The RUTGERS ART REVIEW

Published by the Graduate Students of the Department of Art History

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

Volume 24
2008

Copyright © 2009
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
All rights reserved
Manufactured in the United States of America
ISSN 0194-049X

Rutgers Art Review
Volume 24

Editors Diana Bramham and Susannah Fisher

Editorial Board Stephan Alsa
Brooke Falk
Hilary Haakenson
Gabriella Miyamoto
Eliana Moreira
Reshma Nayyar
Ricki Sablove
Katherine Weaver Scott
Kim Sels
Sarah Wilkins

Proofreaders Benjamin Eldredge
Brooke Falk
Katherine Kupiec
Kate Scott

Faculty Advisor Susan Sidlauskas

The Rutgers Art Review is an annual journal produced by graduate students in the Department of Art History at Rutgers University. The journal is dedicated to presenting original research by graduate students in art history and related fields. For each volume the editors convene an editorial board made up of students from the department and review all new submissions. The strongest papers are then sent to established scholars in order to confirm that each one will contribute to existing scholarship. Articles appearing in RAR are abstracted and indexed online in *America: History and Life*, *ARTbibliographies Modern*, the *Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals*, *BHA (Bibliography of the History of Art)*, *Historical Abstracts*, and the *Wilson Art Index*. The journal is distributed by subscription to over one hundred of the finest university, museum, and public libraries in North America and Europe. For annual rates and more information about *RAR*, visit our website at http://rar.rutgers.edu

Correspondence to *RAR* editors may be sent to rutgersartreview@gmail.com

[illegible]

[illegible]-Art [illegible]

[illegible] Advisory [illegible]

[illegible] journal [illegible]
[illegible] Rutgers University.
[illegible] students [illegible]
each volume the [illegible] editorial [illegible]
the department [illegible] The [illegible] paper
[illegible] that each one will
[illegible] are abstracted and
[illegible] the [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

CONTENTS
Volume 24
2008

Articles

Particular Judgment or Last Judgment?: A Reassessment of Maso di Banco's Fresco over the Large Tomb in the Bardi di Vernio Chapel in Santa Croce in Florence
Virginia Brilliant 2

The Dissolution of Pictorial Thresholds: the Angel Pietàs of Andrea del Sarto, Rosso Fiorentino, and Jacopo da Pontormo
Melissa Shive 18

"Non piacquero al Padrone": A reexamination of Caravaggio's Cerasi Crucifixion of St. Peter
Heather Nolin 41

The Architecture of Industry: Bush Terminal and the Evolution of Modern Industrial Form
Malka Simon 72

May 1968 and the Question of the Image
Victoria H.F. Scott 87

Acknowledgements

The completion of volume 24 of the Rutgers Art Review would not have been possible without the dedicated help of many individuals. Foremost among those to whom we owe special thanks are the graduate students who contributed their essays for publication: Virginia Brilliant, Heather Nolin, Victoria Scott, Melissa Shive and Malka Simon. We are also indebted to the supervision of our faculty advisor Professor Susan Sidlauskas and to the stewardship of many past and present RAR editors. Many thanks to our editorial board for carefully reading, selecting and proofreading these papers for publication: Stephen Alsa, Brooke Falk, Hilary Haakenson, Gabriella Miyamoto, Lana Moreira, Reshma Nayyar, Ricki Sablove, Kim Sels, Katherine Weaver Scott and Sarah Wilkins. In addition to the hard work of these graduate students, many anonymous outside readers also graciously offered their time and expertise in reviewing these papers and enhancing the quality of the journal, and to them we extend our sincere appreciation. Many thanks to Katherine Scott for her assistance with the pre-press design of this volume. Finally, we would like to thank the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston for permission to reproduce from its collection, Rosso Fiorentino's The Dead Christ with Angels on the cover of this volume.

Benefactors

Allen & Company
The Office of the Associate Vice President for Academic and Public Partnerships in the Arts and Humanities, Rutgers University
The Graduate Student Association, Rutgers University

Patrons

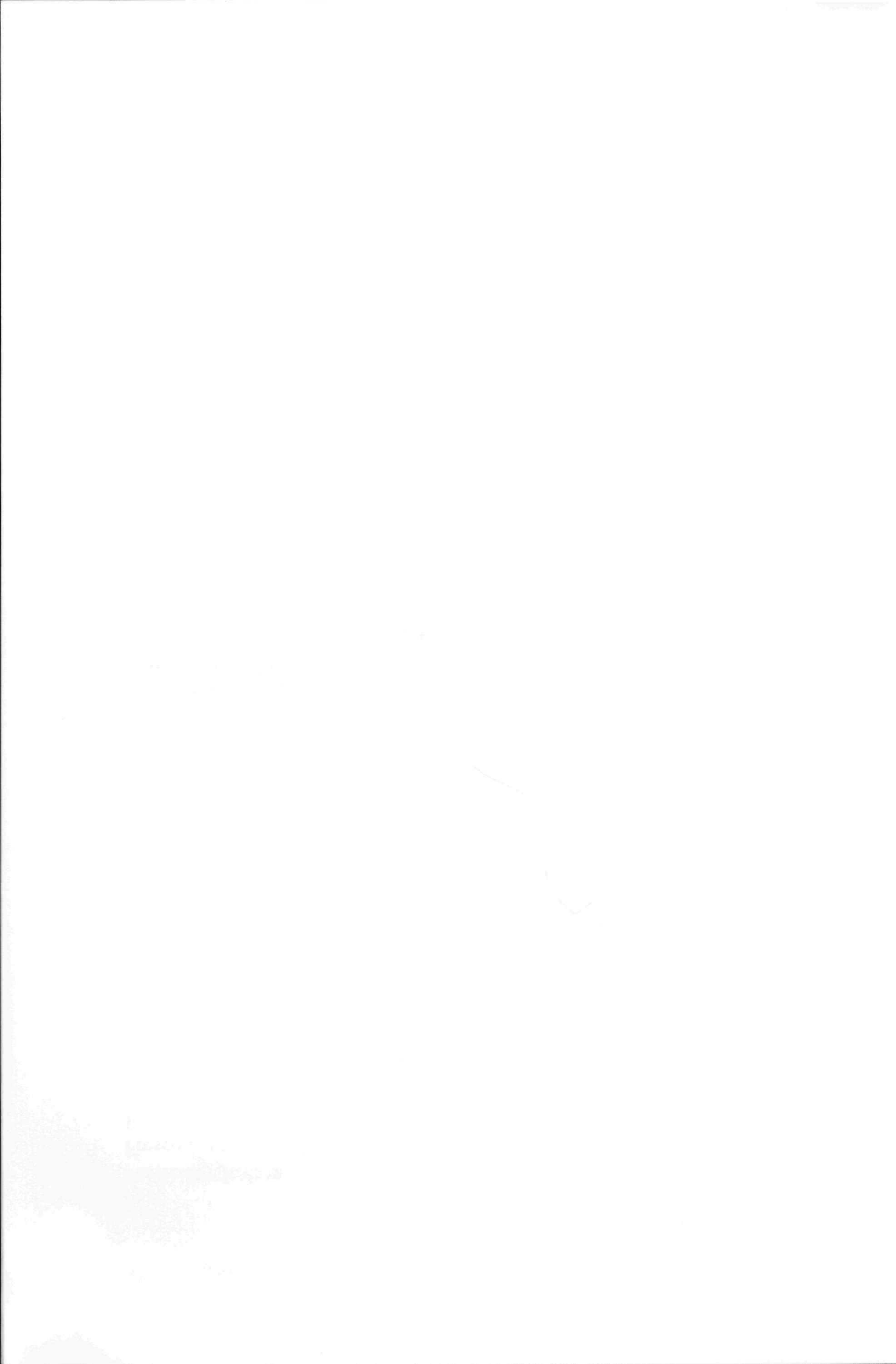
Tod Marder
Gabriella Miyamoto
The Emily and Jane Harvey Foundation

Contributors

Sarah Blake McHam
Joan Marter

Friends

Sarah Brett-Smith



Particular Judgment or Last Judgment?: A Reassessment of Maso di Banco's Fresco over the Large Tomb in the Bardi di Vernio Chapel in Santa Croce in Florence

Virginia Brilliant

In the 1330s, Maso di Banco executed the majority of the decorations of the Bardi di Vernio Chapel in the Franciscan church of Santa Croce in Florence, including the remarkable judgment scene above the larger of the chapel's two tombs. Undocumented, however, are the date and terms of the commission, the date of the work's execution, the precise identity of the chapel's Bardi patron, and that of the individual commemorated by the large tomb.[1] What is known is that various members of the wealthy and powerful Florentine Bardi family—bankers whose clients included the papal Curia, the English monarchy, and the Angevin rulers of Naples[2]—possessed rights of patronage to four chapels in Santa Croce, including this one, by 1335.[3] In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in Italy, private funerary chapels built and decorated at the behest and in commemoration of laymen became increasingly common features in mendicant churches. Yet the large tomb in the Bardi di Vernio Chapel was quite unusual.[4] Such monuments were only very infrequently built into the walls of private chapels, and were moreover not common fixtures inside churches in general in this period.

Also highly unusual is the fresco—ostensibly commemorating the interred—which is the tomb's visual focal point. In it a male figure, henceforth called the "Bardi Man," rises up into the frescoed space as if from the marble sarcophagus embellished with sculpted reliefs (fig. 1). He wears a white cap and a short grayish-brown tunic. Although it is unclear whether he stands or kneels, he is poised in the fresco's immediate foreground in the wide, V-shaped, concave opening formed by a gap between two rocky peaks that constitute the fresco's foreground landscape. He is nearly, but not quite, situated at the composition's center: his body is rooted in the left-hand side of the pictorial space but his hands and forearms, joined in prayer, are located precisely upon the fresco's central vertical axis.

The Bardi Man responds to the call issued by two trumpeting angels included in a larger group of six, the others holding instruments of the Passion. The angels surround a figure of Christ, enclosed in a mandorla and hovering in a deep blue twilight sky. The Bardi Man gazes upwards towards this divine apparition. Christ's expression is utterly inscrutable. Wounds in his hands, feet, and bare torso are visible and both of his arms extend outwards and downwards from his body, his right palm open to the viewer, his left palm turned inwards.

A bare, smooth, ground level rock surface stretches between the Bardi Man and the landscape in the fresco's background, marked predominantly by a range of barren and craggy rocks. To the left-hand side of the range's most prominent, centrally placed peak, is a green hill marked by several trees. Exactly opposite this grove, to the peak's right-hand side, is a small, barren hill, distinguished from the landscape's other features by its dark, almost black, color. In this background range of landscape features, the entirety of the area to the left-hand side of the cleft in the central rock is painted in lighter tones than that to the cleft's right-hand side, a very distinctly darker area.

An ornately embellished white marble baldachin circumscribes the fresco forming a niche. Full-length frescoed figures of a prophet and a saint appear in this niche's left- and right-hand embrasures, respectively. The prophet looks and gestures towards the viewer, while the saint's gesture and gaze reference the fresco. Both hold scrolls lamentably damaged to the point of illegibility. Two winged figures appear above in the ornamental band under the baldachin's canopy. In frescoed areas flanking the baldachin's gable, two half-length Old Testament prophets protrude from fictive *oculi*.

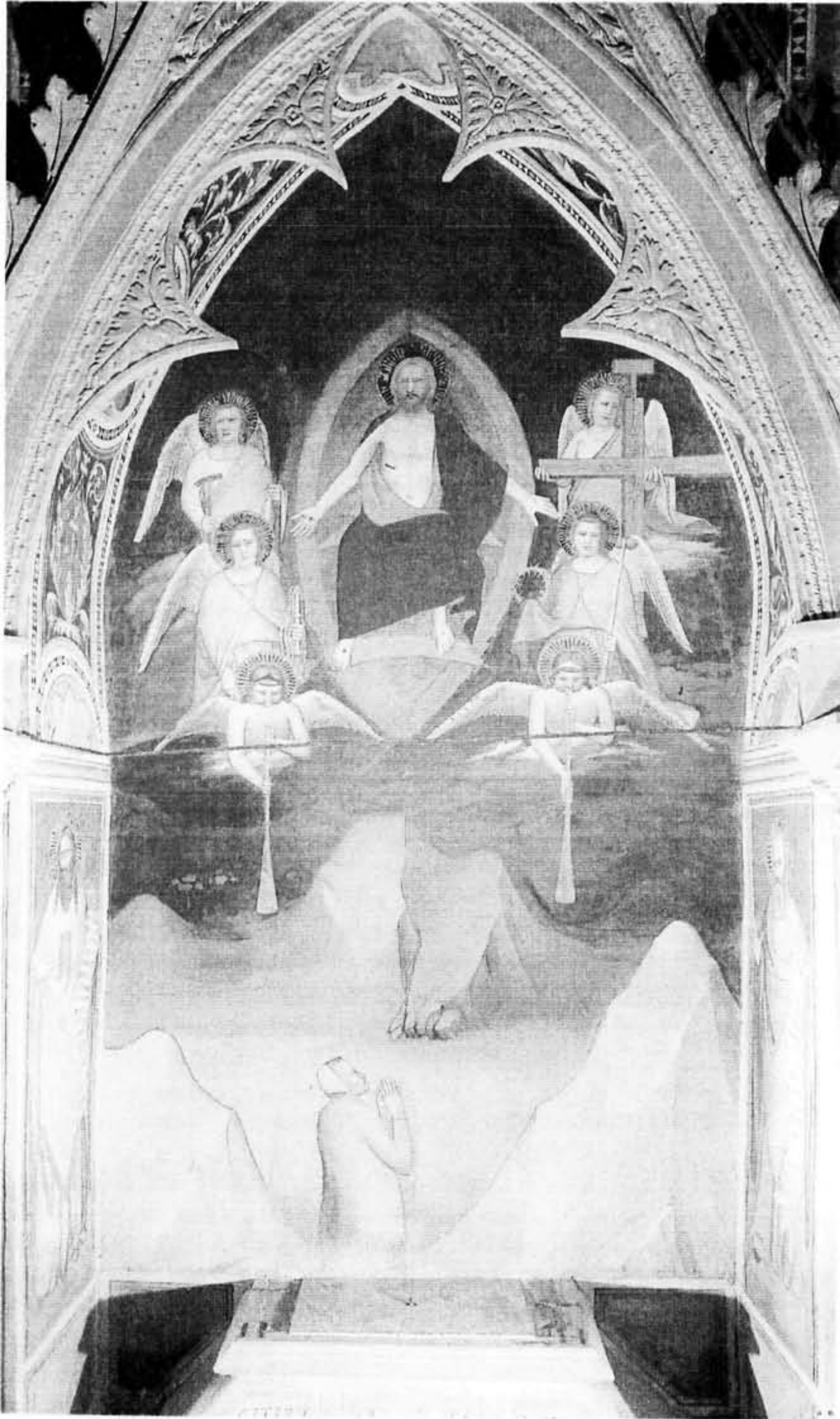


Fig. 1. Maso di Banco, Tomb for the Bardi Family, ca. 1330s. Bardi di Vernio Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence. Photo: Virginia Brilliant)

Both hold scrolls, that on the right-hand side stating: EXTERMINATI SUNT ET AD INFERNOS DESCENDERUNT (from Baruch 3:19, meaning: "They have vanished, gone down to Hell"). That on the left-hand side states: O MORS QUAM AMARA EST MEMORIA TUA (from Ecclesiasticus 41:1, meaning: "O Death, how bitter it is to remember you").

This extraordinary sepulchral ensemble has been the subject of intense debate owing to the dual eschatology espoused in Christian belief and doctrine. For, from the New Testament, medieval Christianity inherited a fundamental eschatological belief: at the end of time, Christ will judge the living and the dead and allocate each to Heaven or Hell for all eternity (Matthew 25 and Revelation 20). Scripture, however, also bequeathed medieval Christianity another important eschatological idea, that of a judgment rendered upon each individual soul at the moment of death (Luke 16:19-31 and Luke 23:43). Called the "individual," "immediate," or "particular" judgment by modern scholars, this concept proved a persistent element of medieval Christian eschatological belief. Many scholars have asserted that the fresco depicts an individual participating in the Last Judgment of all humanity at the end of time. Others have argued that it represents the "particular judgment," or, more precisely, the judgment of the individual soul post-mortem.

Vasari quite simply described the fresco as "a judgment."[5] Only in the nineteenth century was the fresco explicitly called a "Last Judgment."[6] Modern scholars who have favored viewing the work as a personalized Last Judgment include Richard Offner, David Wilkins, Jane Long, Jérome Baschet, and Michele Bacci.[7] Eve Borsook was the first to suggest that the work was concerned with the post-mortem experience.[8] Helen Ronan and Janos Végh accepted this hypothesis, both further asserting that the work depicts the particular judgment.[9] In a book celebrating the restoration of the chapel in the 1990s, Cristina Acidini Luchinat and Enrica Neri Lusanna further argued for this latter view.[10] A response to this book by Roberto Bartalini in 2000 turned the tide once again.[11] This problem, however, has not yet been conclusively or convincingly resolved. The present paper aims to reassess these arguments and to advance a new hypothesis regarding the judgment portrayed in the fresco, arguing that both may be its subject, or at issue in it, simultaneously.

On the whole, Maso's spare scene bears little resemblance to the crowded and animated Last Judgment images made in fourteenth-century Italy. Consider, for example, the frescoes in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua (Giotto, ca. 1300-1305, fig. 2), the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella in Florence (Nardo di Cione, ca. 1357), and the Camposanto in Pisa (Buffalmacco, ca. 1330s). Nonetheless, scholars who have understood Maso's fresco as a personalized Last Judgment have based their claims chiefly upon the appearance in the work of iconographical elements commonly associated with contemporary representations of the Last Judgment. The most conspicuous relevant feature is the figure of Christ, which is in fact consonant with some of those deployed in fourteenth-century Italian Last Judgment scenes.[12]

Christ's appearance in representations of the post-mortem judgment could be visually equivalent to his aspect in Last Judgment imagery; a strand of medieval theology allows for this. Writing in the 1130s, Peter Abelard deployed the word *iudicium*, a term previously used to describe the events that will occur at the end of time, to elucidate the character of the action God performs upon the soul in the moment of death; in his writings the particular judgment and the Last Judgment become semantically one and the same.[13] Robert of Melun, considering Paul's discussion of Christ's Second Coming in the *Epistles*, wrote of a double coming, or *adventus*, of Christ.[14] Robert diverged from the Pauline tradition that pairs the Second Coming of Christ at the Last Judgment with the Incarnation, asserting that while the Second Coming occurs when Christ comes to judge all humanity at the end of time, in keeping with traditional views, Christ's first *adventus* is not the Incarnation, but rather occurs in the moment of each individual's death when Christ comes to judge the soul. Robert's understanding of the *adventus duplex* in terms of a *iudicium duplex* creates a correlative link between the two events of judgment and also stipulates that Christ plays central and analogous roles in both

Fig. 2. Giotto, Last Judgement, ca. 1300-1305. Scrovegni Chapel, Padua. (Photo: ALINARI Archives, Florence)

instances. Theologians including Richard of St. Victor and Thomas Aquinas also made recourse to such analogies.[15] Additionally, these ideas made a more popular impact. In *exempla* widely circulated in medieval Europe, including Italy in the fourteenth century, the judgment of the soul post-mortem is enacted by a figure of Christ described in a manner consistent with contemporary Last Judgment imagery.[16] If such sources suggest that the two judgments could be viewed as parallel events differing only in timing and object, and further assign equivalent roles to Christ in the instances of both judgments, then it is possible to propose that in the realms of visual imagery, the judging Christ involved in the particular judgment could be represented in iconographically analogous terms to those of contemporary Last Judgment imagery.

A few other works also propose similar visual scenarios in which single individuals appear before a figure of Christ whose guise is consonant with his appearance at the Last Judgment: a fresco in the Duomo of Atri in the Abruzzo region (ca. 1350),[17] a fresco in the Casa Minerbi in Ferrara (ca. 1370-1380),[18] and, later, the tomb of Bishop Giovanni de Coca in the Cappella di San Raimondo in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome (fresco by Melozzo da Forlì, ca. 1477).[19] A multivalent interpretation may likewise usefully apply to them.

Another iconographical element of the fresco consistent with Last Judgment imagery is the presence of trumpeting angels beside Christ. This pictorial element is derived from Matthew 24:31, which states that: "he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of Heaven to the other." Trumpeting angels may be found in many important Last Judgment scenes created in fourteenth-century Italy, includ-

Fig. 3. Biagio di Goro Ghezzo, Psychostasis, 1368. San Michele, Paganico. (Photo: Virginia Brilliant)

ing the fresco in the Scrovegni Chapel. Trumpeting angels may also, however, be associated with the particular judgment. In *exempla* in circulation in the fourteenth century in Europe, the souls of the dying often heard themselves called from their bodies unto the realms of the otherworld by trumpeting angels.[20] Such angels also may have been included both in texts and in this image to evoke and represent the particular judgment by means of iconographical resonance with Last Judgment imagery, as discussed above in relation to Christ.

