italians, including the Vespuccian letters. In these writings, the inhabitants of present-day Brazil played a particularly important role.

Even though they were seen as idolaters and cannibals, they also embodied, especially in some texts and images, the quintessential 'noble savage'. Their innocence in texts such as the ones by Vespucci, and later by Jean de Léry or Montaigne, would relativize their cruelty: Europeans, as these writers would state, are far crueler.[18] They were strongly connected to cannibalism, one of the most ancient and strongest Western metaphors for savagery and otherness. In the second half of the century, during the so-called religious wars, their cannibalistic rites could be paralleled to what Protestants considered the Catholic theophagic belief in the veracity of the transubstantiation, but also be compared to representations of war and massacres happening inside the continent.

In the particular case of Vespucci, it must not be forgotten that he was in the service of the king of Portugal Dom Manuel I and, at least during his third and fourth voyages to the continent, he was under the command of a Portuguese – Gonçalo Coelho – on a Portuguese ship sailing to the regions that, according to the Treaty of Tordesillas, belonged to Portugal. It is only natural, in this sense, that the Tupi would play a prominent role in the prints we have analyzed here. The fact that, from a European viewpoint, their degree of civilization was the lowest possible – no king, no law, no faith[19] – meant that the Tupi societies could provide metaphors valid to indicate both innocence and savagery. While Vespucci's writings were in tune with other Iberian travel accounts, many of these – most notably Pero Vaz de Caminha's letter to Dom Manuel of Portugal[20] – would not be published until much later.[21] Todorov argued that it

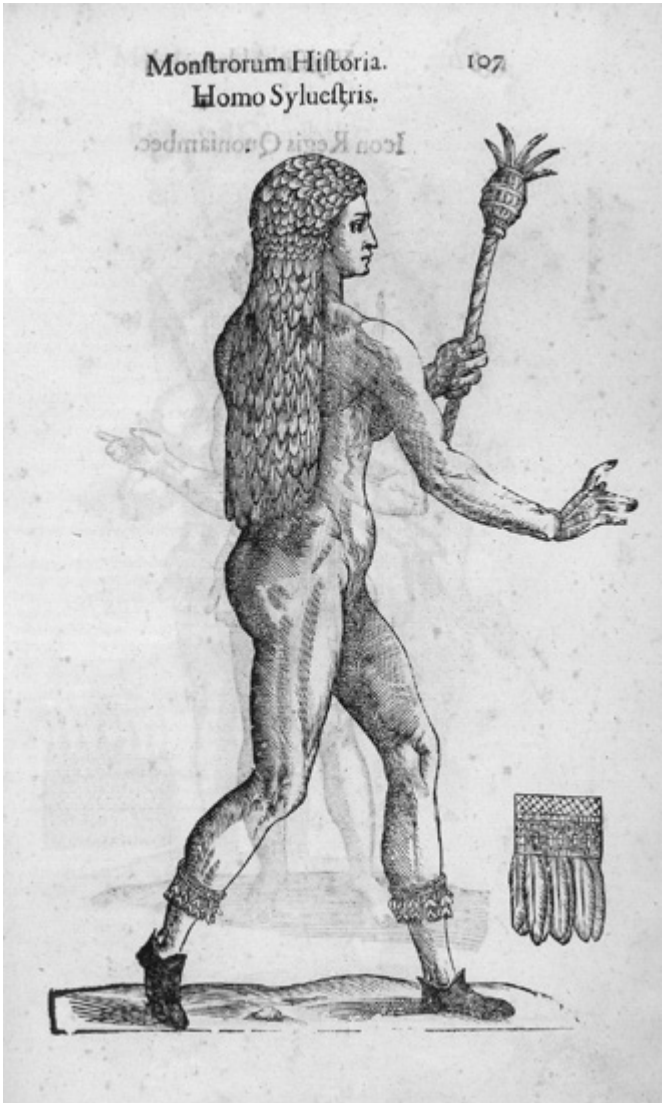

Fig. 4. *Homo sylvestris*, in U. Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum historia*, Bologna, 1642. © gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

was the excellent oratorical quality of Vespucci's letters that made them so extraordinarily famous in the very same years in which the world as Europeans knew it was being redefined.[22] The illustrations that accompanied their multiple editions were very efficient in adapting the novelties of the 'New World' to traditional European rhetorical and visual paradigms such as the wild man or the iconography of Adam and Eve. These adaptations would survive well into the 17th century, when, for example, Aldrovandi represented the *homo sylvestris* (fig. 4) as a naked figure adorned with feathers and holding a *maraca*, the Tupian ritual instrument.

Notes

* This is an abbreviated version of a paper included in the book *Artistic Interactions Between Italy, Spain, and the Americas (1500-1750)*, edited by Lisandra Estevez. The book is scheduled to appear in 2022 (London: Routledge).

[1] See J.M. Monteiro, "The Crises and Transformations of Invaded Societies: Coastal Brazil in the Sixteenth Century", in F. Salomon, S. Schwartz, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* 3, part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 977.

[2] See, for example, the print in the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York, available at https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/385674 (January 15th, 2021).

[3] As a matter of fact, the anthropologist William Sturtevant coined the term 'Tupinambisation', which was subsequently used by other scholars. See W. Sturtevant, "La 'tupinambisation' des Indiens d'Amerique du Nord", in G. Thérien, ed., *Les Figures de l'Indien* (Montreal: Université du Québec, 1988), pp. 293-303. See also S. Poeschel, *Studien zur Ikonographie der Erdteile in der Kunst des 16.-18. Jahrhunderts* (München: Scaneg, 1985), 186 ff.; F. Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage. L'Amerique et la controverse coloniale en France au temps des guerres de religion (1555-1589)* (Paris: Diffusion Klincksieck, 1990), p. 251, and P. Mason, *Infelicities. Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), p. 86ff.

[4] C. Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padova: Lepido Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1618), p. 353. There are variations of this print.

[5] See B. Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[6] For example, the Calvinist Jean de Léry, in the 6th chapter of his *Histoire d'un voyage*, compares the Catholic admiral Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon's belief in the dogma of transubstantiation to the habit of raw meat-eating *Ouetacas*, or Guaitaca: "[...] ils vouloyent neantmoins, non seulement grossièrement, plustost que spirituellement, manger la chair de Iésus-Christ, mais qui pis estoit, à la manière des Sauvages nommez *Ou etacas*, dont ils la vouloyent mascher & avaler toute crue". See J. de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil* (Genève and La Rochelle: Antoine Chuppin, 1578), pp. 77-78.

[7] See M. Berbara, "Um olhar sobre a crueldade na primeira época moderna. O método de execução tupinambá e a tortura pre-mortem durante as guerras de religião", *Atas do XIV Encontro de História da Arte da Unicamp* no. 14 (2020): pp. 38-49.

[8] For a recapitulation of the current scholarly work on Vespucci, including the question of the letters' authenticity, see Angelo Cattaneo's introduction to the book *Shores of Vespucci. A Historical Research of Amerigo Vespucci's Life and Contexts* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2018).

[9] See F.J. Pohl, *Amerigo Vespucci, Pilot Major* (London: Frank Cass, 1966), p. 78. This passage is from the so-called "Letter from Seville", one of the three *familiari*.

[10] *Ibid*., p. 87.

[11] See C. Masetti, "L'immagine del Nuovo Mondo nelle xilografie delle lettere a stampa vespucciane", in *Vespucci, Firenze e le Americhe.* Atti del convegno di Studi (Firenze, 22-24 novembre 2012), ed. G. Pinto, L. Rombai, C. Tripodi (Firenze: Olschki, 2014), p. 191.

[12] See S. Colin, "The Wild Man and the Indian in Early 16th Century Book Illustration", in Ch. Feest, ed., *Indians and Europe. An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Lincoln: Nebraska University Press, 1987), pp. 5-36; Y.A. Chicangana-Bayona, "Visões de terras, canibais e gentios prodigiosos", *ArtCultura* 12, no. 1 (2010): pp. 35-53; and C. Masetti, "L'immagine del Nuovo Mondo", cit., pp. 183-215. These authors discuss the reuse of woodcuts representing Adam and Eve in the Vespuccian engravings; Colin further suggests that these illustrations associated the inhabitants of the American continent to the iconography of the wild man.

[13] In January 2021, the image could be accessed at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cannibalism_in_the_New_World,_from_Vespucci.jpg.

[14] See L. Markey, "Stradano's Allegorical Invention of the Americas in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence", *Renaissance Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (2012): pp. 385-442.

[15] G. Marcocci, "L'Italia nella prima età globale (ca. 1300-1700)", *Storica* 60 (2014): p. 35.

[16] In January 2021, the image could be accessed at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1869-0213-221.

[17] In January 2021, this print could be accessed at https://www.akg-images.fr/archive/Das-sind-die-new-gefundenen-menschen-(..)-2UMDHUZLWDC.html.

[18] See M. Berbara, "Um olhar sobre a crueldade", cit. On the history of cruelty in Europe in the early modern period see the 6th chapter of D. Baraz, *Medieval Cruelty: Changing Perceptions, Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2003).

[19] In 1587, the Portuguese colonist and writer Gabriel Soares de Sousa presented a variant of the expression *sem fé, sem lei, sem rei* ("no faith, no law, no king") when he stated that the Tupi language does not have the letters F, L, nor R. See J. Monteiro, *Tupis, Tapuias e Historiadores. Estudos de História Indígena e do Indigenismo*, PhD dissertation (University of Campinas, 2001), p. 19.

[20] Vespucci's writings also bear strong resemblances to the anonymous sea pilot's report of Pedro Álvares Cabral's voyage to Brazil. See Ana Paula Avelar, "Amerigo Vespucci's *Mundus Novus* and the Exotic Perceptions of the Other in Sixteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Portuguese Historiography", in A. Cattaneo, *Shores of Vespucci*, cit., p. 62.

[21] Caminha's letter was published in 1817 in Manuel Aires de Casal's *Corografia Brazilica, ou Relação historico-geografica do Reino do Brazil*. It is currently kept in Lisbon's Torre do Tombo (https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4185836).

[22] T. Todorov, *The Morals of History* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1995), p. 99ff.

The Emigrants (1910) by Antonio Rocco: A Voyage of a Painting and Its Painter*

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Picturing Migration

The subject of this essay is how migrant people are portrayed. It focuses on *The Emigrants* (1910),[1] a painting over a hundred years old, portraying men, women, and children with heavy luggage on their shoulders. The author is Antonio Rocco, a painter born in a small Italian coastal town, Amalfi.[2] Both Rocco and *The Emigrants*, together with other artworks by him, left Italy and arrived in Brazil in 1913. Following a series of exhibitions in São Paulo, they won over the public. In 1918, the government of the State of São Paulo decided to buy *The Emigrants* to add it to the collection of the State museum, the Pinacoteca do Estado, its current holder. This essay discusses the features that make *The Emigrants* by Rocco an extraordinary representation of its kind, possibly the most critical painting on the issue of migration up until then.

An Exceptional Matter

Why is such an important subject as the massive Italian migration at the end of 19th and the beginning of 20th century – a subject historically coincident with Realism, the artistic movement committed to representing social issues – fairly rarely represented in the visual arts? The question was asked by Regina Célia da Silva, although in the field of fictional literature, which, likewise, does not have many works on the matter.[3]

The best-known narration with immediate, large, and lasting international success is the short story *From the Apennines to the Andes*, a tale about an Italian boy who crosses the mountains and the ocean, travelling from Italy to South America, trying to find his mother. The tale belongs to Edmondo De Amicis' famous book *Cuore* (*Heart*), published in 1886. Friendship and loyalty are its *moto*, with a focus on children's education. But one of its strongest messages, besides the goal to educate the young generation, is to defend the political unification of Italy. The short story on the migrant boy, driven by the love for his mother, and not by material necessity, is just a dot, a neutral remark to the migration issue.

The only real novel on the subject from that time, *Sull'Oceano* (*On Blue Water*), was written again by De Amicis and published in 1889.[4] However, just like *Heart*, *On Blue Water* is mainly a defense of the unification of Italy, and its characters also come from different parts of the country, but this time they are literally 'on the same boat'. As a matter of fact, except from the impressive beginning describing people and events at the port of Genoa, the whole story is developed inside a ship. And even the illustrated editions by Arnaldo Ferraguti only have engravings depicting scenes inside the ship. The one on the frontispiece, on the other hand, is a sort of abstract to the book, representing the migrants on the steerage in a moment of rest. Similarly, other engravings depict women and men of different social classes and ages in situations that accentuate a sense of apparent drift.

Resilience and Misfortune

Indeed, in the book, there are several moments showing resigned people, and some of them are even funny. On the other hand, there is no relevant mention of the danger, discomfort, and injuries that may happen during the voyage, in which many passengers, sometimes overloading the vessel, could pass away due to disease or malnutrition.[5] In short, *On Blue Water* does not describe any situation in which a person's health has been drastically compromised by the voyage, nor the worst-case scenario in which a passenger dies on the Atlantic.

In the same way, in visual representations, there is at least one case, although in a slightly softened version, belonging to a public collection in Brazil: *The Wreck of the Sirio* (1918),[6] by the Brazilian painter Benedicto Calixto. It was exhibited one year after the merchant steamer S.S. Sirio

sank off the coast of Spain, during a voyage from Genoa to South America. More than two hundred or maybe three hundred people died, and the captain was one of the first to abandon the ship. The event caused a commotion in both the Old and New World, leading to the creation of countless songs and verses, as well as Calixto's painting, maybe the only large one of its kind (although its subject matter is not so much the drama of migrants as the meekness, sense of duty and, finally, the heroism of the priests on the deck). Yet, excluding the scenes of fear and despair of the migrants on the boat, there are no representations of dead people.

Misfortunes at work have been the subject of a slightly higher number of artistic representations. *Victims of Labour* (1882),[7] by Vincenzo Vela, depicts a group of miners carrying the body of a deceased colleague. The high relief is a tribute to the dead workers at the Gotthard railway tunnel, in Switzerland. Many Italian migrants were hired there. The picture touches the topic of migration, but the actual subject is the condition of the labor class. *The Miners* (1905),[8] by Antonio Rocco, is a similar painting with regard to the theme, although its moment and composition are different. Not only does it show sympathy to the workers, but it is also a kind of realistic depiction of a real life-threatening situation. That is the difference in how migration is portrayed: at that time, substantially different from ours, there were no representations of death, no terrible images on this theme. The absence of such elements is understandable: not producing tragic pictures of migration and not propagating them were a way to avoid discouraging migrants from pursuing their quest for a better life.

Spreading Promising Omens

The painting of Italian migration generally complements this pattern of good omens. In the large composition by Raffaello Gambogi,[9] compassion and tenderness are undoubtedly prominent. It emphasizes the separation of a family, but there is no melodrama. The human expressions show melancholy and resignation more than any other feelings. Surely for the depicted people life goes on, even with difficulties and uncertainties. The pre-boarding time is significant in showing the safety of their native land, the moment when they have to resolutely face the inevitable fate.

In a larger painting, Angiolo Tommasi has included many more characters:[10] a mother nursing her baby, a pregnant woman, and several children. However, in a way, just like Gambogi, Tommasi supports the pro-migration propaganda with the relatively ordered composition within an actual chaos, reinforcing the recommendation of the authorities in the manuals for Italians to behave in their new homes. The basic concern of the Italian government until Fascism, according to Ana Chiarini, was to keep religion, the family, and the homeland alive, by representing Italy as a suffering mother at the departure of her children, begging them not to disappoint her, and to remain Christians.[11]

Wandering Photographs

The large paintings by Gambogi and Tommasi belong to Italian museums. Their public acquisition and display legitimate them widely, reinforcing a sort of official image. A stronger role was played by the photographs of migration. Their diffusion was even more effective, and most of them were made with a clear goal of attracting manpower to a developing economy. This was the case for a magazine financed by the Brazilian State of São Paulo[12] building the narrative of a plain voyage in which every obstacle is overcome, with no setbacks. The magazine *O Immigrante* illustrates the benefits foreign migrants would achieve if they chose a new destiny in São Paulo.

The photographs of *O Immigrante* invariably show migrants safely on the land, organized for the promised life. The buildings are large, modern, and clean. However, the differences between photos and reality could be very considerable. Not everyone was welcomed decently. The magazine was more helpful for employers and the government rather than for foreigners. The former sought to reassure the local population, frightened for the arrival of exotic people. It is not surprising that, in these pictures, the faces of migrants appear providentially as small dots.

Quite on the contrary, Lewis Hine's photograph series on Ellis Island presents the outline and shading of the faces, showing true, individualized people, with garments from their own countries, looking straight at the photographer. Hine's photos, often made for socialist organs, are much more anthropologically sensitive and humanist than most others on the topic. Susan Sontag compares Hine to Walker Evans, pointing to their "more impersonal kind of affirmation, a noble reticence, a lucid understatement", the

Fig. 1. Antonio Rocco (Amalfi, Italy, 1880 - São Paulo, SP, 1944), *The Emigrants*, 1910. Oil on canvas, 202x231 cm. São Paulo, Collection of the Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo. Purchased by the Government of the State of São Paulo, 1918. (Photo by Isabella Matheus).

refusal to "express himself", "without heroic inflection".[13] In the words of Peter Seixas, "the images [Hine] produced reveal genuine, if fleeting, relationships with his non-English speaking subjects".[14]

Rare Approaches

Although the faces in Rocco's painting are not as sharp as in Hine's series, they have some features in common. They share an unusual empathic attitude towards the people depicted, and, besides this, Rocco chose the very moment of departure from the port, like Gambogi and Tommasi. However, Rocco made the migrants walk directly towards us, confronting us, and we do not see the ocean. Gambogi and Tommasi, on the other hand, show the clear and bright water, with the ships on the horizon, denoting a conquered area, suggesting confidence. Gambogi and Tommasi had been active fifteen years before Rocco, a time when the financial incentives for voyages were higher, and the adversities the emigrants faced fewer. On the contrary, when Rocco painted his canvas, Italians could no longer count easily on subsidies for travel. Shipping companies and migration agents exploited migrants more and more, and the governments often seemed concerned about the nation's image, but rarely about their own people. In this

Fig. 2. Antonio Rocco (Amalfi, Italy, 1880 - São Paulo, SP, 1944), *The Miners*, 1905. Oil on canvas, 111x132.7 cm. São Paulo, Collection of the Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo. Donation by Raymundo Magliano Filho, 2009.

respect, Rocco's work moves away from the others. Not only is the pictorial surface more turbid and darker, as the painting is much more related to an iconography of the labor class movements, as Steinlen and many others have elaborated, and if we look in detail at Rocco's, it gets even more similar to a type that *The Fourth State* (1901)[15] by Pellizza da Volpedo emblematizes. Both paintings have similar compositions, especially because, in a literal quotation, Rocco traces the silhouette of the leader's legs from Pellizza's painting. Yet, Rocco's work has specific features, with different treatments and purposes, and there are outstanding parts: the closed green gate on the upper right, a possible allusion to the homeland itself, as well as the slightly curved floor with diagonal lines which looks like a wavy rug expelling the migrants out of the frame, directly to us viewers.

Diverse Destinations

Unlike Gambogi's work, donated by the artist to the city of Livorno,[16] and Tommasi's one, integrated in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna in Rome, the painting by Rocco was not acquired by any Italian museums. This is a possible indication of something disturbing in Rocco's work, perhaps unsuitable for such a subject. Although awarded in Italy, Rocco's painting had to wait years to be bought, and by a foreign museum, in 1918, in Brazil. In this case, quite differently from the others, the picture of migrant people moving forward towards the observer could suggest a welcoming to

them, in a moment when some Italians, in São Paulo (almost three quarters of its population were Italian migrants), were treated as dishonest or arrested for being strike leaders. Also, the Brazilian and Italian governments, in 1918, were involved in important commercial and political affairs.[17] And, besides the patronage to the arts, by buying Rocco's painting, the São Paulo government sent out a clear sign: that white people from Italy could be one of the best elements of the Brazilian 'melting pot', to 'purify' the 'ideal Brazilian'. There was also an extensive campaign against massive displacements of internal populations in Brazil. An article entitled "Immigration and Undesirable", published in the *Revista do Brasil* a couple of months before Rocco's painting has been acquired for the Pinacoteca, described Brazilian people from the north east, the internal migrants also known as *retirantes*, as weak, unhealthy, and incapable for the good development of the nation.[18] But the article also referred to foreign populations from the Far Orient, such as the Japanese, that had been arriving massively in Brazil since 1908, but mostly the Chinese, who were described as inferior and treacherous people, undesirable for the 'improvement' of the Brazilian race.

Italian immigration into Brazil declined sharply in the 1920s and 30s, when the Brazilian government finally encouraged internal migration, which in turn stimulated different artworks such as the ones by Tarsila do Amaral and Candido Portinari.[19] The latter is well known for the visual representation of the *retirantes*. Renewed pictures of refugees, for once rawly marked by hunger and misery, took the lead in the collective image of the nation.

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Photo credits: Isabella Matheus.

Notes

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[1] Oil on canvas, 202x231 cm, Pinacoteca do Estado, São Paulo.

[2] Antonio Rocco (Amalfi, 1880-São Paulo, 1944) received a scholarship from the Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli in 1904, where, in 1905, he received the 1st Prize for *The Miners*. In 1910, he participated with *The Emigrants* in the *LXXX Esposizione Internazionale di Belle Arti* in Rome. See M. Bignardi, *I Pittori di Maiori. Artisti della Costa di Amalfi tra XIX e XX secolo* (Amalfi: Centro di Cultura e Storia Amalfitana, 2005), pp. 171-178.

[3] R.C. Silva, *Em alto-mar: narrativa de uma travessia*, MA dissertation (São Paulo: FFLCH-USP, 2006), p. 5.

[4] E. De Amicis, *On Blue Water* (New York and London: Putnam's Sons, 1897).

[5] A. Trento, *Do Outro Lado do Atlântico. Um Século de Imigração Italiana no Brasil* (São Paulo: Nobel/Istituto Italiano di Cultura di San Paolo Instituto Cultural Ítalo-Brasileiro, 1989), pp. 44-45.

[6] Oil on canvas, 160x222 cm, Museu de Arte Sacra, São Paulo.

[7] Plaster sculpture, 332.5x255x66 cm, Museo Vincenzo Vela, Ligornetto, Switzerland.

[8] Oil on canvas, 111.3x132.7 cm, Pinacoteca do Estado, São Paulo.

[9] *Emigranti* (1894), oil on canvas, 146x196 cm, Museo Civico Giovanni Fattori, Livorno.

[10] *Gli Emigranti* (1896), oil on canvas, 262x433 cm, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea, Roma.

[11] A. Chiarini, *Imigrantes e italiani all'estero*: *os diferentes caminhos da italianidade em São Paulo*, MA dissertation (Campinas: IFCH-Unicamp, 1992), pp. 5-6.

[12] *O Immigrante* (N.1, Year 1, São Paulo, January 1908).

[13] S. Sontag, *Sobre fotografia* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2007), pp. 42-43.

[14] P. Seixas, "Lewis Hine: From 'Social' to 'Interpretive' Photographer", *American Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1987): pp. 382-385.

[15] Oil on canvas, 293x545 cm, Museo del Novecento, Milano.

[16] Museo Civico Giovanni Fattori, *L'Ottocento* (Pisa: Pacini, 2008), p. 178.

[17] "NO BRASIL - A embaixada italiana", in *O Estado de S. Paulo* (Sunday July 14, 1918).

[18] B.M. de Souza, "Immigração e indesejaveis", *Revista do Brasil* IX, no. 34, a. III (October 1918): pp. 133-148.

[19] Tarsila do Amaral, *Segunda classe* (1933), oil on canvas, 110x151 cm, priv. coll., São Paulo. Candido Portinari, *Os retirantes* (1944), oil on canvas, 192x181 cm, MASP, São Paulo.

Attraction and Artistic Mobility Patterns in P.M. Bardi's Brazilian Way*

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What does remain of Pietro Maria Bardi's great work of cultural dissemination on the two sides of the ocean? What about its legacy? And why bring up once again the story of a man whose life spent between Italy and Brazil spanned the whole of the 20th century?

Especially in today's world, the actions of a man identified with that century's views can hardly cause a stir. We look upon his approximations and amateurism with disapproval and are wary of the shadows of the past that amass around his name; his political leanings, or rather, his Fascist past, and a certain impenetrability in the account of his life as an art dealer (fig. 1). His silences and ambiguities marked the whole course of his life, yet, upon his death in 1999, they did not blot his profile as sketched out in the Italian or Brazilian obituaries.[1] But then his cultural merits are at least as important as his opacities.

The 30 years since the publication of Tentori's biography[2] have not gone by without a change in our understanding of Bardi's adventure and its context. Historians have started to study Bardi – slowly, but they have. We have several lines of research both in Brazil and in Italy by young and more mature scholars. Events such as the conferences organised in Campinas by Nelson Aguilar[3] and the crucial work conducted at the USP by Ana Gonçalves Magalhães[4] have shed new light on the context of Bardi's South American travels.

We now know almost everything about Pietro Maria Bardi's arrival in Brazil thanks to Viviana Pozzoli's studies.[5] We thus have new information about the organisation of the first MASP (Museu de Arte de São Paulo) through the studies of three young researchers: Stela Politano,[6] Luna Lobão,[7] and Marina Martin Barbosa.[8] With regard to the relationships between the Museum of São Paulo and the history of design in Brazil, we might mention works by Milene Soares Cará,[9] Maria Claudia Bonadio,[10] and Débora Gigli Buonano,[11] and in particular Ethel Leon's essay dedicated to the Instituto de Arte Contemporânea.[12]

I cannot forget to mention the studies of Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo,[13] Luciano Migliaccio,[14] Rodrigo Otávio da Silva Paiva,[15] and Aline Coelho Sanchez Corato.[16]

Nevertheless, I remain personally convinced that there is much still to be explored, starting from an examination of the recently reorganised personal archive at the Instituto Lina Bo e P.M. Bardi and, most of all, an analysis of a large number of fragments of Bardi's personal writings which, although they may not provide us with a biography in the true sense of the word, bear witness to his interest in setting out his recollections in his mature years, to take final stock of his own existence.[17]

The exciting sensation of living a second life and the image of Brazil that Bardi interiorizes and communicates are frequently evoked in the afore-

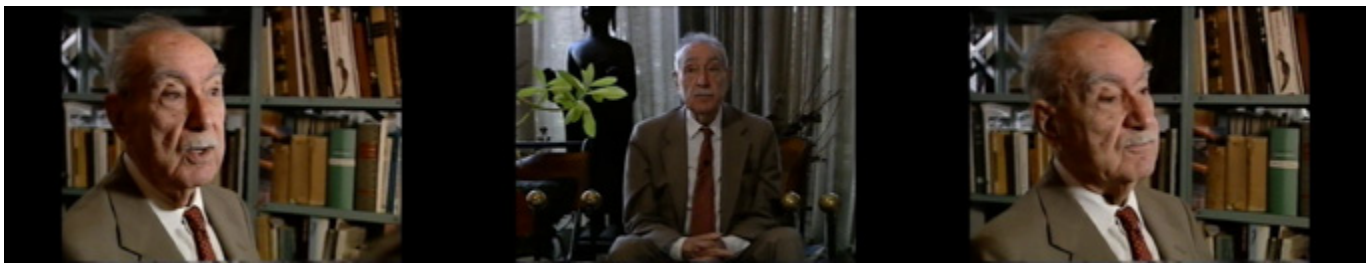

Fig. 1. Frames from *Pietro Maria Bardi. L'avventura dell'arte*, directed by Giampiero Gasparino, 1992.

mentioned piles of notes by Bardi. One of these, which is unpublished and can be dated to the 1980s, is extremely interesting and introduces us right to the topic addressed:

> I had a vague penchant for South America, which I had visited in '33, having taken to Buenos Aires an exhibition of Italian architecture, which was shown at the Museum of Fine Arts and inaugurated by the President of the Republic, General Justo.
> As the crossings took in the cities of Recife, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (Santos) I had the chance to form an impression of Brazil, because of quick visits that the passengers were able to make as the ship unloaded and took on provisions. Rio and São Paulo taught me what the tropics were. All new for a sedentary type.
> When deciding on my Brazilian adventure, those visits influenced me, as my curiosity had never known any limits. I chose Rio de Janeiro as my base, and things went unexpectedly well for me.[18]

The passage recalls a distant memory, thus using the register of a 'happy ending'. Nevertheless, not only does it highlight a circumstance that has received little attention on the part of historians, to which we will return later – that is, Bardi's first trip to South America, between November 1933 and February 1934[19] – but it also tells of the fortune of an Italian joining his new Brazilian community of residence.

Bardi in Brazil. A Biographical Approach

The case of Pietro Maria Bardi after 1946, the year of his arrival in Rio de Janeiro and subsequent permanent move to Brazil, seems particularly significant in this regard: first of all, it represents a case of successful emigration. "Things went unexpectedly well for me", writes Bardi, with a certain irony, hinting at that degree of imponderability of the biographical path that would be a dominant trait of his initial actions in the New World.[20]

His decision to settle in Brazil took shape slowly at a time when, according to data provided by the sociologist Maria Arminda Do Nascimento Arruda, the level of foreign immigration to São Paulo was quite low.[21] Everything happened during the specific context of several commercial and cultural exchanges, and diplomatic missions between Italy and South American countries, after the II World War.[22]

As I have already mentioned, Bardi formed an initial idea of Brazil in 1933. During his trip to Buenos Aires, not only did he stop off at Bahia and Rio de Janeiro but, as he recounted in his late autobiographical memoirs in the 1980s, he also made a stop for a day in Santos and was accompanied by car to visit the metropolis in the uplands.[23]

His impression of Brazil in October 1946 was quite different; upon disembarking in Rio de Janeiro, he seems more aware of the country's cultural potential. In an interview with *Pensamento da America* on November 24,[24] Bardi claimed familiarity with modern Brazilian art through North American publications[25] and a fragmentary knowledge of the poetry of Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Vinícius de Moraes, and Jorge de Lima through Giuseppe Ungaretti and the international magazine *Poesia*.[26]

The interview makes no mention of a clichéd Brazil based on *Banana da Terra* and *Banana Split* for export use, made fashionable by Hollywood, and rapidly accustomed to the South American nation itself.[27] There is no reference to mainstream exoticisms, but rather a spontaneous interest in locally developed architecture, starting from so-called 'colonial' architecture.[28]

Other statements that he would later make to the Brazilian and Italian press also reveal respect for the cultures of the host country. However, they also lay emphasis on the idea of a civilising mission in which the myth of modernisation acquired a preeminent place.[29] Through his words, an overlap transpires between a modernist European cultural model and the contemporary image that he was forming by himself of the São Paulo metropolis: modern, progressive, and a prototype of a hybridised identity.[30] His integration within the productive and professional system of the city seemed easy and inevitable and hence a campaign of relocation of other Italians to Brazil began, by making it possible to profit from certain selection and artistic career processes within the MASP. For a number of Italian artists, settling in São Paulo became a kind of professional training, while Bardi acted as an intermediary, thereby creating a network of relations that would facilitate his being embraced by the Brazilian artistic scene.[31]

Bardi's Network and the Transnational Circulation of Italian Artists

The arrival of Roberto Sambonet and Gastone Novelli, the professional relations with Giancarlo

Palanti and Bramante Buffoni, the friendship with Anna Maria Fiocca, Luiza Sambonet, and the architect Giancarlo Gasperini, the long-distance collaborations with Emilio Villa, Ettore Camesasca, and Gio Ponti are just some of the names that reveal Bardi's effective role as an intermediary between the two worlds. I cannot forget to mention the important and decisive collaboration with his partner, Lina Bo Bardi.[32]

In particular, the experiences of the artists Sambonet and Novelli are well suited to illustrate these examples of artistic commuting and crossover languages developed at the MASP during the 1940s and 1950s. When Sambonet started teaching drawing at the IAC (fig. 2), the school was part of that circuit of global education supported by the great masters of modernism, a laboratory that fostered a sort of artistic hybridism, with European immigrants and Brazilian teachers in its teaching staff.[33] By that time, Bardi had already commissioned Sambonet to design the Museum's poster,[34] a tangle of lines from which a tropical forest of palms and *samambaias* sprouted, new and exotic accents for a modernist model that, in my view, Sambonet knew well, as he had the chance to see it at the Bardis' collection, that is, *Felsentempel* (*Templo de Rocha*) by Paul Klee.[35] Yet, it is often the drawings for fabrics which reveal an unequivocal ascendency of the native models. The fabric's motif[36] reproduced here can be traced to the well-known prototype of the *brise soleil* of the Ministério de Educação e Saúde in Rio de Janeiro.

Fig. 2. Roberto Sambonet in 1949, in *Massaguassù. Figuras e paisagens pintadas no Brasil*, São Paulo. Museu de arte de São Paulo, 1949.

Both the poster and the fabric delineate attitudes that were recurrent in the decade between 1940 and 1950 amongst artists, designers, and architects around the idea of tropicalisation. The success of the Brazilian architecture was conveyed first through the exhibition *Brazil Builds* at the MoMA in 1943,[37] and subsequently through the monographic issues of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* of 1947[38] which had a considerable impact on modernism. We might call them 'processes of reverse hybridisation', to which Bardi made a significant contribution.

The sounding board for this modernist, tropical wave was the magazine *Habitat*, the museum's house organ prior to *O Museu de arte de São Paulo*, a monthly bulletin published from 1954 onwards. The journal was certainly the tool of an intricate system of global circulation of modernist content and a learning place for a new group of Brazilian readers who saw culture as a hallmark of social differentiation.[39] Its mission was to create an artistic taste for the 'new people', those emerging metropolitan social classes among whom the demand for consumer goods was increasing considerably during those years. In this sense, it is possible to understand the museum's intense activity in the fields of fashion and industrial design as a machine for fabricating a new idea of modernity by moving models and objects of Brazilian ethnographic culture towards the mass-produced item or towards 'fine' art.[40] The basket produced for La Rinascente[41] in 1956 illustrates, therefore, this prototype of reverse hybridisation and superficial cross-contamination between the European sensibility and the elaborations on local products. In fact, it reveals the study of forms and materials of popular Brazilian artefacts collected during his travels in the inland and on the coast.

Gastone Novelli, who was invited by Bardi to teach at the IAC[42] (fig. 3), was another of the leading figures of this artistic moment:[43] his time was split between producing ethnic ceramics, unique pieces for the Galeria Ambiente and Tenreiro,[44] imitating Morandi, a highly-esteemed artist within Bardi's circle,[45] preparing himself to engage with the abstract-concrete artistic movements of São Paulo and with the masters of the IAC, such as Leopoldo Haar.[46] But he also designed exhibition stands and artistic and decorative objects such as the brooch displayed in a boutique in Rua Augusta, a fashion store founded by three Italian partners.[47]

Artists such as Sambonet and Novelli had a regular line of development at their disposal, dictated by the modernist programme of Bardi's school, and together they were able to draw upon a vocabulary that was alien to them, combining elements, materials, and traditional forms in a new way.

This is not to say that everyone shared the same enthusiasm for the artistic situation in the metropolis or for Brazil. In 1953, Novelli wrote to his mother: "...my work is going well, thank goodness, and I shall certainly return to Italy at the end of 1954. If I see that I can remain there in acceptable conditions I shan't return to Brazil again as it's a country that I don't like much".[48] The memory of Brazil subsequently re-emerged in his work in the 1960s. By this date, however, the influence of Claude Lévi-Strauss' *Tristes tropiques* was widespread among European intellectuals and, in Novelli's case, had been contaminated by the events of a number of ethnological expeditions that he had come to know during his stay in the South American country.[49]

Bardi himself, for whom the season in which the exciting sensation of living a second life had ended, embarked on a more conscious reflection upon the work of adaptation to indigenous cultures, which he had conducted in a far less conscious manner in the 1950s, by commencing a phase of historical synopses concerning Brazilian art in the 1970s and 1980s, with historical exhibitions such as *A mão do povo brasileiro* and *A arte do povo brasileiro*.[50]

As we know from a group of late letters from the 1980s, Bardi did not lose the desire to preserve his memory of the beginnings and the possibility of a return to Italy.[51] In any case, once again, it is possible to consult unpublished autobiographical material to confirm the feeling of attraction towards the place that was to be his home until the end of his days. During a final visit to Milan, in 1989, he wrote: "After my forty years of Brazil I feel like a citizen of that country. I thus end up speaking about dear São Paulo, a mystery of grandeur, an enigma of power".[52]

Fig. 3. Gastone Novelli and Lis Maria Carvalho Brisolla at the MASP 1954 (?). São Paulo, Private Collection.

While clearly Bardi's sensations fit closely with those of the emigrant, torn between the nostalgia for the country of origin and a feeling of belonging to the new one, it is still necessary to evaluate his work in relation to that more or less structured 'system' of mobility of post-war Italian artists.

Notes

* The text presented here is the transcription of the speech held in Florence for the CIHA Conference *Motion: Transformation* (Session 9) on September 6, 2019. A different version of the text was published in the art journal *Modos. História da Arte: modos de ver, exibir e compreender*. See P. Rusconi, '"Un'idea del Brasile". Pietro Maria Bardi's second life', *MODOS* 4, no. 1 (2020): pp. 241-253.

[1] See, for example, P. Rusconi, "Pier Maria Bardi, critico tra avanguardia e fascismo", *Il Gazzettino* (October 2, 1999); P. Panza, "Bardi, padre del razionalismo dimenticato", *Corriere della sera* (November 10, 1999); J.M. Mayrink, "Pietro Maria Bardi 1900-1999. Masp perde seu criador", *Journal do Brasil* (October 2, 1999).

[2] F. Tentori, *Pietro Maria Bardi con le cronache artistiche de "L'Ambrosiano" 1930-1933* (Milano: Mazzotta, 1990).

[3] The conference was organised in Campinas, Universidade Estadual de Campinas – UNICAMP – Auditório do IFCH September 12-13, 2011. The conference proceedings were published in November 2019. I would like to mention the introduction by Nelson Aguilar which offers much food for thought about the historiography dedicated to Bardi.

See N. Aguilar, ed., *Pietro Maria Bardi. Constructor de um novo paradigma cultural* (Campinas: Unicamp editora, 2019).

[4] A. Gonçalves Magalhães, ed., *Modernidade Latina. Os Italianos e os Centros do Modernismo Latino-americano* (São Paulo: MAC USP, 2014).

[5] V. Pozzoli, "1946! Perché Pietro Maria Bardi decide di lasciare l'Italia e partire per il Brasile?", in *Modernidade Latina. Os Italianos e os Centros do Modernismo Latino-americano*, cit.; V. Pozzoli, "Lo Studio d'Arte Palma: storia di un'impresa per il commercio artistico nell'Italia del dopoguerra", *ACME* 69, no. 2 (2016): pp. 145-173.

[6] S. Politano, *Exposição didatica e vitrine das formas. A didatica do Museu de Arte de São Paulo*, MA thesis (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, 2010).

[7] L. Lobão, "A missão artística do primeiro MASP: um estudo da concepção de Pietro Maria Bardi para os primeiros anos do MASP", in N. Aguilar, ed., *Pietro Maria Bardi, Constructor de um novo paradigma cultural*, cit., pp. 189-201.

[8] M. Martin Barbosa, *MASP e MAM: Percursos e movimentos culturais de uma época (1947-1969)*, PhD dissertation (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, 2015).

[9] M. Soares Cará, "O MASP, os Bardi e o design no Brasil", in A. Gonçalves Magalhães, ed., *Modernidade Latina. Os Italianos e os Centros do Modernismo Latino-americano*, cit.

[10] M.C. Bonadio, "A moda no MASP de Pietro Maria Bardi (1947-1987)", *Anais do Museu Paulista: História e Cultura Material* XXII, no. 2 (December 2014): pp. 35-70.

[11] D. Gigli Buonano, *O olhar curatorial de Pietro Maria Bardi nas exposições de design no MASP*, PhD dissertation (Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie de São Paulo, 2016).

[12] E. Leon, *IAC. Primeira Escola de Design do Brasil* (São Paulo: Blucher, 2014).

[13] E. Gorini Esmeraldo, "Bardi, jornalista e criador de um grande Museu de arte", in N. Aguilar, ed., *Pietro Maria Bardi, Constructor de um novo paradigma cultural*, cit., pp. 203-223.

[14] L. Migliaccio, "Pietro Maria Bardi no Brasil: história, crítica e crônica de arte", in A. Gonçalves Magalhães, ed., *Modernidade Latina. Os Italianos e os Centros do Modernismo Latino-americano*, cit.

[15] R.O. da Silva Paiva, *Max Bill no Brasil* (Berlin: Verlag 13, 2011).

[16] A. Coelho Sanches Corato, "Além do "silêncio de um oceano". Ideias de Brasil nas representações de um crítico e de artistas e arquitetos italianos depois da Segunda Guerra Mundial", *Anais do Museu Paulista: História e Cultura Material*, XXIV, no. 2 (August 2016): 187-215.

[17] I thank Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo for showing me the transcriptions of a series of notes handwritten by Bardi in the 1980s. With these transcriptions, Dr. Gorini Esmeraldo, who worked alongside Bardi, has done an extraordinary job of recovering and increasing documentary materials of no secondary importance. The quotes of the documents follow the numbering given by Dr. Gorini to the transcriptions (they will be indicated as Arquivo Pessoal Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo). An interesting work on the activity of Pietro Maria Bardi as a journalist in the 1980s can be found in Pedro Caroline Gabriel's thesis, *Pietro Maria Bardi, cronista em revista: 1976-1988*, MA thesis (University of São Paulo / FAU USP, 2014).

[18] Arquivo Pessoal Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo, *Texto 9*. All quotations from the writings of P.M. Bardi and G. Novelli were translated by the Author.

[19] Some references appear in Laura Moure Cecchini, "The Nave Italia and the Politics of Latinità: Art, Commerce, and Cultural Colonization in the Early Days of Fascism", *Italian Studies* 71, no. 4 (November 2016): p. 466; and in M. Martin Barbosa, "Masp e Mam: percursos e movimentos culturais de uma época (1947-1969)", PhD dissertation (University of Campinas, University of Venice, 2015), pp. 24-28. For a detailed discussion on Bardi's first trip to South America, see P. Rusconi, "Pietro Maria Bardi's first journey to South America. A narrative of travel, politics and architectural Utopia", in V. Galimi, A. Gori, eds., *Intellectuals in the Latin Space during the Era of Fascism. Crossing Borders* (Abingdon/New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 57-84.

[20] Bardi's intent about a possible and definitive return to Brazil was not, at first, predictable, so his possible return to Italy was to be put off until the achievement of an economic goal. In fact, the project of organizing artistic events, until 1947, spread all over the South American countries.

[21] M.A. do Nascimento Arruda, *Metrópole e Cultura. São Paulo no Meio Século XX* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2015), second ed., pp. 56-57.

[22] V. Pozzoli, "1946! Perché Pietro Maria Bardi decide di lasciare l'Italia e partire per il Brasile?", cit.

[23] See Arquivo Pessoal Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo, *texto 9* and *66*. The primary coeval source of this initial trip to São Paulo, is the *Amer* manuscript, currently held at the Biblioteca e Centro de Pesquisa do MASP. Eugenia Gorini Esmeraldo developed her PhD thesis on this manuscript. E.M.B. Gorini Esmeraldo, *Amer a primeira América de Bardi. Diário de bordo de P.M. Bardi (1933-1934)*, PhD dissertation (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, 2020).

[24] O. Schneider, "Arte italiana e arquitetura brasileira. Exposição de antigas pinturas italianas – Obras de notoriedade universal – Inconfundivel a arquitetura brasileira – Faltam instrumentos de expressão – Uma palestra com o Prof. Bardi", in *Pensamento da America*, suplemento panamericano de *A Manha* V, no. 11 (November 24, 1946): p. 160.

[25] Bardi probably refers to the successful publications organised by the MoMA of New York during the 1940s, such as *Portinari of Brazil* (1940) and *Brazil Builds* (1943).

[26] Bardi refers to the Magazine number 3 *Poesia* dated 1946, in which Ungaretti had organised a large anthology of Brazilian poetry starting from Indios fairy tales to Vinícius de Moraes. See G. Ungaretti, ed., "Poesia Brasiliana", in *Poesia* 3/4 (January 1946): pp. 188-231. Concerning the Brazilian literary publication in Italy by Ungaretti, see G. Lanciani, ed., *Il Brasile di Ungaretti* (Roma, Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato: 2003).

[27] J.F. Liernur, "Fiebre tropical. Nuevos trayectos y nueva geografía en la cultura arquitectónica internacional como consecuencia de la Segunda Guerra Mundial (1940/1960)", in J.M. Pozo, H.G.-D. Villarìas, eds., *Viajes en la transición de la arquitectura española hacia la modernidad* (Pamplona: T6 Ediciones SL, 2010), pp. 49-57.

[28] "É interessante observar – prossegue o prof. Bardi – com que facilidade e espontaneidade uma arquitetura se adapta ao ambiente. Digo isso com particular referência a arquitetura brasileira. Encontro nela aspectos curiosíssimos. Ella è inconfundivel, e por isso acho errado chamà-la 'colonial', devendo ser chamada "brasileira". O. Schneider, "Arte italiana e arquitetura brasileira", cit., p. 160.

[29] Consider for instance Bardi's interest in founding a Brazilian encyclopedia on the model of the Italian Enciclopedia Treccani. See P.M. Bardi, "Un'enciclopedia brasiliana", *Fanfulla* (May 11, 1951).

[30] M.A. do Nascimento Arruda, *Metrópole e Cultura. São Paulo no Meio Século XX*, cit., pp. 61-87.

[31] F. Fernandes, "Deslocamentos Milão-São Paulo: estrangeiros na cidade", in A.L. Duarte Lanna, F. Arêas Peixoto, J.T. Correia de Lira, M.R. Amaral de Sampaio, eds., *São Paulo, os estrangeiros e a construção das cidades* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2011), pp. 497-520.

[32] The last part of the paper anticipates some results of an ongoing research developed during the organisation of the exhibition *Italiani sull'Oceano. Storie di artisti nel Brasile moderno e indigeno alla metà del '900* held in Milan, MUDEC, from March 25 to July 21, 2016. The publication, ed. by Paolo Rusconi (in preparation), gathers contributions by Elisa Camesasca, Ana Gonçalves Magalhães, Viviana Pozzoli and Marco Rinaldi.

[33] E. Leon, *IAC. Primeira Escola de Design do Brasil* (São Paulo: Blucher, 2014), pp. 38-49.

[34] *Visite o Museu de Arte de São Paulo*, 1951, Poster, Milan, Archivio Roberto Sambonet. On Sambonet, see E. Camesasca. "Dalla linea al colore. L'attività pittorica di Roberto Sambonet", in M. Iannello, ed., *Roberto Sambonet. Artista e designer*, (Milano: Casva, 2016), pp. 19-31 and M. Iannello, "Un matto delle giuncaie: Roberto Sambonet grafico e designer", in M. Iannello, ed., *Roberto Sambonet. Artista e designer* (Milano: Casva, 2016), pp. 33-93.

[35] Paul Klee's work in Lina Bo Bardi's collection is published in the magazine *Habitat* 15. See *Habitat* no. 15 (March-April 1953): p. 46. After being displayed in Milan in the Mazzotta collection, the work is currently in the Art Institute of Chicago.

[36] *Fabric with grid pattern*, 1952 printed cotton, produced by Mappin Stores, São Paulo, Milan, Archivio Roberto Sambonet.

[37] J.F. Liernur, "Fiebre tropical. Nuevos trayectos y nueva geografía en la cultura arquitectónica internacional como consecuencia de la Segunda Guerra Mundial (1940/1960)", cit., pp. 49-51.

[38] The deep impact of number 13-14 Brésil in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (September 1947) about the young community of Italian architects at the Politecnico of Milan was reminded to me by Piero De Amicis during a meeting in 2015. When reading the word *Brasile* published in the Italian Treccani Encyclopedia, we can see that the 1948 update had some photos about Brasilian architecture taken from the French magazine.

[39] A. Maiolini Mesquita, "A presença estrangeira em Habitat (1950-54) e Mirante das Artes, Etc. (1967-1968)", in A.L. Duarte Lanna, F. Arêas Peixoto, J.T. Correia de Lira, M.R. Amaral de Sampaio, eds., *São Paulo, os estrangeiros e a construção das cidades*, cit., p. 529.

[40] M.C. Bonadio, "A moda no MASP de Pietro Maria Bardi (1947-1987)", *Anais do Museu Paulista: História e Cultura Material* XXII, no. 2 (December 2014): pp. 59-62.

[41] Basket, bag designed by Sambonet for La Rinascente department stores, [1956], wicker, produced by Vittorio Bonacina, Milan, Archivio Roberto Sambonet.

[42] Some outline and contents presented by Novelli in the courses held at the IAC, are published in *Gastone Novelli. Scritti '43-'68*, ed. by Paola Bonani (Roma: Nero, 2019), pp. 66-74.

[43] M. Rinaldi, "Arte per l'architettura: Novelli in Brasile (1949-1954)", in P. Vivarelli, ed., *Gastone Novelli 1925-1968* (Genève-Milano: Skira, 1999), pp. 30-39.

[44] P. Bonani, "Mondi, montagne, segni di terra. La scultura di Gastone Novelli", in P. Bonani, M. Rinaldi, A. Tiddia, eds., *Gastone Novelli. Catalogo generale. 1. Pittura e scultura* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2011), pp. 69-70. On art galleries in São Paulo see M.L. Bueno, "O mercado de galerias e o comércio de arte moderna: Paulo e Rio de Janeiro nos anos 1950-1960", *Sociedade e estado* 20, no. 2 (May-August 2005): pp. 377-402; J.A. Pereira da Silva, *O mercado de arte moderna em São Paulo* (São Paolo: Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo, 2017).

[45] See "Morandi", *Habitat* no. 5 (October-December 1951): pp. 14-16.

[46] The relationships between Novelli and Brazilian concrete artists are addressed in M. Rinaldi, "Il viaggio della farfalla. Temi e immagini della pittura di Novelli", in P. Bonani, M. Rinaldi, A. Tiddia, eds., *Gastone Novelli. Catalogo generale. 1. Pittura e scultura*, cit., pp. 47-49.

[47] Including the future well-known fashion designer Livio De Simone. I was given this piece of information by Giovanola Ripandelli in 2016.

[48] Rome, Archivio Gastone Novelli, Gastone Novelli, *Letter to his Mother* (Margherita Mayer von Ketschendorf), [1953].

[49] In this regard, it is worth mentioning that Novelli's archive hosts a handwritten photo album comprising personal photographs taken during his journeys in Brazil (1948-1949) and a series of photographs of the Roncador-Xingu ethnographic expedition led by Francisco Meirelles (1946).

[50] See *A mão do povo brasileiro* (São Paulo, Museu de Arte de São Paulo, April 1969) and *A arte do povo brasileiro* (São Paulo, Museu de Arte de São Paulo, April 9-27, 1986). For a discussion on these exhibitions, see L. Migliaccio, "Pietro Maria Bardi no Brasil: história, crítica e crônica de arte", cit. and C. Maroja, "Displaying Whose Modernity? The Bardis and the Museum of Art of São Paulo", in F. Frigeri, K. Handberg, eds., *New Histories of Art in the Global Postwar Era* (New York: Routledge, 2021).

[51] In this regard, see the letters sent by Bardi to Carlo Belli during the 1970s and 1980s, now kept at the Belli Fund at the Archivio del '900 MART in Rovereto.

[52] See the Arquivo Pessoal Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo, *Texto 71*, *Ricordo di Milano*.

Beyond the Voyage

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Beyond the voyage: this means beyond the CIHA conference in Florence and the present session held in autumn 2019, which was to open trajectories for the second part of the 35th Congress in Brazil. Splitting the conference into two was a means to create bridges and foster dialogues, with art history having transformed itself into a transcultural or global field, research agenda and practice. The title of the Florentine Venue *Motion: Transformation* might seem less politically charged than the São Paulo part *Motion: Migration*, but, in reality, 'transformation' is a multifaceted and indeed politically relevant term, as many contributions to the congress have shown.

One wonders why the Roman poet Publius Ovidius Naso, who lived in the time of Augustus – who transformed the Republic into the monarchical 'Principate' – was forced into exile to the Black Sea. Did this not happen because he wrote the *Metamorphoses*, the book of *Transformations*? Related to processes in time and a world in permanent mutation, it questions the stability of bodies and orders (e.g., love, nature, art, politics, law and the passages between them) sometimes in a 'biopolitical' perspective. This is, one may suppose, a strong reason for expulsion, and for Ovid a forced voyage or migration, an experience he explores poetically in the *Tristia*. More generally speaking, critical thinking and critical 'play' can be related to dynamics of *transformation* which are often extremely challenging and complex, liberating or oppressive, material or mental, environmental and social.

While changing the transcription of my presentation – a few volatile thoughts in conclusion of the congress – in the past tense, I am aware that its title and the whole 'operation' has assumed a new value and meaning, given the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic in spring 2020. What I was aiming at in the short lecture about traveling (as a transformative practice) was highlighting four strands of investigation: a) art historical versus touristic traveling, b) Travel, Ecology, Nature, c) the points of contact between tourism and migration, followed by d) a case study on Liguria, concentrating on Infrastructure, Technologies of Traveling and Transport. All these 'strands' are obviously still relevant, but the situation has profoundly changed and what should and has started to be discussed is the future of the 'voyage', of traveling as such.

"We Are Not Tourists": Art Historical Traveling

While I cannot engage with the latter, I will also not be able to elaborate on four chapters here. Rather than addressing the topic of the traveling artist, my interest would be that of the traveling art historian. Indeed, most of the speakers in Florence were travel companions of a conference, departing after it in various directions. Art history is a travel discipline, as anthropology and others are, many art historians do a kind of fieldwork. There have been some famous traveling art historians and there are famous art historical travels, think of Aby Warburg in New Mexico and Arizona. Art historians often do not travel alone, as in many places the study of art history requires so-called 'excursions'. In fact, it is extremely interesting to see art historians traveling together as a didactical practice – and we should also critically think about it. What are the behaviors and the 'gestures' of those involved in these excursions? How do they engage with the so-called local scholars of a place visited? In the European or the North American academia, for example, excursions to or summer schools in Florence have a long tradition. Interestingly also, art historical travel practices and distances have changed, or new modes were introduced over the last two decades, connected to the transcultural and global 'opening' of the field. Site visits, for exam-

ple, regard hubs, contact or conflict zones, (colonial and other) collections, or follow historical, commercial, religious and other kinds of routes or itineraries. The Getty Foundation (and others) has fostered collaborations of such kind regarding India and Central Asia, the Caucasus Region, the broader Mediterranean or Eastern Europe, while other programs have taken place in the Americas. I say all this as complementary to the preceding brilliant contributions of this session, starting with the trip to the West of the Japanese architect and architectural historian Itō Chūta, who bridged the travel of the artist and that of the scholar.

Being an observant inhabitant (as a foreigner) of a city highly exposed to mass tourism but also to the presence of art historians and art historical excursions, I could study the interrelation of both groups (of unequal numbers). It seems to a certain respect as if we speak of enemies, while they often share the necessity to stand in front of the same picture or statue and to visit the same site, blocking each other's view with quite different levels of attention or times of observation. Besides, many art historians work in the tourism industry, some become museum curators and directors, they are and must be interested in the flux and numbers of tourists and visitors in general, and there are other points of contact. More generally speaking, a stronger participation of art history in or dialogue with critical tourism studies would be desirable. The history of travel and travel literature has long been studied by the discipline; in academic research, mostly with the intent to learn about the reception history of monuments, and also, more specifically, about their state in a certain historical moment. It would certainly be worthwhile to take part in the discussion on the touristic 'value' of monuments and sites as well as the narratives related to them. Touristic approaches are part of the actual 'life' and management of monuments, and besides seeing them (sometimes for good reasons) as disturbing art historical approaches, the latter may include a consideration of the former, and open a conversation or cooperation with the civic or private stakeholders, with art historians potentially among them. In my eyes, tourism – in its wide-ranging historical and contemporary global declinations – needs to be addressed already in the training of art historians (including the history and role of travel photography and 'imaging' in general).

Travel, Nature, Ecology

My presentation had a second chapter about ecologies and traveling, which I only summarize here. It started with questioning the gazes of pilgrims and emperors, traveling and describing the world in religious or imperial terms or being at the center of literary or pictorial journeys. One may think of the Mogao cave paintings of Dunhuang, at an important crossroads in the desert in western China, with the depiction of the most famous travel to the West in Chinese culture, that of the Monkey King. In the caves you also find depictions of sacred topographies in or as natural settings, and those of travelers (monks) on their way to these sites. These cave paintings allow us to study conceptualizations of space and of 'globalization' (or *topomimesis*) of sacred spots in pictorial geographies, maps and landscapes. Not distant in time but in space is the Madaba Map from the 6th century, in Jordan, a floor mosaic displaying important Judeo-Christian sites in a map of the Holy Land. One of the most interesting people who traveled to this area almost two hundred years earlier is the nun Egeria (from Gaul). She was an observant traveler, interested in the flora and the fauna – as many other pilgrims and travelers in a transcultural perspective. Egeria was extremely curious, she went to the Sinai desert and described a view from the mountains in her account in form of a letter, unique in Latin literature before Petrarca.

Studying the 16th century world of empires, one finds an extreme interest in investigating the flora and fauna of conquered territories, for example reading the autobiography of the first Mogul emperor Babur (1483-1530) describing his departure from his gardens in Kabul to the campaigns in India. One gets the impression that apart from military conquests, his major interest is the flora and fauna of the subcontinent, and later the Mogul court is strongly engaging with nature: wine, fruit, animals and much more. This was for sure a political agenda, as in other empires or other political orders, involving concepts of dominion over nature as well as dynamics of transcultural exchange or the exploitation of colonized territories. One could shift the attention to systems of knowledge and the traveling scholars of the 16th to 19th century, for example European botanists taking advantage of colonial infrastructures ask for the ways and media of collecting, documenting, of classifying, for pictorial representations and transfer, or also cultivation of plants. In short, there are more trave-

lers art historians are interested in than artists. Various kinds of protagonists, techniques, modes of graphic and literary description, infrastructures, etc. form and take part in a multifaceted visual culture of 'traveling' which certainly is an important issue of a transcultural art history, concerned with transformation by all means (for example that of landscapes and environments themselves).