The foreground landscape has also encouraged scholars to view the scene as a depiction of the Last Judgment. There, a craggy and barren set of rocks which form a V-shaped concave dip and assume the appearance of a desolate valley. Scholars have remarked upon the parity between this topographical feature and the idea of the Valley of Josophat, the place where scripture suggests that the resurrection of the flesh will occur. Representations of the Valley of Josophat are included in most contemporary depictions of the Last Judgment. Perhaps the configuration of the rocks in the foreground of Maso's fresco is even more strongly suggestive of a valley than those more flat Valleys of Josophat included in contemporary Last Judgment images. It is consequently possible to view the fresco's foreground landscape features as a depiction of the Valley of Josophat, and thus the entire fresco as an image of the Last Judgment that takes place in that valley.

Yet the frescoed valley might also arguably be linked to the particular judgment. In light of the parallel nature of the two judgments discussed above, it might be hypothesized that if the Last Judgment took place in the Valley of Josophat, the particular judgment might be viewed as occurring in the same location. Indeed, in the *exempla* discussed above in relation to the figure of the judging Christ, the soul is brought to the Valley of Josophat to undergo the judgment.[21] So even if the frescoed valley is viewed as a depiction of the Valley of Josophat, the judgment occurring in that valley need not necessarily be understood as the Last Judgment.

It may also be possible to view the frescoed valley as an image of the Valley of Death that features in Psalm 22(23), as Borsook suggested.[22] This Psalm was included in the Office of the Dead, the set of prayers recited at the deathbed, throughout funerals, by the laity in private, and daily in funerary chapels such as the one housing the tomb at issue here.[23] These prayers aimed to ease the dying through their last moments of life, aid the soul in the moment of the post-mortem judgment, alleviate any consequential purgatorial suffering allotted to that soul in that judgment, and help to ensure the soul's eventual achievement of reward in Heaven.[24] When the Office of the Dead was recited in the Bardi di Vernio Chapel, the supplicant viewers might readily have connected the Valley of Death mentioned in their prayers with the image of the frescoed valley. The pictured judgment may have thus been understood as the one that occurs immediately post-mortem, death being the

moment in which one passes though this particular valley.

The image of the Bardi Man standing in the concave dip in the rocks is also reminiscent of several pictorial devices that play roles in contemporary representations of the soul's post-mortem experience. For one, it resembles the personifications of the good and bad qualities of souls that sit in cup-shaped receptacles suspended from the balance held by the Archangel Michael in numerous medieval Italian images in which the particular judgment is envisaged in terms of a pyschostasis, or a weighing of souls in a balance (fig. 3). It also calls to mind many fourteenth-century Italian images in which figurations of souls stand or kneel in swags of cloth, cloud bursts, or curved mandorlas supported on either side by angels bearing these souls to Heaven following the particular judgment (fig. 4). There is also a resemblance to visualizations of the bosom of Abraham—a realm sometimes thought in the Middle Ages to contain the souls of the blessed prior to the Last Judgment —in which figures of the patriarch hold cloths filled with souls (fig. 5). For the fourteenth-century viewer conversant in these pictorial types, this shape resonates strongly with iconographical conceits representing a variety of experiences possibly available to the soul post-mortem, encouraging us, as it may have done such a viewer, to associate the foreground landscape with the post-mortem experience and by extension the frescoed judgment with the particular judgment.

One final element of the fresco's iconography that has been linked to the Last Judgment is the appearance of the Bardi Man. Some scholars have claimed that the Bardi Man represents a single individual facing the Last Judgment or, more intriguingly, personifies all male members of the Bardi family.[25] The latter, cumulative presence would seem to demand that the fresco be understood as an image of the Last Judgment during which all mankind is judged collectively. However, even if the Bardi Man represents all Bardi men, it is nonetheless possible to view the fresco as a depiction of the particular judgment that all of these men would undergo post-mortem, the image compressing the judgments of all of these men into a single scene.

Fig. 4. Simone Martini, Death of St. Martin of Tours, ca. 1317-1320. St. Martin Chapel, San Francesco, Lower Church, Assisi. (Photo: ALINARI Archives, Florence)

Fig. 5. Bosom of Abraham, ca. 1211-1299. Reims, Cathedral. (Photo: ALINARI Archives, Florence)

Notably, the appearance of the Bardi Man has been identified most closely by modern scholars with the particular judgment. During the course of the recent restoration of the fresco, it was discovered that the Bardi Man was initially frescoed in the nude and that his clothes were added *a secco* shortly thereafter.[26] Neri Lusanna asserts that this change was implemented in order to clarify the fresco's iconographical themes and intensify its power as a representation of the particular judgment. She maintains that while bodies rising from tombs at the Last Judgment must be shown nude, souls are invariably clothed. This argument is sound. The soul was in this period generally understood as a person's essence, an entity that included their gender and peculiarities of appearance, dress, and facial characteristics and expressions. Hence in the visual arts the soul typically assumed a paradoxically somatomorphic presence. It is therefore possible, following Neri Lusanna's line of argument, to view the clothed Bardi Man as a figuration of a soul, one that has drifted upwards from the body resting in the sarcophagus post-mortem in order to face its particular judgment.

Simultaneously, though, individuals could appear clothed in contemporary representations of the Last Judgment. In some contemporary representations of the event, such as the Scrovegni Chapel fresco, diminutive naked figures without so much as an indication of gender rise from their tombs, while the saved and the damned proceeding towards or residing in Heaven and Hell are larger in size and possess distinctive facial and bodily features as well as clothing. In these works, the body is represented as a generic entity while the soul is shown to be an individual's unique essence, and the latter is discretely infused into the former when these two parts of the individual are reunited in the midst of the Last Judgment. In other Last Judgment images made in the fourteenth century in Italy, such as the fresco in the Camposanto, figures emerge from their tombs to face the judgment fully clothed, full-sized, and differentiated in terms of gender as well as facial and bodily features and expressions. In such works the reunion of the body and the soul implicitly occurs before or just as the body rises from the tomb. Therefore, the Bardi Man's clothes do not help in determining whether the scene depicts a particular judgement or the Last Judgement, but instead, when parsed through comparisons with other contemporary judgement images, allows for both possibilities.

One further and final element of the fresco's iconography has not, however, been considered at all in the scholarly literature related to the work: the background landscape. Flanking the rocky crag, which is the highest point and exact center of the range of peaks in the fresco's background, are two patches of landscape set further into that background. To the left-hand side, situated directly beneath Christ's salvation-granting right hand, is a patch of fertile green land marked by several trees in full bloom. To the right-hand side, beneath Christ's damning left hand, is a small barren hill painted in a shade of brownish-grey, which renders it noticeably darker than any of the fresco's other topographical features. There is a clear general dichotomy between the background landscape's left- and right-hand sides, divided by the cleft in the central peak of the background rock range: the left seems to be a place of light, painted in pale shades of beige and brown, while the right is obscured in darkness, painted in deep shades of brown and black. Given their conspicuous differentiation, it is possible that these two small patches of landscape, and, more broadly, the left- and right-hand sides of the background situated beneath Christ's saving and damning hands, respectively, possess symbolic values.

The brownish-grey hill may refer to Hell, often conceived in Italian visual culture as a gloomily dark, vaguely amorphous realm in which the souls of the damned are tortured, which sometimes even assumes the form of a hill. The Limbo of the Patriarchs, Hell's uppermost region, was more frequently depicted in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than Hell proper as it was the site of Christ's Harrowing of Hell and was thus included in many of the Passion cycles that were produced in abundance in this period (fig. 6). In these works, limbo is invariably described as a cave burrowed into a desolate rocky hill, its dark interior reaches visible behind the patriarchs Christ rescues and the demons guarding the realm. Furthermore, the scroll held by the Old Testament prophet situated

Fig. 6. Andrea di Bonaiuti, Harrowing of Hell, ca. 1367-1369. Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence. (Photo: ALINARI Archives, Florence)

in the *oculus* poised directly above the right-hand side of the fresco, and thus above the small dark hill, states: "They have vanished, gone down to hell," providing additional encouragement to view this topographical feature as such.

If the dark hill refers to Hell, then the garden opposite it may constitute an allusion to Heaven, its actual opposite. It was thought in the Middle Ages that a garden flourished just beyond Heaven's gates acting as an antechamber to it. In the visual arts this theme stems from Byzantine tradition in which heaven is invariably described as a two-fold realm, one part inhabited by God, the saints, and angels, and in another, souls find repose in Abraham's bosom as per the story of Lazarus told in the Gospel of Luke. Byzantine artists conflated the idea of Abraham's bosom with Persian conceptions of *pairidaeza*, an otherworldly realm of rest and refreshment, a garden marked by palm trees, the convergence of the Four Rivers, and a Fountain of Life. In such images – for example the ca. 1315-1321 fresco in the parecclesion of the church of the Monastery of the Chora in Istanbul – Abraham holds a cloth filled with souls and sits in a garden below and separate from the celestial spheres inhabited by Christ and the angelic and saintly hierarchies, his 'bosom' thus forming a heavenly realm distinct from Heaven proper.[27]

This model did enjoy some popularity in the West, but, by about the thirteenth century ,Abraham's bosom disappeared almost entirely from theological and subsequently from artistic conceptions of the afterlife. In spite of this development, the idea of a paradisiacal garden just beyond Heaven's gates proved tenacious and achieved a wide proliferation in medieval European visual culture. It was integrated, for example, into ecclesiastical architecture.[28] The church, the earthly model of the Heavenly Jerusalem, was reached by passing through a garden. In early Christian basilicas, this area

was called an *atrium* or, indeed, a *paradise*. In the twelfth-century in France, it evolved into the *parvis*, the semantically telling space before a cathedral across which the faithful walked before entering elaborately decorated portals signifying Heaven's gates. In monastic complexes and mendicant convents, these gardens assumed the form of cloisters adjacent to the monastery church. This idea also achieved expression in the visual arts, the motif of a garden beyond Heaven's gates appearing in several fourteenth-century and early fifteenth-century images, such as Fra Angelico's ca. 1431 *Last Judgment* panel for San Marco in Florence (fig. 7).

This at least partially Edenic conception of Heaven must have had great appeal throughout the Middle Ages. The predominantly agrarian society might well have identified with Adam and Eve, cast out of Eden into a harsh world, forced to till the soil.[29] The reverse of the Fall and the return of mankind to Eden, the typological precursor of the renewed earth discussed in Revelation 21-22, might have been tremendously attractive to medieval peasants and also monks for monastic life following Benedict's rule of *ora* and *labora* revolved around farming the often undesirable land of monasteries situated in obscure and distant places.[30] While city-based friars did not endure the hardships of rural life, the dirty and hectic urban experience might also have prompted a yearning for the peaceful tranquility of a beautiful garden. At the time of the Black Death, when concern with the beyond was almost certainly endemic and a desire for the release from the squalor of plague-ridden Italian cities into the serene beauty of fragrant and fertile nature plausible, mendicant preachers deployed *exempla* in their sermons which promised that the blessed dead would reside in a beautiful garden.[31] In the light of these ideological and iconographical trends, it seems plausible to view the frescoed garden as representative of the heavenly antechamber just beyond Heaven's gates.

The dichotomy between light and dark on the fresco's left- and right-hand sides, respectively, further supports the notion that these two areas signify heavenly and hellish realms. Light metaphysics played an important role in medieval conceptions of Heaven. Thomas Aquinas, for example, believed that everything in Heaven shone with supernatural splendour, the light emanating from God. While he admitted that no scriptural precedent absolutely supports this assertion, the light

Fig. 7. Fra Angelico, Last Judgement, ca. 1431. Museo di San Marco, Florence. (Photo: ALINARI Archives, Florence)

symbolism of the New Testament, for example, Jesus' statement in Matthew 13:43 that "then shall the just shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father," allows heaven to be considered a place of light, God the source of this illumination.[32] In fourteenth-century Italy Dante's *Divine Comedy* famously touted heaven's luminosity, describing God as the brilliant point at its centre with nine circles of illuminated angels spinning around him.[33] Ideas concerning light metaphysics are likewise manifest in the visual arts. This is in evidence in the pinnacle panel of Giotto's ca. 1327 altarpiece for the Baroncelli Chapel in Santa Croce in Florence.[34] In this panel, angels holding pieces of smoked glass approach a figure of God the Father. Further angels shield their eyes with their arms, indicating that God is too luminous to be viewed directly. Their glass-holding counterparts act as mediators between the light emanating from God and its implied recipients, Heaven's inhabitants, represented by the saints pictured in the main panels of the altarpiece below.[35] Just as Heaven is a place of divine light, so Hell, a realm forsaken by God and populated by those whom God has forsaken, is a place of darkness. Given the proximity of the Bardi di Vernio and Baroncelli chapels in Santa Croce, it is not difficult to imagine Maso's awareness of Giotto's important work in the latter and to postulate his assimilation of its pictorial theology into his own depiction of a heavenly realm.

If the fresco's two patches of landscape represent a heavenly antechamber and Hell, then perhaps the barren rocky peak of the immediate background, situated in between them, may be understood as a depiction of Purgatory. Purgatory is typically described in images made of it in this period as a desolate rocky region, often in the shape of a hill or a mountain, sometimes comprised of or containing several areas or receptacles (fig. 8).[36] Flanked by heavenly and the hellish realms, there is indeed little else that the frescoed peak could be.

With an image of Purgatory at its center it can easily be hypothesized that the fresco depicts the particular judgment, rather than the Last Judgment. Purgatory would of course be eradicated at the time of the Last Judgment but to be assigned a period of punishment there is a possible, indeed

Fig. 8. Rescue of Souls from Purgatory; ca. 1300s. San Francesco, Todi. (Photo: ALINARI Archives, Florence)

likely, outcome of the particular judgment. Purgatory was a space between not only Heaven and Hell, but also between life on earth and life in Heaven, between death and heavenly reward for most ordinary individuals; a stint in purgatory prior to obtaining the rewards of Heaven was the expected fate for all but the most saintly individuals. Lay patrons furnished chapels like the one in question as acts of charity aimed at lessening the length of their stay in Purgatory. In such chapels masses were also said for the souls of the dead, the purpose of such suffrages being at least in part to ease their way through the post-mortem judgment and lessen their purgatorial punishment, the probable outcome of that judgment. If this fresco is viewed as a depiction of the particular judgment then its unusual but prominent description of Purgatory suggests that a purgatorial punishment is a distinctly possible post-mortem fate for the soul of the Bardi Man, for whom those prayers would be said. The image of this realm, thus, might have provided a powerful visual prompt and prayer focus for those friars and members of the Bardi family reciting prayers for the Bardi Man's soul in the chapel, spelling out for the viewer the reasons for, destination, and necessity of their prayers.

Although Purgatory is a realm only available to the soul post-mortem, its likely depiction here is not necessarily incompatible with the notion that the fresco depicts the Last Judgment. Although Purgatory would be emptied and eradicated at that time, while the judgment is in progress it might still exist.[37] Indeed although the garden of the heavenly antechamber – the receptacle for blessed souls prior to the Last Judgment – would also necessarily be eradicated following the Last Judgment, having lost its purpose, it is still included in many images of the Last Judgment, as for example in Fra Angelico's panel (fig. 7). Thus, just as souls are shown passing through the garden into Heaven as the Last Judgment progresses, it is also possible to envisage souls proceeding out of Purgatory to face Christ throughout the course of this same judgment.

Consequently, in the fresco's background landscape all of the otherworldly fates available to the Bardi Man in both instances of judgment are presented in concise visual terms, perfectly in keeping with the tripartite structure of the afterlife delineated and confirmed by the late thirteenth century. All of the realms of the afterlife stretch before and above the Bardi Man, and also the viewer, although to which one the former will proceed is unknown. It might be assumed from his body's displacement to the fresco's left side that he hopes to be allowed admittance to heaven, although the prominence of what appears to be an image of Purgatory, and the alignment of his hands with this topographical feature's central vertical axis, suggests that he may be sent there for a time prior to attaining this hope or that he may have endured a stint there prior to facing the final assessment of the Last Judgment. In addition to representing an individual undergoing a specific judgment, the fresco moreover considers the possible destinies determined by those judgments for the pictured individual as well as for all individuals. Furthermore, by stretching before the viewer a landscaped vision of the realms of the afterlife, this fresco cleverly provides a visual stimulus informing, directing, and controlling the prayer intentions of those whose devotions were crucial to the Bardi Man's journey through the afterlife, an experience which would encompass both the particular judgment and the Last Judgment, and also, possibly, indeed pragmatically, a stint in Purgatory.

The foregoing consideration of the iconography of the fresco in question suggests that either the particular judgment or the Last Judgment may be seen as the work's pictorial subject, the ambiguities inherent in its iconography seemingly rendering it impossible to argue conclusively in favor of it depicting one judgment or the other. Might this polysemy be explained by the historical circumstances of the tomb's production?

Bartalini, for one, dated the tomb prior to 1336; this date may prove significant.[38] The year 1336 marked the conclusion of the beatific vision controversy. In brief, the beatific vision controversy began in 1331 when Pope John XXII preached two sermons claiming that the souls of the saints now rest "under the altar" as per Revelation 6:9 and would be raised up into Heaven to enjoy the *visio Dei* after the Last Judgment following their bodily resurrection.[39] By Epiphany 1332, John had

asserted that the final damnation of the wicked and the full revelation of Christ's divinity would be postponed until the Last Judgment. The pope's ideas met with much opposition from preachers and theologians, some of whom even went so far as to condemn the pope as a heretic. Many were anxious that the pope's denial of immediate post-mortem access to the beatific vision and the depths of Hell might further, and dangerously, imply the denial of immediate post-mortem reward and retribution altogether, and eradicate the necessity of a particular judgment. While John never stated these things explicitly, his idea of postponement threatened contemporary thinkers' views concerning the afterlife that had by then become standard. In January 1336, Benedict XII, John XXII's successor, issued the bull *Benedictus Deus*, which defined the doctrine of the immediate beatific vision after death and affirmed once and for all the prevalent view of the afterlife, a view that included the particular judgment.

Bartalini argued that the fresco could not depict the particular judgment, for between 1331 and 1336 the representation of that judgment would have constituted an affront to the papacy, whose stance on the beatific vision was incompatible with the notion of the particular judgment. If Bartalini's dating is accepted, it is possible that the work's Bardi patrons and the Franciscans of Santa Croce did not wish to offend the papacy by promoting in imagistic terms a doctrine about which that institution had qualms, and simply intended that the fresco represent an individual undergoing the Last Judgment. It is nonetheless not unreasonable to suggest that the work was not necessarily understood by all as a depiction of the Last Judgment and might have been understood, or rather misunderstood at least by some, as a figuration of the particular judgment or as a simultaneous representation of both judgments, particularly long after the controversy was resolved. Furthermore, if the work was created prior to 1336 as Bartalini suggests it is also possible that the Bardi and the Franciscans of Santa Croce, who appear to have differed with the papacy with regard to the doctrine of the beatific vision, and by extension to the idea of the particular judgment, intended the fresco to depict the particular judgment.[40] Committed to this doctrine, they may have deliberately chosen to hide the image of the controversial judgment, and their contentious allegiance to the disputed doctrine, behind a subterfuge of iconography consonant with standard representations of the Last Judgment. As such, those in the know regarding the views of the Bardi and the Franciscans would probably have recognized the work's intended pictorial subject lurking within the fresco's Last Judgment imagery. Other viewers uninformed as to the Franciscan and the Bardi stance on these issues might have seen the fresco as depicting either judgment or, more likely and innocuously, the Last Judgment. Were anyone aligned with the papacy or even papal authorities to have seen the work prior to the resolution of the controversy, it could reasonably and convincingly have been argued to them that the work depicted the Last Judgment and therefore did not constitute an offence to their views.

If Bartalini's dating is not accepted and the work is understood as having been executed in or after 1336, a point most recently argued by Acidini Luchinat and Neri Lusanna, then the work may be seen as championing the particular judgment, either as an idea in and of itself, or more likely as part of the unified conception of the afterlife stretching from particular judgment through to Last Judgment, as promulgated by Pope Benedict. Given the leanings of the Bardi and the Franciscans, as well as the fresco's seemingly ambiguous yet all-encompassing perspective, this latter scenario could well have been the case.

To conclude, the fresco over the large tomb in the Bardi di Vernio Chapel simply does not easily join the category of either particular judgment or Last Judgment. Instead, it seems equally concerned with both of these eventualities as well as with their potential outcomes, all viewed as part of a unified eschatological idea rather than with any one of the moments and places which it included. It is not alone in its complexities, but rather joins a larger group of images made in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy in which the particular judgment and the Last Judgment

Fig. 9. Detail from the Judgment, ca. 1420-1430. Loreto Aprutino, Santa Maria in Piano. (Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY)

constitute complementary, coexistent, and sometimes even equally fundamental parts of eschatological visions.[41] For example, the *Triumph of Death* fresco in the Camposanto, which includes an image of the particular judgment envisaged as an angel and a devil engaged in combat for possession of a soul, sits beside an equally large frescoed *Last Judgment*.[42] In the Strozzi Chapel, a frescoed *Last Judgment* executed by Nardo di Cione stands behind Orcagna's altarpiece, whose predella presents the image of the particular judgment of Emperor Henry II depicted as a weighing of his soul in a balance by the Archangel Michael.[43] In other works, the two judgments are apparently merged in single images. In the fresco on the inner façade of Santa Maria in Piano in Loreto Aprutino in Abruzzo, painted ca. 1420-1430, souls undergo the particular judgment by means of an archangelic weighing and also by traversing a perilous bridge (fig. 9).[44] They are then allocated to Hell or enjoy the delights of a paradisiacal realm constituted by a verdant garden and a tower guarded by the three patriarchs.[45] Above, Christ at once presides in authority over these scenes below and appears triumphant, as at the culmination of the Last Judgment, surrounded by the blessed resurrected dead. In a fresco on an external wall of Santa Maria dei Ghirli in Campione d'Italia in Lombardy attributed to Franco and Filippolo de Veris and dated ca. 1400, a similar logic prevails, the heavenly tribunal of the Last Judgment surmounting deathbed scenes in which souls are whisked away by demons.[46] While these images might be seen as adapting Last Judgment imagery to the depiction of the particular judgment, their simultaneous deployment of iconography exclusively peculiar to each judgment suggests that they instead seek to be complete eschatological visions, capturing not simply one moment in time, but rather all of time from the present until the end. Such scenarios in which particular and

Last judgments are represented as compatible, coexistent, or complementary events and in which iconographies overlap or are conflated create a useful context for understanding and accepting the ambiguities of the fresco over the large tomb in the Bardi di Vernio Chapel, as well as of the varying conceptions of the afterlife with which late medieval Italians grappled.

Virginia Brilliant obtained her PhD from the Courtauld Institute of Art in London in 2005 with a dissertation entitled Envisaging the Particular Judgement in Trecento Italy. *She has published a number of scholarly articles and co-authored the exhibition catalogue* Sacred Gifts and Worldly Treasures: Medieval Masterworks from the Cleveland Museum of Art *(Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich and the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2007). As Assistant Curator of European Art, she is currently developing two exhibitions at the Ringling Museum of Art :* Rubens and the Archdukes: Princely Patronage in the Spanish Southern Netherland *and* Gothic Art in the Gilded Age: Medieval Treasures in the Gavet, Vanderbilt and Ringling Collections.

Notes

The research presented in this article derives from my Ph.D. Dissertation, entitled *Envisaging the Particular Judgement in Trecento Italy* (University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2005). I would like to thank my supervisor, Joanna Cannon, for her significant assistance and encouragement throughout the course of this project. Thanks are also due to Paul Crossley and Thomas de Wesselow for their critiques of this text at various stages, and to Alexander Greene for his infinite patience as I pursued this topic. I am also grateful to the libraries and staff of the Courtauld Institute, the Warburg Institute, University College London, the University of London, the Bibliotheca Hertziana Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte in Rome, the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence, the Dutch Institute in Florence, and the Getty Research Institute.

1. Most recently see Cristina Acidini Lucinat and Enrica Neri Lusanna, *Maso di Banco: La cappella di San Silvestro* (Milan: Electa, 1998), 25-28 and Roberto Bartalini, "Et in carne mea videbo Deum meum; Maso di Banco, la cappella dei Confessori e la committenza dei Bardi. A proposito di un libro recente," *Prospettiva* 98-99 (2000): 58-103.

2. Gene A. Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society 1343-1378* (Princeton, NJ: University Press, 1962) and Armando Sapori, *La crisi delle compagnie mercantili dei Bardi e dei Peruzzi* (Florence: Olschki, 1926).

3. Irene Hueck, "Stifter und Patronatsrecht: Dokumente zu zwei Kapellen der Bardi," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz* 20 (1976): 267.

4. Annegret Höger, *Studien zur Entstehung der Familien-Kapelle und Familienkapellen und-Altären des Trecento in Florentiner Kirchen* (PhD diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1976), 50, 84, 101-102.

5. Gaetano Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, vol. 1 (Siena: Presso Onorato Porri, 1854-1898), 624.

6. Helen A. Ronan, *The Tuscan Wall Tomb 1250-1400* (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1982), 63-66.

7. Miklós Boskovits, ed., *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*, vol. 5, *The Fourteenth Century: Bernardo Daddi and His Circle* (Florence: Barbera, 1986), 255; David Wilkins, *Maso di Banco: a Florentine artist of the early Trecento*

(PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1969), 31-40; Jane C. Long, *Bardi Patronage at Santa Croce in Florence, c. 1320-1343* (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1988) and Jane C. Long, "Salvation through Meditation: the Tomb Frescoes in the Holy Confessors Chapel at Santa Croce in Florence," *Gesta* 34 (1995): 77-88; Jérôme Baschet, "Jugement de l'âme, jugement dernier: Contradiction, complémentarité, chevauchement?," *Revue Mabillon* 6 (1995): 159-203; and Michele Bacci, *Pro remedio animae: Immagini sacre e pratiche devozionali in Italia centrale (secoli XIII e XIV)* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2000), 166-167, 175 and Michele Bacci, *Investimenti per l'aldilà: Arte e raccomandazione dell'anima nel medioevo* (Rome: Laterza, 2003), 335-337.

8. Eve Borsook, *The Mural Painters of Tuscany* (London: Phaidon Press, 1960), 39-42.

9. Ronan, *Wall Tomb*, 60-63 and János Végh, "The Particular Judgment of a Courtier: a Hungarian Fresco of A Rare Iconographical Type," *Arte Cristiana* 74 (1986): 303-314.

10. Acidini Luchinat/Neri Lusanna, *Maso*, 18-25, 264-265.

11. Bartalini, "Et in Carne Meum."

12. See Boskovits, *Corpus*, 251-259, for a review of the Christ types employed in Last Judgement scenes made in Italy in this period.

13. Peter Abelard, *Petri Abaelardi opera theologica*, vol. 1, *Commentaria in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*, ed. Eligii M. Buytaert (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), 78-79.

14. Robert of Melun, *Oeuvres de Robert de Melun*, vol.2, *Questiones Theologice de Epistolis Pauli*, ed. Raymond M. Martin (Louvain: "Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense" bureaux, 1932), 269.

15. Richard of St. Victor, "De Iudiciaria Potestate in Finali et Universali Iudicio," in *Opuscules théologiques*, ed. Jean Ribaillier (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1967), 142-154 and Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, ed. and trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1930), Part 3, Supplement, Q. 69-74.

16. Frederic C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval and Religious Tales* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1969), 387, no. 5131.

17. Bacci, *Pro remedio animae*, 399.

18. Carlo L. Ragghianti, *Pittura tra Giotto e Pisanello: Trecento e primo Quattrocento*, vol. 2, *Civilità artistica a Ferrara* (Ferrara: Corbo, 1987), 242-243.

19. Carlo Bertelli, "L'affresco per Juan Diaz de Coca alla Minerva," *Paragone* 19 (1968): 40-48; Nicholas Clark, *Melozzo da Forlì* (London: Sotheby's, 1990), 17; and Sara Magister, "Il caso di Juan Diaz de Coca della confraternità del santissimo Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum: il monumento funebre," in *Le confraternite romane: arte, storia, commitenza*, ed. Claudio Crescentini and Antonio Martini (Rome: Fondazione Marco Besso, 2000), 196-203.

20. See, for example, Caeserius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. Henry Von Essen Scott and Charles Cook Swinton Bland (London: G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1929), 278.

21. Tubach, *Index*, 387, no. 5131.

22. Borsook, *Mural Painters*, 39.

23. Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: the Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1997), 117, 142-143.

24. Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 117.

25. Hueck, "Stifter und Patronatsrecht"; Bacci, *Pro remedio animae*; Bacci, *Investimenti*; and Baschet, "Jugement de l'âme."

26. Acidini Luchinat/Neri Lusanna, *Maso*, 18-25.

27. Paul A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 1 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 210-211.

28. Marie Luise Gothein, *A History of Garden Art*, vol. 1, ed. Walter P. Wright (London: J.M. Dent, 1928), 171-174.

29. Colleen McDannell and Bernhard Lang, *Heaven: A History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 70.

30. McDannell and Lang, *Heaven*, 70.

31. Giorgio Varanini and Guido Baldassarri, eds., *Racconti esemplari di predicatori del Due e Trecento*, vol. 2 (Rome: Salerno editrice, 1993), 318-321.

32. McDannell and Lang, *Heaven*, 83.

33. Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, vol. 3, *Paradiso*, ed. and trans. Charles S. Singleton (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971-1975), 15-22.

34. This pinnacle panel is now detached from the altarpiece and preserved in the San Diego Museum of Art.

35. Paul Hills, *The Light of Early Italian Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 77.

36. On medieval Italian representations of Purgatory, see Anca Bratu, "Purgatorio," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1991-2002). On the history of Purgatory, see the classic study, Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

37. Anca Bratu, "Fin des temps et temps du purgatoire dans quelques jugements derniers de la fin du moyen âge," *Senefiance* 33 (1993): 69-92.

38. Bartalini, "Et in Carne Meum."

39. For a full account of the beatific vision controversy and relevant texts, see Christian Trottmann, *La vision béatifique des disputes scholastiques à sa définition par Benoit XII* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1995), Marc Dykmans, *Les sermons de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique* (Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1973), and Marc Dykmans, *Pour et contre Jean XXII* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1975).

40. See Acidini Luchinat and Neri Lusanna, *Maso*, for the views of the Franciscans and the Bardi on the beatific vision controversy.

41. For further discussion of this issue, see Virginia Brilliant, *Envisaging the Particular Judgement in Trecento Italy* (PhD diss., University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2005), 326-362.

42. Useful recent studies of the frescoes' iconography include Luciano Bellosi, *Buffalmacco e il Trionfo della morte* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1974); Chiara Frugoni, "Altri luoghi, cercando il paradise: il ciclo di Buffalmacco nel Camposanto di Pisa e la committenza domenicana," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa Classe di Lettere e Filosophia* 18 (1988): 1557-1643; and Friederike Wille, *Die Todesallegorie im Camposanto in Pisa: Genese und Rezeption eines berühmten Bildes* (Munich: Allitera, 2002). For an interpretation of the fresco in the light of the beatific vision controversy, see Christine M. Boeckl, "The Pisan *Triumph of Death* and the Papal Constitution *Benedictus Deus*," *Artibus et Historiae* 18 (1997): 55-61.

43. Richard Offner, ed., *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting: The Fourteenth Century*, vol. 1, *Andrea di Cione* (New York: Published under the auspices of the Institute of Fine Arts, 1962), 29.

44. Aleardo Rubini, "Il giudizio particolare di Santa Maria in Piano a Loreto Aprutino," *Abruzzo* 4 (1966): 68-86; Silvia Dell'Orso, "Il ponte della prova: un affresco nella chiesa di Santa Maria in Piano a Loreto Aprutino e la rappresentazione del purgatorio," *Arte Cristiana* 76 (1988): 327-338; Baschet, "Jugement," 159-203; and Brilliant, *Particular Judgement*, 338-345.

45. For these motifs as linked to the post-mortem salvation of the soul, see Brilliant, *Particular Judgement*, 343-345.

46. Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua, ed., *Il santuario di Santa Maria dei Ghirli in Campione d'Italia* (Campione d'Italia, 1988).

The Dissolution of Pictorial Thresholds: the Angel Pietàs of Andrea del Sarto, Rosso Fiorentino, and Jacopo da Pontormo

Melissa Shive

In 1518 Andrea del Sarto completed a magnificent Angel Pietà that scholars have both described as the result of a "crisis in his art"[1] and praised for its ingenuity.[2] Just five years later, one of his students, Rosso Fiorentino, painted an enigmatic *Dead Christ with Angels* (fig. 1), while his other student, Jacopo da Pontormo, was in Florence working on a tumultuous Angel Pietà that would eventually become the altarpiece of the Capponi Chapel. For years, art historians have studied these important artists and their relationships with each other, traditionally labeling them as members of the School of Annunziata. Yet, no one has paid attention to the shared subject matter of what was an iconic work for each artist, the Angel Pietà. Scholars have largely overlooked the Angel Pietà or Pietà with Angels despite a multitude of examples produced by some of the foremost painters of the sixteenth century. For this reason, researchers have not fully described and defined the characteristics of an Angel Pietà, making it difficult to recognize when compositional elements either adhere to or diverge from tradition. By discussing these three paintings as a part of their iconographic lineage, I will put forth new arguments for the unusual and enigmatic iconography found in each work.[3]

Scholars have broadly applied the term Angel Pietà to encompass essentially any non-narrative devotional image containing the dead Christ and one or more angels. Using the definition put forth in Erwin Panofsky's celebrated essay on the *Imago Pietatis* or half-length image of the dead Christ, we can classify the Angel Pietà as an *Andachtsbild* or devotional picture, characterized by two critical elements: its iconographical removal from a narrative context and its functionality as an aid for religious contemplation and reflection.[4] Though intimately related to its narrative counterpart, the *Andachtsbild* does not illustrate a story, such as the Annunciation or Crucifixion, but instead isolates those figures from a defined timeline in order to generate an iconic image that encourages meditation upon and immersion in associated events, such as the Passion. As Panofsky recognized, the term is imperfect. Such broad classification fails to adequately acknowledge the ambiguity that can exist in distinguishing a narrative from a non-narrative image or an artwork used as an aid for contemplation from one that is not. For instance, as Sixten Ringbom argues, the hieratic *Andachtsbild* often took on a narrative character in the fifteenth century, while retaining its devotional functions.[5] Although discussions about late Medieval, Renaissance, and Post-Renaissance devotional images often seem to center on the lack or presence of narrative qualities, artists did not only manipulate storylines. The remarkable Angel Pietàs discussed here grafted new ideas onto the established form, separating themselves from iconographic tradition while supporting their fundamental objectives as devotional art.

In creating such devotional works, artists aimed to set up an engaging mental dialogue with the viewer, additionally formulating devices that established an appropriate and necessary intimacy and drawing the viewer closer to the revered subjects. To elaborate upon one particular example of the connection between person and painting, Michael Camille exposes the dynamic relationship between late-medieval believers and Passion images. Far from being passive, images of Christ acted as mirrors for the viewer, at times potent enough to cause the beholder to imitate the portrayed emotions and actions—a concept Camille calls "mimetic identification."[6] Such reactions demonstrate that these objects blurred the boundaries of replication and instead represented "real"

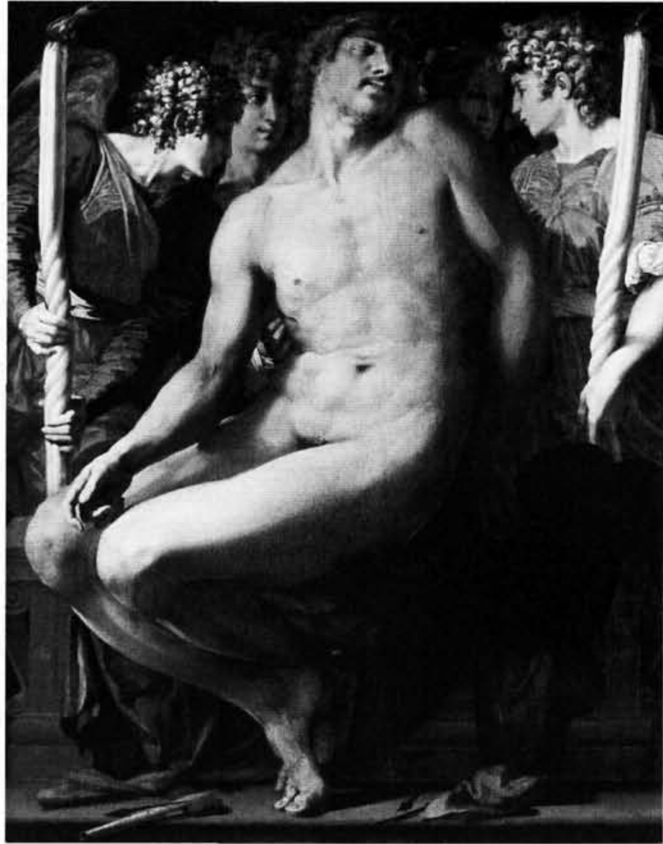


Fig. 1 Rosso Fiorentino (Giovanni Battista di Jacopo), Italian (Florentine),1494-1540, The Dead Christ with Angels, ca. 1524-27, oil on panel, 133.4 x 104.1 cm (52 1/2 x 41 in.). *Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston (Charles Potter Kling Fund, 58.527). (Photograph © 2008 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

personages vested with votive strength and power. The innovative solutions that Sarto, Rosso, and Pontormo employed in order to facilitate personal communication and exchange are stunning for their novelty and for their effects in dissolving pictorial boundaries between the work and its beholder. To appreciate their contributions it is necessary to first explore the conventions of the Angel Pietà and then examine how the works by Sarto, Rosso, and Pontormo defied these standards, consequently bringing the divine and the earthly closer together.

History and Iconography

At once tender and tragic, hopeful and sullen, the Pietà invokes complementary emotions, reflecting the duality of feeling elicited by Christ's death and impending resurrection. As normally described, the Pietà, Italian for both piety and pity, depicts the Virgin Mary cradling her son's dead body in her lap. Interestingly, the Gospels contain no story that recounts the moment represented by the Pietà. It is ahistorical and non-narrative, although it loosely occupies a moment between the Deposition and the Entombment. This trait distinguishes it from other images of the life of Jesus like the Adoration of the Magi or the Kiss of Judas. Its severance from narrative imparts a timeless, iconic dimension to the work—making this story from the past easily pertinent to its contemporary viewers.

The Pietà originated from Byzantine icons of the Man of Sorrows or *Imago Pietatis*, transmitted to the West and integrated into the existing visual culture. From its introduction to Europe in the thirteenth century, it quickly spread throughout the continent in the fourteenth and fifteenth century.[7] The Man of Sorrows is usually characterized as a half-figure image of the dead Christ with his hands crossed one over the other, his wounds prominently displayed. This image type was renowned for its believed connection to the Gregorian miracle. According to legend, the true body of Christ appeared upon an altar of St. Gregory the Great in response to his prayer to convince an unbeliever of the truth of the Eucharist.[8]

From this origin and legend, Pietà images developed associations with communion, the mystery of the Eucharist, and the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. They often decorated tabernacles, where the Eucharistic host was stored. Christ as depicted in these Pietàs became a standard iconographical representation of the Eucharistic host, further developing the Pietà's Gregorian association to the mass.

Noted for its affective power, the Pietà embodied many devotional functions. As the prominent art agent Domenico di Cambio commented, it served to "move a man to devotion." He continued, "Verily, men who are hard of heart and caught up in this world's toils, need these pious stories..."[9] Indeed, the Pietà compelled a complex array of emotional responses within the viewer, encompassing a dual function: to induce empathy and convey Christ's mercy.[10] As with the Pietà, artists created Angel Pietàs in a variety of media, including illuminated manuscripts, sculpture, and painting.[11]

Fig. 2 Carlo Crivelli, Italian (active Venice and Marches), d. 1495-1500, Dead Christ Supported by Two Angels, tempera and tooled gold on panel, 28 x 18 5/8 in., (71.1 x 47.3 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (John G. Johnson Collection, 1917, Cat. 158). (By permission of the Philadelphia Museum of Art)

Even within the image type, Angel Pietàs varied widely. Some artworks depicted a Man of Sorrows with angels (fig. 2), while others showed Mary and the Dead Christ with Angels, and still others included a group of mourners surrounding Christ, with angels hovering overhead.[12]

Though the Angel Pietà was designed to connect to the viewer and arouse empathy and emotion, it still maintained a paradoxical *devotional distance* between the object of reverence and the beholder, so the viewer remained in important ways detached and separate. On one hand, these images facilitated devotional practice, connected the devotee to depicted holy figures, and stirred empathy through characteristics such as the half-length portrait formats, the inclusion of Christ's mother, or the infusion of the image with poignant expression. Yet they simultaneously reinforced the distance and boundary between divine and earthly through their iconic qualities and their remove from a time-based world.[13]

Several factors contribute to this phenomenon of distance. First, there is an intrinsic awkwardness in a person spiritually identifying with a flat, painted surface. The viewer must first subscribe to an illusion, transitioning his comprehension from a three-dimensional world to a flat one. Additionally, as explored in his explanation of the non-narrative, hieratic representational image or *Repräsentationsbild*, Panofsky points out that in contrast to the narrative image, which places itself concretely within a timeline and references a historical event outside itself, the *Repräsentationsbild* is self-referential, incorporating elements that correspond fully to one another within the composition. It excludes the viewer, positioning him outside the image's manufactured mental arena.[14] Furthermore, through its break with a traditional time frame, the form of the Pietà disconnects itself from the temporal architecture of the viewer's experience. This effect transforms the viewer into a spectator, establishing a hierarchy between him and God or other holy figures. The natural differentiation between Christ and the common person augments this hierarchy. As the object of adulation, Christ is seen as perfect and flawless, and his lessons, his life, and his sacrifice exemplify his merits and place him on a moral pedestal above the common sinner, establishing a religious rank. Through the combination of these actions, the Holy Image simultaneously connects with and dissociates itself from the viewer. It aims to enable an intimate relationship with God or other holy personages while necessarily maintaining and reinforcing the boundary between divine and earthly.