Tourism and Migration

Finally, in the third part of my contribution I wanted to indicate a research topic which should involve art history more strongly, but also needs to be considered in new ways, given the experience of the pandemic. I am sure this will be addressed in São Paulo, whereas the round table which took place in Florence and is published in this volume raises the point of critical thinking about tourism and its ecological impact or ignorance with a look to the performance "Sun & Sea (Marina)" by the collective of artists Neon Realism in the Lithuanian pavilion at the Venice Biennale (2019). What I mean is the urgent need to 'confront' tourism and migration, which has already been done regarding social and political contexts, but only by very few studies in art history. There are the visual cultures of migration and tourism as such, both have their photographic icons that are often concerned with ship and coasts / beaches (the refugee boats in the Mediterranean and the cruise liners in Venice), and are critically approached in photography and art in general. Regarding migration, I want to mention a conference at the KHI on *Migration and Photography*, and the exhibition *Objects of Migration, Photo Objects of Art History: Encounters in an Archive* by Massimo Ricciardo (curated by Costanza Caraffa and Almut Goldhahn).

In my presentation, I was suggesting two potential case studies, to discuss confrontations or intertwining of tourism and migration: the role of hotels and of mobile phones. Regarding hotels, Lisbon is of particular interest in various moments since the 1970s, when after the end of Fascism (Estado Novo) and the independence of Angola, Mozambique, and other colonies, in 1975 more than half million settlers, many of whom born in the colonies, were brought by airlift to Portugal, often in precarious economic conditions, in a country fighting for the establishment of a new political order, and marginalized in Europe. In the times of the oil crisis, tourism was severely hit, and many of the so-called *retornados*, who had no family in Portugal, were hosted in hotels, of all levels. There is a famous photograph by Rui Ochôa showing people (mostly men) holding a banner saying: "We don't want hotels, we want houses and jobs". The story can be continued by other chapters: the gentrification of Lisbon as boomtown of tourism in the 2000s, branding (as it has been defined) its own colonial history; the role of rich Angolan investors in the 2010s; and the migration of hundreds of thousands of people from the ex-colonies to the city in recent years, where they live under extremely difficult conditions in suburban areas, while the houses in the city center have been transformed into tourist accommodation. Gonçalo Fonseca is one of the photographers who works with and documents the conditions of migrants in Lisbon. (And there are entire branches of the tourism industry specialized in MLT ('Migration-led Tourism') and VFR ('Visiting Friends and Relatives')). Regarding hotels and also in general, Athens could be compared to Lisbon, even if the dynamics are different. I just want to name the Hotel City Plaza – which became famous in 2016 – a former hotel squatted and transformed to provide housing to 400 migrants with a concept of community building and self-administration, including also photography projects with migrant children such as "We are City Plaza", with the photographer Xiaofu Wang and others.

The second case study, which I want to at least mention here, would aim to analyze the role of mobile phones in dynamics of migration, allowing the production, processing, transmission and storage of images, and much more. When people are asked what they need, they may say water, fruit, a plug-in to charge the phone and a wi-fi connection. Smartphones are extremely important for the whole organization of traveling, and obviously also the access to music, news and so forth. They are one of the most important belongings of migrants and the only connection with families, often spread globally, but also to the places left or the memories of their lives. Smartphones have a role in changing forms of memory, individual as well as collective, mobile memories with mobile phones, being part of the mobility and also motility of people, involving new relations to sites and places. They are *Bilderfahrzeuge* ('image vehicles'), to use Warburg's term, in their own right. Analyzing digital clouds of images related to migration or doing respective fieldwork with individuals or groups is

a challenge for visual studies or new iconology (*Bildwissenschaft*) and may involve many disciplines; in any case, art history should take part in such projects. And not to forget my comparative approach, smartphone images produced, processed and exchanged in touristic traveling could be confronted with them and/or studied in their own right: how do they (in a wider historical perspective, photography in general) condition or change the perception of sites? What are the implications of quickly changing technologies and data processing for museums and the management of heritage and so forth? These are questions that will play a role in the discipline and in future CIHA conferences.

Given, However

Given, however, that in my eyes art history is not exclusively *Bildwissenschaft*, but also concerned with material objects, architectures and sites, I would have liked to devote a conclusive chapter to bring the argument of my short considerations back to physical environments, infrastructures, technologies and aesthetics of traveling, confronting them obviously with imaginations or the *imaginaire* of voyages (for example with moving images, as Marzia Faietti put it in the introduction of this session), speaking of roads, landscape architecture (including flora) and frontiers, and perhaps also of suitcases, mobile perception, viewpoints or flights. But there is no space for it here, and probably also not enough elsewhere, one single author also unable to do so... And, as I said in the beginning, what is now at stake is the future of traveling as such, which we need to discuss in physical and virtual meetings.

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POSTER SESSION

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Imago Signorum: The Doctrine of the Microcosmic Man in Illustrations Between the 14th and 15th Centuries

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Abstract

This poster aims to analyze how the iconography of the zodiacal Vein man, between the 14th and 15th centuries, impacted the debate on the problem of the preponderance of stars in the daily life of man. Thus, one should look at the relationship between the concepts of macrocosm and microcosm and the uses and functions of astrological images in the early modern period. Starting from this problem, this poster presents the idea that the understanding of the world, at the time, was directly linked to a will of cosmic ordering and orientation, in an attempt to establish relations with the unknowable. For this reason, it is necessary to pay attention to the understanding of the concept of melothesia, which is the division of the human body according to astral inflows, and how it affects a whole theoretical debate about astral determinism in human daily life. Finally, this poster looks at how the applicability of the zodiacal Vein man was connected to the debate between astral fatalism, which everyone was bound to endure, and the rise of the problem of knowledge linked to human free will.

Keywords: astrology, zodiacal Vein man, iconography.

Results

The *Imago Signorum* type bears iconographical elements deriving from the zodiacal man and the venous man at the same time. This new image is currenty titled *zodiacal Vein man*. These illustrations use the figure of a single man to show, in a concise and efficient way, the visual data necessary for the analysis of the stars and the human body. Thus, these images demonstrate how the production and circulation of medical-astrological manuscripts, almanacs, and calendars were becoming complex in their formation. The *Imago Signorum,* which was conceived to illustrate the theoretical structure of the human body, reveals, with the predominance of iconographic types such as *Homo Signorum* or even *Homo Venarum* (fig. 4), that the figurative repertoire also reflects this complexity. The *Quinta Ymago* of the *Liber Cosmographiae* is, precisely, the zodiacal Vein man. The image combines teachings about the impact of the zodiac on the body, while describing the locations of the major veins where bleeds should be performed. The zodiacal Vein man (fig. 1), shows 32 red arrows pointing at the various parts of the man's figure, identifying the 32 major veins in our body. The *Homo Signor* – identified

Fig. 1. *Zodiacal Vein man. Liber Cosmographiae*, 1408. Cambridge, The Wren Library, Trinity College, MS R.15.21, f. 15v.

Fig. 2. Limbourg brothers, *Zodiacal Vein man. Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, Illustration, 1416. Chantilly, Musée Condé.

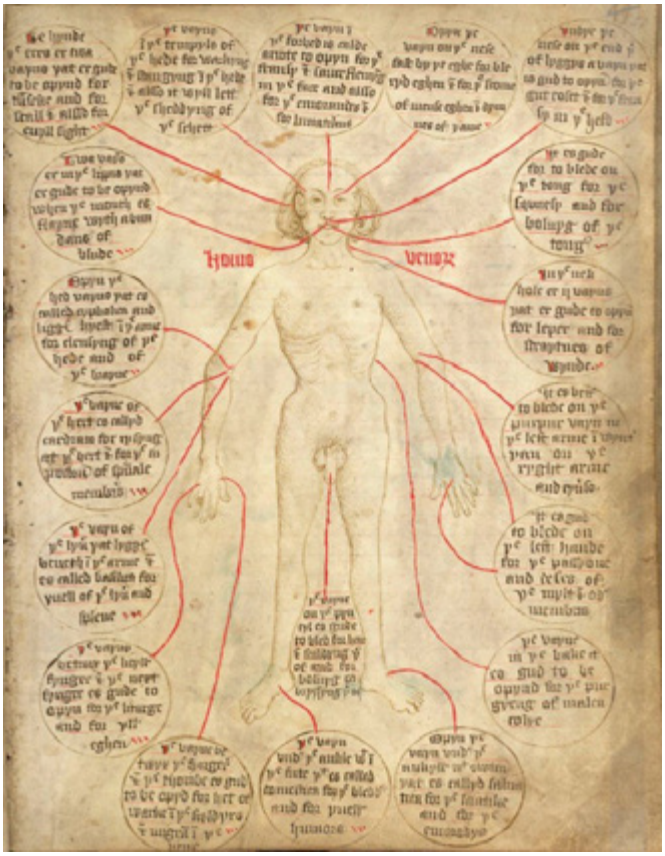

Fig. 4. *Homo Venarum. Guild Book of the Barber Surgeons*, c. 1486. London, British Museum, MS Egerton 2572, f. 50r.

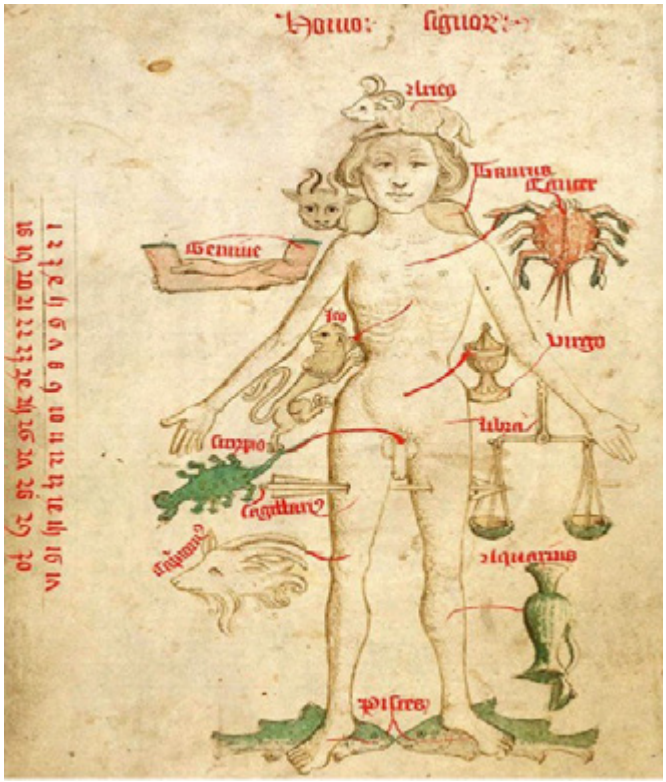

Fig. 3. *Zodiacal man. Guild Book of the Barber Surgeons*, c. 1486. London, British Museum, MS Egerton 2572, f. 50v.

by the inscription above the illustration (fig. 3) in the center of the composition – is surrounded by the twelve zodiac signs that, this time, are not on his body. Red lines connect each sign to a body part. Finally, the interpretation of the figure of the zodiacal man in fig. 2 undoubtedly reveals a close relationship with ancient astrology. This illustration had a strictly medicinal purpose, since it described how the planets could threaten a body part or organ according to its correspondence with the sign that governs that part of the body.

Conclusion

The astrological images are inserted exactly in this process where a distance between cosmological world and man is created. Its function is circumscribed in the dynamisation and effort to elaborate 'meaning' in the relations between the impact of astral inflows and the elements of nature. The images reveal the need of men for spiritual guidance through the cosmos. The configuration of the images into diverse expressive forms highlights the mythical basis of cosmological knowledge, since it demonstrates the presupposition of an

essential causality for the thought. Therefore, the *Imago Signorum* and its iconographic bases concatenate, above all, how the symbolic experience of man in relation to the firmament engenders a mechanism that employs the conservation of the polarity between astral thought and the forming scientific thought. The iconography of the zodiacal Vein man is an attempt to conform to images as each element and cosmological movement is embedded in earthly structures in order to create a possible link between the suprasensible dynamics and the sublunar world.

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Symbolism of Afro-Latin American Religions in Visual Arts

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This paper aims to discuss how the symbolism of the Afro-Latin American religions Candomblé[1] and Santeria[2] is represented in visual arts. Exploring the role of Afro-Latin and Afro-Caribbean American art is crucial to truly appreciate the African diaspora.

Learning about these religions is very important when attempting to understand the influence of African culture in Latin America. The Cuban artists Ana Mendieta, Magdalena Campos-Pons, and Lili Bernard, and Brazilian artist Ayrson Heráclito were inspired by Santeria and Candomblé and made explicit references to them in their works. Some of these artists practiced Afro-Latin American and Carribean religions themselves; among the most popular themes depicted in their works, there are deities, ceremonies, rituals, and symbols. The artists' attempts to capture the vibrancy and energy of these religions in their art effectively introduced them to the rest of the world, bringing national and global recognition to them.

Fig. 1. Lili Bernard, *Carlota Leading the People* (after Eugène Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People*, 1830), 2011. Oil on canvas, 182.88x152.4 cm. Cuban Artist based in Los Angeles.

The originality of these Latin American artists is reflected in the identity of the art and larger cultural origins of the region. These artists explored the relation between Afro-Latin American and African cultural identities, memories, history. The Atlantic slave trade, namely the transportation of millions of Black people from Africa to the Americas, is yet another theme employed by these artists to reflect on Afro-Latin American culture since colonization.

The artist Ana Mendieta created a film documenting a performance called *Untitled (Blood and Feathers #2)*, in 1974. In this performance, Mendieta made references to Cuba's Santeria rituals, ceremonies, and practices. The film shows Mendieta standing naked on a sandy bank. She covers her body with animal blood and, after that, with white feathers. Ultimately, she stands in a bird-like position. Mendieta used blood as material in several artworks.[3] Blood, feathers and the naked body are evocative of the Santeria ritual; as a matter of fact, blood and feathers from animal sacrifices are used in both Santeria and Candomblé practices. Blood is used to purify the body and soul.

Multi-disciplinary artist Magdalena Campos-Pons made references to the African diaspora and African roots in her oeuvre. In her 10-panel Polaroid series *Abridor de Caminos* (*The One Who Opens the Path*), she represented a Santeria ritual. The title is inspired by Elegua, who is the protector of Yoruba deities, and celebrated in Cuba. He is the messenger between humans and deities, one of the most important orishas. In this series, Campos-Pons represented herself as Elegua, and the photography focuses on parts of Campos-Pons' body. Other objects in the photos are associated with symbolism alluding to the orisha Elegua, such as the *garabatos*[4] used in the Santeria ritual. One of the photos shows a section of Campos-Pons' legs marked with red stripes that represent the scarification rite. The colours used

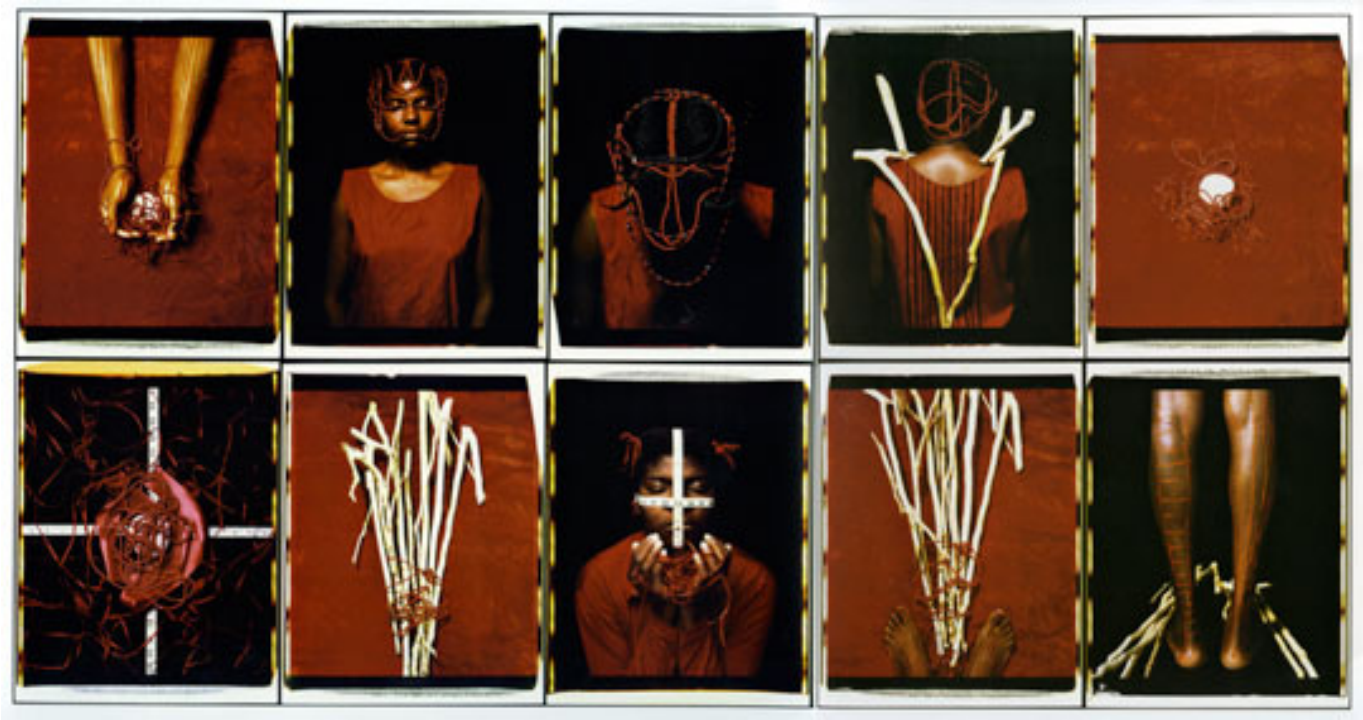

Fig. 2. Maria Magdalena Campos-Pons, *Abridor de Caminos* (The One Who Opens the Path), 1997. Photography. 67.7x41.4 cm.

in the photography – red, black, and white – are associated with the symbolism of Elegua.

The artist Lili Bernard explored the legacy of colonization, race, and gender, and incorporated Santeria symbolism inherited from Yoruba in her oeuvre. Her work, *Carlota Leading the People*, from the series *Antebellum Appropriations*, is a reinterpretation of Delacroix's *La Liberté guidant le peuple* (1830). Black characters were inserted in her painting, with references to Cuban history and slave revolts. Carlota, a black woman, is portrayed in place of Delacroix's allegory of Liberty. Carlota was a Yoruba slave who led a revolt against slavery on the Triunvirato farm, Matanzas, Cuba, in 1843. She is portrayed bare-chested, wearing a yellow dress and carrying a rifle and a machete covered in blood, marching at the head of the battalion standing over corpses of white people. Bernard wanted to show how Black women played an important role in the leadership of slave revolts in the colonial period. Another interesting point in Bernard's work is the reinterpretation of classical artworks through Afro-Cuban people's narratives.

Carlota and Firmina were two women who led the slave rebellion. Firmina is portrayed in a blue dress with a thin white band, and her breasts are showing; blue and white are the colours which represent *Yemanja*, the spirit of water and fertility. Next to Firmina is a black man kneeling at Carlota's feet; he has a halo over his head with the name *Sao Lázaro/Babalu-Aye* written on it. It is a reference to the Cuban Saint Lazarus (San Lázaro) represented in Santeria as orisha Babalu-Aye. In order to practice their religions in secret, Afro-Cubans chose a Catholic saint, namely San Lázaro, who best represents the African god of healing. A boy with guns, dressed in red clothes, with a halo on which *Eleguá* is written, is represented on the right of Carlota. In Santeria, Elegua is perceived as a deceiving or impish boy. On the left of the painting, a young and robust man with a drum in his hand and a hat represents the orisha Oshosi. He is associated with the spirit of the forest. Behind Carlota, we see another woman in red clothing, raising a sword, with a halo on which *Oya Yansa* is written. The orisha Yansa is a warrior who fights the fiercest battles. The colours associated with Yansa are red and black. A Ceiba tree with flowers, which is considered a sacred tree and is used in Santeria rituals, is represented in the background.

Ayrson Heráclito's work shows influences from Afro-Brazilian rituals. His performance *Burburu II* is inspired by *Obaluaê* deities, gods of healing. During the performance, Heráclito throws popcorn over the bodies of the participants: popcorn is a symbolic element in Afro-Brazilian rituals, as it is supposed to purify the body and soul. Accord-

Fig. 3. Ana Mendieta, *Untitled (Blood and Feathers #2)*, 1974. Performance. Film, Super 8 mm, shown as video, projection, colour. Duration: 3min, 30sec. London, Tate.

Fig. 4. Ayrson Heráclito, performance, *Buruburu II*, 2013. Photography on cotton paper, 135x108 cm.

ing to Adriano Pedrosa, "Heráclito's approach is often conceptual. He has an ongoing interest in the orisha – spirits that reflect the manifestation of gods originally coming from the African Yoruba religion – and how their codes are constructed through food and composed in language".[5] His work is very important to understand the relating theme of African ancestry in Brazil.

Understanding the role of Candomblé, Santeria and Yoruba in Latin America is crucial to truly appreciate the African heritage, as well as the driving force behind this region's new ideas in art. In conclusion, this paper intended to show that Black art in Latin America exists, also highlighting the magnitude of the impact of African roots on Latin American art, thus its hybridism.

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Notes

[1] An Afro-Brazilian religion originating in West Africa which combines Catholic practices with Yoruba traditions.

[2] Santeria is a religion combining Yoruba beliefs with aspects of Catholicism.

[3] See *Untitled* (Chicken Piece), 1972; *Untitled* (Rape Scene), 1973.

[4] Hooked walking sticks.

[5] A. Pedrosa, *Ayrson Heráclito*, 21 May 2015. https://artreview.com/2015-futuregreat-ayrson-heraclito. Accessed 12/10/2020.

18th-Century Foreign Artists in Courts

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In recent decades, the role of visual discourse as a tool for political leaders has changed from one that is merely illustrative to one that is a key element in strategies of soft power. Although this can be analyzed on a case-by-case basis, it is more significant to examine the dynamics occurring simultaneously in various imperial courts worldwide. Along this line, recent historical approaches to 18th-century politics insist upon the general importance of the interest in the foreign as a feature of modernity. Courts addressed this theme from different vantage points: from the exoticism of French *chinoiserie* to foreign artists being encouraged to take residence in courts. This paper aims to identify different patrons of foreign art production in 18th-century courts, focusing on the second perspective. From the presence of Nepalese or European artists working for the Chinese emperor Qianlong, to the French painters in Ottoman Istanbul, they were all behind the hybridization process of the visual discourse promoted by empires to highlight a pluralistic concept of cosmopolitanism. Meanwhile, European courts put forward an entirely different approach; while Italian artists and architects were easy to find in any court, e.g., Luca Giordano or Francesco Sabatini in Madrid or Giacomo Antonio Quarenghi in Saint Petersburg, American or Asian examples were not – with the exception of the case of Ta-Che-Qua in London during the second half of 18th century. A similar phenomenon can also be found in those courts with wide-ranging colonial relationships, including the European courts installed in viceroyalties in the Americas and Asia. On the one hand, the presence of foreign artists in those courts during that time was largely inconsequential, except for their crucial role as engineers in New Spain, New Grenada, or Peru. On the other hand, local artists, those who rarely reached beyond metropolitan circles, e.g., Juan Patricio Morlete in New Spain or Francisco Javier Matís in New Grenada, were common. All these wide-ranging examples will be compared from a specific perspective: how their presence changed the visual discourse of courts, inspiring a modernistic and pluralistic approach. This will allow us to overcome nationalistic historiographical discourses, and especially the Eurocentrism common in analytical frameworks. The crucial aspect is not how European decorative patterns or models reached the rest of the world, as has been often addressed, but rather how disconnected courts chose similar approaches to foreign cultures at the same time. Although this as-of-yet precarious framework requires further examination in forthcoming studies, it will contribute to a common perspective in writing about global art history.

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Ambiguous Gestures: Iconography of the Archers Between Europe and the New World

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Archers shooting at a Herm (c. 1530), omitted by Giorgio Vasari and Ascanio Condivi in their biographies of Michelangelo Buonarroti (1550, reedited in 1568, and 1553 respectively), is one of the most enigmatic graphic works attributed to the Florentine master (fig. 1). Its date of conception, intended destination, realization of the unfinished drawing, former owners, and origin of the inscriptions on the reverse of the folio remain unclear, as well as its iconography, which has never been fully deciphered. Although the literary source for this drawing is the object of a debate that is still open, several specialists state – taking into consideration a theme largely explored by Michelangelo in other probable contemporary drawings, such as *Children's Bacchanal*, *Three Labours of Hercules*, or *Rape of Ganymede* – that this is an allegorical composition that distinguishes two forms of love, carnal and spiritual, both related to the transformative power of feelings. Indeed, the contrast between the agility with which the archers move – associated to the two *putti* that blow on the fire flames in the same direction as the arrows – and the stillness of the sleeping Cupid seems to emphasize the pathetic (thus bipolar) dimension of love.

Despite the uncertainties surrounding this drawing, we know that the *Archers* had great impact throughout Europe, specially thanks to a print probably made by the French engraver Nicolas Béatrizet (c. 1540-1560), active in Rome, who completed Michelangelo's drawing with a key element: he added the bows and arrows that were absent in the original work (fig. 2). This integration seems to underline, in the print, the intensity of the naked body in motion, conciliating the violent and erotic dimensions of the image. Wilde, for instance, suggested that the message of the drawing could be summarized in a moral lesson, according to which "blind and passionate desire will not reach the true target" (1978: 152). From the vocabulary employed by Wilde, is it possible to imagine that, in the second half of the 16th century, Michelangelo's drawing became a paradigm of the "cynegetic formula" (Burucúa, Kwiatkowski 2014)? In any case, it is not surprising that this engraving has provided a range of plastic solutions to represent affective intensity, as has happened already with Michelangelo's works since the discovery of the *cartone* for the *Battle of Cascina*, from which Béatrizet also made several prints. The fresco representing archers at-

Fig. 1. Michelangelo, *Archers shooting at a Herm*, c. 1530. Red chalk, 21.9x32.3 cm. Windsor, Royal Collection.

Fig. 2. Nicolas Béatrizet (attr.), *The Archers* (after Michelangelo), c. 1550. Engraving, 24.2x35.4 cm. London, The British Museum.

Fig. 3. André Thevet, *Les Singularités de la France Antarctique*, 1557, Paris, BnF – f. 321, Les Amazones et ses victimes.

tributed to Girolamo Siciolante (made between 1556 and 1560, removed from its original location and today displayed at Galleria Borghese), as well as the personal *impresa* of Alessandro Farnese (published in *Le imprese illustri* (1566) by Girolamo Ruscelli), exemplify the different interpretations of Michelangelo's drawing. Likewise, the famous *Mercurio volante* (1580), by Giambologna, for example, can be considered a reinterpretation of the archer in the foreground. It is worth recalling that the ancient deity is directly associated with movement and speed.

The motif of the group of archers moving is also present in several illustrations of the Native Peoples of the New World, symbolizing their warlike and 'savage' nature, since some editions of Amerigo Vespucci's pamphlet (*Mundus Novus*, 1503). The theme reappears in several prints from *Les Singularités de la France Antarctique* (1557) by French cosmographer André Thevet. One of these prints, which represents how the 'Amazons' treated their enemies, had a significant impact, and was once again reproduced in *La Cosmographie Universelle* (1575), by the same author (fig. 3). In this engraving, we may observe that the main motif of the archers is resumed, as well as the character blowing on the fire. The theme of the violence and cruelty of Native Americans is largely explored by the literature and by French cartography at the time of their ephemeral colonial enterprise on the Brazilian coast. It reappears, among other documents, in the important *Cosmographie Universelle* (1556), by Guillaume Le Testu, where it is possible to see rival groups facing each other, with a tree as a central axis. Considering that the images of the New World were freely translated according to European figurative models, to what extent could we admit that Béatrizet's engravings had provided the plastic solutions for the engraving representing the Amazons in Thevet's work? How and to which extent the dissemination of images of Native American people has transformed artistic problems such as movement and the mythological nude? What are the semantic implications of the transformation of the pathos of love into pathos of violence? Is this an example of the 'inversion' of the meanings of the form?

In Medieval iconography, the act of shooting arrows has an ambiguous connotation. In the *Roman de la Rose* (13th century), for example, Venus shooting an arrow at Pudor's statue is central to Pygmalion's erotic narrative. On the other hand, the 'antipestilential' function of the cult of

Fig. 4. Michelangelo, *Last Judgement - St. Sebastian*, detail, 1537-1541. Fresco. Vatican, Cappella Sistina.

St. Sebastian, especially after the terrible plague epidemic in 1348, reinforces the analogy between arrow and disease, to which Homer's *Iliad* (scroll 10) and Psalm 37(38) provide a solid iconographic source. Maybe it is not by chance that in the *Last Judgement*, painted by Michelangelo, the figure of St. Sebastian evokes the gesture of shooting an arrow, though without a bow (fig. 4), as in *The Archers* (Hirst 1989: 111). In both cases, the arrow is a pathetic element strongly associated with the transformation of the appearance of the body. In this research, we can observe that the relationship between the erotic (the archers) and the necrotic (the indigenous cruelty) seems to be built on the theme of speed and movement (of both the body and arrows) as a catalyst for the transformation of emotions.

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Giovio's and Vasari's Who's Who: Pinturicchio's Mural Paintings as Models for Paolo Giovio's Portraits

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In this paper, I discuss how the portraits collected by the 16th-century humanist Paolo Giovio and some paintings in the so-called *Giovio Series*, now displayed in the Uffizi Gallery, were both created based on frescoes by the late 15th-century painter Pinturicchio.