The presence of angels both bridged this divide and acknowledged its existence. The angels in compositions like Angel Pietàs served as mediators between the viewer and Christ in three primary respects. First, they directed the viewer toward the intended compositional cynosure, a role the Renaissance spectator also encountered outside of painting. In the Quattrocento, the *festaiuolo* served this function in theater and plays. Michael Baxandall writes, "the plays were introduced by a choric figure, the *festaiuolo*, often in the character of an angel, who remained on the stage during the action of the play as a mediator between the beholder and the events portrayed."[15] Interestingly, the angelic *festaiuolo* corresponded precisely with the angels in painting, reinforcing their parallel functions within the two arts. In his *Treatise on Painting*, Leonardo da Vinci recommended, "If the subject [of a painting] be an act of devotion, the eyes of all present should be directed towards the object of their adoration, aided by a variety of pious actions with the other members: as at the elevation of the host at mass, and other similar ceremonies."[16] In Angel Pietàs the painted gazes of the angels and other compositional figures similarly directed those of the worshipper. Moreover, angels actively invited appropriate behavior and emotional reaction, weeping and grieving as the viewer should. Alberti discusses this concept in his 1435 treatise, *On Painting*: "I like there to be someone in the 'historia' who tells the spectators what is going on, and either beckons them with his hand to look... or by his gestures invites you to laugh or weep with them."[17] Lastly, in addition to acting as models of behavior with the privileged responsibility of displaying Christ's body, angels functioned as "intermediaries in offering to God the prayers directed to the image."[18]

This idea is particularly revealing. More than serving as models, angels served as prayer facilitators, the midway point between the worshipper and Christ. They were altruistic and divine attendants and the objects of humble gratitude for their acts as spiritual conduits.

A discussion of the analogies between mortals and angels in both contemporary art and text adds an insightful dimension to a discussion of Angel Pietàs, since the perceived similarities between the two allowed for comparison between the earthly and the divine. This diverse period discourse reflects the environment within which artists experimented with the angels and developed new variations upon the theme, while respecting religious propriety. In his *Imitatio Christi* (first issued in 1418), Thomas à Kempis (1379/80-1471) illustrates one type of perspective as he refers to angels as a standard of morality: "For God is our beholder whom chiefly we ought to worship wherever we be and go clean in his sight as angels."[19] He later humbly remarks upon their privileged status and coveted proximity to God by explaining the distinction between the Christian man and angels: "I verily worship thee whom the angels worship in heaven, but in me it is as yet but in faith and the angels worship thee there in thine own likeness without coverture."[20] Implicit in his words is the knowledge that angels retain a privileged position above man. Other writers, however, alluded to the potential for equality between man and the heavenly beings, while retaining respect for angels and their divine attributes. In a 1495 sermon, the popular preacher Savonarola stated,

> No one today believes that angels participate in the affairs of men and converse with them, or that God speaks to any man. But I say to you that *similitudo est causa amoris*, that is, similarity is the cause of friendship. Therefore the more we draw near to God and to the angels through faith and charity, all the more are we friends of God and of His angels; and they talk and converse with us.[21]

Savonarola explains that interactions and friendship with angels translated into a viable link to God, and he emphasizes the similarities between angels and humans. In the mid-Quattrocento, confraternities made this relationship explicit, dressing up boys as angels for dramatic performances—a literal merging of children and angels.[22]

One also finds more direct comparisons in contemporary sources. For instance, Matteo Palmieri composed a poem, "Città di Vita (1467)," in which he set forth the unpopular assertion that humans originated from neutral angels during Lucifer's rebellion.[23] In Paolo Pino's 1548 *Dialogo di Pittura*, one of his characters, Lauro, metaphorically refers to twenty-five "graceful and beautiful" women as angels—an association common today but unusual for its time.[24] In his *On the Dignity of Man*, the well-known humanist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola connected the earthly to the divine, declaring that humans possessed the potential to become angels.[25] He later elaborated upon the concept, issuing a call to arms for his fellow man to strive to equal these ethereal creatures:

> Let a certain holy ambition invade the mind, so that we may not be content with mean things but may aspire to the highest things and strive with all our forces to attain them: for if we will to, we can. Let us spurn earthly things; let us struggle toward the heavenly... Ignorant of how to yield to them and unable to endure the second places, let us compete with the angels in dignity and glory. When we have willed it, we shall be not at all below them.[26]

As evidenced here, the vocabulary, the discourse, and the attitude toward angels in these texts fluctuated widely, leading to a multifaceted comprehension of the nature of angels and their relationship with humans.

The mix of attitudes toward angels in artwork paralleled those found in contemporary texts, also generating elastic distinctions between angels and people—ranging from reverence to near equality. This breadth of opinions materialized in art in several ways. Angels could fly above people, occupying a physically exalted position, or stand upon the ground. They could be small or human-

sized, remain steadfast or express human emotion, gaze inward to the subject matter or outward to the viewer. Through these devices, angels could be depicted in manners that either were entirely distinct from humans or allowed easy comparison. It is the potential for personal identification or spiritual mediation that distinguishes the Angel Pietà from its non-angelic counterpart. As Michael Camille notes, angels "present an important emotional locus of identification for the viewer."[27] The ability for a viewer to identify with a painting generates accessibility and applicability to the worshipper—a concept essential to a devotional artwork. With greater frequency, angels began developing greater physical similarities to humans, more often depicted as human-sized, as in Francesco Francia's *Pietà*.[28] And as angels in art began to look physically more human-like, the comparison between angels and humans became more comfortable.

These significant trends in Angel Pietàs were occurring in an early Cinquecento cultural climate that particularly challenged artists to reinforce and maintain traditional forms, while continuing to instill novelty and innovation into their works.[29] Alexander Nagel characterizes this period as a time of crisis for not only religion but also the visual arts, in which artists became preoccupied with the backwards-looking idea of reform and the integration of archaizing but desired antique forms.[30] In this phase of accelerated artistic change, competitive novelty or as Marcia Hall defines it, the drive for artists to continually exceed each other through individual originality, led artists to confront a constant tension and pressure in their profession.[31]

Particularly because of this environment, patrons and artists alike prized both invention and tradition, and the Angel Pietàs of Andrea del Sarto and Rosso Fiorentino robustly demonstrate these priorities. In many ways, the Angel Pietàs of Andrea del Sarto, Rosso Fiorentino, and Jacopo da Pontormo are typical. They contain the appropriate characters, are removed from narrative, and serve the same function of communicating piety and pity. Additionally, in regard to Sarto and Rosso, their formats look quite conventional at first glance. This adherence to standard forms and functions is significant. However, these paintings are also far from typical. Through a careful examination of a single iconographical type, we will better understand and recognize the innovations these artists weave into their artwork.

Sarto, Rosso, and Pontormo

In 1516, Giovann Battista Puccini commissioned a work from Andrea del Sarto for King Francis I of France. The work pleased the king so much that in 1518, he invited Sarto to serve as a court painter at Fontainebleau, where he lived for a year before returning to Florence.[32] It is likely that Sarto painted his *Pietà* (fig. 3) while there, incorporating local stylistic and iconographic elements.[33] Now known as the Vienna *Pietà,* Sarto's work is an intimate painting. The shallow arrangement of the Virgin, angels, and Christ presses closely against the picture plane. A sorrowful Mary with a pure white veil draped over her head clasps her hands in prayer, her clenched fingers prominently outlined against her dark blue cloak. Christ's body stretches across the bottom of the composition, a pale pink cloth encircling his waist, his body propped against the incline of the stone slab, and his head bowed backward in death. The angel on the left gently supports Christ's body with its right hand. It casts its eyes downward toward Christ's face, guiding the viewer's gaze with its own. The youthful angel on the right wears a red robe with golden-fringed sleeves, the colors echoing its curly, reddish-gold hair. It grasps Mary's cloak in its left hand as it holds the instruments of the passion in its right—a broken reed, nails, and sponge. The two angels stand upon the ground, their features characteristically human except for the presence of brilliant wings deftly folded behind them and the beautiful colors of their clothing. Of particular note, the blue cloth that adorns the red angel's shoulders is carefully highlighted in delicate pinks, reflecting and

Fig. 3 Andrea del Sarto (Andrea d'Agnolo), Italian (Florentine), 1486-1530, Lamentation of Christ, 1518-19, oil on panel, 99 x 120 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (GG 201). (By permission of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

refracting different hues of lambent light. This effect, called *cangiantismo*, uses shifts in hue to define shading and highlights. Popular in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, critics considered these iridescent effects especially appropriate for portraying angels. In his *Libro dell'arte*, Cennino Cennini suggested *cangiante* green for "an angel in fresco,"[34] and Lomazzo recommended *cangianti* effects for "nymphs of meadows and fountains and such-like, and also for certain angels, whose garments reflect nothing other than the rainbow."[35]

Upon close examination of this painting, Sarto's *Pietà* differs from traditional Italian formats and instead bears many of the stylistic hallmarks of French and Northern European painting. Italians normally showed the Virgin dressed entirely in blue, holding or touching Christ's body or, less frequently, with her hands pressed together in prayer—characteristics that Sarto did not incorporate. Instead, Sarto's choices in the Virgin's clothing and gesture more closely resemble those in paintings like the *Pietà of Nouans* (1450-60) by Jean Fouquet or the *Lamentation* (c. 1500) Gerard David, where the Virgin wears a white veil and prays with interlocked fingers.

Sarto's use of Northern style is logical, give his presence in France. However, one element in his composition appears to have no precedent. In a highly unusual if not unique gesture, the angel in red holds Mary's cloak with its left hand. As previously discussed, the Pietà held strong associations

Fig. 4 Flemish School, The Mass of St. Gregory, 15th-16th century, oil on canvas. Musée des Beaux Arts et de la dentelle, Calais, France. (Photograph © F. Kleinefenn)

with the ceremony of the mass and particularly with the Mass of St. Gregory, and it is from French images of the mass that Sarto has drawn his inspiration (fig. 4).[36] The similarities between the acolytes and the angel on the right are striking, though they hold the priest's robe and tapers rather than the *Arma Christi*. Beyond the common borrowing of form, Sarto has borrowed function as well, transforming the angel into an acolyte for the Virgin.

The divine acolyte clutching her cloak signified the Madonna's function as a priest and further emphasizes the Pietà's strong allusions to the mass. The Pietà's Gregorian associations made it an inherent representation of the miracle of the Eucharist, with Christ's body above his tomb symbolizing the host placed upon the altar. By association, Mary's presentation of Christ's body transformed her into one of the first priests. Indeed, the idea of the Virgin as Priest already existed several centuries earlier, in many Madonna and Child images.[37] Works like those by Giovanni Bellini (fig. 5) implicitly suggest this role for the Virgin as she presents the infant Christ or realized Eucharistic host upon a fictive altar table.[38] A marble relief of the *Virgin and Child with Four Angels* by Mino da Fiesole (1429-84), takes this theme a step farther.[39] In this piece, three angels surround the Madonna and Child, holding a torch, a censer, and a crown. A fourth angel hands Christ a scroll to read. The Virgin kneels behind Christ, placing him upon a parapet. The congruity

Fig. 5 Giovanni Bellini, Italian (Venetian), active by 1459, d. 1516, Madonna Adoring the Sleeping Child, early 1460s, tempera on wood, 28 1/2 x 18 1/4 in. (72.4 x 46.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915, 30.95.256). (Photograph © The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Fig. 6 Master of the Collins Hours (attr.), School of Amiens, Priesthood of the Virgin, 1438, oil on panel, 58 x 99 cm. Louvre, Paris. (By permission of Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY)

in Virgin iconography between Sarto's Angel Pietà and Madonna and Child images establishes an elegant continuity between Christ's infancy and his death and the resulting Eucharistic references suggest an awareness of the Virgin's sacerdotal legacy. Therefore, integrating this type of symbolism into these images contributes to the relationship between the life of this principal biblical figure and modern liturgy.

Sarto additionally may have drawn inspiration from a painting then in Amiens entitled the *Priesthood of the Virgin*, which Jean du Bos had commissioned in 1438 (fig. 6).[40] The Queen-mother, Louise of Savoy, had visited the Amiens Cathedral just a year before Sarto arrived in France and had commissioned copies of many of the related paintings in the cathedral. Here, the Virgin, dressed in gold-embroidered robes that echo those of the high priests of Israel,[41] reaches her hand out toward the infant Christ, who is dressed in red and white. The patron kneels in the corner, holding a banner that reads "Worthy clothing [vestments] of the Sovereign Priest."[42] The work highlights Mary's priestly nature and Levite ancestry, again incorporating this seemingly unusual and unprecedented iconography.[43]

Sarto applied the concept of the Virgin as priest to the Pietà image type that already inherently symbolized Christ's body as Eucharistic host, making the iconography especially relevant and suitable. Sarto's unpretentious detail changes the work into a reflection of its viewer, drawing parallels between the earthly church and acolytes and the heavenly church and angels. The comparison is especially suitable given the physical changes that exist between Sarto's angels and earlier angels. Their scale has grown compared to those in early Quattrocento paintings, and the wings are understated, especially compared to Sarto's earlier Puccini Pietà with its eagle-like wings.

When Sarto returned to Italy, he disseminated his ideas among his colleagues and students. Philippe Costamagna discusses how traces of Leonardo da Vinci's style spread southward through Sarto, but the ripples of Sarto's own innovations reached his students as well.[44] Rosso Fiorentino's *Dead Christ* (fig. 1) bears remarkable conceptual similarities to Sarto's Vienna *Pietà*, and compositionally, Rosso used the Christ in Sarto's *Puccini Pietà* as a model for his own.[45] Leonardo di Lorenzo Tornabuoni commissioned Rosso's work between 1524 and 1527, during the artist's stay in Rome. Although the painting's original function remains unknown, its small scale and subject matter suggest that the bishop commissioned it for personal use.[46] Usually titled *Dead Christ*,[47] Rosso himself described this work as a Pietà, associating it with this tradition and iconography.[48] Indeed, Rosso's *Dead Christ* retains many elements of the traditional form of the Pietà. Christ's languid body forms the center of the composition, his head bowed backward in death. He rests upon a cool blue cloth that covers a symbolic altar. Four angels with hair in tight ringlets surround him and stare intently. The two angels that flank him hold large, tripartite, twisted candles—freshly extinguished with wisps of smoke drifting upward. The angel on the right wears clothing that is highlighted in brilliant *cangianti* pinks and blues that radiate out from its golden buckle. An unspecified source of light illuminates Christ's body. The painting resembles a *Man of Sorrows with Angels* but the additional candles are highly unusual in such a composition. According to Vasari, Rosso and Pontormo, under the tutelage of Andrea del Sarto, worked on a predella that featured a dead Christ with two little angels weeping and holding two torches.[49] Though the panel is now lost, this predella for Sarto's *Annunciation*, presumably created under Sarto's direction, served as precedent for his work and further reinforces the connection between Sarto and Rosso.[50] Nevertheless, Pietàs did not typically include candles, which arguably represent the most unusual aspects of this composition.

Both John Shearman and Alexander Nagel have put forth influential interpretations of this painting. Shearman argues that this painting focuses not on the Transubstantiation as many Pietàs do but on the Resurrection and "Reawakening" of Christ—a detail relevant to Tornabuoni as the Bishop of Borgo Sansepolcro. He identifies Christ's seat as a sarcophagus and his setting

as a sepulcher, dismissing any functional purpose to the unlit candles, viewing them instead as symbolic.[51] In his most recent interpretation of the painting, Nagel agrees with Shearman's reading, further elaborating that the painting shows the very moment of resurrection as Christ awakes and the tomb's stone has begun to roll aside, casting light and wind into the sepulcher, extinguishing the angels' candles and ending their vigil.[52] Both emphasize that Rosso's painting is unique and Nagel describes it as a form of "extreme experimentation."[53] Yet contrary to both these interpretations, Rosso's painting is not an anomalous artistic experiment. Rather, the work's outwardly radical composition actually reflects existing precedents and logic.

The first step to understanding the composition is identifying and explaining the presence of the sizable candles. Much too large to be mere altar candles, which stand on an altar table, they seem to be liturgical candles, used in processions and ceremonies. To provide a well-known comparison, they are identical to those found in Raphael's *Mass at Bolsena*.[54] While candles fit the narrative need for illuminating a dark sepulcher, Rosso's extinguished candles do not provide light. In nearly all Catholic religious ceremonies, including funerals, candles are lit and remain lit throughout. One of the few exceptions is the *Tenebrae* ("darkness"), the name given to the Matins and the Lauds performed during the Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Holy week. Holy week commemorates Christ's last week of life, beginning with Palm Sunday, continuing through Christ's death on Good Friday, and ending on Easter Sunday with a celebration of his resurrection and the lighting of the Paschal candle. In the fifth century, beginning with the *Tenebrae* of Maundy Thursday, lit candles dispersed throughout the church were slowly extinguished. On Friday, the final candles were put out and the church left in solemn darkness, representing the death and burial of the true light of God, Jesus Christ. A lone candle was left burning, although sometimes hidden from view.[55] The

Fig. 7 Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, Italian, Coronation of the Virgin, Polyptych with Coronation of the Virgin and Saints (detail), ca. 1390s, tempera on panel, 140 x 91 3/4 in. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (71.PB.31). (By permission of the J. Paul Getty Museum)

candle may have served a practical use, allowing clergy to read by its light, but it also represented the eventual resurrection of Christ.[56] By the twelfth century, this extinguishing of lights was performed on all three days of the Easter Triduum.[57] Participants treated the rites during these three days as a grand funeral for Christ,[58] complete with a procession to the symbolic Easter sepulcher.[59]

The motif of angels holding candles was thus appropriate for holy funerals. Nearly identical funeral candles appear in images of the Dormition of the Virgin, such as the ones by Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni (fig. 7) and Taddeo di Bartolo.[60] In both of these paintings, the angels mourning the Virgin hold thick, twisted candles similar to those in Rosso's painting. The motif recurs in Lorenzo Lotto's later *Entombment*, in which two putti also carry these large candles.[61] The particular types of candles represented and the strongly funereal imagery indicate that Rosso's painting is a depiction not of the resurrection but instead of the ceremony of the *Tenebrae*, appropriately infused with the undertones of a funeral procession. Rosso's choice to present Christ in this way acknowledged the painting's patron Bishop Tornabuoni's role in the church generally and drew upon his certain familiarity with this annual custom.

The choice of two extinguished candles also had a further significance specific to the Passion cycle. The *Vita Christi*, attributed to Ludolph of Saxony (d. 1378), was a widely-read history of Christ's life from his birth to the Ascension. It describes the events of Christ's life and expands on stories only briefly addressed in the Gospels. In the passage on Christ's death and Deposition, the *Vita Christi* reads, "His eyes darkened in death, and those two great lamps [the Sun and the Moon], which illuminate the world, at the same time have been extinguished. Did not darkness descend over the entire earth while they were darkened, and have not the two great lamps been put out along with those [two other] lamps [Christ's eyes]?"[62] The evocative parallel between the fading of Christ's eyes and the dimming of the world's two great lamps, the Sun and the Moon, is resolutely illustrated in this shaded panel. Christ's face is half-shadowed, and Rosso's inclusion of two extinguished candles makes Christ's moment of death particularly poignant and its relation to the *Tenebrae* acutely visible to the sixteenth-century spectator.

Though difficult to conclude with certainty, the warm glow of light that illuminates the otherwise darkened setting may simply be a symbolic representation of Christ's impending resurrection, the comfort of that fact reflected in the expressions of both Christ and the angels. Alternatively, it may also be a literal reference to the candle left burning during the ceremony and a foreshadowing of Christ's resurrection. The acknowledgment and integration of external elements into the painting was not entirely new. For example, Mary Pardo explains that the source of light that highlights the Magdalene's robe in Giovanni Gerolamo Savoldo's *Magdalene* (c. 1520-1536) originates from a fictitious Christ who stands beside the viewer, outside the canvas. The beholder thus completes a triangular relationship with Christ and Mary.[63] In Sarto's earlier work, the *Madonna of the Harpies*, the artist similarly employs the device, painting in wisps of smoke that must originate from beyond the picture plane, as no internal source exists. As Shearman writes, "the fiction that something may be seen to drift from the real into the illusion is an extraordinarily imaginative way of describing the unity of artificial and liminal space."[64] Through this method, Rosso dissolves the division between pictorial illusion and physical space, thereby making Christ's awe-inspiring presence even more immediate.

The contention that Rosso has chosen to paint the *Tenebrae* is further strengthened if one looks at the later Angel Pietàs by Alessandro Allori, the pupil of Pontormo's student, Agnolo Bronzino. Allori's 1582 *Pietà*, now housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, also illustrates a religious rite in the form of an Angel Pietà—in this case, a clear depiction of the Worship of the Cross, a ceremony performed on Good Friday.[65] In the ceremony, participants place a cushion covered by a white cloth upon the altar steps, sequentially uncover a veiled cross, and then rest the cross upon the cushion.[66] Allori's Angel Pietà represents this ceremony, with the true body of Christ replacing the symbolic cross.

Fig. 8 Jacopo da Pontormo, 1494-1557, Pietà, 1526-28, Santa Felicità, Florence, Italy. (By permission of Scala/Art Resource, NY)

Fig. 9 Jacopo da Pontormo, 1494-1557, The Deposition, ca. 1526, black chalk and gray wash heightened with body color, squared in red chalk, 443 x 276mm. Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford (JBS 119). (By permission of the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford)

Allori's depictions of religious rite in several of his Angel Pietàs build upon the precedent Rosso has set. Exploring the metaphor that exists between light and Christ's life even more strongly support the argument that this composition, with its doused candles, represents the moment of death—not new life as Nagel and Shearman argue. The *Tenebrae*, the lighting of the Paschal candle on Easter, and the vivid description of Christ's death in the *Vita Christi* all reflect the parallels that exist between light and Christ's life and darkness at the time of his death. Without diminishing the originality of Rosso's *Dead Christ*, the argument this paper proposes provides a foundation for much of his inventive iconography, highlighting antecedents and successors, which too incorporate religious rite and ceremony directly into Angel Pietàs, and a textual and liturgical foundation for his compositional choices.[67] Moreover, this interpretation is consistent with the timeline traditionally represented by the Pietà—a moment between the Deposition and the Entombment.

Rosso's nearly exact contemporary and companion pupil under Sarto, Jacopo da Pontormo, created a Pietà (fig. 8) that rivals Rosso's in novelty and ingenuity. The altarpiece forms the central focus of the Capponi Chapel in Florence, where it still remains. The subject matter of this altarpiece remains energetically contested, but before a discussion of these issues, the work requires a brief introduction.

In 1525, a wealthy Florentine banker, Lodovico Capponi purchased a chapel in the Benedictine

Church, Santa Felicità. He significantly renovated the interior and commissioned the major paintings from Pontormo—a scene of the *Annunciation*, four roundels of the evangelists on the ceiling, a dome with *God the Father and Four Patriarchs*, and an altarpiece.[68] Additionally, Guillame Marcillat completed a stained glass window of the *Entombment* in September of 1526, early on in Pontormo's work for the space.[69]

A large-scale altarpiece, Pontormo's *Pietà* is remarkable for its extraordinary iconography and unconventional arrangement. As the architect of the chapel program, Pontormo also had the flexibility to engage the complete space, uniting its components. Ensuring his creative freedom, Pontormo erected a screen that prevented anyone, including the patron, from entering the chapel for three years, privately completing its decoration with his student, Bronzino.[70]

When Capponi purchased the chapel, he changed its dedication from the Annunciation to the Pietà,[71] firmly establishing this iconography as the subject of Pontormo's resultant altarpiece despite its common designation as a Deposition or an Entombment.[72] A comparison between Pontormo's preparatory drawing (fig. 9) and his final work also reveals an intentional replacement of the cross from the background with a lone cloud, drawing attention to Pontormo's desire to make this work non-narrative.

Pontormo's Pietà captures a dynamic scene as two androgynous youths lift Christ's body. Figures rise to fill the frame, confusing horizon and sky. Every portion of the panel is teeming. The figure in green's sinuous body curves with the frame and a lone cloud occupies the small space at the upper-left. The viewer's eyes meander through the entire composition, following the disparate gazes of the internal characters. Three hands frame Christ's left hand, presented to the viewer in the middle of the altarpiece. Unlike many other devotional images, Christ's body does not hold the undivided attention of the surrounding figures. A swirl of draperies creates rich depth and three-dimensionality, and a flurry of Michelangelesque color greets the eye. The characters' telltale red-rimmed eyes and sorrowful faces set the dampened mood.

Though perhaps not initially obvious, what Pontormo presents here is a highly unusual Angel Pietà, even though its angels lack the most common identifying trait—their wings.[73] Though these ethereal beings are no longer easily identifiable, Pontormo did incorporate other clues that allow us to classify these two curly-haired youths carrying Christ's body as angels.[74] The shimmering *cangianti* effects that highlight the crouched figure impart the "rich, unreal colouring" so appropriate to angels[75] and so fittingly applied in both Rosso's and Sarto's paintings. Aside from color, one must note that the substantial responsibility these two figures undertake as they bear the body of Christ away from his mother would not be allocated to just anyone, making it unlikely that they are simply anonymous and unidentified men. Furthermore, these honored bearers press their hands firmly against Christ's skin, even though, in both art and during the ceremony of the Eucharist, tradition often prohibited people from touching Christ's sacred body. Instead, a cloth frequently separated the skin of Christ from direct touch, as seen in two works that Pontormo held as models, Raphael's 1508 *Entombment* now in the Galleria Borghese and Michelangelo's St. Peter's *Pietà*. It is not only in this detail that Pontormo selectively deviated from his precedents; his drawing (fig. 9) sheds further insight into his compositional process.

Several scholars have already noted the marked similarities between Pontormo's work and Raphael's Borghese *Entombment*.[76] In both Pontormo's drawing and in Raphael's *Entombment*, two figures lift Christ, one near his head and the other at his knees. The leftmost figures in the two paintings counterbalance the weight of Christ's body, planting their feet firmly and pulling their heads and bodies backwards. But in Pontormo's final altarpiece, the artist has reversed this depiction entirely, portraying the two Christ-bearers delicately balanced upon their toes, showing no strain from their load. The repeated *pentimenti* that shadow the leftmost figure indicate indecision about its form, suggesting that Pontormo was thoughtfully and actively inventing something

new.[77] Pontormo has at once indicated the incorporeal nature of these two youths, signaling their identification as angels and created what is truly a unique Angel Pietà.

Recognizing this work as an Angel Pietà, one can better understand the artist's goals. Two of the most commonly-cited interpretations of this altarpiece, those of John Shearman and Leo Steinberg, comment upon the altarpiece's interaction with the chapel space. Shearman argues that the two figures carrying Christ are lowering him downward onto the altar table and symbolic tomb.[78] Steinberg, by contrast, views these two angelic bearers as rising upward, bringing Christ's body to the image of God the Father in the cupola.[79] In both arguments, the Pietà becomes a representation of a transient moment as the body of Christ is carried forth to his destination. In doing so, the body enters the viewer's space, incorporating him into the three-dimensional action.

Furthermore, Pontormo specifically rejects the more common practices of either directing the internal figures inward to the object of devotion or outward to the devotee. Unlike in the traditional devotional picture, each character gazes in a different direction, decentralizing the composition. The characters in the *Pietà* create a vibrant mix of internal contemplation and external invitation. Robert Gaston discusses the theories behind the painterly capture of attention and writes,"Painters surely understood the psychological consequences for the beholder of the attentional techniques they used. How, for example, the illusion of continuously flowing gestural and verbal interchange between protagonists could be promoted by ensuring that the gazes of those figures did not lock into one another."[80] He continues on to argue that artists of the *Maniera*, like Pontormo, relied on advances in portraiture to develop techniques that engaged "the beholder in a richer dialogue with the sacred image."[81] Such a dialogue was entirely appropriate in the context of the Capponi chapel.

Pontormo's seemingly erratic configuration and placement of characters, the mixed gazes, and the three-dimensionality of his painting are all clever tools he uses to capture and hold the viewer's attention and ultimately his devotions. Pontormo's altarpiece interacts and incorporates the surrounding chapel features, like the painting of *God the Father* in the cupola, and serves as a central component of a unified chapel program. He calls upon the believer to both comprehend and piece together the story he has composed. He generates movement and draws upon the viewer's memories and cognition, directing his thoughts and creating continuity between picture space and

Fig. 10 Jacopo da Pontormo, 1494-1557, Pietà (detail), 1526-28, Santa Felicità, Florence, Italy. (By permission of Scala/Art Resource, NY)

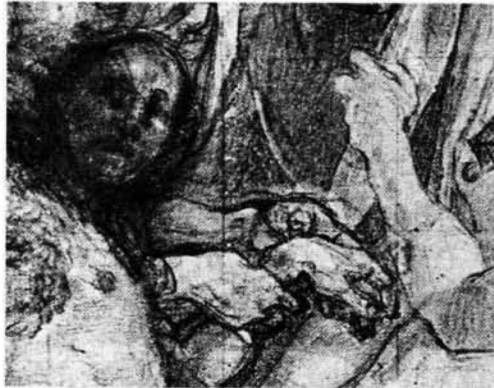


Fig. 11 Jacopo da Pontormo, 1494-1557, The Deposition (detail), ca. 1526, black chalk and gray wash heightened with body color, squared in red chalk, 443 x 276mm. Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford (JBS 119). (By permission of the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford)

real space as the characters in the Pietà move outward, even incorporating the physical light streaming through Marcillat's window into his picture.[82]

The other notable difference between the study and finished *Pietà* (figs. 10-11) is the hand of the woman who stands before Mary. In the study, she grips Mary's sleeve, but in the final altarpiece, she holds a cloth instead. This mysterious transition is peculiarly reminiscent of the angel in Sarto's *Vienna Pietà*. As Sarto's former apprentice, Pontormo may very well have considered Sarto's earlier work as a precedent to his own, just as Rosso had.[83] Though far from being visually similar, Pontormo's vivid and elaborate masterpiece continues along the same path of iconographic originality that Sarto initiates. Pontormo's altarpiece differs radically from previous Angel Pietàs in its presentation of the subject matter, its composition, the movement of Christ's body, and its explicit interaction with the chapel—almost everything except for its function as a devotional altarpiece. To that end, Pontormo has devised a work exquisitely suited to its space and purpose.

Conclusion

In these devotional Angel Pietàs, we see the severance from narrative that fits with the classic definition of an *Andachtsbild*. However, these artworks also branch away from this traditional definition. Rather than incorporating the strong references to the Gospel stories that Ringbom explores, these pictures rely upon the viewer to complete their meaning. The psychological component in these works opens a conversation with their viewers, drawing them in and leading them to invest more time and thought into the composition. In their acts as mediating figures, angels supported these efforts, enhancing a composition's ability to aid in religious meditation.

The artists explored here each contributed an exceptionally inventive work that aimed to address the function of this genre of artwork. These paintings mark an important shift in the iconography of the Angel Pietà. Historically, Pietàs' self-referentially focused upon allusions to biblical narrative, directing attention toward Christ's sacrifices rather than toward the viewer. Though non-specific in time, these traditional paintings referred to Passion events or key moments in Christ's life. In contrast, the paintings discussed here recognize and acknowledge the viewer and build new ideas upon the foundation of historical form in order to allow the beholder to introduce his own thoughts. In both Sarto's and Rosso's paintings, the direct references to religious ceremony and rite alluded to not only Christ's sacrifices during Passion week but also the contemporary celebration and memorial of those crucial occurrences—the facets of religion that a worshipper directly experienced. Rather than being self-referential, Pontormo's *Pietà* directly engaged the chapel space beyond the picture plane and relied upon the visitor to comprehend the complete devotional program. By breaking the barriers between picture and viewer, these artists decreased the perceived distance between the worshipper and the revered. This invention resulted in the unfolding of the static, iconic Angel Pietà through a mechanism analogous to narrative. At its core, a narrative image is a representation of a sequence of events in a single picture. From that picture, an entire story unravels, an entire scene replayed, based on the viewer's memories and knowledge. A narrative image inherently relies on the viewer to "fill in the gaps" and recreate a biblical story, a myth, or a tale. That necessary cognitive reconstruction triggers a viewer to contemplate the illustrated events

Rather than referring only to the Passion cycle, these works additionally allude to external events—to church rituals or to physical structures. They require their audiences to actively understand and complete the significance. This idea is distinct from the use of symbols. An object can serve as a reference to an absent article or an event; a lamb refers to Christ, and a crown of thorns refers to Christ's crucifixion. However, an acolyte refers to church mass; extinguished candles refer to the *Tenebrae*. Both are services known through a viewer's own personal encounters. A

painting that relates to elements outside itself requires a beholder's understanding of those cues. The Angel Pietà has become participatory, drawing upon a person's individual faith, memories, and knowledge. As a narrative expands from a single image through a beholder's comprehension, the Angel Pietà here also expands but into a more personal realm.

These changes fit with the varying attitudes toward devotion and faith. As people began to believe in an individually proactive approach to worship, these artworks shifted their focus to the devotee, acknowledging his presence and incorporating his contributions into the meaning of the artwork.[84] Artists developed a new way of resolving the dichotomy of divine representation by allowing a worshipper to internalize a portion of his communication with his Creator as portrayed in artwork. And despite their derivation from a single workshop tradition, the artists explored here exhibit an amazing diversity in their inventions.

The Angel Pietà is an expressive and powerful image type with a long tradition both before and after Sarto, Rosso, and Pontormo. It continued to play an important role in the *oeuvres* of other artists, including Bronzino. Borghini's *Il Riposo* remarks that the first work of repute by Bronzino was an Angel Pietà from the Certosa del Galluzzo, just as one of Rosso and Pontormo's earliest works was an Angel Pietà completed under Sarto.[85] Bronzino finished his painting just before Pontormo began to work on his own Capponi altarpiece. Bronzino later executed an Angel Pietà modeled after Pontormo's *Pietà* that served as a major altarpiece in Eleonora's Chapel in the Palazzo Vecchio.

The examination of the paintings presented here uncovers a portion of the symbolism, function, and history underlying these widespread pictures and the need to recognize and study the image type's individual history. As artists invented new ways of interpreting and applying the Angel Pietà type, they demonstrated a recognition of its role in devotional culture and an increasing awareness of painting's ability to engage outside of itself—a growing externality. These important achievements are not only commendable on their own but also illustrative of some of the extraordinary qualities fundamental to this image type.

Melissa Shive is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, where she won the David M. Robb Thesis Prize and the Rose Award for her research on the Angel Pietà. Additionally, she has completed a Fulbright Fellowship in Malaysia and has co-authored articles in Newsweek, the San Francisco Chronicle, and the Washington Times. She is particularly grateful for the support and mentorship of Professor Michael Cole, who continues to this day to inspire her.

Notes

I'd like to thank Professor Michael Cole for his invaluable guidance, encouragement, and feedback throughout the development of this paper. I'd also like to thank my anonymous reviewer for the particularly thoughtful and helpful comments and suggestions.

1. Sydney Joseph Freedberg, *Andrea del Sarto*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), 52.

2. John Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 77-78.

3. The assumption of absolute originality found in descriptions of these works reveals a measure of the mystery that still clouds these paintings. Shearman writes that the conception of Andrea del Sarto's Pietà has no precedent: John Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 77-78.; In another essay, he notes that Rosso Fiorentino's

Dead Christ with Angels "seems to be without any exact parallel" and has a subject that is "essentially new" and has "no visual precedents": John Shearman, "The "Dead Christ" by Rosso Fiorentino," *Boston Museum Bulletin* 64, no. 338 (1966): 150, 52.; Clapp calls Pontormo's Pietà "our rarest rendering" of a Deposition; Letti considers it "extravagant and totally unprecedented." Frederick Mortimer Clapp, *Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo, His Life and Work* (New York: Junius Press, 1972), 45, Elisabetta Marchetta Letti, Pontormo, Rosso Fiorentino, trans. Anthony Brierley, *The Library of Great Masters* (New York: Riverside Book Company, 1994), 42.

4. Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Doornspijk, Netherlands: Davaco Publishers, 1965), 55-57. Erwin Panofsky, "'Imago Pietatis.' Ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des 'Schmerzensmanns' und der 'Maria Ediatrix'," in *Deutschsprachige Aufsätze*, ed. Karen Michels and Martin Warnke, *Studien aus dem Warburg-Haus*; Bd. 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1998).

5. This is a primary argument in Ringbom's book. He also briefly discusses an approach toward creating new types of *Andachtsbilder* by *Analogiebildung* or of "fusing elements from existing types into a fresh combination." Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 58.

6. Michael Camille, "Mimetic Identification and Passion Devotion," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. A. A. MacDonald, Bernhard Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 204-06.

7. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 66.

8. Alexander Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 51.

9. Ringbom first notes this example in Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 33.; Domenico di Cambio was an art agent for Francesco di Marco Datini, a prominent merchant from Prato. Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato, Francesco di Marco Datini*, 1st American ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), 258.

10. Nagel, *Reform of Art*, 50.

11. Though classification of Angel Pietàs is complicated and deserves further discussion, I will briefly touch upon it here. A tremendous amount of diversity exists within the image type of the Angel Pietà, and attempts to categorize these variations highlight the overlap not only within the image type but also between the Angel Pietà and its narrative counterparts—the Lamentation, the Deposition, and the Entombment. Recognizing these limitations, it is nevertheless valuable to roughly categorize Angel Pietàs in order to draw attention the variety within the type and to better describe the breadth of tradition that existed. I have loosely broken down this image type four groups: the single-angel Pietà (a single, large angel holding Christ), the Man of Sorrows with Angels (a Man of Sorrows portrait with angels, which is often half-length), the Angel Marienklage (a composition with angels and Mary holding the Dead Christ, often across her lap), and the multi-figured Angel Pietà (a crowd of mourners surrounding Christ, often very similar in form to a Lamentation). For another overview of the image, see Gert von der Osten, "Engelpietà," in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich (Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller, 1967).

12. One of the earliest examples of a Man of Sorrows with Angels is Giovanni's Lectern of Pistoia (1302-10, Staatliche Museen, Berlin); Giovanni Bellini and Carlo Crivelli also completed several. Example of paintings of Mary and Dead Christ with Angels include the Pietà by Francesco Neri da Volterra, c. 1360 in the Pinacoteca Civica, Volterra, the *Entombment of Christ* attributed to Taddeo Gaddi, 1360-66, Yale Museum of Art, New Haven.

13. Both Belting and Nagel have mentioned the notion of distance. It is further elaborated by Panofsky in his discussion of the Repräsentationsbild. Belting, *Likeness*, 351, Nagel, *Reform of Art*, 16, Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis," 190.

14. Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis," 190.

15. Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 72.

16. Leonardo da Vinci, *A Treatise on Painting*, trans. John Francis Rigaud, *Great Minds Series* (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 2002), 162.

17. Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting and on Sculpture: The Latin Texts of De Pictura and De Statua*, trans. Cecil Grayson (London: Phaidon, 1972), 83.

18. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 68.

19. Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1910), 33.

20. Ibid., 263-64.

21. John C. Olin, *The Catholic Reformation: Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 12-13.

22. Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence, Studies in Social Discontinuity* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 376.

23. As Bagemihl explains, this doctrine "leads to a geometrical progression of unorthodox implications." Rolf Bagemihl, "Francesco Botticini's Palmieri Altar-Piece," *The Burlington Magazine* 138, no. 1118 (1996): 309. Palmieri commissioned a large altarpiece entitled the *Assumption of the Virgin* (1475-7) from Francesco Botticini (1446-97) that illustrated these beliefs (National Gallery, London).

24. "Fabio: These matrons are guests at a feast; what will you say of this company of angels? Lauro: A truly divine spectacle." Mary Pardo, "Paolo Pino's Dialogo di Pittura: A Translation with Commentary" (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1984), 300.

25. "The seeds that each man cultivates will grow and bear the fruit in him. If he cultivates... intellectual [seeds], he will be an angel, and a son of God." Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *On the Dignity of Man*, trans. Charles Glenn Wallis, Paul J. W. Miller, and Douglas Carmichael (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), 5.

26. Ibid., 7.

27. Camille, "Mimetic Identification," 192.

28. Francesco Francia, *Pietà*, 1511-1517. National Gallery of Art, London (photo: National Gallery of Art, London.

29. Nagel, *Reform of Art*, 140.

30. Ibid. 15-16.

31. Marcia B. Hall, "Introduction: The Art History of Renaissance Rome," in *Rome*, ed. Marcia B. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 20.

32. Shearman, *Andrea Del Sarto*, 3-4.

33. The painting's earliest known location in the collection of the Duke of Buckingham, who purchased it in France through an agent, and its stylistic similarities to French painting strongly suggest that Sarto created this painting while in France, giving it a probable date of 1518-19.: Janet Cox-Rearick, *The Collection of Francis I: Royal Treasures* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996), 163-64.

34. Cennino Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook: The Italian "Il Libro dell'Arte"*, trans. Daniel Varney Thompson, *Dover Books on Art* (New York: Dover Publications, 1960), 53.

35. Lomazzo as quoted in Martin Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990), 266.

36. Additional examples include: Simon Marmion, *Mass of St. Gregory*, 1460-65. Ontario Art Gallery, Toronto; School of Amiens, *Mass of St. Gregory*, c. 1450-1460. Louvre, Paris.

37. Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987, 57.; John Shearman, *Only Connect: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance*, The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts; 1988 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 70-72.

38. Depictions of the Madonna and Child with Christ presented on a fictive altar are also found in relief. See Desiderio da Settignano, c. 1455-60, *Virgin and Child*. Philadelphia Museum of Art

39. Mino da Fiesole, *Virgin and Child with Four Angels*, early 1470s. Courtald Institute of Art Gallery, London.

40. This painting was one of a series of annually commissioned works by the Brotherhood of the Puy Notre Dame of Amiens. In 1517 and 1518, shortly before Sarto's arrival in France, King Francis I's mother, the Queen-mother, Louise of Savoy, commissioned miniatures of many of these paintings. While this particular painting was not reproduced, Dupont argues that stylistic similarities suggest that it served as a model for some of the successive paintings. With the recent dialogue between Louise of Savoy and Amiens, it is possible that Sarto may have seen these works. Jacques Dupont, "Le Sacerdoce de la Vierge," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1932): 273-74. For a reproduction of the contents of Louise's manuscript, see Georges Durand, *Tableaux et Chants Royaux de la Confrérie du Puy Notre Dame d'Amiens* (Amiens: Impr. Yvert et Tellier, 1911), 1-5. For more information about the *Priesthood of the Virgin*, see Dupont, "Le Sacerdoce.", Frédéric Elsig, *La Peinture en France au XVe Siècle* (Milan: 5 continents, 2004), 26, René Laurentin, "Digne Vesture Au Prestre Souverain," Revue du Moyen-age Latin (1948): 255-57, Ferd. Peeters, "Le Tableau dit "Sujet Mystique"," *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* (1931), Carol J. Purtle, "Le Sacerdoce de la Vierge et L'Énigme d'un Parti Iconographique Exceptionnel," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 46, no. 5 (1996): 54-56.