Portrait Collection of Paolo Giovio and the Giovio Series

Paolo Giovio (1483-1552) is famous for having collected more than 400 portraits of *uomini illustri*. Giovio displayed the portraits in a building called the *Museo*, located on the shoreline of Lake Como. The paintings in this collection were made by copying the portraits of *uomini illustri* from frescoes and tombstones, among other artifacts. Giovio's collection attracted the interest of rulers of other states, and Cosimo I de' Medici had copies made of the portraits. In 1552, Cosimo I sent the painter Cristofano dell'Altissimo to Como to copy these portraits, and he collected about 280 of Cristofano's copies, the core of the Uffizi's portrait collection known as the Giovio Series.

Giovio attached elogies to the portraits displayed in the Museo, and in 1546 and 1551, he published two volumes of the *Elogia* containing these elogies. The 1551 volume was republished in 1575, accompanied by woodcut prints made based on Giovio's portraits.

Giovio's *Elogia* and Vasari's *Le vite*

In the second quarter of the 16th century, Giovio was part of the Roman intellectual circle of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, along with Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574). Vasari's *Le vite* shows that the two men intellectually stimulated each other. In his autobiography, Vasari wrote that he decided to write *Le vite* in response to being suggested to write a collection of biographies of artists similar to Giovio's *Elogia*. Furthermore, the 1568 edition of *Le vite* includes a list of works in Cosimo I's portrait collection; thus, it is certain that Giovio's *Elogia* and Vasari's *Le vite* originated from a shared idea, that is, listing great historical figures, and that the portraits selected by Giovio to supplement the accounts of these subjects reflected their shared interests.

In addition, it is reasonable to presume that they attempted to find and identify – often incorrectly – the *uomini illustri* depicted in the portraits


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ELOGIORVM

LIBER IIII.

Carolus VIII Galliæ rex.

RIS hoc gestu & armorum cultu Carolum Galliæ Regem eius nominis Octauum, Alexander Pontifex in mole Hadriani pingi iussit, quum Rex ipse pictori se exprimendum accurate præbuisset. Is Ludouico vndecimo patri succedens, deficientes ab se Britones armis subegit, capto in acie Ludouico Aurelianc atque in carcerem conjecto, quem certa iura Regni sanguinis ipsi successorem destinabant. Ab hac victoria Rex iuuenis, quanquam nec ingenio stabili, nec satis firmis pu fili corporis viribus polleret, pacati tamen atque opulenti Regni fui-

Fig. 1. Charles VIII in Giovio's *Elogia*, published in 1575.

in the Vatican buildings, as confirmed in the biography of Fra Angelico in Vasari's *Le vite*. While describing the Chapel of the Sacrament in the Vatican Palace, Vasari wrote that *uomini illustri* were portrayed there in frescoes, though the chapel was later destroyed. Thus, if Giovio had not copied these portraits for his Museo, they would have been lost. This passage provides evidence on the fact that they appreciated the frescoes in the Vatican buildings and engaged in the intellectual pursuit of identifying the people who were portrayed in them.

Two Fresco Paintings by Pinturicchio

Next, I am going to show that two frescoes painted by Bernardino Pinturicchio (c. 1456-1513) became the models for Giovio's portrait collection, as a result of Giovio and Vasari's intellectual pastime. Alexander VI, born Borgia, had ordered Pinturicchio to execute two mural paintings for Vatican buildings. From 1492, Pinturicchio painted a series of frescoes in the Borgia Apartment of the Vatican Palace and, in the mid-1490s, he completed another in Castel Sant'Angelo.

Fig. 2. Cristofano dell'Altissimo, *Charles VIII*. Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Giovio Series.

The fresco in the Borgia Apartment is a well-known work by Pinturicchio, but the one in Castel Sant'Angelo has not survived. Alexander VI had the the castle rebuilt in 1492, and a new tower and a loggia were included in the project. These buildings were demolished in the early 17th century; unfortunately, the fresco that Pinturicchio painted in the loggia was also destroyed. However, a document states that it included portraits of famous persons of that period. In that document, Lorenz Behaim (1457-1521) copied the inscriptions added to six scenes in that fresco. The mural paintings portrayed historical events that had occurred in Rome in the mid-1490s. In 1494, king Charles VIII of France invaded Italy and entered Rome. The pope and the French monarch met several times at the Vatican, and six scenes from these meetings were selected as themes of the fresco. After the two met, the French king displayed an amicable attitude towards the pope. At the end of January 1495, he withdrew from Rome on condition that he succeed to the throne of the Kingdom of Naples, and that the Roman Curia hand over Gem, prince of the Ottoman empire (also referred to as Djem, Cem, or Zizim). Pinturicchio immediately depicted the scenes in which the crisis threatening Rome was resolved.

According to the inscriptions recorded by Behaim, in addition to the pope and Charles VIII, the frescos portrayed other figures, including the two new French cardinals, Prince Gem, and Cesare Borgia. In the biography of Pinturicchio, Vasari mentioned that the painter portrayed some prominent persons of the time: he described people who were involved in the French invasion, although they were not mentioned in the inscription, such as Niccolò Orsini, Giangiacomo Trivulzio, and the younger siblings of Cesare Borgia. What is very interesting for us is that there is a significant difference between the inscription on the fresco and the writings of Vasari, and consequently in the way the portrayed persons were chosen. For example, Prince Gem and the new cardinals, Philippe de Luxembourg and Guillaume Briçonnet, were included in the inscription. Consequently, they should have been cited in Vasari's work, but they were not, while other *uomini illustri* were included. Therefore, it can be presumed that Vasari selected the portrayed persons not according to the inscriptions, but rather to his own interests.

It is particularly interesting that the *uomini illustri* listed by Vasari were individuals included

Fig. 3. Cristofano dell'Altissimo, *Prince Gem*. Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Giovio Series.

Fig. 4. Figure painted by Pinturicchio in the Borgia Apartment.

in Giovio's portrait collection, and it is possible that Giovio and Vasari shared the same information on the identity of the individuals depicted in the frescos. Giovio's *Elogia*, published in 1575, included a xylograph of a portrait of Charles VIII, and the text clearly states that the portrait was drawn based on the fresco in Castel Sant'Angelo (fig. 1). This demonstrates that some of the portraits in the *Museo* were copied from the Pinturicchio's frescos. Similarly, the portrait of Charles VIII in the Giovio Series undoubtedly stemmed from the same works (fig. 2). For this reason, it can be pointed out that some portraits in the Giovio Series (e.g., Pope Alexander VI, Niccolò Orsini, and Giangiacomo Trivulzio), also mentioned in Vasari's *Le vite*, could have originated from the Pinturicchio's frescos. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that the portrait of Prince Gem in the Giovio Series derives from a portrait of a Turkish man found in another fresco of Pinturicchio: the *Disputation of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, located in the Borgia Apartments (figs. 3-4).

In summary, the fact that, despite the inscription of the frescoes, Vasari assumed that these people were portrayed in the fresco, reflected the intellectual task shared by him and Giovio: namely, gathering information about the *uomini illustri*.

The Anti-Urbanism Discourse in the Paintings of George Ault and Other Precisionists

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Abstract

Concentrating on the case study of George Ault (1891-1948), the paper traces the extent to which some of the cityscape representations of American Precisionist[1] painters have contributed to the production and articulation of the anti-urbanism discourse in American culture.

Artists like George Ault, Georgia O'Keeffe, Arnold Wiltz, Francis Criss, Louis O'Guglielmi, and John Atherton displayed views of anti-modernization by establishing their narratives along two strategies that were regulated by two trajectories: firstly, in rendering an eclectic technique by combining surrealism, realism, and abstract art idioms, these artists were able to create a fantastic or semi-fantastic world, thus distancing themselves from reality; secondly, they managed to fabricate a discursive narrative by presenting the antagonistic relations between past and present, country and city, personal fantasy and collective experience that were deeply embedded in their engagement with the social and political concerns of the time. Besides, biographical accounts were presented to explore the intertextual influences behind their anti-urban sentiments, and how all this pathos – that was immersed in the ubiquitous zeitgeist – was able to translate into a highly comprehensive, yet exclusive, pictorial form of expression for which Ault and other painters are renowned. Additionally, these artists' examples were informed by – and, in turn, helped locate precisely – some major European modern art movements yet to be deeply analyzed, including the transatlantic migration of Symbolism, Surrealism, Neo-Romanticism, Abstract art, Cubism and the renewed interest in Realism from the 1920s to the 1950s. By considering these artists' engagement with cityscapes as linked to their implication in anti-modernism, this essay identifies an overlooked strand of artistic expression that drew upon modern life experiences, personal fantasies, anxieties towards modern cities to negotiate the competing imperatives of innovation and accessibility from the 1920s to the 1950s.

Fig. 1. George Ault, *Hoboken Factory*, 1932. Oil on canvas, 50.8x55.9 cm. Washington, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden.

Fig. 2. George Ault, *January, Full Moon*, 1941. Oil on canvas, 61x80 cm. Kansas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.

Fig. 3. George Ault, *Construction-Night*, c. 1923. Oil on canvas, 74.6x54.6 cm. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery.

Fig. 4. George Ault, *New Moon, New York*, 1945. Oil on canvas, 71.1x50.8 cm. New York, Museum of Modern Art.

Results

Throughout the 1920s until the 1940s, the United States saw a dramatic transformation in its cultural and ethical dimensions that was triggered by the development of modernization and industrialization. Cityscapes have been, without a doubt, the most spectacular and breathtaking vistas to be-discovered by artists who, at that time, were profoundly drawn to the ever-changing modern landscape. In rendering the images of skyscrapers and factories in their artworks, Precisionists employed the most contemporary emblems. However, the inner logic of this art movement remains contradictory and intricate, due to its various attitudes toward modernization and urbanization – that is to say, artists depicted their own cityscapes out of entirely different motivations. I will argue that an anti-urbanization tendency run through the whole of Precisionists' artworks.

The abstruse tradition of anti-urbanism – an overt legacy of distrust, suspicion, and prejudice towards urbanization – has been an ever-lasting sentiment exhibited by American philosophers and thinkers. The pursuit of nature and mystery beyond the ordinary experience that comes from Transcendentalism has been consequently achieved and strengthened through frequent references to the joys of nature and the moral superiority of rural life. Artists like George Ault, Stefan Hirsch, Francis Criss, and Georgia O'Keeffe materialized their ambiguous and ambivalent thoughts concerning the modern city in their artwork. Their propensity towards anti-modernization and anti-urbanization was conveyed through a specific juxtaposition of artificial light and moonlight, the extreme exploration of architectural forms, and a deserted city space that appears in surrealistic undertones, with a sense of suspension dominating the scene. In artworks like *Hoboken Factory* (1932), and *Night: Construction* (1923), George Ault immersed himself into a metaphysical world built with oversimplified, yet powerful forms mainly consisting of squares and rectangles painted in chiaroscuro. In *January: Full Moon* (1941), on the other hand, the image of a mysterious barn set against a dark, blue-toned sky symbolized an obscure yearning for the pre-mod-

Fig. 5. Georgia O'Keeffe, *New York Street with Moon*, 1925. Oil on canvas, 122x77 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza.

ern era and the act of resistance against a rapidly expanding industrial age. Also, both in Ault's *New York: New Moon* and O'Keeffe's *New York Street with Moon*, the two artists showcased the inner tension between the industrial product, that was symbolized by artificial light, and the natural view, symbolized by the moon. By displaying moonlight coming from a remote distance, behind the artificial lights, the artists suggested a well-acknowledged portent in a promising, modernized world: that the development of modernization will eventually weaken the representation of nature and exert its overwhelming influence upon it.

Consequently, a shared, regional tendency toward romanticism, sentimentalism, and nostalgia arose among artists who had been active in Precisionism. Its distinctive mixture of eclectic realism and abstract art has facilitated and initiated the development of a unique dimension of an Americanized style in modern art.

Conclusions

1. A self-contradictory trend exists within the Precisionist art movement, especially for the anti-modernization and anti-urbanization sentiments shared among its artists.
2. In rendering multiple artistic styles, including Surrealism, Cubism, Expressionism, and Realism (whether they be descriptive or visual), these artists managed to establish an Americanized style in the context of early modern art before the era of Abstract Expressionism.
3. The paradoxical relations between urban and rural, modern and pre-modern, content and form were exhaustively examined throughout all stages of Precisionism.

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Note

[1] Precisionism was the first indigenous modern art movement in the United States, and an early American contribution to the rise of Modernism. The Precisionist style, which had first emerged after World War I and was at the height of its popularity during the 1920s and early 1930s, celebrated the new American landscape of skyscrapers, bridges, and factories in a form that has also been called "Cubist-Realism".

A French Royal Reliquary With the Image of the *Arma Christi*, the so-called *Libretto*

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Abstract

A polyptych reliquary containing a series of relics of the Passion of Christ, the so-called *Libretto*, bears an image of the *arma Christi* and seems to have been used for private devotional purposes. On its central panel, the relationship between the images and the relics shows a different character compared to other reliquaries from the same period. The typical 'alliance' that it reflects is based on its high-profile political background and its owners' privileged position. It also seems to have had a function in the context of the courtly milieu.

The series of relics of the Passion of Christ, which have been part of the collection of the French royal family and venerated in the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris, is generally considered to have been scattered and partly lost during the French revolution. However, not many know that a reliquary containing this collection in almost perfect state still exists. This reliquary, the so-called *Libretto*,[1] was made in Paris in the late 14th century on commission of the French king Charles V to be presented to his brother, Louis I of Anjou. Several years after the death of its possessor in Italy, the *Libretto* was found in the inventory of the Medici family[2] and is currently located in the Museo del Duomo, Florence.

The *Libretto* consists of a small, foldable gold polyptych with six panels set with gems and decorated with enamel. The tiny dimensions explain its high mobility. On the central panel, various shapes of the instruments of the Passion were cut out so that viewers could see the relics on the inside.

Before the French king Louis IX brought the relics to Paris, they were formerly enshrined in the Pharos chapel, the court chapel of the Bucoleon Palace in Constantinople, which was built to represent the prestige and authority of the Byzantine emperors. After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, during the Fourth Crusade, these relics passed into the hands of the emperor of the Latin Empire. However, under the rule of Emperor Balduin II, the Latin Empire was struck by severe financial difficulties which led the emperor to borrow money from the Republic of Venice, using the relics as collateral. The relics were given to the French king Louis IX, who paid off the debt and transferred them to Paris from 1239 to 1242.

To house the relics, Louis IX built the Sainte-Chapelle near his residence on Île de la Cité, Paris. The French royal family placed high importance on these relics to strengthen their authority, following the example of the Byzantine emperors. Later, architectural copies of the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris were built in many places and were allowed to be called Sainte-Chapelle if they fulfilled specific requirements, e.g., they housed the same Passion relics.

The *Libretto* contains a relic of the True Cross in the center. Initially, reliquaries for the relic of the

Fig. 1. *Libretto*, late 14th century. Florence, Museo dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, detail, central panel.

Fig. 2. *Libretto*, 24.4x14.0x1.5 cm. Pure gold, crystal, Balas ruby, pearl, mica.

True Cross were mostly made in Byzantium and were called *Staurotеke*. For staurotekes made in Byzantium, the relics – except for the True Cross – were always covered to hide them from the believer's gaze. In contrast, in Western European panel-type reliquaries, the relics surrounding the True Cross are visible, and each one can be identified through the help of inscriptions. However, the central panel of the *Libretto* show the relics contained inside in a completely different way.

On the central panel of the *Libretto*, there are several crystal windows in various shapes that show the relics on the inside. The shapes of the openings are almost identical to the images called the *arma Christi*.[3] Before the *Libretto*, the images of the *arma Christi* were mostly widespread as visual symbols or talismans, mainly in book illuminations or panel paintings, independently from the devotion for the relics of the Passion. Using a term employed by Belting, in this reliquary, the image of the *arma Christi* forms a reciprocal "*alliance*"[4] with the relics of the Passion. On the *Libretto*, each image of the *arma Christi* forms the outline of a window through which a relic is visible: by looking into these images or windows, the viewer can see the *real objects*, namely, the relics.

In the *Libretto*, the image of the *arma Christi*, which was basically a means of evoking the Passion of Christ in various ways in private devotion, is reunited with the relics of the Passion. These relics are archetypes of the images of the *arma Christi*: through this integration, the images were believed to possess the power to produce miracles. On the contrary, the relics of the Passion, which lost their original imagery due to being handed down over several centuries, gained

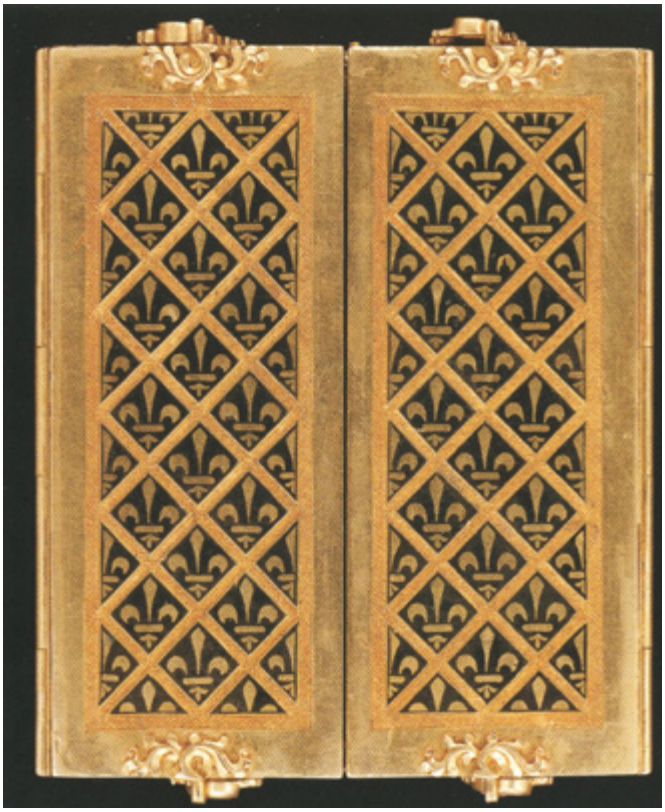

Fig. 3. *Libretto*, 6.0x7.5x2.0 cm. Pure gold, crystal, Balas ruby, pearl, mica (closed).

Fig. 4. *Libretto*, 24.4x14.0x1.5 cm. Pure gold, crystal, Balas ruby, pearl, mica (rear side).

a means of conveying their original aspect as relics not by means of an inscription, but rather through outlined images reproducing their original appearance.

Concerning the devotion for relics, people believed that being in the presence of a relic meant being in the presence of the Holy or *Virtus*. As opposed to other *arma Christi* images in manuscript illuminations or panel paintings, each image of the *arma Christi* on the *Libretto* enclosed the corresponding relic, thus ensuring the real presence of

the Holy or the presence of the *Virtus* in the image of the *arma Christi*.

The *Libretto* is a reliquary that no one was allowed to possess, except for members of the French royal family. For Louis I of Anjou, it had various functions:

1. It was a prayer book-like reliquary for practicing private devotion;
2. It was proof that he had a great authority, stemming from the French royal house;
3. It created the same sacred space as the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris;
4. It guaranteed his safety and salvation by the power of God;
5. It was a means of showing the holder's conspicuous consumption, due to its high material value and the uniqueness and holiness of its relics.

These various composite functions made the *Libretto* an uncommon work and a very original reliquary in art history.

Notes

[1] C. Innocenti, ed., *Ori, Argenti, Gemme: Restauri dell'opificio delle pietre dure* (Firenze: Mandragora, 2007), pp. 116-123 (with bibliography).

[2] M. Spallanzani, ed., *Inventari medicei 1417-1465: Giovanni di Bicci, Cosimo e Lorenzo di Giovanni, Piero di Cosimo* (Firenze: Associazione 'Amici del Bargello': Studio per edizioni scelte, 1996), p. 146.

[3] B. Fricke, "Reliquien und Reproduktion: Zur Präsentation der Passionsreliquien aus der Sainte-Chapelle (Paris) im Reliquiario del Libretto (Florenz) von 1501", in *Reproduktion: Techniken und Ideen von der Antike bis heute. Eine Einführung*, ed. J. Probst (Bonn: Reimer, 2011), pp. 37ff.

[4] H. Belting, *Image et culte: une histoire de l'image avant l'époque de l'art* (Paris: Cerf, 1998), pp. 404-407.

Between Art and Fashion: 16th-Century Costume Books Today

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Overshadowed by the prominent people in his family for decades, in his work about world clothing and customs (*De gli habiti antichi, et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*, Venice, 1590) Cesare Vecellio revealed why he had created such an artifact: to please those interested in visual arts. Therefore, the images that represent the population of his hometown or people from the least known regions in the globe were probably useful to artists at the time. The world was shown as a system of visual classification of its 'citizens', and the book was able to delight and teach the public about how to identify people's personal characteristics and human character through the contours of regional clothing. Vecellio's biography was reevaluated by critics at the beginning of the 21st century. However, his engravings – as well as those that make up the universe of costume books[1] – remain on the sidelines of contemporary studies, especially in Brazil.

In addition to the discussion about the circulation and iconographic reception of 16th-century costume books, my recent research has pursued an unprecedented analysis on how the public can access this material today.[2] What has changed in the process? How have scholars manipulated images and framed the work of these artists in broad narratives? It is astounding to notice that, even though the content of the book had not been created for 15th-century citizens to copy costumes and styles shown there, throughout the years it started to be timidly claimed by the History of Costumes, and no longer by the History of Art. The aim of this brief presentation is to share my

Fig. 1. Cesare Vecellio, *Altre donne di Venetia, mentre si fanno biondi i capelli*, in *De gli habiti*... (Venice, 1590) / Cesare Vecellio, *Autres femmes de Venise pendant qu'elles rendent leurs cheveux blonds*, in *Costumes anciens*... (Paris, 1859-60) / Auguste Racinet, *Dame vénitienne teignant sa chevelure en blond* (n. 13), in *Le costume historique*... (Paris, 1888).

research, highlighting the main findings about this methodological shift.

Systematic knowledge about the History of Costumes emerged in the last decades of the 19th century. There is a strong presence of 16th-century iconography[3] of costume books in the work *Die Trachten der Völker in Bild und Schnitt* (1871) by German Carl Köhler. In 1926-8, Emma Von Sichart rescued this work from falling into oblivion and launched a reprint (*A History of Costume*), reducing its historical context and eliminating many of the images. In the only example left of Köhler's images (called *German Women's Dress, Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*), we notice that Köhler chose to recreate the picture by Hans Weigel and Jost Amman, simplifying many details of the clothing.

In France, Albert Racinet's *Le Costume Historique* (1888) was one of the first publications to offer a broad temporal and geographical perspective, creating an inventory of different styles and cultures. Like Köhler, Racinet reworked the characters of the costume books by changing some elements and arranging new compositions for the figures of the 16th century. For instance, he created his own version of the illustration (fig. 1) comparing two editions of Vecellio's work and using an innovative technique known as chromolithography. Although the Italian author represented many regions of the world, Racinet relied only on the content representing Vecellio's context, namely, Venice. In addition, the use of colors that do not exist in the originals confirms that, when dealing with these narratives, readers should be cautious.

Nicolas de Nicolay's travel account of an expedition to the East is mentioned by Racinet in order to represent Turkish customs from the 16th to the 18th centuries, whose figures have been transformed into archetypes of the Islamic world over the decades. Except for Nicolay's characters, which are to be found at the border between Europe and Asia, the reader does not find any 'extra-European' content of the costume books in these textbooks. The Brazilian public had access to the writings of Köhler more than 100 years after its publication and was able to approach Racinet thanks to an edition by Melissa Leventon (*História ilustrada do vestuário*, 2009), even though the material is not shown in its entirety, nor in its original form (fig. 2).

After this incorporation of the present in works of the past, some landmark books appeared to fill

Fig. 2. Nicolas de Nicolay, *Gentille femme Turque estant dans leur maison, ou Sarail*, in *Les quatre premiers*... (Lyon, 1567) / Nicolas de Nicolay, *Mulher dentro de casa*, in M. Leventon, *História ilustrada*... (São Paulo, 2009).

the gaps of their predecessors: they were written by François Boucher (*Histoire du costume en Occident de l'antiquité à nos jours*, 1965/2010) and James Laver (*A concise history of costume*, 1969, published in 1989 in Brazil). Boucher prioritized original clothing and textiles but recognized the importance of costume books as 'a new source of documentation for the Renaissance wardrobe'. However, he did not include visual examples, apart from the paradigmatic Nicolay – no longer recreated as in Racinet/Köhler but reproduced from a copy of the French collection.

The few illustrations in Laver's book are enough to demonstrate an important turning point in this sort of literature on the History of Costume, namely, an attempt to recreate a less elitist environment by recovering information about an 'extra-nobility' content. For example, Jost Amman is recognized for having revealed the daily life of the 16th-century middle classes. In the following decades, several authors began to question the so-called 'reference works', exploring new critical approaches beyond the descriptive and evolutionary writings of the past, e.g., R. Barthes, G. Lipovetsky, G. Riello, D. Calanca, etc. Two different trends can be recognized in the publishing world: the first includes studies with an accentuated theoretical depth, but with minimal iconographic contributions, whereas the other consists of large, illustrated manuals almost completely decontextualized.

Fig. 3. *Museu da Moda de Canela* (MUM-Brazil) a display of garments inspired by the 'Renaissance 1431-1710'. (Photo by L. Carvalho, 2017).

History of Fashion = History of Costume?

Despite the methodological shift in the authors of the current publications, as compared to those of the late 19th century, Brazil deals with a discrepancy between internationally published works and those available in the Brazilian publishing market. An example of the interest in deepening the historical studies in the Brazilian territory was the creation, in 2012, of the *Museu da Moda* (MUM) in southern Brazil, a museum that intends to reconstruct 4,000 years of the history of women's clothing in the West. Nevertheless, the same obsolete approach of the 'reference works' (Köhler, Racinet, etc.) is visually transplanted in this museum of replicas (Eurocentric, evolutionary, etc.). Even though categories can make the experience more didactic for the public, some other factors – such as the location, exorbitant ticketing prices, and poor marketing strategies – are still a problem to overcome in order to attract more visitors (fig. 3).

However, the lack of critical tradition and narratives that may legitimize the articles on the field are challenges faced by the Historiography of Fashion in general. Additionally, the way in which the content of 16th-century costume books has been presented in these manuals over time is emblematic of several problems concerning the broader History of Costume, namely incorrect historical periodization, a focus on the European elite, with peoples from America/Africa depicted as primitive and exotic, a confused notion of the invention and adoption of a form or style, etc.

My Ph.D. research[4] proposed a cross-cultural gaze to analyze this rich graphic production, since costume books are representative of the exchange of values and symbols among communities and built collective identities in the Modern Era. As I mentioned above, the visual alteration of the references was constant in this literature, through changes in models, according to the frequently stereotypical view of each author, the creation of new elements and archetypes, etc. In addition, we have noticed a gradual reduction in the use of these 16th-century engravings, especially in more recent editions of the consecrated authors. Moreover, from a scientific point of view, the most unique aspect of this production, that is, its geographical and social comprehensiveness, has been rejected by successive authors. If, on the one hand, selecting only the content of the creators' native land means valuing the set of information that may be considered more reliable, on the other hand, it means to consciously ignore the different readings regarding the 'Other'.

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Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les Quatre Premiers Livres des navigations et pérégrinations orientales*... (Lyon: Guillaume Rouille, 1567-8).

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Cesare Vecellio, *De gli habiti antichi, et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*... (Venetia: Damian Zenaro, 1590).

Notes

* Ph.D. in Art History at Universidade Estadual de Campinas, in Brazil – supervised by Dr. Luiz Marques, and completed in July 2018. Mrs. Carvalho completed a one-year internship abroad, researching at *Gallerie degli Uffizi* (GDS), under the supervision of Dr. Marzia Faietti. She has participated to many international conferences with publications on her areas of expertise: Art History, History of Costume, Renaissance Art, and Early Printed Books. Full CV information: http://lattes.cnpq.br/1272736632934605 / I would like to thank Dr. Marques, Dr. Faietti, Dr. Giorgio Marini, and the São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP) for their support.

[1] Enea Vico, François Desprez, Ferdinando Bertelli, Nicolas de Nicolay, Hans Weigel, Jost Amman, Abraham de Bruyn, Jean-Jacques Boissard, Bartolomeo Grassi, Pietro Bertelli, and Alexandro de Fabri.

[2] I founded a digital catalog of all the costume books images: http://livrosdevestuario.blogspot.com.

[3] C. Vecellio, A. Bruyn, E. Vico, Weigel and Amman, etc.

[4] L.S. Carvalho, *Mapeando os livros de trajes do século XVI e a literatura de moda no Brasil* (Campinas: Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, 2018).

Projection of Maturity, Inventiveness, and Imagination in Roman Funerary Art: Analysis of the Altar of Iulia Victorina

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Abstract

The funerary altar investigated here was found near San Giovanni in Laterano and was built for Iulia Victorina, a Roman girl who died at 10 years and 5 months at the end of the first century AD. On the opposite sides of the altar, there are two representations of two faces that are physiognomically similar but of different ages, and each of them is crowned with astral symbols: in the younger representation, the girl is crowned with a crescent moon, whereas in the older one, with sun rays. This analysis seeks to reflect on the questions: what are the possible meanings behind the deification that the use of these two stars can symbolize in this funeral monument? What are the probable references used in the iconographic choices of this altar and what meanings can be understood from them?

Fig. 1. First-century AD cameo of Augustus wearing the rayed crown. Köln, Römisch-Germanisches Museum.

Conclusion

The projection of maturity was a device that could have served to comfort the relatives (Rawson 2003: 360; Kleiner 1987: 81) through their loss, and also to reinforce the social standing of their family, indicating that the deceased, in the case of Iulia Victorina, had every chance of growing and developing in an excellent way, had her life not been interrupted by death.

In this monument, the association with the stars may have served as a consolation for the living by pointing to a possible survival among the stars, through the association childhood/maturity and moon/sun that possibly points to a climax. The association with deities, on the other hand, would enable to understand the memory of the dead girl as connotated with the attributes of the gods to which she is associated to (Moraw Kieburg 2014: 309), in order to create a negotiated and more positive memory of her brief existence.

Results

According to Janet Huskinson (1996: 92), if we consider that the image of the young woman is actually a representation of the older Iulia Victorina, this work can be understood as an example of a projection of maturity, similarly to the cases of Sulpicius Maximus and Gaius Petronius Virianus Postumus.

Concerning the celestial symbols that crown the heads of the female figures on the altar, it is interesting to note that the use of astral elements during the Roman Empire was already frequent between the Emperor and his family, and was a way for freedmen, in the funerary context, to em-

Fig. 2. Funerary Altar of Q. Sulpicius Maximus, 94-100 AD. Rome, Musei Capitolini.

ulate the qualities valued by the elite and its culture, by associating them to their dead relatives (La Rocca, Presicce 2011: 431).

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Figs. 3-4. Funerary Altar of Iulia Victorina. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines.

The Re-fabrication of Napoleon in China (1900-1930)

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Introduction

Being one of the most famous modern Western historical figures, introduced systematically to China at the beginning of the 20th century, Napoleon Bonaparte was regarded as a hero of revolution, enlightenment, as well as of national revival. Chinese iconography presents a variety of pictorial forms depicting this figure, and with different political intentions. Being in the process of developing from a centralized feudal monarchy to a modern 'nation-state', China's appropriation of the images depicting Napoleon reflected the change in its political ideology under the influence of modernization and nationalism.

Fig. 1. "Hsing-Ling as Napoleon", 1902. Engraving (left) and photograph (right). Washington, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

Materials & Result

Savior of the Empire

In 1902, a wood engraving was printed in a Western newspaper, accompanied by a short text informing readers that "the Chinese ambassador in Paris gave a fancy dress ball on the occasion of the Chinese New Year, and his son, Charles Hsing-ling, appeared as Napoleon". Later, a photo of this scene was distributed and offered more information (fig. 1). Hsing-ling (勋龄) mimicked every detail of Napoleon's figure, from his clothing to his gestures. Such an event, during a diplomatic occasion, and especially considering that he chose to dress as such a famous French historical figure before French guests, strongly conveyed a political statement which had also spread in China: The Qing Empire would become a powerful country again, if led by a great leader like Napoleon.

The Father in the Chinese Social Structure of 'Family-State'

In 1902, the Chinese newspaper *Xinmin Congbao* (New People Newspaper, 新民丛报) published *Napoléon Ier et son fils, le roi de Rome*, painted by Jean Baptiste Adolphe Lafosse (1810-1879), on the first page, in which Napoleon is holding his son in his arms (fig. 2). The editor-in-chief of the newspaper, the royalist revolutionary Liang Qichao (梁启超), always compared the Qing Emperor Guangxu (光绪, 1871-1908) to Napoleon. This picture was published after his Hundred Days' Reform (1898) failed and Guangxu was imprisoned, so the figure does not show Napoleon's imperial character but rather his dimension of man of private emotions. Thus, it is a metaphor for the Chinese traditional 'Family-state' system: The roots of a state are in the family, and the Emperor dominates the empire just like a father rules the family, passing on his power and spirit. Furthermore, since the illustration depicted the private sphere and life of the nobility, it also attracted the public attention towards this topic.

A Tragic Hero

One kind of depiction of Napoleon became well-known in China after 1908. Contrary to the glorious heroic portraits that Jacques-Louis David officially painted for the Emperor, this kind of representation, enveloped with tragic emotional turmoil, can be traced back to Paul Delaroche's 'vanquished Napoleon'. *Napoleon at Fontainebleau, 31 March 1814,* painted by Paul Delaroche in 1840, depicts

Fig. 2. Illustration of Napoleon, *Xinmin Congbao* (New People Newspaper, 新民丛报), issue 1, 1902, p. 1.

the Emperor sitting in despair after being informed that Paris had capitulated to the invading Coalition armies. Napoleon is described as the defeated general of the French troops, and his expression reveals a complex sense of desolate pathos. A postcard circulated around 1905-1907, based on a drawing by Fritz Rumpf (1888-1949), in which the figure of Napoleon was obviously inspired by Delaroche's. An interesting piece of information is that Rumpf had been to China as a soldier of the German army in 1907/1908 and 1913, he had stayed in the German-occupied part of China in Qingdao; perhaps his journeys helped spread the image of Napoleon in China. Later, a similar illustration was published on the first page of a series of Napoleonic illustrations, in a pictorial magazine called *Tuhua Ribao* (*Illustrated Journal*, 图画日报), in 1909 (fig. 3). This is a typical Chinese format composing words and images together. The content identified Napoleon in a Chinese way: most of the text focuses on his family, while only the final paragraph describes him as a heroic man.

Fig. 3. Comparation of three images. On the left: Paul Delaroche, *Napoleon at Fontainebleau, 31 March 1814*, 1840, 181x137 cm. Paris, Musée de l'Armée. In the middle: A postcard circulating around 1905-1907, created after a drawing by Fritz Rumpf. On the right: Illustration of Napoleon's life story, *Tuhua Ribao* (*Illustration Journal*, 图画日报), no. 24, 1909, p. 3.

At that time, there was a popular trend in China that consisted in comparing Napoleon to a very famous tragic hero in Chinese history, the Hegemon-King of Western Chu (西楚霸王, 232-202 BC), who had rebelled against the Qin Emperor, and then ruled over a vast area of the country for many years, but eventually he too was defeated and forced to commit suicide. Obviously, this comparison helped Chinese audiences understand Napoleon from their background and perspective.

Knocked off the Pedestal

After the Qing Dynasty was overthrown in 1911, the symbolic meaning of Napoleon as Emperor became less and less important during the Republican period. His figure was re-fabricated, including descriptions of his love affairs and scandals, to become a part of consumer culture, losing its mysterious and charismatic aspects. The caricatured figure of Napoleon was also used as an allusion to blame President Yuan Shikai (袁世凯, 1859-1916), who betrayed the Republic and restored the monarchy with himself as new Emperor. Here a list of some examples: *Composite head of Napoleon made out of naked girls* published in *Xiaoshuo Shibao (Fiction Times*小说时报*)*, no. 21, 1914; an illustration showing *Napoleon's turtle* on his island of exile, in *Zhonghua Xiaoshuojie (Fiction Field of China,* 中华小说界*),* 1914; *Yinmou (The Conspiracy*, 阴谋*),* an illustration for *Napoleon*, a new-style opera, *Tuhua Jubao (Illustrated Theater Magazine,* 图画剧报*)*, 30 November 1912.

Conclusion

This piece of research into the re-fabrication of the figure of Napoleon illustrates how 'image vehicles', *Bilderfahrzeuge* (Aby Warburg), began their journey in the Western world and were later adapted and evolved in Asia to become deeply influential in China's social change.

When Napoleon was introduced to the Chinese context, details of his image such as gestures, expressions, clothes, and his environment were interpreted in a new way, thereby gaining new meanings.

The newly created Napoleon had different political functions in different periods. He was depicted as the last hope of the Chinese Empire, but also as a model of national hero struggling to build a new country; later, he was also *consumed* by civil society as an entertaining figure and used to satirize the government.

The re-fabrication was not an isolated process. When Chinese intellectuals and politicians appropriated Napoleon for their political propaganda in their local context, they wished to use what they had learnt from this figure to resist the invasion of Western powers, thus building a 'Chinese national subjectivity'.

Between Object and Text: A Study on Local Reactions to *The Family of Man* in the 1950s and '60s

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Introduction

The Family of Man exhibition (*the FoM*), organised by Edward Steichen (1879-1973), was opened at the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA) in 1955. The exhibition presented 503 photographs taken by 273 artists from 68 countries. It was designed by architect Paul Rudolph (1918-1997), while the captions were selected by Dorothy Norman (1905-1997), and the catalogue was designed by Leo Lionni (1910-1999) and Steichen. I will show how the exhibition *the FoM* has been alive as an artwork since the mid-20th century up to today.

See the chronologies (tab. 1). The studies on *the FoM* exhibition have been developed from the following points of view:

1. *The history of the exhibition.* There are three periods:
   a. The first period (1955-1965), during which the exhibition was on display and its reproductions travelled around the world.
   b. The second period (1965-1994), during which the exhibition got dispersed and was not on display.
   c. The third period (1994-Present). Since its restoration in 1994, it has been presented at Clervaux Castle in Luxembourg as cultural heritage (fig. 1).
2. *The critiques on the exhibition.* (They were first developed during the first and the second periods. Then, they have been developed since the presentation of the exhibition in Luxembourg in 1994).
3. *The history of the catalogue of the exhibition edited as a picture book*.

To these previous studies, I would like to add my own on the local reactions to the tour exhibition in the 1950s and '60s. I focus on them because the reactions published in the local media at that time were not contradictory to the history of the exhibition and the critiques. Local reactions were studied by the United States Information Service (USIS), one of the sponsors of the tour exhibitions, while *the FoM* was presented in the 1950s and '60s. The reputation of the exhibition had been considered a myth for a long time before it was revived in 1994. That is why it is important to study the reactions published during the first period, during which *the FoM* was shown to the public.

Firstly, I will discuss the history of the exhibition and the effect of the publication of the catalogue, which became an enduring record of the exhibition. The tour exhibition and the catalogue contributed to developing people's visions of *the FoM* by reproducing the original exhibition.

On the one hand, some critiques were written by consulting the catalogue and archive materials, without seeing the exhibition itself. On the other hand, since the restoration of the panels in the 1990s, studies on *the FoM* have been developed thanks to the contemporary presentation of the exhibition at the museum in Luxembourg.

Fig. 1. "The Family of Man", Clervaux Castle (Luxembourg). © CNA/Romain Girtgen, 2020.

Tab. 1. Chronologies of the exhibition and catalogue prepared by the author

	History of The Family of Man exhibition from 1955 to 2015		History of the exhibition catalogue
January 1955	Opening of The Family of Man exhibition at MoMA.	1955	Publication of the first edition.
September 1955	Opening of the travelling exhibition in Berlin.		
1955-1965	The travelling exhibition throughout the world.		
1956-1957	The travelling exhibition in Japan.		
1964	Donation of the panels of the exhibition by the US Goverment to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.		
1973	Death of Edward Steichen.		
1974	Partial presentation of the photo panels at Clervaux Castle.		
1989-1991	Project of restoration of the panels.		
1992	Presentation of the exhibition in Toulouse.		
1993-1994	The travelling exhibition in Tokyo and Hiroshima.		
1994	Opening of The Family of Man museum in Clervaux.		
21st century			
2003	Registration of The Family of Man exhibition under the UNESCO's Memory of the World program.		
2010-2013	Second renovation of the Family of Man museum.		
2013	Reopening of The Family of Man museum.	2015	60th anniversary edition.

The History of the Exhibition from 1955 to 1994

The original 1955 photo exhibition at the MoMA in New York consisted not only of works by the artists but also of the curator's editorial work. It was a great collection of works of photography developed in photojournalism. During its world tour from the 1950s to the '60s, the exhibition gained international reputation, but the photo panels were dispersed after the tour. Thanks to the catalogue, however, the exhibition remained alive in the memory of the viewers. The panels of the itinerant exhibition in Europe were given to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg by the US government in 1964.

From 1989 to 1991, the panels were restored. In 1994, *the FoM* museum was opened. Since then, the exhibition itself has kept *the FoM* visible through its material objects. With the photo panels following the 1955 design at MoMA, the museum in Luxembourg displays one of the reproductions of the whole exhibition.

The restoration of the exhibition has created an important transformation in the relationship between the exhibition and the viewer. Now, the exhibition is fixed at a single location and the viewer needs to go there to see it. As opposed to the collective experiences enjoyed by various societies in the 1950s and 60s, today each viewer enjoys their individual experience in the museum.

The Exhibition Catalogue Edited as a Picture Book[1]

The first version was published by the publisher Simon & Schuster in New York (fig. 2). At the same time, Steichen considered publishing the paperback version at low cost. It was edited by Jarry Mason, published by Maco press in 1955, and sold for 1 dollar. A photograph of *Peruvian Boy with Flute* by Eugene Harris (1913-1978), representing a musical element which exists in the exhibition as a whole, was used as the front cover of the catalogue (fig. 3). The catalogue has always been in print, even during the period when the exhibition was not displayed, and it has contributed to making the exhibition known to those who had not seen it. The 60th anniversary edition in 2015 was in hardcover format.

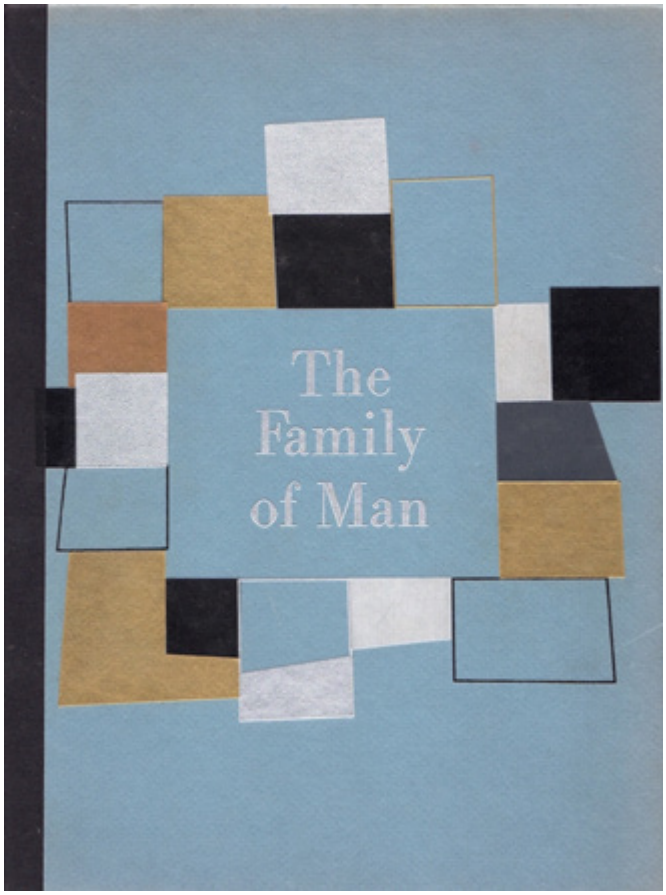

Fig. 2. Hardcover limited edition, Simon & Schuster, 1955.

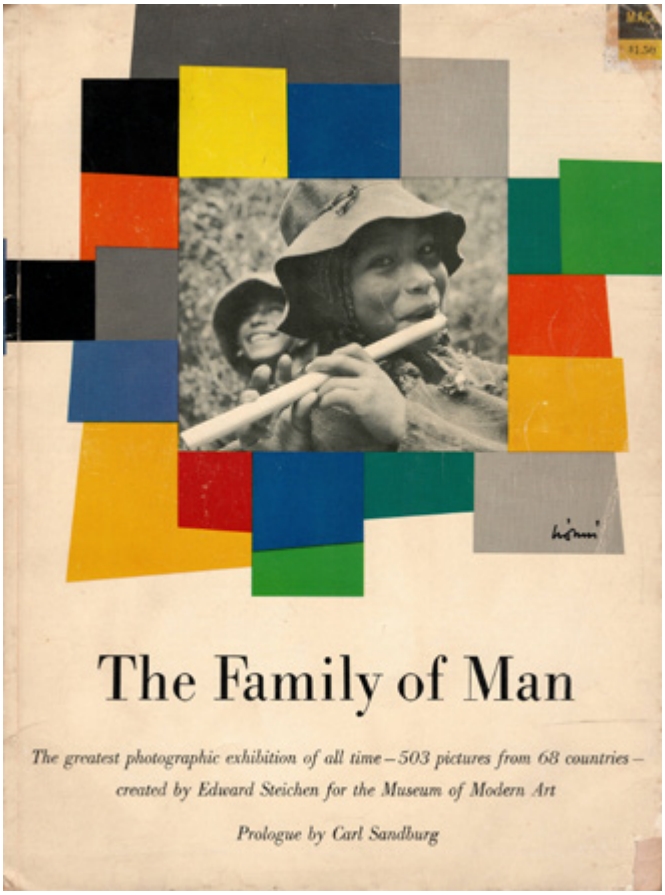

Fig. 3. Published for the MoMA by the Maco Magazine Corporation, Art Director Leo Lionni, Theme photograph of Piper by Eugene Harris, "Popular Photography", 1957.

The History of the Critiques on the Exhibition

Roland Barthes's 1956 essay *La grande famille des hommes* was translated into English in the 1970s. In the 1970s and '80s, some important critiques on *the FoM* were written on the basis of its archived documents,[2] as the actual material of the exhibition was already gone.

Ever since the exhibition was restored, it has become a reference point for the studies on *the FoM*. This static exhibition has also changed the nature of the critiques written on *the FoM*.

The exhibition was reproduced in about 10 different versions by the United States Information Agency (USIA) and presented in about 38 countries. The history of the tour exhibition was studied by E.J. Sandeen while the exhibition was being restored for display in Luxembourg.[3] Recently, the tour exhibitions have been studied with a focus on the local contexts where they were presented.

Conclusion

The catalogue and the critiques have kept *the FoM* alive in the memory of people. Since 1994 and up to today, the permanent exhibition of *the FoM* at the museum in Luxembourg has made it visible. Furthermore, the reviews published in the 1950s and '60s in various countries contributed to the development of critiques on the exhibition in the local contexts where it was presented.

Notes

[1] The detail of the publication was studied by E.J. Sandeen. E.J. Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition. The Family of Man and 1950s America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), pp. 73-74.

[2] C. Phillips, "The Judgment Seat of Photography", in R. Bolton, ed., *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography* (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 1989), pp. 15-46.

[3] E.J. Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition*, cit.

KEYNOTE SPEECH

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Uncollecting India at the V&A: Colonial Artefacts and Their Afterlives

Uncollecting India at the V&A: Colonial Artefacts and Their Afterlives

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This paper tracks the fate of four large-scale architectural objects from the Indian collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. All four objects were collected from India towards the end of the 19th century, and all have one thing in common: visitors are not able to see them in the galleries today, and it is unlikely that they ever will.

In the 19th century, when these very objects arrived in the V&A (or in the South Kensington Museum, as it was then called), they were celebrated. Their arrival was projected as being part of colonialism's 'benign' concern for the preservation of Indian art, which often needed to be protected from Indians themselves. The scale of these objects also indexed the scale of the ambition of colonial engagement with Indian art. Ironically, this scale was to later become a key factor constraining their display. Over time, these artefacts receded from public consciousness, and by the 1950s – shortly after India achieved independence from British rule in 1947 – they had become unwelcome encumbrances for the museum. As a result, as we shall see, each object was taken off view for a different reason, and in a different way.

The V&A's Indian collection – and the changing fortunes of artefacts within it – acts as a barometer for the place of Indian (or any other "Other's") art in the entangled relationships between colonialism and museums. The V&A occupies a special place in this history because its Indian collection is the largest and most significant collection of Indian objects outside India. Heir to the collection made by the East India Company when it ruled swathes of India, it includes many artistically and historically significant artefacts that were gathered by purchase, commission, archaeological exploration and loot. Joined to this core are other parts of the collection that reflect Britain's changing interests in India: its concern with economically productive resources, ethnographically useful information, and latterly, objects of aesthetic value. Clearly, the history of display of this collection would offer many insights into the relationship between museums, collecting, and power. But while most museum histories focus on what is collected by or exhibited in the museum, this paper focusses on four museum objects that are *un*-collected, *not* exhibited, and will, I hope, shine a light on a darker and more hidden history of the museum and its relations with the affinities, aversions and tensions of colonial entanglements. At a time when the continued possession and display of colonial collections is provoking increasingly effective claims for restitution and calls for justice, the stories of these objects give us another route for understanding the universal museums' power which extended from acquiring artefacts to invisibilizing them at will.

*

In December of 1870, a train of sixty bullock carts strained to carry 28 tons of material across the hilly and trackless terrain of Central India. Its cargo had come by ship from London to Mumbai, thence by train to the town of Jabalpur, and at that time was making its slow way over land. In a painting that commemorates the journey (fig. 1), we see the coolies trying to help the bullocks along the rutted path. There is an Indian supervisor in the foreground, better dressed than the coolies, who tries to give direction while a sahib on a horse, wearing a sola topee, calls instructions to him. Who were these people, what were they carrying and where were they going?

The man on the horse was Lieutenant Henry Hardy Cole, a young engineer in the Indian army who had recently been seconded to the Archaeological Survey of India. At first Cole was taking photographs and making drawings of monuments. When we see him in the painting, he had

been asked to make an entirely different kind of reproduction: full-size plaster casts of Indian monuments that could be sent to Britain to give audiences there a sense of the scale, monumentality and complexity of the sculpture and architecture of India.

The first item that Henry Hardy Cole was told to cast was the gateway of the stupa at Sanchi. In the books that were just beginning to be written on the history of Indian art,[1] this second-century Buddhist monument was greatly celebrated. At its heart stood a solid funerary mound, over 50 feet high. Made of mud and brick and faced with stone, this mound was raised over bodily relics of the Buddha and his disciples. The most eye-catching part of the monument, however, was not the mound or stupa, but the four sandstone gateways that guarded the entrance to a narrow circumambulatory path around it. Standing 33 feet tall, these gateways were covered with lively narrative relief sculptures that were probably made in the 2nd century CE and were among the oldest figural representations from India known at the time. Charming in their own right, they were also valued because they offered a wealth of information about mythology, practices, and the material culture of the time.

To make the casts of one gateway, the party had to camp in the jungle for six weeks. Using the delicate gelatin moulding method, the gateway was cast in 112 separate pieces, which were carefully packed and shipped to London. These were not to be displayed but were used as the "parent cast" for further copies, one of which stayed in London while other copies were sent to Paris, Berlin, Edinburgh and Dublin. The copy that stayed in London was put on show at Albert Hall during the International Exhibition of 1871 and was later moved to the South Kensington Museum.

Cole's initial estimates for the project were for over 5,000 pounds, a huge sum to spend on *copies* of monuments when the colonial government was reluctant to spend any money on maintaining Indian monuments themselves. What then motivated the British government to invest in these plaster casts?

Fig. 1. Anonymous artist, *Transporting of materials from Jabalpur to Sanchi*, 1870-1874. Oil on canvas, 122.5x183.5 cm. © London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Accession no. IPN.904.

The making of the Sanchi casts reflected the 19th-century enthusiasm for gypsothecas or galleries of plaster casts. At this time, many European museums strove to be encyclopedic, wishing to amass collections that were "complete". There was a shared understanding of the great masterpieces that every collection should have. And instead of the cult of the original, there was a celebration of the new technologies that could turn out perfect replicas of original things. If photography was a new technology of reproduction that enabled documentation with unprecedented accuracy, new methods of three-dimensional reproduction seemed equally capable of producing impeccable copies of stone, metal and ivory artefacts through casts, electrotypes and fictile ivories.

As with many things in the museum world, the V&A, or rather its precursor, the South Kensington Museum, was the pioneer in championing these technologies of reproduction. Since the museum saw itself as a teaching institution rather than a temple of art, it had no hesitation in spending its money on acquiring a large number of plaster casts of major artworks, rather than focusing all its purchasing power on a small number of original pieces of art.

The impetus for the collecting of casts came from the Museum's first Director, Sir Henry Cole, a very influential figure in the art world of the time. At the International Exhibition of 1867, held in Paris, Cole persuaded the heads of 15 European states to sign an agreement to make and share reproductions of masterpieces and monuments in their territories. Cole believed this would inaugurate a new era of cooperation rather than competition between the major collecting nations. It is in the context of these developments that the plaster casts of the Sanchi gateways were commissioned.[2]

That an institution headed by Sir Henry Cole should arrange for the work to be done by Henry Hardy Cole is perhaps not a coincidence: the young Henry Hardy was the older Sir Henry's own son. But Henry Hardy Cole was no slacker benefiting from his powerful connections; he was earnest, and he worked exceedingly hard. After Sanchi, he volunteered to make casts of other Indian monuments for the South Kensington Museum. So numerous were the casts of Indian monuments that the younger Cole sent to London, that the elder Cole was able to plan an entire gallery that would display masterpieces of architecture from East and West through plaster casts. In 1874 the museum opened two Architecture Courts. The Court for Western architecture was dominated by Trajan's column; the other Court for Eastern architecture had the Sanchi gateway as its towering presence (fig. 2).

A few years after the cast of the Sanchi gateway reached London, the East India Company was dissolved. The Company that had begun in the 17th century as a commercial enterprise, and which had subsequently turned into a political entity that conquered and held power over much of India, had amassed a large collection of objects and artefacts which was housed in its India Museum. When the Company was dissolved, its museum was broken up, and the bulk of its collection was transferred to the V&A. This made the museum's Indian collection so large that it could not be accommodated within the V&A's own campus. The museum rented a building across the street and transferred all the Indian objects there. The East India Company's collection was amalgamat-

Fig. 2. The cast of the Sanchi East Gate in its first permanent installation at Eastern Casts Court in the South Kensington Museum in London in 1872. © Berlin, Museum for Asian Art, Photo no. 602342. (Courtesy of the Museum for Asian Art, Berlin).

ed with the V&A's own Indian and India-related possessions. The Indian plaster casts joined the rest of the Indian galleries across the street. As a result of this move, the exhibits in the V&A's main building became more Eurocentric; but London gained an impressive and extensive museum dedicated to the richness and diversity of Indian artefacts.

While the Sanchi plaster cast was making small journeys within South Kensington, its existence was to have a profound impact upon the original in India. Because there was a cast of the Sanchi gateway that could travel, the originals were able to remain on site. And this ensured that the fate of the Sanchi stupa was to be very different from the other major stupas of the same antiquity that were discovered and celebrated and studied in the colonial period. Today, if we were to visit the sites of Bharhut and Amaravati, other 2nd-century Buddhist stupas with richly carved gateways that were admired by colonial officials and antiquarians in the 19th century, we will find that almost nothing remains of them on the ground. Bharhut's sculptures were deposited in the Imperial Museum in Calcutta; Amaravati's carvings were divided among museums in India and Britain. But the ruins of Sanchi stayed in place and decades later, when archaeological policies evolved and the government began to consider conservation its duty, the presence of Sanchi's stones at Sanchi's site made it possible for the monument to eventually be restored.

Henry Hardy Cole anticipated this, when he declared, "when there exist the means of making facsimiles scarcely distinguishable from the original (it is) [...] a suicidal and indefensible policy to allow the country to be looted of original works of ancient art". To him it was clear that there was no longer any need to deplete an historical site to enrich a museum. But the most influential British archaeologist in India thought otherwise. This was Sir Alexander Cunningham, a pioneering archaeologist and founder of the Archaeological Survey of India, the branch of government that to this day exercises authority over India's monuments. In Cunningham's view, the technologies of three-dimensional reproduction opened the very opposite course of action: now, he felt, no important objects needed to be left in remote sites in India or among its unappreciative locals. Instead, museums in India could all be given plaster casts of their former possessions while the originals, he urged, should all be sent to London.

In its time, a cast such as the Sanchi gateway was a wonder in itself, testifying not just to the qualities of a 2nd century monument in India but to the technical prowess and heroic labors of a group of Englishmen. Today, such 19th-century casts have become old enough to be treasured as historic artifacts of Victorian times. But between the early and the recent attitudes towards these casts, there is a history of reception that has not been so positive. In the middle of the 20th century there was a reorientation of museum attitudes; they became repositories of art rather than sources of information; their collections had to be composed of originals and reproductions became something appropriate to the museum's shop but not its galleries.

It was at this juncture that in 1955 the lease ran out on the building that the V&A had rented for the Indian collections. The artefacts all had to be reabsorbed into the V&A's main building. There, they were offered a much smaller gallery that was barely 10% of the existing gallery's size. The transfer of collections fell to a new Keeper of the Indian Section – W.G. Archer, who was a modernist and an aesthete to the core. For the cast of the Sanchi gateway – enormous, expensive to shift and to store, and not even an original artefact – Archer had little regard. Calculating that it took 5,000 pounds to make five casts, Archer worked out that the V&A's cast had cost a thousand pounds, and he determined that it would cost more than the cast was worth to simply dismantle it, pack it and transport it to the store. When the Indian collections moved out of their rented space, the Sanchi cast was simply left behind. Remaining with it were all the other reproductions that Archer disdained, including 100 other plaster casts of Indian monuments. And when the building was demolished, the Sanchi gateway and all its companions were reduced to rubble along with it.[3]

At first, the destruction of the Indian casts seems to reflect a mid-century shift of values away from reproductions and in favor of original works of art. Many museums dismantled their cast collections at this time, including those of Western art.[4] A closer examination of the V&A's history shows that the Indian casts were not the only ones imperiled by the changed attitudes towards originals and copies. The 'Question of Casts' was being raised as early as the late 19th century and in the 1930s. Eric Maclagan, the Director of the V&A, spoke of Trajan's Column as "a prodigious incon-

venience" and "an incongruous white elephant" and looked for ways to rid the museum of it.[5]

Yet there was a crucial difference in the way the museum dealt with the proposals to dispose of the European casts versus the Indian ones, and this difference clearly shows that the hierarchy of values that favored European objects over non-European ones was applied even to their reproductions. When the tide turned against casts, nobody took a precipitate decision about the removal of the European casts and the issue of their disposal was continuously deferred, moving from file to file and committee to committee; the museum strove to find a new home for these casts in another institution. How dissimilar this was from the situation of the casts from India whose fate it seems could be sealed by the tastes of one man. In this case, the institutional mechanisms did not give pause to think about responsibility to the past, to public property, or to the efforts of those who had labored over the casts, and did not try to preserve them, or find them another home, or put the brakes on the decision to have them destroyed.