41. The Virgin's vestments conform almost exactly to those prescribed in the Book of Exodus (Ch. 28) for Aaron and his descendents, the high priests of Israel. Purtle, "Le Sacerdoce," 57.

42. "Digne vesture au Prestre Souverain." Dupont, "Le Sacerdoce," 265, 68, Laurentin, "Digne Vesture," 253, 55-56, Charles Sterling and Hélène Adhémar, *Peintures, École Française, XIVe, XVe et XVIe Siècles* (Paris: Éditions des Musées nationaux, 1965), 16. Thank you to Professor Kevin Brownlee for this translation from the Old French.

43. James Driscoll, *Levites* (Online Edition) [The Catholic Encyclopedia] (Robert Appleton Company; K. Knight, 1912, 2003 [cited March 19 2006]); available from http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09206a.htm, Laurentin, "Digne Vesture," 260-61.

44. Philippe Costamagna discusses the effects Leonardo da Vinci had on Sarto's work during his stay in France and the subsequent spread of aspects of Leonardo's style through Sarto to artists like Jacopo da Pontormo, Baccio Bandinelli, and Rosso Fiorentino. Philippe Costamagna, "L'Influence de Léonard de Vinci sur les Artistes Toscans et ses Apports à la Maniera: Le Rôle du Séjour Français d'Andrea del Sarto," in *Léonard de Vinci entre France et Italie Miroir Profond et Sombre: Actes du Colloque International de L'Université de Caen 3-4 Octobre 1996* (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 1999).

45. Sarto's Puccini Pietà is recorded in an engraving by Agostino Veneziano, c. 1516. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. David Franklin, "Rosso Fiorentino and Jacopo V Appiani: Art in Piombino in the First Part of the Sixteenth Century," in *Pontormo e Rosso*, ed. Roberto Paolo Ciardi and Antonio Natali (Firenze: Giunta regionale toscana, 1996), 282. There are additional similarities between Rosso's Christ and the *Bed of Polycleitus* model that Michelangelo had also used for a depiction of the dead Christ. Shearman, "Dead Christ," 156, Nagel, *Reform of Art*, 155.

46. Eugene A. Carroll, "On Rosso's Volterra *Deposition* and Other Tragedies," in *Pontormo e Rosso*, ed. Roberto Paolo Ciardi and Antonio Natali (Firenze: Giunta regionale toscana, 1996), 117, David Franklin, *Rosso in Italy: The Italian Career of Rosso Fiorentino* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 142.

47. This title comes from Vasari's shorthand reference to this type of work as a Cristo morto. David Franklin, "New Documents for Rosso Fiorentino in Sansepolcro," *The Burlington Magazine* 131, no. 1041 (1989): 822.

48. "...figura domini nostra Iesu Christi in forma Pietatis, cum quibusdam angelis circumcircha dictam figuram..." Ibid.

49. "...un Cristo morto con due Angioletti che gli fanno lume con due torce e lo piangono..." Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' Più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architettori, nelle Redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. Rosanna Bettarini, 6 vols., vol. 5 (Firenze: Sansoni, 1966), 308.

50. Franklin, "Rosso Fiorentino and Jacopo," 281-82.

51. "in the realistic sense, they might just as well not be there." John Shearman, "The "Dead Christ" by Rosso Fiorentino," *Boston Museum Bulletin* 64, no. 338 (1966): 150-52.

52. Nagel, *Reform of Art*, 155-56. Nagel, Alexander, "Experiments in Art and Reform in Italy in the early Sixteenth Century," in *The Pontificate of Clement VII. History, Politics, Culture*, eds. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl Reiss. (England: Aldershot, 2005), 385-409.

53. Nagel, *Reform of Art*, 156.

54. Raphael, *Mass at Bolsena*, 1511-12. Stanza d'Eliodoro, Vatican, Rome. They are also found in Jacopo Zucchi's *Procession of St. Gregory the Great* in the Vatican Pinacoteca, Rome, cat. 40374.

55. Herbert Thurston, *Tenebrae* (Online Edition) [The Catholic Encyclopedia] (Robert Appleton Company; K. Knight, 1912, 2003 [cited Feb 13 2006]); available from http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14506a.htm.

56. In his *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, the medieval liturgist William Durandus (c. 1237-1296) explains this association, also ascribing several additional meanings to the candle. Guillaume Durand, *Rational ou Manuel des Divins Offices de Guillaume Durand*, trans. Charles Barthélemy, 5 vols., vol. 4 (Paris: Louis Vivès, 1854), 75-76.

57. James Monti, *The Week of Salvation: History and Traditions of Holy Week* (Huntington, Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor, 1993), 80.

58. Durand, *Rational ou Manuel des Divins Offices*, 65.

59. A procession to the sepulcher occurs on Maundy Thursday, and procession to the place of repose occurs on Good Friday. Adrian Fortescue, *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described*, 2nd rev. ed. (London: Burns & Oates Ltd., 1920), 294-95, 307-09.

60. Taddeo di Bartolo, *Dormition of the Virgin*, 1409.

61. Lorenzo Lotto, *Entombment*, 1550-55. Courtald Institute of Art Gallery, London.

62. "Caligauerunt in morte oculi sui: & illa luminaria magna, quae illuminant orbem, ad horam extincta sunt. None illis obtenebrantibus tenebrae factae sunt super universam terram: & illa duo luminaria magna cum illis luminaribus semota sunt?" Ludolf von Sachsen and A Io. Dadraeo, *Vita Christi* (Venice: Guerraeos Fratres, & Franciscum Zilettum, 1581), 666v. The Italian translation does not make the parallel between Christ's eyes and the Sun and the Moon as clear: "His eyes were blinded in death, and those great lamps that illuminate the world are snuffed out [at this] time. Since they darkened, did not darkness descend on the whole earth?" "Gli occhi suoi s'abbacinarono nella morte, & quei gran luminari che illuminano il mondo sono estinti per a tempo. Essendo essi ottenebrati non si fecero le tenebre sopra tutta l'universa terra?" Ludolf von Sachsen, *Vita di Giesv Christo*, trans. M. Francesco Sansovino (Venetia: Jacopo Sansovino il Giovane, 1570), 409v. I am grateful to Paolo Di Leo and Professor Victoria Kirkham for their help with these translations.

63. Mary Pardo, "The Subject of Savoldo's Magdalene," *Art Bulletin* 71, no. 1 (1989): 72-75.

64. John Shearman, *Only Connect*, 60.

65. Alessandro Allori, *Dead Christ with Angels*, c. 1582, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

66. A veiled altar cross is then taken and presented to the congregation. In three parts, the veil is slowly removed, revealing first the top portion, then the right arm, and finally the whole crucifix. The unveiled cross is carried toward the altar and the upper portion rested upon the prepared cushion. Fortescue, *Ceremonies*, 304-05.

67. Rosso's painting was popular enough to apparently inspire several subsequent works, such as Federico Zuccaro's *Pietà with Angels* (1567, Galleria Borghese, Rome), although no work seems to replicate his doused candles. Shearman gives a list of seven paintings that seem to follow Rosso's trend, although he notes that "none of them repeats Rosso's subject." Shearman, "Dead Christ," 170, note 25. One additional work is a *Christ Surrounded by the Virgin* (1585-1587) by Francesco Vanni (Siena, 1563-1610).

68. For a summary of the chapel history, see Louis Alexander Waldman, "New Light on the Capponi Chapel in S. Felicita," *Art Bulletin* 84, no. 2 (2002): 293-95. The cupola frescoes are now lost, known only through preparatory sketches, reproduced in Janet Cox-Rearick, *The Drawings of Pontormo*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), figs. 246-52. They are also briefly discussed in Frederick Mortimer Clapp, *Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo, His Life and Work* (New York: Junius Press, 1972), 46, 49.

69. Waldman, "New Light," 300.

70. Elisabetta Marchetta Letti, *Pontormo, Rosso Fiorentino*, trans. Anthony Brierley, *The Library of Great Masters* (NewYork:

Riverside Book Company, 1994), 42, Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Arthur Banks Hinds, 4 vols., vol. 3 (London: Dent, 1963), 246-47.

71. Leo Steinberg cites an inscription that notes the change in dedication, reproduced in Giuseppe Richa, *Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine Divise ne' suoi Quartierti*, 10 vols., vol. 9 (Rome: Multigrafica Editrice, 1972), 312, Leo Steinberg, "Pontormo's Capponi Chapel," *Art Bulletin* 56, no. 3 (1974): 387, footnote 11. Waldman cites a another document for the dedication change: Waldman, "New Light," 293, Appendix 1, document 5.

72. Steinberg summarizes the varying names scholars have ascribed to the altarpiece: Steinberg, "Pontormo's Capponi Chapel," 385, note 2.

73. With only the exceptions of Seraphim and Cherubim, the Bible does not give angels wings as attributes. Instead, they are often described by their clothing or by the speed and suddenness their appearance. In the Gospels of Luke, the angels that announce Christ's resurrection to the Holy women wear "dazzling clothes"(Luke 24.2-4), making cangianti effects particularly appropriate. Gunnar Berefelt, *A Study on the Winged Angel: The Origin of a Motif* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1968), 17, Michael David Coogan et al., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), Staale Sinding-Larsen, *Iconography and Ritual: A Study of Analytical Perspectives* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget AS, 1984), 120.

74. To my knowledge, the first person to identify these figures as angels was Walter Friedlaender, followed more recently by Leo Steinberg: Walter F. Friedlaender, "Die Entstehung des Antiklassischen Stiles," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 46 (1925): 83, Steinberg, "Pontormo's Capponi Chapel," 388-91.

75. Patricia Rubin, "The Art of Colour in Florentine Painting of the Early Sixteenth Century: Rosso Fiorentino and Jacopo Pontormo," *Art History* 14 (1991): 185.

76. Cox-Rearick reproduces an earlier sketch for a Pietà lunette that shows that Pontormo had both seen the Raphael's work and considered it in a similar context. Cox-Rearick, *The Drawings of Pontormo*, 164-65. Reproduced in vol. 2, fig. 105. Other scholars have also noted the connection to Raphael's altarpiece. Jean Claude Lebensztejn and Alessandro Parronchi, *Le Journal de Jacopo da Pontormo*, Monographies (Paris: Aldines, 1992), 214, Nagel, *Reform of Art*, 139-40, Shearman, *Only Connect*, 87, John Shearman, *Pontormo's Altarpiece in S. Felicita, Charlton Lectures on Art* (Newcastle upon Tyne: University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1971), 11.

77. Cox-Rearick, *The Drawings of Pontormo*, 259.

78. Shearman, *Pontormo's Altarpiece*.

79. Steinberg, "Pontormo's Capponi Chapel."

80. Robert W. Gaston, "Attention and Inattention in Religious Painting of the Renaissance," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth, Villa I Tatti*, 7 (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1985), 264-65.

81. Ibid.

82. Waldman discusses the unification of physical and painted light and their engaging effects on the viewer. Waldman, "New Light," 301-02. In addition to Waldman's argument, Nagel remarks on the altarpiece's embrace of the chapel and a "spiraling movement leading out of the picture." Nagel, *Reform of Art*, 137. Shearman also discusses the idea of "shared space." Shearman, *Only Connect*, 92-94.

83. Freedberg notes, "… this Pietà of Andrea's was sufficiently meaningful as a classical example to Pontormo almost surely to have influenced him." Freedberg, *Andrea del Sarto*, vol. 1, 69.

84. Gombrich elaborates more broadly on this idea of a viewer's interactive role in artistic interpretation in his chapter on the "Beholder's Share": E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, 2 ed., *Bollingen Series*. 35, 5. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969), 181-287.

85. Agnolo Bronzino, *Man of Sorrows with Angels*, c. 1524. La Certosa del Galluzzo, Florence. "Le prime opere di conto, che facesse il Bronzino essendo ancor giovane, sono alla Certosa di Firenze sopra una porta, che va nel chiostro di fuora, una Pietà con due Angeli à fresco..." Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo di Raffaello Borghini* (Fiorenza: Appresso Giorgio Marescotti, 1584), 534.

"Non piacquero al Padrone": A Reexamination of Caravaggio's Cerasi *Crucifixion of St. Peter*

Heather Nolin

When Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1573-1610) entered into a contract with the Papal Treasurer General, Tiberio Cerasi, on September 24, 1600, he agreed to paint two cypress panels for the sidewalls of his new patron's burial chapel in the Augustinian church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome (fig. 3).[1] The panels were to depict the "*Mysteries of the Conversion of St. Paul* and the *Martyrdom of St. Peter*...with all and sundry figures, persons and ornaments which seem fit to the Painter, to the satisfaction however of his Lordship [Cerasi]."[2] Caravaggio, the contract continued, was "obligated, as he promised, to submit, before executing said pictures, specimens and designs of the figures and other objects with which, according to his invention and genius, he intends to beautify the said Mystery and Martyrdom." Caravaggio was to be paid a handsome sum of 400 *scudi* (the same amount he received the previous year for painting two, much larger canvases for the Contarelli Chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi) and was compelled to complete the two paintings by May 24, 1601, or eight months hence.[3]

Subsequent to Caravaggio's acceptance of the commission, events probably unfolded in the following manner. As instructed, Caravaggio painted on cypress panel both the *Martyrdom of St. Peter* (alternatively known as the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*) and the *Conversion of St. Paul*. Whether or not he first presented Cerasi with the required preparatory drawings is unknown, but at some point before the completion date stipulated in the contract, Cerasi rejected Caravaggio's paintings for undetermined reasons. He was within his rights; the original contract spelled out that the final paintings' acceptance was contingent upon them being to the "satisfaction...of his Lordship [Cerasi]," regardless of the patron's approval of the sketches. The artist then painted two new versions of the same subjects, this time on his preferred medium of canvas. The *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (fig. 1) and *Conversion of St. Paul* (fig. 2) that are mounted in the Cerasi Chapel today are on canvas and are universally accepted as Caravaggio's second versions; they will be referred to as such for the remainder of this article.

The first extant report of the rejection and creation of second versions came only after the deaths of both patron and artist. Giovanni Baglione wrote in his 1642 *Life of Caravaggio* that the side paintings in the chapel, "...were worked in another manner, but because they did not please the patron, Cardinal Sannesio took them, and Caravaggio then painted the two pictures, which one sees there in oil, because he used no other medium. Luck and Fame, so to speak, carried him through."[4] The circumstances of this event cannot be supported by any other contemporary accounts, and Baglione is credited as the source for all subsequent references to the paintings' rejection. Even though Baglione was Caravaggio's great rival, the veracity of his report should be reasonably accurate in that, as a lifelong denizen of Rome and an accomplished artist, Baglione would have had first-hand knowledge of Caravaggio's paintings. Moreover, Baglione's account is substantiated by the survival of one of the rejected panels, the *Conversion of St. Paul* in the Odescalchi-Balbi collection in Rome (fig. 4), which is on cypress panel. The location and appearance of the first *Crucifixion of St. Peter* are unknown.

The events that transpired between the signing of the contract in September 1600 and Baglione writing the above account in 1642 are subjects of great debate. Caravaggio specialists since the 1920s have relied upon a small collection of existing documents with brief, cryptic references to the commission to offer various versions of its chronology and theories as to why the panels were rejected, what happened to them and what they looked like. In this article, I too shall rely upon these docu-

Fig. 1 Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, Crucifixion of St. Peter (2nd version), oil on canvas, 230 x 175 cm. Cerasi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. (Photo: ICCD, Rome)

Fig. 2 Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, Conversion of St. Paul (2nd version), oil on canvas, 230 x 175 cm. Cerasi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. (Photo: ICCD, Rome)

Fig. 3 Cerasi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. (Photo: ICCD, Rome)

ments and attempt to answer these same questions, but shall offer another possible scenario. My intention is to shed new light on the reasons behind Cerasi's rejection of the first versions and the sequence of events leading to the completion of the second versions, arguing that the patron refused only one painting, the *Conversion of St. Paul*, and that Caravaggio himself decided after the death of his patron to replace the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* with the present picture. Caravaggio conceived this second version, I contend, to complement the spatial organization, figural forms, stylistic elements and medium of the revised *Paul*. I further argue that it is actually only slightly different from its predecessor. I shall also reexamine the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (fig. 5) in the Hermitage, which has long been thought to be a copy of Caravaggio's original. My objective is to disprove this hypothesis and reconstruct what I believe the composition of the first *Crucifixion of St. Peter* looked like, arguing that Caravaggio, not Cerasi's heirs, decided the fate of the discarded first versions.

My hypotheses are based in large part upon visual and documentary evidence, including the aforementioned original contract and more recent discoveries such as *avvisi* and inventories that scholars have already interpreted in different ways.[5] The material not yet fully utilized that is invaluable to my argument is the technical evidence introduced in a comprehensive volume of essays and reports entitled *Caravaggio, Carracci, Maderno: La Cappella Cerasi in Santa Maria del Popolo a Roma*.[6] As part of the restoration and consolidation of the Cerasi Chapel completed in 2000, x-rays were taken of the three paintings in the chapel: Caravaggio's two lateral paintings and Annibale Carracci's altarpiece. Analyses were done of the pigments used by both artists and diagrams were made of the incisions present on the surfaces of Caravaggio's paintings. The results of all these investigations are published in this volume, which also contains essays focusing on Annibale's altarpiece, the stucco

Fig. 4 Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, Conversion of St. Paul (Odescalchi-Balbi Paul, 1st version), oil on panel, 237 x 189 cm. Odescalchi-Balbi Collection, Rome. (Photo: Alinari Archives, Florence)

and fresco decorations and the chronology, iconography and history of the *Conversion of St. Paul.* As this publication attests, the first and second versions of the *Paul* have received the preponderance of scholarly attention while the composition, style, *invenzioni* and iconography of both the first and second versions of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* have not been fully explored. Just as the x-rays taken of the Contarelli Chapel laterals in the 1950's afforded art historians the opportunity to reexamine Caravaggio's working processes and influences, and the paintings' symbolism and chronology, I plan to employ the new technical evidence in my examination of the lost *Crucifixion of St. Peter.*

* * *

Tiberio Cerasi received patronage rights over the chapel to the left of the high altar in Santa Maria del Popolo on July 8, 1600.[7] He was given carte blanche to alter, enlarge and decorate the chapel as and when he saw fit. Cerasi had earlier purchased his post as Treasurer General of the Camera Apostolica in July 1596. As part of his duties, he was in contact with the artists and architects who worked in Rome, the Vatican, and throughout the Papal States,[8] and his circle of friends included

Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani and Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte, themselves Caravaggio's benefactors and great connoisseurs of art.[9] It was not surprising then that Cerasi chose the three most up-and-coming artists of the day to renovate and embellish his burial chapel. He selected architect Carlo Maderno (1555-1629) to enlarge and reconfigure the chapel, Annibale Carracci (1560-1609) to paint the chapel's fresco decorations and the altarpiece of the *Assumption of the Virgin* (fig. 6), and Caravaggio to paint the stories of Peter and Paul for the sidewalls.[10] All three introduced major projects in Rome in the same month when Cerasi acquired his chapel. Maderno was just completing the facade of Santa Susanna, which would herald the emergence of the Baroque style in architecture; Carracci finished the classically-inspired frescoes on the ceiling of the Gallery of the Palazzo Farnese; and Caravaggio unveiled his canvases, with their naturalistic interpretations of the sacred scenes, for the lateral walls of the Contarelli Chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi. Cerasi probably delighted in pairing the wonderfully contrasting styles of Carracci and Caravaggio. It is likely that by the September 24, 1600 date of Caravaggio's contract, Cerasi had already enlisted Maderno and Carracci,[11] though contracts between the patron and both artists have not been found, and the only reference

Fig. 5 Luca Saltarello(?), Crucifixion of St. Peter (copy after Caravaggio?), oil on canvas. The Hermitage, St. Petersburg. (Photo: Author)

Fig. 6 Annibale Carracci, Assumption of the Virgin, oil on canvas, 245 x 155 cm. Cerasi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. (Photo: ICCD, Rome)

to Maderno as the chapel's architect is in the May 2, 1601 codicil to Cerasi's will.[12] It is noteworthy that Cerasi insisted Caravaggio use cypress wood as it supports the supposition that Carracci was involved in the chapel decoration before Caravaggio was. There was no precedent for the use of cypress panel in Santa Maria del Popolo (the existing altarpieces were frescoed or sculpted in marble), and it was a material that Caravaggio had never worked with before.[13] This leads one to conclude that Annibale Carracci had already begun his altarpiece, which is on cypress wood, and that Cerasi wanted the altarpiece and lateral panels to be of consistent material.[14]

Tiberio Cerasi particularly venerated Peter and Paul, whom he mentioned in his last will and testament.[15] He retained the chapel's dedication to the "sacred Virgin Mary" and added the pair of Apostles to the roster of saints glorified in the decorative program upon obtaining patronage rights over the chapel. Together, Peter and Paul embody the city of Rome because they are its patron saints; Peter, as the first Pope, symbolizes the Papacy. The saints were often shown in artistic commissions when the patron's aggrandizing intentions called for these iconographic associations. Therefore, Cerasi's inclusion of them in his chapel's pantheon of saints was not unique. The extraordinary element was the combination of episodes from the saints' lives that Cerasi instructed Caravaggio to paint: the conversion of St. Paul and the crucifixion of St. Peter. The more logical juxtaposition of events would have been the calling of both by Christ to serve God, i.e. the conversion of Paul and Christ giving the keys to Peter.[16] By choosing scenes that represent the deaths of the Apostles, mystical in one case, actual in the other, Cerasi was making a logical decision for his burial chapel, but it was no accident that he selected the same unusual combination of events from the saints' lives that Michelangelo pioneered in 1545 in the Pauline Chapel, the private chapel of the Pope (figs. 7 & 8). By insisting Caravaggio reproduce the narratives associated with one of the most prominent examples of recent papal patronage, Cerasi was able to craft a decorative program that visually and

symbolically maximized his political kinship with Rome and the Papacy, and emphasized his prowess as an arbiter of artistic taste.[17]

The first surviving reference to Cerasi's commission after the contract signed with Caravaggio in late 1600 was an *avviso* announcing the death of Tiberio Cerasi at his villa in Frascati on May 5, 1601, only nineteen days before Caravaggio was expected to deliver the completed lateral panels.[18] The *avviso* states that Caravaggio's patron was buried in his "most beautiful chapel" which he was having made "by the hand of the most famous painter Caravaggio." On May 2, 1601, just three days before his death, Cerasi had added a codicil to his last will and testament[19] in which he named the Fathers of the Ospedale della Consolazione as his heirs and "...obligated [them] to finish the [above mentioned] Chapel."[20] Thus, at the time Cerasi added the codicil, he knew that Caravaggio was still working on the panels for his chapel, though which versions of them is unclear.