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A similar pattern of enthusiasm followed by oblivion marks the next architectural object that I wish to discuss. This was a colonnade that came from the most celebrated set of buildings in India, about which practically every colonial official had rhapsodized (fig. 3). This was the only cluster of monuments that appealed enough to the East India Company – whose purse-strings were famously tight – for it to pay more than 600,000 rupees on their repair.[6] These privileged monuments were of course the Taj Mahal and other Mughal imperial buildings in and around the erstwhile Mughal capital at Agra. Our marble colonnade, inlaid with patterns in semi-precious stones, came from the palatial apartments commissioned by Shah Jahan (best known as the patron of the Taj Mahal) within the Agra Fort. How, when British authorities were willing to invest so much in the repair and upkeep of Agra's monuments, could sections of it still be packed up and shipped overseas?

Although the Company Raj had indeed been relatively generous towards the Mughal monuments of Agra, their history was still a checkered one, and the episodes of care of the monuments were interspersed with some shocking phases of spoliation and abuse. The most famous instance of this came when Francis Rawdon-Hastings, then Governor-General of India, visited the Agra Fort in 1815. Among the buildings he inspected was the Shahi Hammam or Royal Bath, which, he noted, was "lined and paved with marble inlaid in the same fashion as the Taj". But Hastings noted that one of the domes of the building was cracked and it was "incapable of being repaired without an expense which cannot be met". Anticipating that the dome would fall and would destroy everything beneath it, and claiming to be "anxious to rescue so delicate a work of art",[7] Hastings asked for the marble be stripped from the floor and the walls, and the baths and fountains be ripped out and sent to Calcutta where he lived.

On his way out of town, Hastings espied a massive Akbar-period cannon lying on the banks of the Yamuna river. This cannon, called Dhun-Dhwani, was reputedly the largest cannon ever made by the Mughals; a shot fired from it in Agra could reach Fatehpur Sikri 24 miles away. Hastings considered trying to take the cannon to Calcutta too, but unlike the imperial baths that very few people in Agra visited and would thus know about, the cannon was in full public view and his local advisors warned Hastings of the public reaction this would provoke.[8]

The gun was left alone, the marble was stripped from the hammam. But it is not clear where the marble went. At least some of the disassembled marble was still lying stacked in the fort when a subsequent Governor General Lord Bentinck visited the Taj in 1834. A fiscally prudent man, Bentinck ordered that this marble be auctioned to underwrite the costs of a pontoon bridge that the government was to build across the Yamuna river. To this good cause Bentinck added more money by melting down the huge cannon that Hastings had wished to carry off, selling its metal by weight.

According to Bentinck's biographer, it was this small auction of "marble lumber from a ruinous bath in Agra fort" that led to a wholly untrue canard that has been attached to Bentinck's name ever since.[9] This is, that Bentinck had planned to auction off the whole of the Taj Mahal for the price of its marble.

The notion that British authorities had planned to pull the Taj down has persisted in urban legend till this day. Was this rumor entirely untrue? Although denied by his biographer and some other historians, Bentinck's auction of the Taj is not just

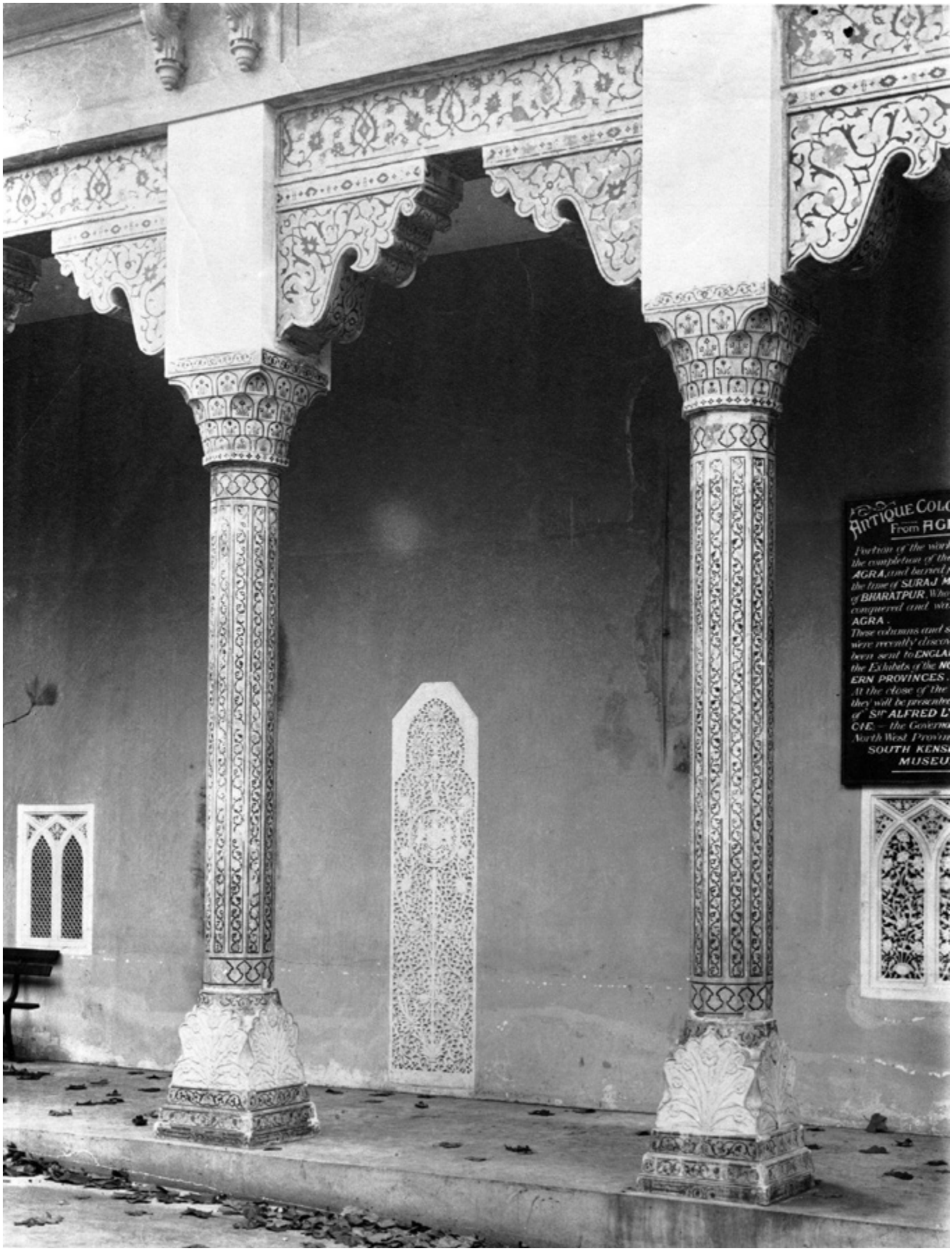

Fig. 3. Colonnade of white marble with pietra dura designs, formerly fronting the bathhouse (Hammam) at Agra Fort. Mughal, 1628-1658. © London, Victoria and Albert Museum. IS.167:1 to 22 -1886.

whispered by Indians but is discussed and criticized by several British travelers who were his contemporaries in India.[10] Bentinck's defenders would also have to contend with a recent interview with Seth Vijay Kumar Jain, a resident of Mathura, a city near Agra, who claimed that his great grandfather – the fabulously wealthy 19th-century banker Rao Bahadur Lakhmi Chand – was the one who had put in the winning bid in the auction for the Taj. According to his descendant, even though Lakhmi Chand won in the auction he was not allowed to take possession of the Taj because the news of the sale caused too much disquiet in the Muslim community in Agra; the authorities in London feared a riot between the Hindus and the Muslims and ordered Bentinck to cancel the auction.[11]

We may never know what actually happened in Agra in those years, what was taken by Hastings to Calcutta, or what was auctioned by Bentinck in Agra, but there certainly seems to have been a great deal of this marble going around, for some 45 years later in the 1880s, when Sir Alfred Lyall, Governor of the North-Western Provinces of British India, visited Agra Fort, he was able to find "a large number" of "marble pillars, inlaid with precious stones", simply "lying in the fort at Agra".[12] He sent five of these pillars with their brackets and beams to London. There, they were shown in the enormous Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886.

In the exhibition, the text panel that accompanied the pillars offered its own ingenious explanation of how these columns became available: they must have fallen when the Agra fort was attacked by an Indian ruler called Surajmal in the 18th century. This narrative shifted the responsibility for any damage or spoliation from British shoulders to Indian ones. According to the text panel, the pillars had been lying buried in the fort since Suraj Mal's attack until Lyall 'recently discovered' them. This text puts Lyall in the role of an explorer or archaeologist who was the rescuer rather than the despoiler of the colonnade.

In a brilliant article, the architectural scholar Ebba Koch does some detective work on this colonnade.[13] First, she finds more of its scattered fragments. Apart from the portion in the V&A to-

Fig. 4. Terrace between the Diwan-e-Khas (Hall of Private Audience) and the Hammam (Bath-house) in the Agra Fort. Mughal, c. 1628-1658. © Shantanu Jadaun, c. 2020.

day, there are pieces lying within the Agra Fort, in the Taj Museum and in the Lucknow Museum nearby, and four columns even hold up the portico of a government guest house in Agra.

Then she painstakingly reconstructs their original place within the fort and in doing so, she solves the riddle of why, in the heart of the exquisite imperial apartments made of delicately carved marble we come upon a startlingly blank brick-and-plaster wall (fig. 4). This is the exterior wall of the Hammam, from within which Hastings had ordered the marble to be stripped; clearly the operations disturbed not just the interior of the building, but also led to the dismantling of a loggia that had once stood along its exterior. We can gain an impression of the loggia's appearance from earlier paintings of the Agra Fort that were made before Bentinck or Hastings ever visited it (fig. 5). The painting is stylized and may not be perfectly accurate, but it gives us a sense of the missing pieces.

After the pillars were shown at the 1886 London exhibition, Lyall gifted them to the South Kensington Museum where they were exhibited in the extensive galleries of the Indian and Oriental Collections. These galleries, as was previously mentioned, were not in the main V&A building, but were in rented premises across the street from the main museum, where they occupied two stories of a long and narrow arcade. The Indian materials were spread among ten galleries, and there was room to show a number of very large exhibits here. When the V&A's Indian section had to be accommodated within the V&A's main building, there was no space to exhibit many of the large artefacts that the collection had earlier been able to put on show. We have seen how that move affected the Sanchi gateway. Unlike the plaster cast, the Agra colonnade was not destroyed but was put into storage where it has remained ever since.

In the 1980s, as Dr. Deborah Swallow led the V&A's project to renovate and reinstall the Indian collections as the Nehru Gallery, there seemed to be a chance for the colonnade to return to the limelight. She had the pillars examined by expert conservators, who restored one column, and gave an estimate for repairing the entire assemblage at 200,000 pounds.[14] Even as the museum was considering how to raise funds for this, the Nehru Gallery's designer decided he did not want to use the colonnade because it was too beautiful, and would distract viewers, taking their attention away from the overall design.[15] As a result, today, at the entrance to the Mughal section in the Nehru Gallery, we pass through another and less ornamental Mughal colonnade that the V&A possesses – this one from the Jahangir period, possibly from

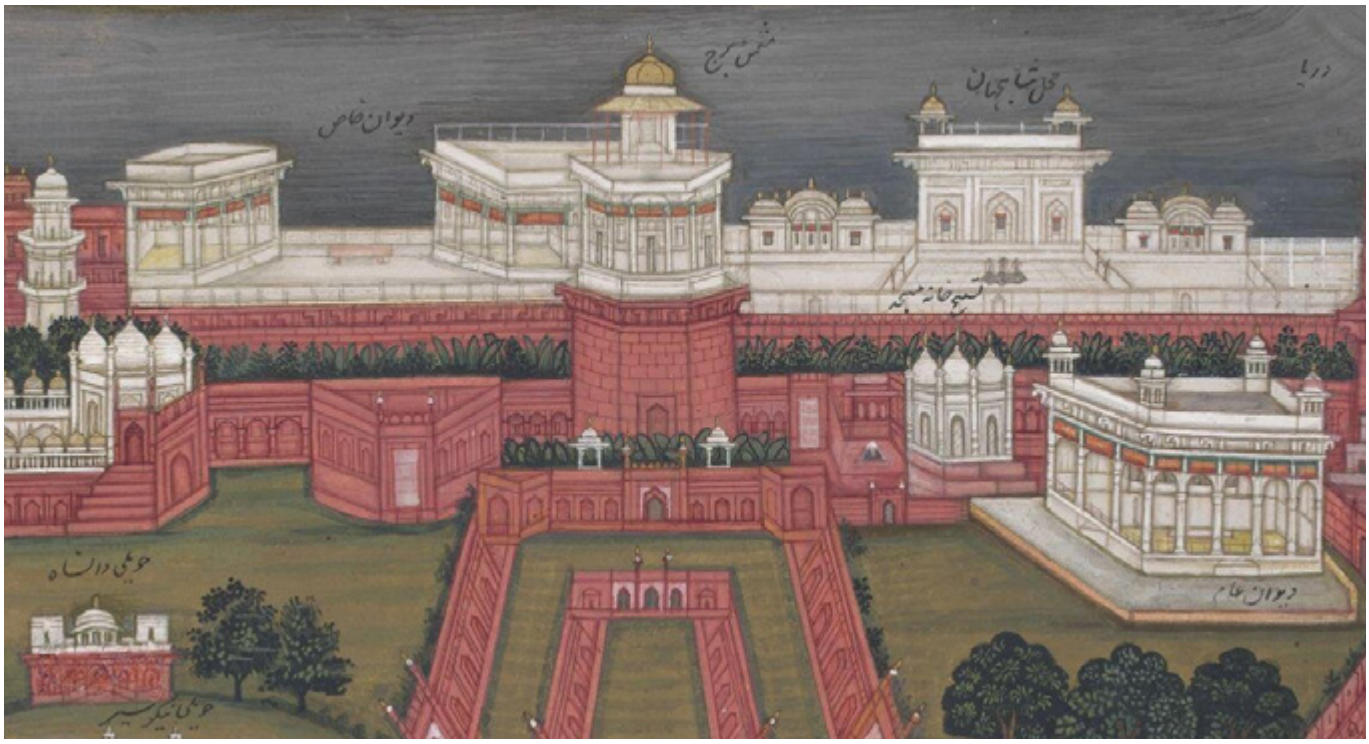

Fig. 5. Unknown artist, *The Red Fort, Agra with soldiers and animals*. Delhi or Agra, pre-1903. Watercolor on paper, 53.5x37 cm. © London, Victoria and Albert Museum. IS.153-1984.

Ajmer – while the colonnade from Agra remains in storage.

When the Agra colonnade missed its opportunity for being put on show, it moved from "storage" to "deep storage". In museum speak, "deep storage" means the object has gone into a place where it is safe but from which it is not very likely to ever emerge. Deep storage facilities are often well outside the city, where rental is cheap; and they are often underground, which offers safety and better temperature control. The Science Museum of London uses former mineshafts as deep storage sites. For our colonnade, deep storage meant moving from Battersea in London to a former military bunker in Salisbury.[16] There, the colonnade is stored under constant conditions of temperature and humidity. In this, the colonnade's fate is rather different from that of the monuments that remain *in situ* in Agra, that are absorbing atmospheric pollutants, becoming yellowed, having their surface abraded with acid rain. What is better, one wonders – leaving monuments to the fate of an inevitable degradation, or preserving their fragments but in ways that make it impossible for the objects to be seen or enjoyed?

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Let me move now to the third of my four architectural fragments which, like the Agra Colonnade, is unlikely to be seen or enjoyed by London audiences anytime soon. This is the Gwalior Gateway which, also like the Agra Colonnade, was first seen by Londoners at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886. Towering above its viewers at more than 60 feet and weighing 75 tons, this gateway attracted attention through its sheer size, though the fineness of the carving was also remarkable (fig. 6).

The strange fortunes of the Gwalior Gateway have been described by Deborah Swallow in an excellent essay, and in what follows I can do little more than simply paraphrase her.[17] As Deborah Swallow tells us, unlike the Agra Colonnade the Gwalior Gateway was not an antique object but was newly made in the manner of traditional Indian architecture. It owes its origin to the meeting of two Englishmen, Casper Purdon Clarke and J.B. Keith, in Gwalior in Central India in 1881. Purdon Clarke was a London-based architect, but his great flair for spectacle had drawn him into the circuit of international exhibitions, where he became a sought-after designer for pavilions and displays. After mounting a particularly successful Indian-style pavilion at the Paris Exhibition of 1878, Clarke was appointed the Special Commissioner for Indian Art for forthcoming exhibitions, and in the early 1880s he was sent to India with a sum of 5,000 pounds to buy objects to augment the South Kensington Museum's Indian collection. Museum records show that Clarke sent back 300 packing cases that contained more than 3,400 objects – among them the grey Jahangir period colonnade that stands at the entrance to the Nehru Gallery. But when Clarke visited Gwalior, the site of some splendid monuments, he came up against Major J.B. Keith who was stationed there as the Archaeological Survey's Curator of Monuments for Central India and Swallow tells us, "Here Keith would never have allowed him to seize any (original) architectural remains". Instead, Keith told Clarke that Gwalior had skilled stone carvers who could reproduce any historic carving and urged Clarke to commission some replicas of doorways

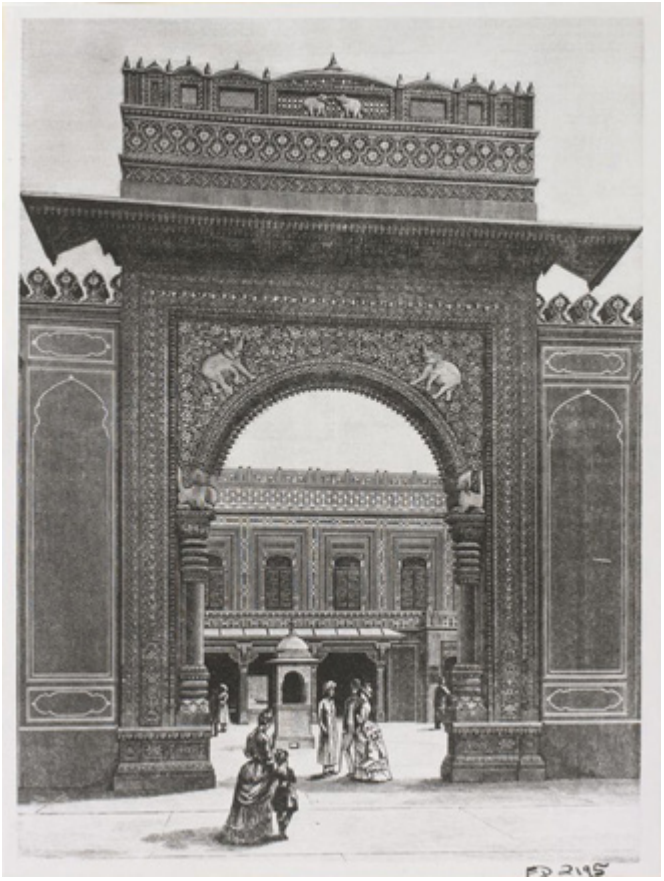

Fig. 6. The Gwalior Gateway constructed by Major Keith, at the entrance to the Indian Court of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886. © London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Archives FD 2195.

and *jali* screens from old buildings. In addition to the items that Clarke commissioned, on his own initiative Keith asked the Maharaja of Gwalior to support the production of a grand gateway that could also travel to exhibitions and serve as a spectacular advertisement of the great skills of Gwalior's stone-masons who were desperately in need of work.

This gateway, which he estimated should have taken two years to make, was completed in a mere four months. On completion it was dispatched to Calcutta to an International Exhibition that was held there in 1883, where it was mounted as the gateway to the exhibition grounds. While the Gateway was in Calcutta, the Maharaja of Gwalior wrote to London, offering the gateway as a gift to the South Kensington Museum. The museum accepted. Deborah Swallow records the subsequent consternation of the V&A's authorities when they received 200 boxes containing the dismantled parts of the gateway and realized the scale of the object they had just been gifted.

The Museum's own building was incomplete and there was simply no place to display something like this. The gateway remained in its boxes until it was loaned to the Colonial and Indian exhibition of 1886, where it was erected as the entrance to the Indian section. As Swallow notes, this was the only time viewers would see "the gateway in its full glory, visible for the first and the last time in an appropriate setting"[18] (fig. 6). Visitors passed through the Gateway to the Indian section, which was housed in a palatial pavilion whose walls, windows and ceiling were composed of elaborately carved elements produced by artisans from different parts of India. Designed by Purdon Clarke, the pavilion was not just a place to house exhibited products, but an exhibited product in itself, advertising the skills and design repertoires of Indian carpenters and stone masons from various parts of India. Exhibition catalogues detailed the cost to the viewer of ordering a similar product for his home. The hope was that these displays would stimulate trade. This economic objective lay at the root of colonial interest in Indian arts and crafts, but for Major Keith the matter had an urgent human dimension because he had developed sympathy and admiration for the Gwalior craftsmen, and he was seeing their livelihoods and their craft traditions perish before his eyes.

Keith was understandably upset when, at the conclusion of the exhibition, the Gwalior gateway was dismantled and returned to a storage shed in South Kensington. Now retired in London, Keith constantly lobbied the museum, writing letters to the authorities and publishing articles in the press, but to no avail. Then, when in 1899 the museum announced that it would be getting an extension to its building, Keith saw his chance. He redoubled his efforts to ensure that the gateway found a place somewhere within the expanded museum, suggesting that the continued neglect of the Gateway would cause a diplomatic incident with the Maharaja of Gwalior who had sponsored it. Privately, museum authorities referred to the enormous gate as "that beastly thing" but eventually they were goaded to find a place for the Gateway within one of the large new halls which had been designated for Oriental art. Even this rather grand gallery was not large enough for the whole Gateway, whose main pillars and archway were installed while the entire upper section remained in storage.

In the end, Keith's importuning was to rebound upon the Gateway in an ironically unfortunate way. For various reasons, the Indian collections never moved to the gallery where the Gateway was installed, remaining in their larger, rented quarters across the street. For some decades the Gateway's gallery exhibited an assortment of Islamic artefacts. But in the 1950s the plans for this space were changed; it would now be used for large-scale works by the Renaissance artist Raphael. The aesthetic of the Gwalior Gateway clashed with the Raphaels, and the decision was taken to cover the gateway up with a false front. Today in the gallery of the Raphael Cartoons, a protuberance in the wall is all that indicates that the main section of the Gwalior Gateway lies immured behind it.

The Gwalior gateway still survives, physically, in some form, and it holds the potential for a future resuscitation. But many similar artefacts that were collected alongside the Gwalior gateway were disposed of just as the Sanchi Gateway was. There was an entire three-story wooden housefront from Bulandshahr whose Mughal-style architectural elements were lavishly decorated with carved arabesques; there were delicate wooden mashrabiyyas and lacy screens carved in Punjab; there were walls of tile-work mosaic expertly made in Multan after 17th century originals. None of these were "reproductions" of the same order as the Sanchi

plaster cast; like the Gwalior Gateway, these were historicizing objects made in the 19th century by Indian artisans to advertise both past Indian glories and current Indian skills. At the time they were made, such objects were the raison d'être of the colonial museum enterprise, whose project it was to inventorize traditional arts and document currently available skills and convert them into a human resource useful to the colonial economy. But to the mid-century aesthetic of W.G. Archer, these, even if made by Indian artisans in the Indian mode, were all mere copies and scarcely worth more attention than a plaster cast. When the time came to vacate the old building, these things too were left behind, to be demolished with the building's demolition.

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In the institutional memory of the V&A the responsibility for the whole-scale destruction of Indian artefacts is laid at the foot of W.G. Archer, the Keeper who took charge of the Indian collections in 1949. He saw the V&A's Indian section as a miscellany of bazaar goods, and it was his ambition to reshape this into a collection of fine art. Many artifacts that Archer deemed to be "ethnographic" rather than "artistic" were gifted or sold cheaply to other museums; these were not works of "art" but they were at least authentic objects and deserved to find a home. But things that were copies, or that were recently made in imitation of older things, occupied a much lower position in Archer's estimation: they were inauthentic, and to him they meant nothing. And the worst of all were the inauthentic objects that were large – expensive to shift, difficult to store, they made claims upon the museum's resources that could not be justified.

But as we look back upon this mid-century moment and rue the loss of the beautifully carved jalis and building facades and think of the work of all the carvers in Gwalior and the masons and laborers who accompanied Henry Hardy Cole on his expedition to Sanchi being laid to waste, let us not lay the blame for the loss at an individual's door. It was an unfortunate co-incidence that the Indian section lost its expansive gallery space at the moment it gained a new Keeper who was a purist who valued only 'originals'. But the decision to dispose of this material was taken by committees which included the highest authorities of the museum. The museum's Director, Leigh Ashton, and its future Director John-Pope Hennessey, then its Keeper of European Architecture and Sculpture, were part of the committees that sealed these objects' fate. Their concurrence that the large-scale effacement, immurement and destruction of Indian artefacts was sensible, defensible, and ethical museum policy, points to the central ironies of the entangled histories of colonial objects and colonial museums.[19] Artifacts are acquired with great avidity but once acquired, they are scarcely valued. It is the power to collect that is celebrated in the displays – and not the artefacts themselves.

In his essay on the history of the Indian collections, Robert Skelton recounts the peculiar fate of Indian art in British collections.[20]After the East India Company was dissolved its collections were divided, and though the bulk came to the V&A Museum, much was given to the British Museum and the British Library, and to Kew Gardens and the Natural History Museum as well. Regretting this scattering of an unparalleled collection of Indian material, many enthusiasts of Indian art dreamt of reuniting these in a grand structure on the Thames that would be a worthy host to London's Indian collections. But such dreams always woke up to cold realities, the fantasy of a vast building made on an imperial scale always running into the intractable issues of financing and real estate. Far from receiving an appropriately expansive home, the collections seemed to shrink within the museums where they were housed, accommodated in corridors, relegated to basements, gifted away to lesser institutions, and even deaccessioned and destroyed.

Somehow, in all the decades that Indian objects had so triumphally been collected and displayed, when glittering artefacts from India had been the spectacular centerpieces of so many international exhibitions, there remained an ambivalence in Britain about Indian art. Just as the British public never learned very much about colonial histories, they never developed an interest in the arts of their colonies. The machinery of knowledge-production did little to cultivate an enthusiasm for Indian art as *art* rather than as *possession*; signaling the acquisitive power of colonialism remained the core purpose of Indian artefacts on display. And perhaps after Indian independence the museums were only acting in tune with a public that was no longer interested in being reminded of an India that Britain no longer controlled. How else

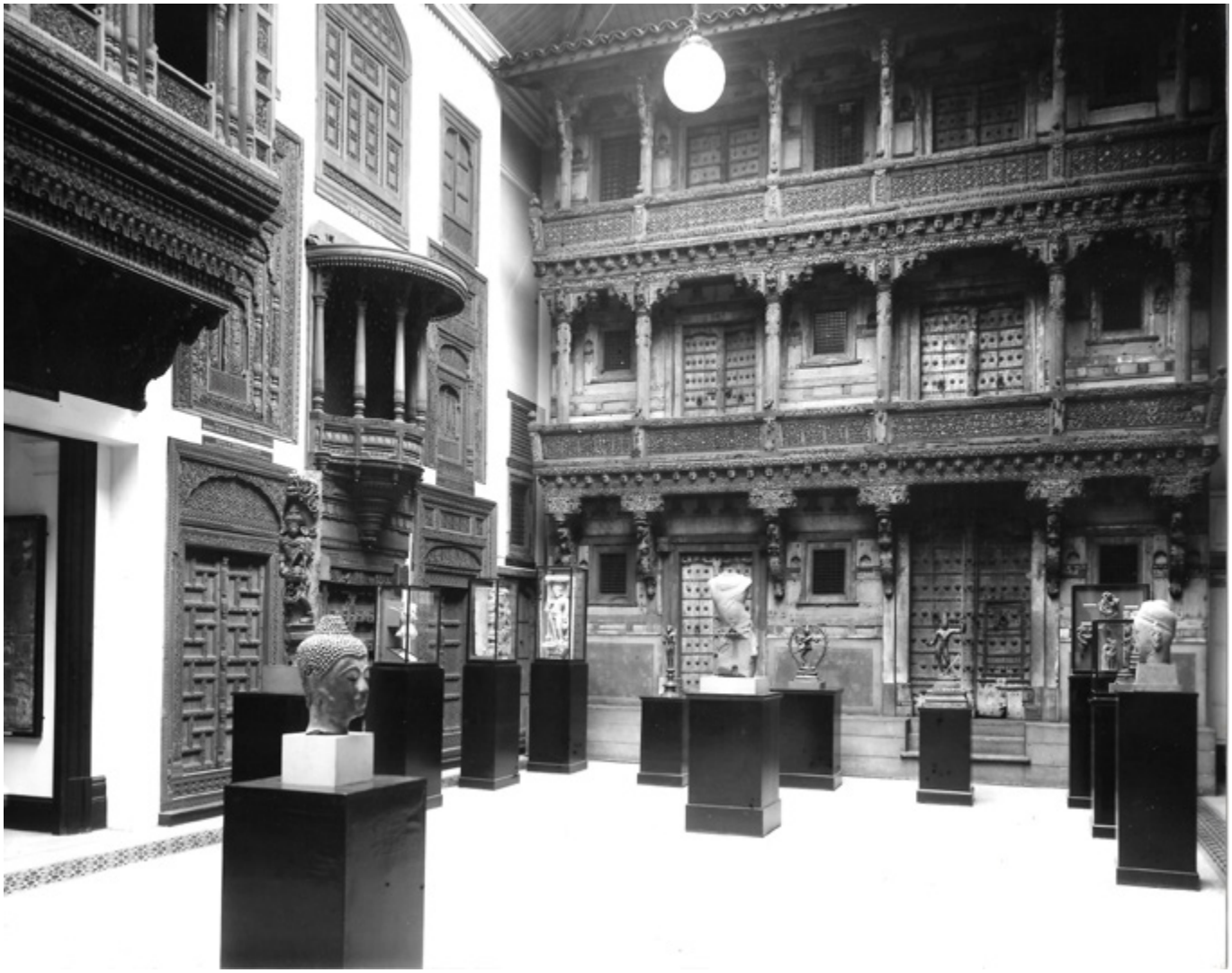

Fig. 7. Architectural artefacts on display in the Vestibule of the India Museum, c. 1907. The Ahmedabad House-Front occupies the entire rear wall. © London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Negative no. 75189.

can we understand the large-scale disposal, dispersal, and hiding away of Indian things?

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Let me finish then with my final tale of travel which is a coming and a going, a journeying forth and a return. After my stories of objects demolished, hidden, immured – I hope this final and brief tale will provide a happy ending to this paper.

Among the 3,400 objects that Caspar Purdon Clarke sent home from India was a 17th century house-front from Ahmedabad. In the expansive Indian galleries that the V&A once had, this house-front occupied an entire wall alongside many other architectural exhibits (fig. 7).

When the space available to the Indian Section shrank in 1955, something had to be done with the architectural specimens. What were the chances that something as large as this house-front would ever be shown again? Working in the Indian Section under W.G. Archer was John Irwin, a textile expert who enjoyed a close relationship with the wealthy industrialist family from Ahmedabad, the Sarabhais. Themselves owners of important textile mills, the Sarabhais were also collectors of antique textiles, and were shaping what would become the finest textile museum in India, the Calico Museum of Textiles in Ahmedabad. In 1959, John Irwin arranged for the V&A to sell this house-front, acquired in 1883 for 200 pounds, to the Sarabhai for the price of 40 pounds. Now reconstructed, it forms part of the courtyard of the Calico museum complex.

There is poetry in this story of the Ahmedabad house-front: a piece of architecture, made for a

house in Ahmedabad in the 17th century, is facing demolition there and is packed up and taken to London in the 19th century; is no longer wanted or needed or likely to be shown there in the 20th century; travels back to Ahmadabad to be put on show in a museum there. There are aspects of the story that are ethically troubling and yet, there is the satisfying sense of an artifact having come "home", as it were.

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[9] J. Roselli, *Lord William Bentinck: The Making of a Liberal Imperialist, 1774-1839* (London: Chatto and Windus for University of Sussex Press, 1974).

[10] These include the diarist Fanny Parks, the armyman W.H. Sleeman and Lord Marcus Beresford, all of whom are cited in E. Koch, "The Lost Colonnade of Shah Jahan's Bath in the Red Fort of Agra", *The Burlington Magazine* 124, no. 951 (June 1982): pp. 331-339.

[11] According to his account, the Taj was auctioned not once but twice, and Seth Lakhmi Chand put in the highest bid both times. The first auction was cancelled because Bentinck was accused of not following proper procedure. The second auction was properly conducted when, according to Vijay Kumar, Lakhmi Chand put in a bid for four other properties in addition to the Taj. Archaeological authorities record at least one Mughal complex that came into the possession of Seth Lakhmi Chand. A walled garden near Agra that contained the tombs of Akbar's poet laureate Faizi and his sister Ladli Begum was bought by the Seth who is reported to have broken up the mausoleums, sold the marble and used the garden according to his own taste. S.M. Latif, *Agra Historical and Descriptive* (Calcutta: Calcutta Central Press Company, 1896), p. 25.

[12] Description of the Ornamental Screen for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Court at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, July 10th, 1886; V. & A. File 47 (R.P.4339/1886). Cited by E. Ebba Koch, "The Lost Colonnade of Shah Jahan's Bath in the Red Fort of Agra", cit., p. 337, n. 16.

[13] E. Koch, "The Lost Colonnade of Shah Jahan's Bath in the Red Fort of Agra", cit.

[14] D. Swallow, "Conservation and Restoration of a Shah Jahan Period Colonnade" (Unpublished, 2014).

[15] D. Swallow, personal communication, 21 March 2014.

[16] In 2006, the decommissioned military depot at Dean Hill in Salisbury was sold to a private company that specializes in re-using redundant buildings. While overground structures here have been turned into office buildings, the underground bunkers are repurposed as secure, climate-controlled storage that is being used by several museums including the V&A, the British Museum and the Tate Galleries. 'Underground Storage Bunkers' Web page of Dean Hill Park Complex, Salisbury. http://www.deanhillpark.co.uk/bunker-secure-storage.php.

[17] D. Swallow, "Colonial Architecture, International Exhibitions and Official Patronage of the Indian Artisan: The Case of a Gateway from Gwalior in the Victoria and Albert Museum", in T. Barringer, T. Flynn, eds., *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 52-67.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[19] V&A Registry: Department Indian Section Main File 170-1Sub-File Board of Survey Part 3 – 1951-1955.

[20] R. Skelton, "The Indian Collections: 1798 to 1978", *The Burlington Magazine* 120, no. 902 (1978): pp. 297-304.

ROUND TABLE

CONTRIBUTORS


G. C.

Motion/Transformation in Valerio Adami

Vera Agosti

Independent scholar

The main topics of the 35th CIHA Congress *Motion/Transformation* well describe very important aspects of the poetics of the international artist Valerio Adami, one of the major representatives of narrative figuration. Motion in particular as the idea of movement is very present in the work of Valerio Adami and is related to both space and time.

When looking at the concept of space, it is worth considering Adami's life: he was born in Bologna, Italy, but his family moved to Milan when he was still a child. Later, as an adult and artist, he travelled extensively with his wife Camilla, who had a great passion for exploring the world and meeting new people and cultures. Among their various experiences, they spent a few years in the United States, where they connected with several international artists, and in India, a country that was crucial for the artist. Even today, he always wears Indian cloths, of which he likes their brilliant colours and style. He is also much influenced by the legacy of Gandhi's thought. Of course, Adami often travelled for reasons associated to his work as an artist, for exhibitions and projects. He visited Cuba, Mexico, Brazil, Israel, Palestine, and many other countries. From all these trips, he retained much material for his drawings and paintings, never merely the reproduction of experiences and locations, but rather inner memories of particular moments, encounters, and places. As Valerio Adami himself wrote in *Sinopie*,[1] the book in which he explained his poetics, drawing is tidying up your thoughts, trying to sort and clean them. These thoughts may originate from a walk in the city, in the streets around his Montmartre house in Paris, or from a long trip to a distant and foreign country. Adami is able to transform the movement of all these travels and life into art. In his artworks, there are many representations of vehicles of different kinds: cars, trucks, motorcycles, sidecars, boats, sails, canoes, aeroplanes… because motion is really important to him and because of his life. He is also a very active man: he loves classic cars, he is passionate about sailing, he took part with friends in rallies in the desert. He is fascinated by all means of transportation. Movement, trips, vehicles are turned into aesthetic forms thanks to the closed line he uses and favours. We go from real movement through the memory and the artist's thoughts and ideas to the immobility of the allegory. In addition, in paintings, colour introduces movement, as there is a sequence of tints and this is a way of reading the form, as stated by the artist himself.

Fig. 1. Valerio Adami, *I nuovi Argonauti*, 2009. Pencil on paper, 36x48 cm. Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe. Courtesy of the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism. It is forbidden to reproduce or duplicate the present artwork by any means.

Fig. 2. Valerio Adami, *Faits divers. Un viaggio come atelier*, 2011. Acrylic on canvas, 130x97 cm.

Fig. 3. Camilla Cantoni Adami in *Vacanze nel deserto*, 1971. Photo © ClovisPrévost.

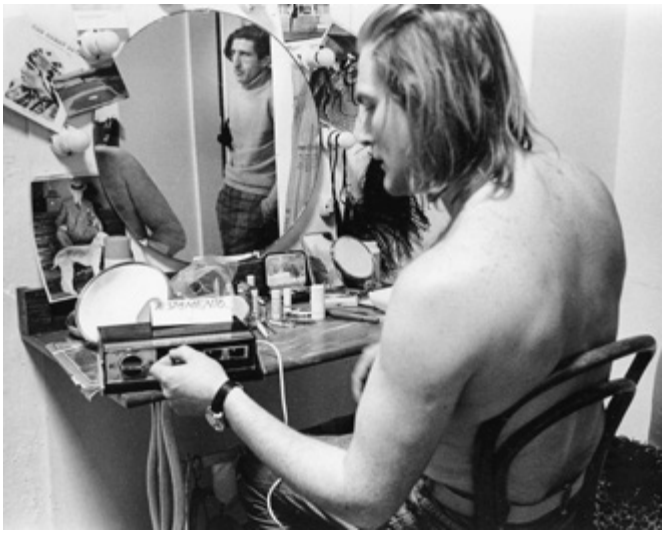

Fig. 4. Erró and Valerio Adami in *Vacanze nel deserto*, 1971. Photo © ClovisPrévost.

In Valerio Adami, motion is also connected to the concept of time. In his drawings, we can see everything. We can read past and present events and catch a glimpse of the future. There is a kind of unity of time, as Aristotle asserted with regard to tragedy. In fact, a sense of tragedy pervades the whole work of Valerio Adami. This unity of time is guaranteed by different levels of representation and narration. A clear example can be seen in the drawing donated to the Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi (Department of Drawings and Prints of the Uffizi), whose title is very significant: *I nuovi Argonauti. (The new Argonauts). News from Palestine.* The 'news' in the title refer to current events that are however closely linked to the myth, the past. This is an aspect that is always a foundational element in his poetry.

Many of Adami's artworks feature representations of an empty room with a few objects. This leads the observer to muse on what may have happened there. The viewer cannot understand why those things are there. Someone may wonder who is about to enter the scene. There is a kind of suspense, of mystery in such images, a feeling that can be better understood by making reference to his experience as filmmaker.

In 1971, Valerio Adami wrote and shot a movie with his brother Giancarlo, the only one in his artistic career, *Vacanze nel deserto* (*Holidays in the desert*), featuring the artist Erró in the role of actor together with the writer, critic, and artist Dino Buzzati, and his wife and artist Camilla. The interesting and unusual plot focuses on a man who is a collector of every single moment of his own life. Using a small hand-held camera, he records every instant of his existence until one day he notices how all the video frames of his life have become misplaced. Since that moment, there is no longer a recognisable timeline or a logical sense. The poetics of the fragment, as is very well exemplified in the movie, is indeed crucial in the philosophy of Valerio Adami and this is very evident in his drawings and paintings. This lack of a timeline and logical order between the different recorded moments leads the man to madness and to a new hypothesis of life. When watching the movie, the plot is never linear and clear, the audience must be directly involved in the story, so that they can see it and develop their own interpretation. Valerio Adami does not want to offer a perfectly set script with no possibility of any other reading, but rather he wants the viewer to play an active role in the process of the narration. This is a vital concept, and it is achieved thanks to this shift in time, the motion in time as it is used in the movie that becomes the same one we can find in most of his mysterious works: when we cannot really clearly understand what the subject, the scene, the situation are in the drawings and paintings, we are much more involved in the artwork. The artist draws us to imagine a future event, to invent who the portrayed characters are, what they are doing. Valerio Adami succeeds in this because he is also a great narrator of the life of man. He is inspired

by the myth, but he is also a sharp observer of the ordinary existence.

In conclusion, what is the essential and main motion in Valerio Adami? It is the natural and smooth movement of the arm, followed by the hand, holding a pencil while tracing a line on a sheet of paper, which is the mental space for the artist's thought.

Note

[1] V. Adami, *Sinopie* (Milano: SE. Saggi e documenti del Novecento, 2000).

Contemporary Art and CIHA. The Challenge of Transformation. An Informal Conversation

Thierry Dufrêne / Peter J. Schneemann

Université Paris Nanterre / Universität Bern

PS: It is a real honor to be asked to have a very informal exchange of ideas about *transformation* in the light of contemporary art with my old friend Thierry Dufrêne. Our conversation revolves around two perspectives: (1) The relevance of the concept of transformation as a challenge for today's art and society; (2) The potential of transformation with regard to the formats of research and communication in a framework such as the CIHA, with particular attention to the relation between contemporary art and transformation/research practices.

We agreed to participate in this event because we, Thierry and I, share a conviction: there is indeed an interdependence and correspondence between art historical perspectives concerning 'transformation' on the one hand, and artistic questions and artistic methodologies on the other. Moreover, we are also interested in the relevance of 'transformation' as a framing for our social reality, and in the way we perceive the environmental crisis. In what ways are transformative processes perceived? How are they experienced and negotiated? Or, to express these two questions differently, can art history address the contemporary moment, not only as it is witnessed by art but, more broadly, as a *transformative process* negotiated by social actors?

Of course, we know that the notion of *contemporary art* has become disputed in its link to the art world as a system one wants to get rid of. But still, the contemporaneity of contemporary art is, perhaps rather obviously, that moment when urgent issues or social phenomena become evident in artworks, in such a way that artists have translated a topic into a formal task – which in German might be called *künstlerische Aufgabe*. This endeavor, this mission, is what occurs when artistic practices transcend the illustration of a problem.

So, we put the contemporaneity of the term 'transformation' and the contemporaneity of art history in the foreground. We will talk about the *temporality* inscribed in the term *transformation* as a figure of thought. Hopefully, we will find time to refer to transformation with regard to *materialities* as well.

Thierry, you found an interesting link between Florence and the painter Giorgio de Chirico.

TD: Yes, Peter, we are in Florence and I would like to start with an auratic event that took place nearby, in Piazza Santa Croce.

The young artist Giorgio de Chirico first became aware of a new way of seeing the world while visiting Florence at the age of twenty-one (in 1909), 110 years before our CIHA Congress. De Chirico wrote:

> on a clear autumn afternoon I was sitting on a bench in the middle of piazza Santa Croce [...] I had the strange impression that I was looking at all these things for the first time, and the composition of my picture (*Enigma of an Autumn Afternoon*) came to me; and every time I look at it I relive the moment once again: the moment is an enigma to me, for it is inexplicable.

This 'illumination' or 'revelation' – as de Chirico called it – informed his paintings of the 1910s and 1920s of the so-called *pittura metafisica.*

In *Regole d'arte* (1980), Luciano Fabro wrote that "Art is the mirroring of one's own consciousness" and also that "art is doing, not only knowing, not only thinking, not only using, but doing, constructing the consciousness with things".

To come back to my example of de Chirico, on the one hand, there is the consciousness of the transformation of his vision ("the strange impression"), while on the other, there is the 'doing', the act of painting, of transforming things, of giving them a new appearance.

According to Fabro, the connection between consciousness and doing should be called 'Theo-

Fig. 1. Giorgio de Chirico, *The Enigma of an Autumn Afternoon,* 1910. Private Collection. (Photo by Paolo Baldacci).

ry'. Theory is the second step of transformation, after experience.

The concept of 'trans-form-ation' (prefix *trans*, *tra* in Italian), with two hyphens, proposed by the Italian CIHA committee for this Congress introduces a strong concept. Sixty years after de Chirico's transformation in Florence, fifty years before the CIHA Congress, the term and notion of 'trans-formation' was used in key contemporary art exhibitions, for example in Pontus Hulten's 1969 exhibition at Moderna Museet, Stockholm, entitled *Poetry Must be Made by All! Transform the World!* (a quotation by Lautréamont). Pontus did not use hyphens, but we could add them now: "Trans-form-the world".

I would like to conclude my first intervention with another quotation by Luciano Fabro, this time from 1988. You will see a clear change in his analysis and the subverted use of the metaphor of the highway, often used positively in a modern context:

> The entire modern epoch rests on the idea of development. Our society is focused on the future, just as medieval society was focused on God. We are moving towards the future, that's our moral. We tell ourselves that we do everything for tomorrow. So we've done everything like everyone else has done on the highway: drive straight, keeping our eyes stuck on the cars ahead of us. Suddenly, after a whole series of tragic events – the last being Chernobyl, but before that there was the atomic bomb, etc. – the highway has disappeared from under our feet.
>
> *Suddenly, the highway disappeared…*

PS: With Luciano Fabro you might have given a date to a fundamental shift in the perception of transformation: the Chernobyl disaster took place in 1986, and the avant-garde paradigms of transformation lost their innocence, in a way.

The avant-gardists and modernists focused on processes and temporalities in terms of change as progress. For them, transformation was linked to visions of Utopia. Historically, the avant-garde movements, and by far not only the futurists, have focused on transformation – on process – as opposed to the principle of preservation and their cultural institutions in the most radical ways.

In our current debates around the paradigms of sustainability we should remember this – how do we deal with this legacy? Subversion and deconstruction, hallmarks of 20th century avant-gardism, are under scrutiny and they no longer neatly fit with the heroic terms of radical activist engagement. Transformation is one of the oldest paradigms associated with the power of art. We have the link between the concept of transformation and concepts of progress and utopian futures.

What are the options when this utopian force is not only turning into a new nostalgia, but into a dystopian narrative, into a narrative of catastrophe? Or to phrase it differently, 'transformation' today tends to be understood as a euphemism for crisis and catastrophe. The entire temporal structure has changed. Aleida Assmann has rightly pointed out how the idea of transformation now touches geological times, the so-called *deep time.* I am tempted to say that the process of orientation of the avant-gardists, their interest in the ephemeral, is replaced by a perspective on the erasure of long-term development. We are neither talking about tomorrow as a utopian scenario, nor about the next generation, but about the imagination and prediction of the end of this planet. Shifts in the way transformation is conceived in the field of contemporary art correspond to transformations in both society and the environment. The feeling of crisis as a response to change has become increasingly relevant.

Thierry has indicated some of the layers within the notion of transformation and the way they have been addressed by artists and curators. I wonder if transformation as a defining term describing the power of art could also be discussed in accordance with the tensions inherent in the phenomena we are currently observing: these phenomena include many unstable and varied political issues, such as migration, gender, and environmental change.

Transformation turns out to be central to identity politics and environmental issues.

If we discuss paradigms of *movement* and *transformation* from a cultural perspective, they have to be positioned in relation to paradigms of *conservation* (*preservation*). Furthermore, we have to ask whether the concept of *sustainability* coincides with any of the terms previously mentioned in this equation.

There is a crisis unfolding which stems from the impression of a massive, uncontrolled transformation and this gives rise to the desire for cultural stability that is expressed through notions of conservation and sustainability. There is a tendency to delegate the task of stability and stasis to culture – with consequences on how we perceive ourselves as art historians. I am thinking of appeals to denounce interpretation and deconstruction as intellectual endeavors.

Thus, how is art translating the dissolution of conditions of stability and continuity, of a fixed set of roles? Certainly, the avant-garde concepts of liberation or revolution do not work so easily anymore.

Let's take a look at the 58th Biennale in Venice. Countless works explore or react to our current perception of reality, through their observations on change, catastrophes, ruin, loss, and absence.

A narration of loss can be seen in the pavilion of New Zealand and the project *Post Hoc* by Dane Mitchell, located in the Institute of Marine Science. A printer in the emptied library produces an endless flow of paper that names things that are gone, a never-ending list of categories that list bygone manifestations of nature and culture alike. Vanished things, extinct species form an index of decollecting. The status of the lists is ambivalent: loss of species, loss of languages, loss of glaciers but also loss of diseases. The work, installed in the empty library of the maritime museum, confronts us with the question of what to do with such real-time data. What is the motivation to read and distribute, to communicate such information? Read by an electronic voice, sent to the printer, and broadcast to the world. A kind of archival action that looks at the transformation of the world at the moment of disappearance of 'things': a kind of exploration of the world as a reversed process.

The list contains and continuously generates such a vast amount of information that it is impossible to ever perceive it in its entirety, as the list remains incomplete by default/nature.

We also wanted to focus on another pavilion that would question our role in observing the ob-

Fig. 2. Dane Mitchell, *Post hoc* (detail), 2019. Palazzina Canonica, New Zealand Pavilion, 58th International Art Exhibition La Biennale di Venezia. (Photo by David Straight).

servers of ecological disasters, observers that are not changing it.

TD: Yes, Peter, and it is the Lithuanian Pavilion, the one that obtained the Golden Lion.

As you said, Peter, during the crisis and search for new criteria, the main issue is not so much to transform the form – the world – but how the whole world of art and art itself will get transformed in order to offer some answers to the questions of the 'interesting times' (difficult, questioning times) we may live in.

Let's go to the Lithuanian Pavilion. It was neither located in the Giardini nor in the Arsenal, but rather in a military building, usually not accessible to the public. Through the window of the two-story building that hosted the Sun & Sea Opera-Performance (Marina), one could see a submarine. On the way from the entrance to the pavilion, visitors passed several signs demarcating the area as a 'military zone'. Upon arriving at the wooden gallery, our gaze is drawn to the floor below, where we can see a sandy beach where singers and actors in swimsuits are pretending to be at the beach, accompanied by accessories such as: sunscreen, sunglasses, games, plastic bags, etc. Their songs had already guided us up the stairs, rather melodiously. But when we end up listening more attentively to the words, we notice the complete disconnect between the visual appearance of this scene of social happiness and the texts that express the agony of the planet and its inhabitants. All visitors film with their mobile phones and a bittersweet voyeurism develops between those who are lying down, looking up, and the spectators standing on the gallery, looking down. This juxtaposition creates a kind of mirror effect that returns the position of one to the other. It looks like a simulacrum in the sense of Jean Baudrillard, but the text and some stage games introduce a critical dimension that is soon obvious.

Sun & Sea encourages to act in the present with the peril of the future in mind, without ignoring the necessity of enjoying the artistic composi-

tion (the singing, the arrangements of colors, the materials, the dramaturgy, the lighting, the direction of actors, the scenography).

Indeed, most works with ecological messages show the horror of ruined landscapes. Here, pleasure and critical thinking are linked in a more subtle way: "educere/seducere"; "placere et educere" – said Molière.

The pavilion is very relevant for our topic of 'trans-form-ation' for two main reasons:

1. Its *hybrid form*: the form is an opera-performance – "tableau vivant" with texts by Stefan Helmreich, the researcher on new materialities, Marie Darrieusecq, a French writer, etc. Performers (singers, actors) come from everywhere in the world as well as from Venice.
2. The artwork is the result of a long-term and dialectical process of transformation of the presence of performance inside the Biennial. From Tino Seghal's "This is so contemporary!" (2005), his Golden Lion (2013), the German Pavilion during the last 2017 Biennial to this site-specific creation with a very specific encounter of performers and audience.

The Biennial works as a format which is able to welcome 'tests' of new artistic forms and in return, these forms 'test' the Biennial format itself.

Fig. 3. Lina Lapelytė, Vaiva Grainytė, Rugilė Barzdžiukaitė, *Sun & Sea (Marina)*, Opera-Performance, 2019. Venice Biennale (project curated by Lucia Pietroiusti). (Photo by Thierry Dufrêne).

PS: I think your remark on the "testing of new formats" is relevant also for the conception of the public. Their position as observers is today clearly challenged. In analyzing the Lithuanian Pavilion, Thierry presented a narration of impending doom that people waited for several hours to experience. The entire opera was presented in a loop. People only listened to a fragment, deciding for themselves when they had an idea of how it would continue – a phenomenon Boris Groys described as the beholders' acceptance that a performance or a video follows a time structure that one is not able to fully adjust to.

In my opinion, there is another element inherent to the performance which shows that contemporary art is looking for new formats to find ways to address the imperative to act in order to take responsibility, to question the role of the modernist beholder. In discussing paradigms of engagement, we talk about a shared environment, about situations as relational dimensions and physical contact.

There is evidence of the artistic desire to go beyond the *dispositives* of representation. The idea of offering a setting that Christoph Büchel describes as "training-ground". I am talking about a scenography with bodily involvement, moments of social communication, where gestures are testing and changing attitudes. With regard to Thierry's remarks on the performance, one could refer to Alexandra Pirici, who conceptualized re-enactments of works of art, reviving the tradition of the tableau vivant as a social activity. Certainly, the most interesting contributions to transformations and environment go beyond depiction. Dance, performance, theater stay in the foreground when it comes to the exploration of scenarios and the imaginary.

It is at this point that we could explore the difficulties of introducing ethical issues into the autonomy of the artwork. I think the concepts of "situational ethics" by Pascal Gielen are of pivotal importance here. But let's focus on temporalities. The Lithuanian Pavilion already has a kind of strange reminiscence of past childhood holidays or a yellowed postcard, negotiating the future

with the language of nostalgia. But there are other examples that demonstrate this interest in the reworking of temporality, in working with inversions, reconstruction, and repetition.

The Swiss Pavilion housed the work by Pauline Boudry and Renate Lorenz, titled *Moving Backwards*. The work asks us to consider a retroactive question: how would we be able to undo our fixed worldview and stereotyped representations in order to see new relationships and to invent new modes of coexistence? The concept explores the gesture of "moving collectively backwards". Their work produces a double inversion: it is a work of art that turns into its own documentation, a second-order presence that becomes the memory of its claim for potentiality.

Reenactment is another form of reconstruction that speaks to the temporally oriented transformative processes at play in contemporary art. There is often a nostalgic dimension to such projects, focusing on the legacy of the 1960s. We find this element in the revival of certain visual languages but also in the way historical artistic positions are celebrated in contemporary shows – think of the last documenta, specifically of the attention given to dancers like Anna Halprin. Both the temporality and the physicality of dance might be relevant here.

Above all, however, it is the concept of scenario (rooted in the film industry and in the field of fiction and playing an important role for the planning of military strategies) that implies the anticipation and testing of options: options we have to develop in order to act. The retrospective dimension of reenactment turns into a rehearsal and in a preenactment. This is similar to the way Eva Horn investigated the role of the arts in negotiating catastrophes. Scenarios are fictive, but allow us to envisage how we might act, or react, in the event of a real crisis.

What do you think, Thierry, of the notion of scenario, which you also used in our discussions on Pierre Huyghe?

TD: You are right. The notion of scenario is really fitting. Pierre Huyghe's work, *After Alife Ahead*, during the last *Skulptur Projekte Münster*, 2017, dealt with the question of ecology. The monumental artwork was located in a former ice rink. Again, we found the same characteristics in the work of Pierre Huyghe we had already experienced at the documenta 13 in Kassel and in his retrospective at the Center Pompidou in 2013, which we visited together: a construction in the middle of nowhere, in the wild, or reconstructed in the Center Pompidou, the ice rink, the presence of animals (bees, dogs), and high-tech machines, and the consciousness of an unstable system. Together with cancer cells, Huyghe placed bees, peacocks, and seaweeds inside the structure, by transforming it into an alive body and by animating it via an application of augmented reality.

The sensors, which are not visible, track the movement of the peacocks and the bees, as well as the levels of CO2 and bacteria in the ice rink. An algorithm uses this data to calculate the average viability of the space and the cables buried underground and then transmits the information to an incubator containing cancer cells. When the space has a higher viability, it is the same for the box with cancer cells. When it has a lower viability, the algorithm slows down the rate of cell reproduction. Huyghe explains that the results are all profoundly interlaced but unpredictable and constantly evolving: it is exactly what interests me most about this work.

The application of augmented reality, which can be downloaded by the visitors, shows the floating pyramids which emerge and fill the space on the spectator's cells. A new pyramid is created every time a cancer cell splits, but when two pyramids are rather close together, they can also 'couple' and regenerate. However, when the ceiling opens, every pyramid disappears or 'dies', except for those that have a special strength, which is granted to them by an evolutionary algorithm built into the application.

Pierre Huyghe designed the system in such a way that the involved technology depends on natural factors, breaking down the traditional notion according to which technologies can somehow control nature.