Caravaggio had still not completed his commission by the following month when the chapel and its contents are mentioned again, this time in an *avviso* dated June 2, 1601 announcing the presence of Annibale Carracci's frescoes in the Gallery of the Palazzo Farnese.[21] The *avviso* reads, in part, "... two paintings that Caravaggio is making for the Chapel of Monsignor Cerasi, Treasurer. The main painting in this chapel is by the above mentioned [Annibale] Carracci, all three of those paintings being of excellence and beauty."[22] It demonstrates that Annibale Carracci's *Assumption of the Virgin* was in place above the altar by that date and that Caravaggio was still at work on his paintings.[23]

The original contract for Caravaggio's commission specified that Cerasi would pay the artist in full "as soon as [Caravaggio] has finished the said pictures in the aforesaid manner and form and delivered them to [Cerasi] and consigned them to...here in Rome, or differently if desired."[24] His fee was set at 400 *scudi*. Cerasi issued fifty to the artist at the signing on September 24, 1600, with the remaining 350 due by contract upon completion of the paintings. On November 10, 1601, the officers of the Ospedale della Consolazione, the executors of Cerasi's estate, recorded their final payment to Caravaggio in their account books.[25] So the paintings should have been completed and delivered by that date.[26] But the entry in the ledger noted the final payment was for fifty, not 350

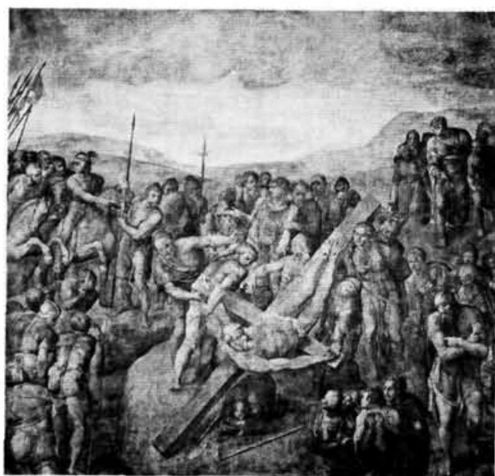


Fig. 7 Michelangelo Buonarroti, Crucifixion of St. Peter, 1545, fresco. Pauline Chapel, Vatican. (Photo: Bridgeman/Alinari Archives, Florence)

Fig. 8 Michelangelo Buonarroti, Conversion of St. Paul, 1545, fresco. Pauline Chapel, Vatican. (Photo: Bridgeman/Alinari Archives, Florence.)

scudi, and that his total compensation was 300, not 400 *scudi*. No reason was given for the reduction from the contractual amount, and it is uncertain when Caravaggio received the other 200 *scudi*. Obviously the terms of the contract were amended after the death of the patron on May 5, 1601. The receipt does specify, however, that Caravaggio had "the two paintings" in his possession and "promised to hang [them]...in their spots in the [Cerasi] chapel."

Once completed, the second versions on canvas may have remained in the artist's studio until as late as May 1, 1605, when the woodworker Bartolomeo received four *scudi* and fifty *baiocchi* from the Ospedale to install "the paintings of the painters" in the chapel.[27] These paintings must be Caravaggio's finished lateral canvases since Carracci's altarpiece was in place by June 2, 1602, and the chapel contains no other easel paintings. The convent records of the Augustinian monks of Santa Maria del Popolo note that the chapel's consecration took place on November 11, 1606, five years and one day after Caravaggio received his final payment.[28]

Seventeenth-century Roman guidebooks faithfully record the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* and the *Conversion of St. Paul* in the Cerasi Chapel. Guglielmo Facciotti's guide, *Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma* (1608), was the first to note the newly completed chapel and its beautiful paintings.[29] Only in Baglione's *Life of Caravaggio,* written in 1642, do we learn that the patron rejected the first paintings, that alternative versions exist of the *Peter* and the *Paul* that were "worked in another manner," and that these were appropriated by Cardinal Sannesio.[30]

Cardinal Giacomo Sannesio was an administrator for the Papal States and an avid collector of art.[31] By 1620, he owned several works by Caravaggio as recorded by Giulio Mancini in his *Considerazioni sulla pittura.* Mancini wrote that during Caravaggio's early years in Rome, he "made pictures...which are in the...Cerasi Chapel, and many privately owned paintings in the houses of the Mattei, Giustiniani and [Cardinal] Sannesio."[32] The Florence manuscript of Mancini's treatise notes that the two paintings in Sannesio's possession were versions of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* and the *Conversion of St. Paul,* although an inventory of the Cardinal's possessions has yet come to light.[33] We do know that upon Sannesio's death on February 19, 1621, his nephew Francesco took ownership of his uncle's art collection. The paintings first resurfaced in the catalogue of Francesco's house created after he died on the same day as his uncle, exactly twenty-three years later: "two large paintings *on wood* [emphasis is mine] that represent a St. Peter crucified and the other the conversion of St. Paul framed in gold."[34] Francesco's heirs quickly sold both of Caravaggio's first versions to Juan Alfonso Enríquez de Cabrera, ninth Admiral of Castile and Spanish Viceroy of Naples (1644-46), who eventually transported them to Madrid. They were recorded there on August 7, 1647, still mounted in the same frames, among the by then-deceased Viceroy's possessions: "...a large painting of the martyrdom of St. Peter with frame inventory number 327 = value with the frame that is gilded and carved [that has a value of] 300 ducats [for a total] value [of] 3300" and "...the other a conversion of St. Paul the Great as it arrived with gold gilded frame both by the hand of Caravaggio = inventory number 328 = value [like the other] 3300 ducats."[35] This is the last time the pair of panels is documented together.

The *Conversion of St. Paul* was sold from the Spanish collection sometime between 1647 and 1682 when it reappeared—unaccompanied by the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*—in the inventory of the Genoese home of Francesco Maria Balbi made at the time of his death.[36] For three centuries, the *Conversion of St. Paul* was handed down through generations of the Balbi family in Genoa before passing by marriage to the Odescalchi family. It was in the Balbi family palace that the Odescalchi-Balbi *Paul* (fig. 4), as it has come to be known, was first identified by Antonio Morassi in 1947 as one of the two paintings commissioned for the Cerasi Chapel.[37] The panel is now in the Odescalchi palace in Rome.

Some scholars have speculated that Balbi acquired the first *Peter* at the same time as the *Paul* since several presumed copies of the first *Peter* exist in Liguria.[38] This would be convincing evidence

except for the fact that the *Peter,* specifically referred to as on panel, was still in the collection of the tenth Admiral of Castile in 1691 when it registered again in an inventory.[39] The first *Peter* may still be in Spain, perhaps hidden in a convent or some forgotten collection,[40] though it may be farther afield because the Admiral's collection was confiscated and dispersed during the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714).[41]

* * *

Whereas the story of the conversion of Paul is explicitly described thrice in the Bible in the Acts of the Apostles,[42] Peter's crucifixion is not. Christ's foretelling to Peter of his imminent martyrdom is the only reference to the event in the Bible and is related by John (21: 18-19):

> 'Most assuredly, I say to you, when you were younger, you girded yourself and walked where you wished; but when you are old, you will stretch out your hands, and another will gird you and carry *you* where you do not wish.' This He spoke, signifying by what death he would glorify God. And when He had spoken this, He said to him: 'Follow me.'

Only in the Acts of Peter, written in the second century C.E., is Peter described as choosing to be martyred upside-down because he was "unworthy to die in the same manner as the Lord."[43]

In 1955, Walter Friedlaender described Caravaggio's second *Crucifixion of St. Peter* as a "masterpiece of condensation," and the same can be said for its pendant, the *Conversion of St. Paul.*[44] Both distill their respective narratives to their essential parts, thereby enhancing and intensifying the dramatic nature of the story expressed in the painting. Scholars have explored various iconographical and spiritual interpretations of both paintings.[45] It is unnecessary to review their arguments here, although some of their conclusions will be referred to later in this article. Both paintings exhibit the characteristic realism synonymous with Caravaggio's *oeuvre.* The soiled feet of the yellow-breeched laborer and the "physical action, strain and groaning" of his co-workers in the *Peter* and the salivating piebald horse in the *Paul* are fine examples of these qualities.[46] As was his practice, Caravaggio used models when painting these pictures.[47]

Leo Steinberg, in his seminal article of 1959, discussed the relationship of the paintings flanking the altar to the chapel's architecture and surrounding fresco and stucco decorations.[48] He suggested reading the chapel as the crossing of a small Latin-cross-plan church. In this formulation, the left aisle of the nave of Santa Maria del Popolo would be the longitudinal axis of the visitor's approach; the transept, the anteroom of the chapel where the tombs of the patron and his father are located: and the choir, the altar space beyond the anteroom (*cf.* fig. 9). Most germane for my argument is Steinberg's analysis of the pivoted pictorial space in Caravaggio's paintings. The space can be properly realized only when the viewer is situated in the correct spot in the chapel, that is, under the rib in the vaulting, or halfway into the chapel where its width diminishes (at the X in fig. 9).[49] From this location, Caravaggio's orthogonal lines, on which the body of Paul and the cross of Peter are laid, become "prolongations of our sight lines" and these steep diagonals, which are so awkwardly perceived when viewed from head on, are made coherent by our oblique position.[50] The eye is led along these orthogonal lines from the lower corner closest to the viewer, to the dark recess of their upper corners, closest to the altar. The paintings were conceived as pendants and as such, their diagonal compositions are mirror images in their reciprocal employment of a strongly sloping line to sustain the main narrative elements. The mirror-image composition of the two paintings is further emphasized by the monochromatic pieces of fabric in the lower far corner of each painting. This element serves a different iconographical function in each composition, yet helps to relate the paintings visually across the narrow span of the chapel's altar area.

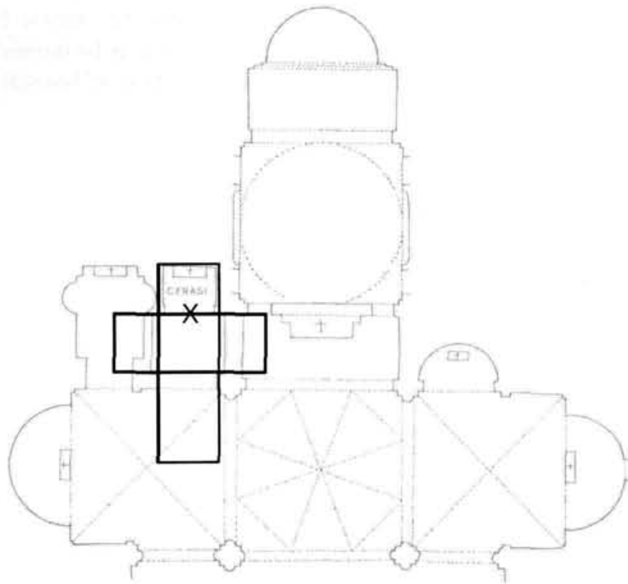


Fig. 9 Plan of transept and altar of Santa Maria del Popolo with Cerasi Chapel highlighted, as described by Steinberg (1959)

Steinberg was also the first to publish the observation that the source of light in Caravaggio's compositions comes from the dove of the Holy Spirit painted in the cross vault in the center of the chapel's ceiling (fig. 10), and not from the window above the altar, the natural source, and the one traditionally used by the artist, as in the Contarelli Chapel.[51] In the right-hand painting, this light serves as the "light that drew around Paul"and was the impetus for his miraculous conversion. The light in the left-hand painting of Peter's crucifixion is not employed in such a mystical capacity. Instead it draws attention to the apostle's body, particularly the large rusty nails driven through his hand and feet, and distinguishes him from the murky background.

Despite what Steinberg calls the "claustrophobic chiaroscuro" of the lateral paintings, Caravaggio punctuated the darkness of his composition with surprisingly clear and vivid colors that reflect his training in Lombardy,[52] and he deliberately used these colors to direct the viewer's gaze. Caravaggio knew the painting would be viewed obliquely and took the viewer's location into account when selecting his palette; he chose warm colors, which attract and seem to move towards the viewer, for the side of the canvas that would be closer to the viewer, and cool ones, which optically recede from the viewer, for the side closest to the altar. Bellori wrote that Caravaggio considered blue and cinnabar "poison among colors," yet he used both in the *Crucifixion* along with their complementary equivalents: the blue of Peter's discarded mantle is juxtaposed with the bright yellow of the laborer's trousers in the lower register, and the crimson cape of the man at Peter's feet is complemented by the green pants of the man hoisting the rope over his head.[53] He highlighted the man in the lower left by using yellow as the color of his trousers even though he is clearly of secondary importance to the main action. He did so because the man's rotation into the picture plane duplicates the angle of the cross and leads the viewer's eye to the face of St. Peter directed towards the altar at the back of the chapel. Caravaggio wisely chose red, the color that most immediately draws the eye's attention, as the shade of the cape of the man lifting the top of the cross because it serves as the backdrop to Peter's feet, which are punctured by the nails and reveal the red blood trickling from wounds in the soles. Although the feet of the laborer in the lower left appear to have dirt ground into their weath-

Fig. 10 Annibale Carracci and Innocenzo Tacconi: Ceiling frescoes of Cerasi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. (Photo: Bernardini, 2001, Colorplate 11)

ered soles, the feet of St. Peter, positioned directly above, are pristine save for the thin line of blood. This blood and the pained look on the saint's face are the only indications of St. Peter's suffering and sacrifice, despite the gruesome nature of his martyrdom.

* * *

Caravaggio's career as an internationally recognized artist was established by 1600 when he completed the lateral paintings for the Contarelli Chapel at San Luigi dei Francesi. Nevertheless, he was still finding his way in the realm of large-scale commissions and fortifying his reputation in late 1600 when he accepted the commission for the Cerasi Chapel's paintings. Under such circumstances Caravaggio turned to the titans of Italian Renaissance art, Michelangelo and Raphael, and their grand models of the stories of Paul and Peter in the Vatican for inspiration. As previously mentioned, he was instructed to do so by his patron. Various scholars have discussed at length the stylistic and iconographic connections between Caravaggio's first painting of *Paul* and its precedents, above all Raphael's design for one of the Sistine tapestries (c.1514-17) (fig. 11) and Michelangelo's frescoes of the conversion of Paul (fig. 8) in the Pauline Chapel (1545).[54] In all three, Christ has just emerged from the heavens, arm extended, and Paul has just fallen to the ground in response. Paul is recumbent, bearing most of his weight on his right hip with his legs flailing out to his left. Caravaggio relied upon Raphael's cartoon for Paul's cuirass and Michelangelo for Paul's bearded visage and the arrangement of his legs. Caravaggio's first *Crucifixion of Peter* must also have retained the valuable visual connections to Michelangelo's Pauline fresco of the same subject. So what might the lost *Crucifixion of St. Peter* look like?

Artists struggling to render the moment of Peter's martyrdom are left to employ their creative minds as there is neither a specified location nor any "iconographically indispensable" elements associated with this narrative, other than the saint and his cross.[55] By the late Cinquecento, there was a long-established iconographical tradition of the raising of the cross of Christ, although several important examples of representations of this moment in Peter's life were extant at the time of Caravaggio's commission. They included Giotto's *Martyrdom of Peter* on the left wing of the Stefaneschi Triptych (1330), Masaccio's panel of the *Crucifixion* from the predella of the Pisa Altarpiece (1426), and Filippino Lippi's *Crucifixion* in the Brancacci Chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence (1481-2). In these renditions, Peter is upside-down and attached to a cross that is vertical and fully erect. The cross and saint lie at the center of the composition, parallel with and at the edge of the picture plane. Michelangelo was the first to deviate from the established compositional convention exemplified by these paintings. He chose to illustrate the moment just before the cross was lifted into place (fig. 7). He was the first to rotate Peter and the cross in relation to the picture plane, the first to show the laborers in the act of elevating the cross, and the first to depict the saint visibly struggling to lift himself and look out at the viewer. Howard Hibbard observed that the raising of the cross of Peter and his rebellion against his chosen mode of martyrdom were two revolutionary aspects of Michelangelo's composition and elements that Caravaggio repeated in the second version of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*.[56]

Caravaggio relied upon Michelangelo's precedents for his first version of the *Conversion of Paul* and his second version of the *Crucifixion of Peter*, which makes it likely that he turned to the same source when designing his first version of Peter's death. If this hypothesis is valid, then the cross in the first painting should recede into the picture plane as in Michelangelo's fresco. If we apply foreshortening, then the cross should appear to lie diagonally across the picture plane from the bottom left to the top right, with the head of Peter and the top of the cross in the lower *left* corner of the

Fig. 11 Pieter van Aelst after Raphael cartoon, Conversion of St. Paul, c.1519, tapestry. Pinacoteca, Vatican. (Photo: Alinari Archives, Florence)

frame. But in order to conform to the sight lines described by Steinberg, and mirror the perspectival construction of Caravaggio's first version of Paul's conversion, the cross of St. Peter in Michelangelo's composition would have to be flipped. Therefore, Caravaggio's version is not equivalent to the Pauline fresco until we realize that Michelangelo's fresco is on the *right* side of the Pauline Chapel, and for Caravaggio to have used Michelangelo's compositional arrangement in his painting on the *left* side of the Cerasi Chapel, he would have had to reverse Michelangelo's composition.[57] I contend this is exactly what he did.

Despite its lack of correspondence to Michelangelo's model, the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* in the Hermitage Museum (fig. 5) is believed by many to replicate Caravaggio's first version, and the provenance of the painting supports the claim.[58] It entered the museum's collection in 1808, donated by Levi Montmorency, who acquired it from the Giustiniani collection in Rome. At the time the painting was considered an autograph Caravaggio, even though a painting of the *Crucifixion of Peter* ascribed to the Genoese painter Luca Saltarello (ca. 1610-1655?) was also in the Giustiniani collection.[59] Roberto Longhi was the first to reattribute the Hermitage painting to Saltarello.[60] A notation in the *Life* of Saltarello in the 1674 edition of *Lives of the Genoese Painters* supports the contention that Saltarello copied Caravaggio's original, presumably while it was in the Sannesio collection. It recounted how Saltarello exclusively painted copies of the most well-known paintings while in the Eternal City.

I concur with Friedlaender's alternative hypothesis, specifically that the Hermitage painting is an original composition by Saltarello for the Giustiniani in Rome and not an exact copy, though it "affords us at least a general idea of [Caravaggio's] composition."[61] I reason that the Hermitage picture's formal properties, stylistic qualities and compositional arrangement, when compared with its intended pendant, the Odescalchi-Balbi painting of the *Conversion of Paul*, prove that it could not be the first version of the *Peter*.

The Hermitage's *Peter* does not reflect the lucid style, Lombard palette or dense figural arrangement of the Odescalchi-Balbi *Paul*, its intended pendant, nor does it resemble Michelangelo's Pauline precedent. It seems unlikely that Caravaggio could have painted simultaneously in this "later" style for one panel and in a lighter, Lombard-influenced style for the other without an intervening period of development.[62] Features like the dark recesses and hard-lit dandies wearing feathered caps are more similar to Caravaggio's later works such as *The Flagellation of Christ* of 1607 or his *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* of 1609.[63] The Hermitage *Peter* does not share the same distinct diagonal composition that would make a mirror image with the painting of Paul in the Odescalchi-Balbi collection, as is the case in the installed second versions of each painting. I conclude that Caravaggio, aware that the picture would be viewed from the oblique angle so eloquently described by Steinberg, would not have produced the composition of the Hermitage *Peter*, because if it were installed in the Cerasi Chapel, the sight lines would have presented the viewer with the smiling laborer and the face of the old man in the blue hat, rather than the face of St. Peter, the intended focus of the worshipper's devotion.