This brings us to the notion of materiality. Artists treat it as a challenge. You have, Peter, an example with plastic and the way it is now considered very differently as opposed to how Roland Barthes treated it in his book *Mythologies* (1957) at the end of the 1950s. Now it is related to infection, defilement, contamination, impurity**.**

PS: Yes, the observations on how the temporality of transformations is dealt with in contemporary

Fig. 4. Pierre Huyghe, *After ALife Ahead*, 2017. Ice rink concrete floor, logic game, sand, clay, phreatic water, bacteria, algae, bees, peacock, aquarium, black switchable glass, conus textile, incubator, human cancer cells, genetic algorithm, augmented reality, automated ceiling structure, rain. (Photo by Peter J. Schneemann).

art might be further extended on the level of materiality. Again, we could develop a kind of dialectic, because the old alchemistic model of transformation, which is so important for modernity as well, seems to be reversed. In the 1960s, the art world loved new materials and transmutations. In the context of environmental criticism, transformation tends to denote and transcribe nothing less than processes of contamination and pollution – the loss of a natural state. The loss of purity triggers the fear of touch and of infection.

As the fragility of ecological systems is repeatedly underscored by the disruption and corruption caused by human activity, today, material transformation as transmutation easily takes on a negative tone.

A very old, ideologically charged opposition becomes evident: *purity* and *contamination*. Yet the hierarchy in this pairing of terms, whereby the pure is deemed more worthy than the contaminated, is highly counterproductive. Synthetic substances, pollution, the impure and the contaminated: here we have a transgressive discourse that reacts to fixed notions of what ecological sustainability should be.

Referring to the temporalities hidden in transformation, we might recall again the fascination with new materialities and their transformative powers in the 1960s and 1970s.

Think of Roland Barthes' writing on plastic: that infernally eternal, and indisputably human substance that was once a source of wonder and is now widely understood as the death knell for any notions of purity. Barthes characterized plastic as the *material of the future* because of its very ability to take on all forms. Today its durability has become the very synonym of pollution. Barthes wrote of plastic that it is "more than a substance, [it] is the very idea of its infinite transformation. As its vulgar name indicates, it is ubiquity made visible; moreover, this is the reason why it is a miraculous substance: a miracle is always a sudden conversion of nature". I would claim that this optimistic outlook towards transformation has been 'darkened', so to speak. The potential of the utopian imaginary has been counteracted by the

dystopian implication of defilement that lies within this transformative power. Plastic is both a liberation and an abomination. Its durability poses a major problem for environmental protection. The synthetic, high-tech human materiality has contaminated all organisms, all environments. Yet, interestingly, the opposition of natural and artificial materiality that is built into the issue of microplastics is theoretical, for the term 'contamination', targeting a process that ostensibly leads to loss of purity and to a potentially harmful contact with the new substance, is similar to the term *hybridization* in that it implies a previous state of purity. *Purity* is nothing short of an ideological perversion, and the very opposite of a healthy ecosystem that thrives on diversity, symbiosis, and the interpenetration of organic systems. The boundaries between the natural and the artificial should not be restored.

Rather than a rarefied notion of purity, therefore, many artworks now offer us productive notions of blending, impurity, defilement, and contamination. The implications for the narrative of the environment are obvious – right down to political implications.

PS and TD

In which way might art historical research be informed by the way artists deal with processes of transformation? Art historians ought to pay attention to the close relationship between the topics of their discourses and the formats of communication they employ. Contemporary art always questions how the formats chosen for presenting ideas are in themselves partially constitutive of those ideas. CIHA's illustrious history makes it harder to question the formats that have been established to exchange ideas and to conduct research. Even though artists now tend to claim the term 'research' as a way to describe the format they use for a practice-based knowledge production, we, as art historians, show a certain fear of innovation.

When we, as CIHA secretaries, suggested that we question the established 19th century program of the CIHA congress, which uses a competitive bidding process to select a centralized national venue, we had recent developments in curating in mind. Shortly after our initial discussion, documenta attempted a demonstration of the kind of transformative motion we are interested in by using two venues. Although most of you might judge the resulting events in Kassel and Athens as a failure, they allowed a very fruitful discussion on the power of formats.

Innovative approaches in art historical academic institutions talk about field trips, about laboratories of intellectual discourse. However, we think there is still much to be learned from art: strategies of collectivity, participation, decolonization, paradigms of engagement and even of failure.

The engagement with two locations is a strong start and allows the congress, in its very format, to be open to the potential that might come from *contamination*.

CIHA, FLORENCE 2019
CONGRESS PROGRAM

FLORENCE 2019 IS A COLLABORATION BETWEEN CIHA ITALIA AND THE KUNSTHISTORISCHES INSTITUT IN FLORENZ – MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT

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A SPECIAL THANKS TO OUR CONGRESS SPONSORS AND PARTNERS

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GENERAL INFORMATION

The Session Program might be subject to change before the Congress
For updated information and program schedule, please see http://www.ciha- italia.it/florence2019/
All participants are requested to show their badge both during the congress and at the social events entrance.
The Special events in the Salone dei Cinquecento are open to participants and public, subject to availability (max 300 persons). The Special guided Visit to the Museo del Novecento is open to partecipants, subject to availability (max 150 persons).

REGISTRATION

All Congress participants are required to register for the Congress. Full Congress registrants receive a Congress Kit with their badge, the Congress program and any prearranged special events tickets.
Onsite registration will open on Sunday 1 September at 17:00.
Villa Vittoria - Firenze Fiera

Registration rates (VAT 22% included).

Deadline	Fee
May -June 2019	€ 200
July - August 2019	€ 250
On site	€ 300
CIHA Members	€ 150
Students	€ 80
Single day rate	€ 80
Single day rate – ICOM Member	€ 50
Single day rate – Student	€ 25

info@noemacongressi.it
For single day rate, visit CIHA Italia website
http://www.ciha-italia.it/florence2019/

For the guided tours, please note that the Museum Visits and guided tours on Wednesday, 4 September and Thursday, 5 September are not included in the Congress rate.

For registration visit:
www.noemacongressi.it

VENUE

Villa Vittoria - Firenze Fiera
Piazza Adua, 1 - 50123 Firenze

BOOKSHOP

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CONGRESS AT A GLANCE

Date	Time	Events	Venue
SUNDAY, 1 SEPTEMBER	18:00 - 20:00	Opening Ceremony	Villa Vittoria *Sala Verde*
MONDAY, 2 SEPTEMBER	9:00 - 17:30	**Session 1** *The Mystical Mind as a Divine Artist: Visions, Artistic Production, Creation of Images through Empathy*	Villa Vittoria *Sala Onice*
	9:00 - 19:30	**Session 2** *Artist, Power, Public*	Villa Vittoria *Sala Verde*
	21:00	**Special event:** keynote speech by Kavita Singh (Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi) *Indian Monuments in Motion, In and Out of the Museum*	Palazzo Vecchio, Salone dei Cinquecento (open to the public)
TUESDAY, 3 SEPTEMBER	9:00 - 18:00	**Session 3** *Art and Nature. Cultures of Collecting*	Villa Vittoria *Sala Onice*
	9:30 - 17:30	**Session 4** *Art and Religions*	Villa Vittoria *Sala Verde*
	18:30	**Free visit to Museo di Palazzo Vecchio**	Palazzo Vecchio
	21:00	**Special event:** round table with Vera Agosti (Independent Scholar), Thierry Dufrêne (Université Paris Nanterre), Peter J. Schneemann (Institut für Kunstgeschichte - Universität Bern) and the participation of Valerio Adami	Palazzo Vecchio, Salone dei Cinquecento (open to the public)
WEDNESDAY, 4 SEPTEMBER	10:00 - 20:00	**Museum Visits and guided tours**	Florence
	18:30 - 20:00	**Special guided Visit**	Museo Novecento
THURSDAY, 5 SEPTEMBER	9:00 - 18:30	**Session 5** *De/sign and Writing*	Villa Vittoria *Sala Onice*
	9:30 - 18:00	**Session 8** *The Ghost in the Machine: The Disappearance of Artists, Critics, Viewers?*	Villa Vittoria *Sala Verde*
FRIDAY, 6 SEPTEMBER	9:00 - 13:00	**Session 6** *Building an Icon: Architecture from Project to Product*	Villa Vittoria *Sala Onice*
	9:00 - 13:00	**Session 7** *Matter and Materiality in Art and Aesthetics: from Time to Deep-Time*	Villa Vittoria *Sala 101*
	10:00 - 18:00	**Session 9** *Voyage - Connecting Session between Firenze 2019 and São Paulo 2020*	Villa Vittoria *Sala Verde*
	19:00 - 21:00	**Official conclusion of the Congress and greetings of the authorities**	Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck- Institut

PROGRAM SCHEDULE BY DAY

SUNDAY, 1 SEPTEMBER

18:00 - 20:00
Opening Ceremony - Sala Verde

MONDAY, 2 SEPTEMBER

Session 1 - Sala Onice
The Mystical Mind as a Divine Artist: Visions, Artistic Production, Creation of Images through Empathy

CHAIRS

AKIRA AKIYAMA
University of Tokyo

GIUSEPPE CAPRIOTTI
Università di Macerata

VALENTINA ŽIVKOVIĆ
Institute for Balkan Studies, Beograd

9:00 - 9:30
Introduction

SPEAKERS

9:30 - 10:00
ALESSANDRA BARTOLOMEI ROMAGNOLI
Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma
The Painted Word. Forms of the Mystic Language in XIII-XV Centuries

10:00 - 10:30
CLAUDIA CIERI VIA
Sapienza Università di Roma
Beyond the Visible. Aby Warburg and his Last Considerations about Images

10:30 - 11:00
MICHELE BACCI
Université de Fribourg
Holy Sites, Ecstatic Experience, and Icon-Generating Visions

11:00 - 11:30
Break

11:30 - 12:00
GIA TOUSSAINT
Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
Heart and Cross in the Works of Henry Suso

12:00 - 12:30
SERGI SANCHO FIBLA
École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris
Representing the Trinity in Circles. Between Iconography and Theology in the Beatrice d'Ornacieux's (1303) Visions

12:30 - 13:00
TERUAKI MATSUZAKI
Tokyo Kasei Gakuin University
Kake-zukuri: A Japanese Building Type of Mountain Religion for the Mystical Experience

13:00 - 14:30
Lunch Time

14:30 - 15:00
LAMIA BALAFREJ
University of California, Los Angeles
Mystical Visions in the Desert

15:00 - 15:30
PHILIPPE MOREL
Université Paris 1 Panthéon- Sorbonne
An Introduction to Spiritual Contemplation: the San Bernardo's Vision from Filippino Lippi to Fra Bartolomeo

15:30 - 16:00
RAFFAELE ARGENZIANO
Università degli Studi di Siena
The "Represented" World of Colomba da Rieti and Domenica da Paradiso

16:00 - 16:30
Break

16:30 - 17:00
LAURO MAGNANI
Università degli Studi di Genova
Imaginative Vision and Artistic Image: from Meditation Tool to Post-Experience Testimony

17:00 - 17:30
Final discussion and conclusions

Session 2 - Sala Verde
Artist, Power, Public

CHAIRS

GIOVANNA CAPITELLI
Università degli Studi Roma Tre, Roma

CHRISTINA STRUNCK
Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen - Nürnberg

9:00 - 9:30
Introduction

SPEAKERS

9:30 - 10:00
GAETANO CURZI
Università di Chieti - Pescara
The Power of Images and Images of Power: the Replicas of the Lateran Saviour in Central Italy

10:00 - 10:30
HANNAH BAADER
Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut
The King's Finger and the Mermaid's Body. Gender, Power and the Sea

10:30 - 11:00
GUIDO REBECCHINI
The Courtauld Institute of Art, London
Art and Persuasion in Paul III's Rome

11:00 - 11:30
Break

11:30 - 12:00
CARLOTTA PALTRINIERI
Medici Archive Project, Firenze
The Social and Spatial Dimensions of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno

12:00 - 12:30
PRIYANI ROY CHOUDHURY
Humboldt - Universität zu Berlin
Architecture as Visual Language of Imperial Identity in Fatehpur Sikri

12:30 - 13:00
FRIEDERIKE WEIS
Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin
Unprecedented Images of Self-confident Women in Mughal India

13:00 - 14:30
Lunch Time

14:30 - 15:00
MARCO FOLIN / MONICA PRETI
Università degli Studi di Genova / Musée du Louvre, Paris - Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Firenze

The Wonders of the Ancient World: A Western Imagery in Translation

15:00 - 15:30
ROSLYN LEE HAMMERS
University of Hong Kong
The Power of Transformation: Qianlong's Command of his Empire and its Cultural Traditions in the Garden of the Clear Ripples

15:30 - 16:00
STEFANO CRACOLICI
Durham University
Lost in Darkness: The Hazy Origins of National Art in Mexico

16:00 - 16:30
Break

16:30 - 17:00
LEONARDO SANTAMARÍA-MONTERO
Universidad de Costa Rica, Alajuela
From Colony to Republic: Political Images and Ceremonies in Costa Rica (1809-1858)

17:00 - 17:30
ALEX BREMNER
University of Edinburgh
Propagating Power: Gender, Language, and Empire in the English Baroque Revival (1885-1920)

17:30 - 18:00
GIULIA MURACE
Universidad Nacional de San Martín
Art and Diplomacy. Projects for a South American Academy in Rome (1896-1911)

18:00 - 18:30
YI ZHUGE
Hangzhou Normal University
Chinese Contemporary New Media Art

18:30 - 19:00
KATARZYNA JAGODZIŃSKA
Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków
Between Museum as a Symbol and Museum as a Forum. Power Relations in Building Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw

19:00 - 19:30
Final discussion and conclusions

TUESDAY, 3 SEPTEMBER

Session 3 - Sala Onice
Art and nature. Cultures of Collecting

CHAIRS

MARCO COLLARETA
Università di Pisa

AVINOAM SHALEM
Columbia University, New York

9:00 - 9:30
Introduction

SPEAKERS

Panel 1. *Taxonomies*

9:30 - 10:00
DIMITRIOS LATSIS
Ryerson University, Toronto
Aby Warburg in Arizona: The Denkraum [Thinking Space] of Nature and Art

10:00 - 10:30
EVA-MARIA TROELENBERG
Universiteit Utrecht
"No quill and no brush can describe this splendor": Art, Nature and Developmental Vision in the Age of the Suez Canal

10:30 - 11:00
ANJA GREBE
Danube University Krems
Art, Nature, Metamorphosis: Maria Sibylla Merian as Artist and Collector

11:00 - 11:30
Break

11:30 - 12:00
EMMELYN BUTTERFIELD-ROSEN
Clark Art Institute, Williamstown
Taxonomies of Art and Nature after Darwin

12:00 - 12:30
JOAO OLIVEIRA DUARTE
Universidade Nova de Lisboa
Archiving Nature. From Vandelli's Curiosity Cabinet to the Natural History Cabinet

12:30 - 13:00
Discussion

13:00 - 14:30
Lunch Time

Panel 2. *Against (and pro) Nature?*

14:30 - 15:00
ELIZABETH J. PETCU
University of Edinburgh
Form Does Not Follow Function: Bernard Palissy Imitates Natural Processes

15:00 - 15:30
MATTHEW MARTIN
University of Melbourne
The Philosopher's Stone - Art and Nature in Eighteenth-Century European Porcelain Production

15:30 - 16:00
STEFAN LAUBE
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Collecting the Other Way Round: From Collecting to Being Collected

16:00 - 16:30
Break

16:30 - 17:00
CHRISTOPHER HEUER
University of Rochester
Art of/as Inundation: Dürer's 1525 Flood

17:00 - 17:30
DIPTI KHERA
New York University, Institute of Fine Art
The Season for Art

17:30 - 18:00
Final discussion and conclusions

Session 4 - Sala Verde
Art and Religions

CHAIRS

MATEUSZ KAPUSTKA
Universität Zürich - Kunsthistorisches Institut

ANDREA PINOTTI
Università degli Studi di Milano

9:30 - 10:00
Introduction

SPEAKERS

Panel 1. *Animation*

10:00 - 10:30
CARLO SEVERI
École des Hautes Études
en Sciences Sociales, Paris
'Parer vivo'. An Epistemology of the Semblance of Life in Renaissance Perspective

10:30 - 11:00
EWA RYBALT
Uniwersytet Marii
Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin
When and Why the Light becomes Flesh. More about Titian's "Annunciations"

11:00 - 11:30
Break

11:30 - 12:00
ZUZANNA SARNECKA
Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warszawa
Divine Sculptural Encounters in the Fifteenth-Century Italian Household

12:00 - 12:30
CAROLINE VAN ECK
University of Cambridge
Sacrifices Material and Immaterial. The Survival of Graeco-Roman Candelabra

12:30 - 13:00
Discussion

13:00 - 14:30
Lunch Time

Panel 2. *Alienation*

14:30 - 15:00
LEÓN GARCÍA GARAGARZA
Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles
NECUEPALIZTLI: Metamorphosis and Transformation in Mesoamerican Art and Epistemology

15:00 - 15:30
NAMAN AHUJA
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
Ābhāsa (again) - External Images for Self-Reflection and Capturing an Inner Essence

15:30 - 16:00
PAMELA D. WINFIELD
Elon University
Visual Mimesis, Textual Nemesis: Animation and Alienation in Medieval Japanese Zen Master Portraits

16:00 - 16:30
Break

16:30 - 17:00
JEEHEE HONG
McGill University, Montréal
The Meditating Monkey: Animation and Agency in Chan Buddhist Art

17:00 - 17:30
Final discussion and conclusions

THURSDAY, 5 SEPTEMBER

Session 5 - Sala Onice
De/Sign and Writing

CHAIRS

LIHONG LIU
University of Rochester

MARCO MUSILLO
Kunsthistorisches Institut in
Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut

9:30 - 10:00
Introduction

SPEAKERS

10:00 - 10:30
SANJA SAVKIC / ERIK VELÁSQUEZ GARCÍA
Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut / Humboldt Universität zu Berlin/ Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Ciudad de México
Arts in Letters: the Aesthetics of Ancient Maya Script

10:30 - 11:00
CHEN LIANG
Universität Wien
Signs from the "Celestial Thearch": Talismans in the Tomb-quelling Texts of the Eastern Han Dynasty

11:00 - 11:30
Break

11:30 - 12:00
BÉLA ZSOLT SZAKÁCS
Central European University, Budapest
Written on the Wall: Script and Decoration in Medieval Central Europe

12:00 - 12:30
JENS BAUMGARTEN
Universidade Federal de São Paulo
From Signs, Letters and Hidden Paintings: Creative Processes in Colonial Context in Iberoamerica

12:30 - 13:00
REBECCA DUFENDACH
Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles
Moteuczoma Xocoyotzin Transformed in the "Three Texts" of the Florentine Codex

13:00 - 14:30
Lunch Time

14:30 - 15:00
HUIPING PANG
The Art Institute of Chicago
Nine Drafts for One Stroke (jiuxiuyiba): A Mural Painter's Underdrawings on Handscrolls

15:00 - 15:30
YU-CHIH LAI
Academia Sinica, Taipei
The Literati Baimiao Tradition Encountering European Drawings

15:30 - 16:00
EUGENIA BOGDANOVA-KUMMER
Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures, Norwich
Modern Zen Calligraphy: NantenboToju between Past and Present

16:00 - 16:30
Break

16:30 - 17:00
TUTTA PALIN
Turun Yliopisto, Turku
Modern Disegno: Embodied Splendor of Lines

17:00 - 17:30
VIRVE SARAPIK
Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, Tallinn
In-between: Image, Picture and Sound-picture

17:30 - 18:00
ARTHUR VALLE
Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro

Brazilian Pontos Riscados: Spiritual Invocation, Nomination, Geometric Thought

18:00 - 18:30
Final discussion and conclusions

Session 8 - Sala Verde
The Ghost in the Machine: The Disappearance of Artists, Critics, Viewers?

CHAIRS

RAKHEE BALARAM
University at Albany

FLAVIO FERGONZI
Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa

9:30 - 10:00
Introduction

SPEAKERS

10:00 - 10:30
KWAN KIU LEUNG
Royal College of Art, London
Visibility and Criticism in the Public Sphere

10:30 - 11:00
NADIA RADWAN
Universität Bern, Institut für Kunstgeschichte
Invisible Stories: The other Criteria of Art Criticism in the Middle East

11:00 - 11:30
Break

11:30 - 12:00
LING MIN
Fine Arts Academy of Shanghai University
What is Lost in the Transformation of Art Criticism in China?

12:00 - 12:30
JOSÉ ANTONIO GONZÁLEZ ZARANDONA
Deakin University, Melbourne
Destruction of Images; Images of Destruction: Critical Stances of Contemporary Heritage

12:30 - 13:00
FRANCESCO GUZZETTI
Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa
The Standard: Questioning Subjectivity in the Early 1970s

13:00 - 14:30
Lunch Time

14:30 - 15:00
LOLA LORANT
Université Rennes 2
From Art Criticism to Art History, Challenging the Environmental Denial in the Writings of the Nouveau Réalisme in the Transatlantic World

15:00 - 15:30
MARIA DE FÁTIMA MORETHY COUTO
Universidade Estadual de Campinas
Bringing the Spectator to the Foreground: Julio Le Parc and Lygia Clark at the Venice Biennials (1966 and 1968)

15:30 - 16:00
PETER BELL / LEONARDO IMPETT
Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen / Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Roma
The Choreography of the Annunciation: Reverse Engineering Baxandall's Pictorial Plot

16:00 - 16:30
Break

16:30 - 17:00
PAMELA BIANCHI
Université Paris 8
The Digital Presence of the Ephemeral: Three Study Cases

17:00 - 17:30
SARA DE CHIARA
Sapienza Università di Roma
Edmond de Belamy or Bel Ami: the Rise of the "Non- Artist" vs the Artist's Retreat

17:30 - 18:00
Final discussion and conclusions

FRIDAY, 6 SEPTEMBER

Session 6 - Sala Onice
Building an Icon: Architecture from Project to Product

CHAIRS

FILIZ ÇAKIR PHILLIP
Aga Khan Museum, Toronto

DARIO DONETTI
Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut

9:00 - 9:30
Introduction

SPEAKERS

9:30 - 10:00
SHARON SMITH
Arizona State University, Tempe
Of Architecture, Icons and Meaning: Encountering the Pre-modern City

10:00 - 10:30
YU YANG
Kyushu University, Fukuoka
Shadows of Bright Houses: Photographs of Architecture in Colonial Manchuria (1900- 1945)

10:30 - 11:00
ELENA O'NEILL
Universidad Católica del Uruguay, Montevideo
The Architecture of Eladio Dieste: Challenging Technology, Structure and Beauty

11:00 - 11:30
Break

11:30 - 12:00
MORGAN NG
Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles
The Iconicity of On-site Architectural Drawings in the Renaissance

12:00 - 12:30
ALINA PAYNE
Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Firenze
The Architect's Hand: 'Making' Tropes and Their Afterlife

12:30 - 13:00
Final discussion and conclusions

Session 7 - Sala 101
Matter and Materiality in Art and Aesthetics: From Time to Deep-Time

CHAIRS

FRANCESCA BORGO
University of St Andrews

RICCARDO VENTURI
Villa Medici - Accademia
di Francia a Roma

9:00 - 9:30
Introduction

SPEAKERS

9:30 - 10:00
FABIAN JONIETZ
Kunsthistorisches Institut
in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut
Renaissance Dust

10:00 - 10:30
NICOLAS CORDON
Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne
The Lifelyness of Stucco:
Materiality and Human
Presence in Early Modern
Decorative Systems

10:30 - 11:00
BRONWEN WILSON
University of California, Los Angeles
Lithic Images, Jacopo Ligozzi,
and the Descrizione
del Sacro Monte della Verna (1612)

11:00 - 11:30
Break

11:30 - 12:00
AMY OGATA
University of Southern California,
Los Angeles
Making Iron Matter
in the French Second Empire

12:00 - 12:30
SIOBHAN ANGUS
York University, Toronto
The Labor of Photography: a Materialist
Analysis of Occupational Portraits

12:30 - 13:00
JEANETTE KOHL
University of California, Riverside
'Matters' of Life and Death -
From San Gennaro to Marc Quinn

13:00 - 14:30
Lunch Time

14:30 - 15:00
LILIANE EHRHART
Princeton University
Freezing Time: Marc Quinn's Self Series

15:00 - 15:30
JING YANG
Jyväskylän Yliopisto, Jyväskylä
Chinese Art in the Age of the Anthropocene:
The Interconnectedness between Humans
and Non-human Entities

15:30 - 16:00
NICOLE SULLY
University of Queensland, Brisbane
By the Silvery Light of the Monument: Lucency
and the Dematerialising of the Memorial

16:00 - 16:30
Break

16:30 - 17:00
STEFANIA PORTINARI
Università Ca' Foscari Venezia
Venice Biennale as World Map:
Cartographies, Geological Interventions,
Landmark Layers

17:00 - 17:30
Final discussion and conclusions

Session 9 - Sala Verde
Voyage

CHAIRS

MARZIA FAIETTI
Gallerie degli Uffizi; Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut

ANA GONÇALVES MAGALHÃES
MAC USP - Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo

10:00 - 10:30
Introduction

SPEAKERS

10:30 - 11:00
MIYUKI AOKI GIRARDELLI
Istanbul Technical University
The "Orient" in the West: Japanese Architect Ito Chuta's Travels in the Ottoman Empire and its Challenge to the Oriental Narrative

11:00 - 11:30
Break

11:30 - 12:00
DAVID YOUNG KIM
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
Giorgio Vasari and Antonio Vieira: The Travels of Transatlantic Art Theory

12:00 - 12:30
MARIA BERBARA
Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro
Representations of Brazil in Italy in the 16th and 17th centuries: Between Domestication and Ferocity

12:30 - 13:00
ALEXANDER GAIOTTO MIYOSHI
Universidade Federal de Uberlândia
The Emigrants (1910) by Antonio Rocco: Voyage of a Painting and its Painter

13:00 - 14:30
Lunch Time

14:30 - 15:00
PAOLO RUSCONI
Università degli Studi di Milano
"Un'idea del Brasile". Pietro Maria Bardi's Second Life

15:00 - 15:30
GERHARD WOLF
Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut
Beyond the Voyage

15:30 - 16:00
Final discussion and Conclusions

16:00 - 17:30
Visit to the Posters Section

19:00 - 21:00
Official conclusion of the Congress and greetings of the authorities
To be held at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut, via Giuseppe Giusti 44

POSTERS

Participants
(in alphabetical order)

JEFFERSON DE ALBUQUERQUE MENDES
Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro
Imago Signorum: the Doctrine of Microcosmic Man at the Illustrations Between the XIV and XV Centuries

TATIANE DE OLIVEIRA ELIAS
Universidade do Porto - Universidade Federal de Santa Maria
Afro-Latin America Religion, Symbolism in Visual Arts

PEDRO LUENGO
Universidad de Sevilla
Eighteenth Century Foreign Artists at Court

RENATO MENEZES RAMOS
École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales
Ambiguous Gestures: Iconography of the Archers Between Europe and the New World

HIROKO NAGAI
Kyushu University
Giovio's and Vasari's Who's Who: Pinturicchio's Mural Paintings as Models for Paolo Giovio's Portraits

HAOXUE NIE
Guangzhou Academy of Fine Arts
The Discourse of Anti-Urbanism in the Paintings of George Ault and Other Precisionists

IZUMI FLORENCE OTA
The University of Tokyo - Université de Fribourg
French Royal Reliquary with the Image of the Arma Christi, the So-Called Libretto

LARISSA SOUSA DE CARVALHO
Universidade Estadual de Campinas
Between Art and Fashion: Sixteenth-Century Costume Books Today

JAQUELINE SOUZA VELOSO
Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro
Projection of Maturity, Inventiveness and Imagination in Roman Funerary Art: Analysis of the Altar of Iulia Victorina

YUNING TENG
Universität Hamburg
The Re-Fabrication of Napoleon in China

YOKO TSUCHIYAMA
Waseda University
Between the Object and the Text: A Study on the Local Reactions on The Family of Man Exhibition in the 1950s and 60s

SPECIAL EVENTS

MONDAY, 2 SEPTEMBER

21:00
Palazzo Vecchio,
Salone dei Cinquecento

Keynote speech

KAVITA SINGH
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
Indian Monuments in Motion, In and Out of the Museum

TUESDAY, 3 SEPTEMBER

18:30 - 20:00
Palazzo Vecchio

Free visit

21:00
Palazzo Vecchio,
Salone dei Cinquecento

Round table

VERA AGOSTI
Independent Scholar
THIERRY DUFRÊNE
Université Paris Nanterre
PETER J. SCHNEEMANN
Universität Bern, Institut
für Kunstgeschichte

with the participation
of VALERIO ADAMI

Special guided Visit

WEDNESDAY, 4 SEPTEMBER

18:30 - 20:00
MUSEO NOVECENTO

MUSEUM VISITS AND GUIDED TOURS

Visit the conference website for complete information about registration, hours, options and fees.

WEDNESDAY, 4 SEPTEMBER

Firenze

- Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
- Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze
- Gallerie degli Uffizi,
  Galleria delle Statue e delle Pitture
- Gallerie degli Uffizi,
  Tesoro dei Granduchi
- Museo di Palazzo Vecchio
- Museo degli Innocenti
- Museo Nazionale del Bargello
- Museo dell'Opera del Duomo di Firenze
- Museo di Storia Naturale,
  Antropologia ed Etnologia - Università degli Studi Firenze
- Museo Novecento
- Museo Stibbert
- Opificio delle Pietre Dure
- Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies

THURSDAY, 5 SEPTEMBER

19:00 - 20:30
CENTRO PER L'ARTE CONTEMPORANEA
LUIGI PECCI, PRATO

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