My proposed design for the first *Peter* is similar to that of the raising of the cross of Peter rendered in the upper register of a now-ruined altarpiece painted by Domenico Cresti (known as Il Passignano, 1559-1638) for Pope Clement VIII's chapel in St. Peter's (fig. 12).[64] This altarpiece's design has never been proposed as an adaptation of Caravaggio's figural arrangement. Passignano executed his *Crucifixion of St. Peter* as much as four years after Caravaggio completed his first version of the subject in ca. April 1601.[65] It was one of six altarpieces commissioned to six different artists for the *navi piccole* of new St. Peter's, two of which were in the Cappella Clementina.[66] They all depicted a specific event from St. Peter's life that highlighted his faith. The altarpieces were enormous, each measuring about twenty-five by fourteen feet, and they were composed of numerous interconnected slabs of slate upon which the artists painted in oil.[67] But the humidity in the church caused the

Fig. 12 Jacques Callot after Domenico Passignano, Crucifixion of St. Peter, c.1611, engraving. (Photo: Frick Reference Library)

Fig. 13 Cristoforo Roncalli, Death of Sapphira, oil on slate, 769 x 427.5 cm. (Photo: Frick Research Library)

finished works to deteriorate quickly, so that today only one, the *Death of Sapphira* (fig. 13) by Cristoforo Roncalli (1552-1626), remains intact while the other five partially survive in fragments. Jacques Callot (1592-1635) made engravings of all six altarpieces shortly after their completion. The original appearance of Passignano's painting is now known only through one of Callot's prints.

As Michelangelo and Caravaggio had done earlier, Passignano chose to illustrate the moment just before the cross with Peter on it was lifted into place. Unlike them Passignano set the event within an architecturally defined space atop a flight of stairs, and separated the viewer from it by a large group of witnesses who fill the foreground. Several interlocutors, including a small child in his mother's arms, meet our gaze and draw us into the unfolding drama. Additional onlookers perch upon the parapets next to and behind the main action. Five laborers struggle to erect the cross: two shirtless men hoist a rope attached to the end of the cross, while two men push the cross bar and another holds the base secure. The cross lies across the picture plane from the upper left to the lower right and is a mirror image of Michelangelo's fresco in the Pauline Chapel, as I proposed Caravaggio's first *Peter* must have done. If the men were to lift Peter into place, the gathered onlookers in the foreground and the viewer would be before and to the left of the cross.

Passignano's *Crucifixion of St. Peter* originally hung on the southern side of the southeast pier of St. Peter's, around the corner and at a right angle to Roncalli's *Death of Sapphira*.[68] While the paintings were in physical proximity to one another, they were also compositionally related as they were rooted in Caravaggio's productions for the Cerasi Chapel. This may at first seem unlikely be-

cause Passignano and Roncalli chose very different stylistic approaches. Passignano selected the large group of over-lifesized onlookers in the foreground as his main focus and relegated Peter's crucifixion to deep in the background and off-center.[69] His figures are elegant and elongated, reflecting his Florentine training in the Mannerist idiom. By contrast, Roncalli placed the main action of Peter rendering judgment of Sapphira in the extreme foreground with the onlookers behind. His figures are classically-inspired and robust—the hulking frame of St. Peter by itself fills half the twenty-five foot tall altarpiece.

Roncalli and Caravaggio were well-acquainted, so when Roncalli finally picked up his brush again in the spring of 1603,[70] he turned for inspiration to his friend's innovative second *Conversion of St. Paul*, which was probably completed prior to November 1601 and was still in the artist's studio. Indeed, the similarity between Roncalli's figure of Sapphira and Caravaggio's figure of Paul in his second version of the *Conversion of St. Paul* is unmistakable and so great as "to suggest deliberate imitation."[71] Sapphira, like Paul, is on her back, arms extended outward, the fingers on her right hand truncated by the right edge of the frame, her body projecting into the depths of the picture, and the top of her head seeming to protrude into the viewer's space. One reason Roncalli may have engaged Caravaggio's model is that he carefully considered the setting of his altarpiece and the viewer's interaction with it. He knew that the worshipper would walk down the nave of St. Peter's and approach the *Death of Sapphira* from the right, the same direction from which one approaches Caravaggio's second *Conversion of St. Paul*. Therefore, the most important figures in the narrative would be readily visible.

Fig. 14 Domenico Passignano, Study for the Crucifixion of St. Peter, Norman Colville Collection, London. (Photo: Frick Research Library)

Fig. 15 Domenico Passignano, Study for the Crucifixion of St. Peter, Uffizi, Florence. (Photo: Frick Research Library)

When Passignano started work on his altarpiece in early 1603, he, like Roncalli, turned to Caravaggio's lateral paintings for the Cerasi Chapel.[72] Caravaggio had not yet begun his second *Peter*, for reasons that I shall discuss below, and consequently the lost *Crucifixion of St. Peter* was his creative inspiration. When he was conceiving his design, Passignano also carefully took into account the worshipper's angle of approach, which was from the left and the same angle from which the viewer confronted the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* in Caravaggio's Cerasi Chapel.[73] It stands to reason that he quoted Caravaggio's depiction of *Peter* as it suited his design requirements. Passignano selected Caravaggio's model for additional motives. It was the most recent Petrine scene painted in Rome, and it had been commissioned by Tiberio Cerasi, the Treasurer to Passignano's patron, Pope Clement VIII.

Passignano's reliance upon Caravaggio's lost *Crucifixion of St. Peter* is even more obvious when we consider the artist's preparatory sketches for the altarpiece. Drawings preserved in London and Florence (figs. 14& 15) show Passignano working out his compositional scheme, especially the angle of the cross and the distribution of laborers and onlookers. The London drawing in particular suggests that Passignano initially envisioned an organization even more aligned with Caravaggio's. In this drawing the crucified Peter is prominently featured in the center of the design and is not relegated to the background as in the final composition. One is left to wonder why Passignano changed his mind and decided not to duplicate the proportions of Caravaggio's lateral painting in the Cerasi Chapel, as Roncalli had done.

A last clue that bolsters my assertion that Passignano's representation of the crucified Peter was copied from Caravaggio's lost *Crucifixion of St. Peter* comes from the writer Filippo Baldinucci (1625-1696). In his *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue* (1681-1728), he noted in the section devoted to Passignano that Caravaggio was keenly aware of his rival's painting. The six altarpieces of the life of St. Peter were being painted *in situ* on account of the weight, fragility and size of the slate, and scaffolding and cloth coverings surrounded each painting, hiding them from view. Baldinucci tells us that Caravaggio came to St. Peter's one day with the express intent of monitoring Passignano's progress. After reaching the location of Passignano's altarpiece and ensuring he was alone, Caravaggio "pulled back the curtain that covered the spot where the work was being made [by Passignano]… and took a good look at the whole thing…" What he saw evidently did not please him because "… he then said all over Rome everything bad that he knew [about what] came from the hand of his rival."[74] I suspect Caravaggio became irate because he realized that Passignano was duplicating the design that he had pioneered just two years before in his first *Crucifixion of St. Peter*.

Now that we have resurrected the first pair of lateral panels (the Odescalchi-Balbi *Paul* and a composition close to Passignano's altarpiece), we should examine why these paintings so offended the patron that he rejected them. Several possible scenarios have been proposed. The "coarse" figures and the "chaotic" composition of the *Paul* may have been to blame.[75] Other theories are that Caravaggio breached his contract by failing to present the promised preliminary drawings or that the final paintings were significantly different from his sketches.[76] The executors of Cerasi's will, rather than Cerasi, may have rejected the paintings because they "simply did not like them" or because paintings on canvas would better suit the lighting in the chapel.[77] Most scholars, however, believe that the iconography of the first panels caused the patron to reject them. Herwarth Röttgen, Bert Treffers and Maria Grazia Bernardini blamed the Odescalchi-Balbi *Paul*'s lack of decorum, specifically the placement of the figure of Christ too close to the earthly realm and Paul's covered eyes.[78] Bernardini was more explicit, writing that these iconographic elements were not in keeping with Augustinian doctrine.[79] All three scholars assumed that Caravaggio's other panel of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* was also rejected for the same reason, but they did not address the matter directly. I agree that the *Paul* was refused because it deviated from "sacred convention", but I do not think the same fate befell the *Peter*.[80] In my opinion, Caravaggio himself decided that his first *Peter* needed to be reworked for stylistic reasons. Whether the first version looked like the Hermitage example or like my proposed construction, it does not seem plausible that the patron could have rejected it for lack of decorum, since neither of those compositions posed any obvious iconographic problems and, as mentioned previously, no standard iconography existed for the narrative of the crucifixion of St. Peter. All the scene required was the saint, the cross and manpower to erect it. I contend instead that Caravaggio's decision to change media and to conceive a compositional arrangement for the second *Paul* that was radically different from the first necessitated that he create a second version of the *Peter*.

Fig. 16 Guido Reni, Crucifixion of St. Peter (1523), oil on canvas. Pinacoteca, Vatican. (Photo: Alinari Archives, Florence)

In 1945, Walter Friedlaender presented an argument similar to mine wherein the artist, not the patron, decided that a reworking of the first version of the *Peter* was necessary, but his reasoning followed a different trajectory. Friedlaender argued that neither of the first versions was rejected, but that Caravaggio redid the *Peter* because he "was in [a] very embarrassing position" because Guido Reni had produced his own *Crucifixion of St. Peter* for the church of San Paolo alle Tre Fontane (fig. 16), which was considered superior to Caravaggio's in "charm, elegance and manner."[81] According to Friedlander, Caravaggio had to repaint both laterals to preserve his reputation, and Cardinal Sannesio took the first versions.[82] Friedlaender's argument is problematic because it was proposed before the rediscovery of the first *Paul* in the Odescalchi-Balbi collection in 1947 and it was based on the assumption that the first version of the *Peter* resembled the Hermitage painting. Thus, the author had no way of knowing the stylistic and iconographic differences between the first and second versions of the *Paul*. As a result he presented Reni's acclaimed interpretation of the theme as the reason Caravaggio decided to paint a second *Peter*.[83] Despite its flaws, Friedlaender's argument holds a kernel of truth regarding Caravaggio's role in replacing the *Peter*.

The following hypothetical timeline and evaluation of Caravaggio's production is based upon the assumption that some time before Cerasi departed for the fresher air of Frascati in April 1601, he saw both the first versions on panel and rejected only the *Paul* on account of its unorthodox portrayal of the narrative.[84] Caravaggio was expected to produce a replacement on panel, as per the contract, and to change the painting's iconography to conform to Augustinian doctrine and proper decorum. In the days leading up to his death, Cerasi added a codicil to his will (May 2, 1601) instructing his heirs to complete the chapel because he knew that Caravaggio was by then very busy with other commissions and had not yet begun the replacement for the rejected *Paul*. We can assume the artist began the second *Paul* after the death of Cerasi on May 5, 1601, since he deviated from the contractual specifications of cypress panel and used canvas for the second versions. Just after Cerasi's death Caravaggio would have been easily able to negotiate an agreement with Cerasi's heirs, the Fathers of the Ospedale della Consolazione, that allowed him to paint the replacement *Paul* on his medium of choice. The artist had become acquainted with the Fathers earlier when he was hospitalized in their institution several times during the 1590s.[85] He even produced paintings for the head of the hospital.

The new technical evidence discovered in 2000 confirms that after Caravaggio began his new *Paul*, which I propose was in mid-May 1601, he dramatically reworked the composition.[86] The x-rays and incisions on the surface of the second *Conversion of St. Paul* (figs. 17 & 18) reveal that Caravaggio altered the painting's composition, specifically the placement of his figures and the arrangement of the pictorial space. The tests of the canvas indicate that the first portrayal of the figure of Paul is organized in an entirely different way from that in the final version that hangs in the chapel. In the rejected (Odescalchi-Balbi) *Paul*, Christ swoops into the frame from deep within the top right corner, breaking branches in the process, and the viewer's gaze continues to the figure of Paul, placed close to the picture plane in the bottom left corner. In his first conception of the second version, Caravaggio replaced the indecorous Christ with spiritual light that would appear to come from the window above the altar on the painting's left. Consequently, he had to relocate Paul from the left side to the right and reposition Paul's hand that was covering his eyes, as the x-rays and incisions on the surface of the painting reveal.

After the date by which Caravaggio was supposed to complete the lateral paintings (May 24, 1601), the artist was still at work on his second *Paul*. Up until about June 2, 1601, he arranged the first revision with Paul on the right and the source of light seeming to originate at the window on the left. On that date an *avviso* announced the completion of the Farnese ceiling. It also provided the information that Annibale Carracci's *Assumption of the Virgin* altarpiece was installed in the Cerasi Chapel whereas Caravaggio was still at work on the paintings for the chapel's side walls. Upon seeing

Fig. 17 Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, Conversion of St. Paul (2nd version), x-ray montage. (Photo: ENEA, Rome)

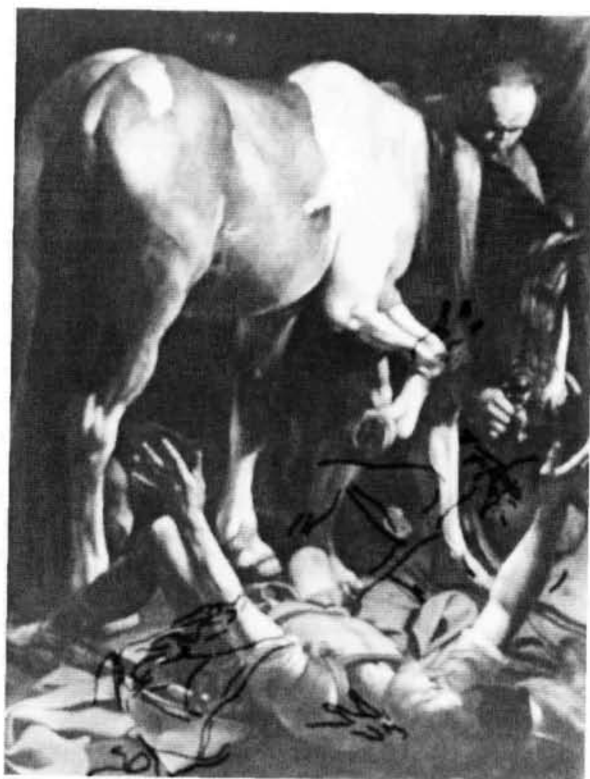


Fig. 18 Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, Conversion of St. Paul (2nd version), diagram of incisions on the surface of the painting. (Photo: Bernardini, 2001)

Annibale's finished work, Caravaggio decided to revise his composition to match and surpass the form, color and gestures present in Carracci's painting. D. Stephen Pepper suggested that Caravaggio decided to redo his lateral paintings only after the altarpiece's installation because they "would have looked old-fashioned and his reputation would have suffered irreparable damage as a result."[87] Caravaggio's second versions do reflect the gestures and shading found in Annibale's *Assumption*, but the altarpiece's installation need not have caused Caravaggio to commence painting the second versions, as Pepper postulated.

Instead the altarpiece may have compelled Caravaggio to rethink the already-begun second version of *Paul* and to make crucial alterations in its design. According to my hypothesis, sometime around June 2, 1601, Caravaggio began the most dramatic redesign of his composition. He placed the saint flat on his back on the ground with his head in the lower right corner of the painting, protruding into the viewer's space. In this final form, Paul no longer shields his eyes in fear but, in imitation of the Virgin in Carracci's altarpiece, spreads his arms wide apart welcoming the celestial light and surrendering to his destiny. Paul and the back end of the horse are pressed tightly against the picture plane and both of their forms exude a sculptural weightiness and plasticity.

As Caravaggio was nearing completion of this redesign in the fall of 1601, the frescoes in the chapel were finished, and the artist made another change. This time he modified the lighting scheme, making the primary source of light the Holy Spirit frescoed in the just-completed ceiling, not the natural light from the window. Proof of the sequence I propose is found in the one place he neglected to correct the lighting scheme. The light on the left side of Paul's right hand is a remnant of the divine light's former source.[88]

In the short interval between the completion of the frescoes in fall 1601 and November 10, 1601, the date when Caravaggio received the final payment for his work,[89] I contend Caravaggio completed the second *Paul* and again negotiated with Cerasi's heirs, who no doubt wanted to close the matter of the artist's payment. The reduction in Caravaggio's fee from the 400 *scudi* stipulated in the contract to the 300 *scudi* noted in the ledger could have been the officers' way of penalizing Caravaggio for taking so long.[90] I submit, however, that Caravaggio arranged for a lower payment in exchange for the right to sell the rejected first *Paul* himself.[91] This would have allowed him to broker a deal with Cardinal Sannesio for the painting that he no longer needed in his studio, because the final version was already completed, and to keep the profits that would probably have amounted to more than the 100 *scudi* reduction. Sannesio may have been encouraged to purchase the rejected *Paul* by his friend Vincenzo Giustiniani, who had purchased at about this time a rejected painting by Caravaggio for 150 *scudi*.[92]

Therefore, the two paintings referred to in the notation in the Ospedale's ledger book as in Caravaggio's possession were the second *Paul* and the first *Peter*; the first *Paul* by that time was in Sannesio's collection. Caravaggio had not yet hung the paintings in the Cerasi Chapel because he realized he had to redo the already accepted *Crucifixion of St. Peter* on panel to match the second *Paul*'s canvas support, reoriented composition, sunless background and dramatic foreshortening. He made this decision so that the viewer would see two harmonious, similarly lit scenes with corresponding diagonal compositions in which the main action receded from the viewer and continued into darkness beyond the outer edges of the altar. It was after this decision that he likely offered Sannesio the *Peter*, the pendant to the painting already in the Cardinal's collection, at a price comparable to that which he paid for the *Paul*.

Whereas the technical evidence related to the second *Conversion of St. Paul* reveals that Caravaggio significantly reworked this composition several times between May and November 1601, the x-rays and analyses of the second *Peter*—surprisingly—reveal a complete lack of *pentimenti*, no reworking of the composition, and very few incisions on the surface of the canvas (figs. 19 & 20). Admittedly, there could have been more that were filled in with paint. The iconography and

Fig. 19 Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, Crucifixion of St. Peter (2nd version), x-ray montage. (Photo: ENEA, Rome)

Fig. 20 Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, Crucifixion of St. Peter (2nd version), diagram of incisions on the surface of the painting. (Photo: Bernardini, 2001)

"sundry figures, persons and ornaments" of the first version were evidently pleasing enough to the patron that he did not reject it. Caravaggio decided to retain the essence of this composition. He left his figural arrangement unchanged and simply rotated the cross of Peter and all the surrounding elements farther into the compositional space to echo the new spatial construction of the painting opposite. As a result, there was no need for the elaborate over-painting and reworking seen in the second *Conversion of St. Paul.* Caravaggio simply pivoted the first version's diagonal cross (from the motif he had borrowed from Michelangelo) farther back into space. He accordingly drew the straining workmen and the base of the cross, with Peter's feet prominently displayed, out of the back left corner of the picture's spatial confines, giving us the first illustration of this subject in art to present the viewer with the soles of Peter's feet. The object of Peter's gaze also shifted from the worshipper in the chapel, as in my proposed first version and in Michelangelo's Pauline fresco, to the altar.[93] In my opinion, the first version of the *Peter* would have been so similar in composition to the second that it could be considered a copy or modified version. My reconstruction of events would accommodate the marginal note in the Florentine manuscript of Giulio Mancini's treatise that "Cardinal Sannesio's paintings were copied and retouched versions of the ones in the Cerasi Chapel."[94]

Further examination of the final composition reveals that it is rendered in the same naturalistic style as the new *Paul*, but that the setting is rather unrealistic. A large earthen wall fortified with what appear to be rocks rises in the background. If we are to "believe" the composition, not only is Peter about to be lifted out of our frame of view, but he is also about to be elevated onto the rocky embankment. Caravaggio has not left enough space for his figures to move or for the action of the raising of the cross to be completed, so we are perpetually fixed in this moment of the saint's martyrdom. The action is therefore intentionally suspended in time, just a few seconds before Peter on his cross is lifted beyond the frame and towards the altar, so we are locked into the anticipatory moment just before Peter's self-sacrifice. If the cross were fully erected, we would be behind it and to the right, no longer in front, as I proposed was the case in the first version and as exemplified in Passignano's altarpiece. By reorienting the cross in the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* from its slightly off-center position in the first version and by eliminating the group of onlookers he had also derived from Michelangelo's precedent, Caravaggio has made us participants in his second version. Rather than the "striking carelessness in the construction of [Caravaggio's] figures," noted by Friedlaender, Caravaggio carefully arranged them to make us feel part of the action as he had done in the second *Paul.* We therefore become one of the crowd of onlookers, or, an even more provocative suggestion, like one of the men assisting in the raising of Peter's cross, and therefore speeding his sacrifice, his act of obedience to Christ, which ultimately was done for us.[95] By allowing us to participate in Peter's act of obedience, and by trapping the action in an irreconcilable stillness, Caravaggio has painted Peter as our perpetual intercessor.[96] This idea is reinforced by Peter's focus on the altar.

After receiving the final payment from the Ospedale della Consolazione on November 11, 1601, Caravaggio became very busy and was slow to complete the second *Peter.* I submit that he waited more than a year to begin the canvas because he began accepting the commissions at about this time that would result in what many consider to be his greatest public paintings. (Recall my proposal that when Passignano began his own version of the subject in early 1603 he turned to Caravaggio's first *Crucifixion of St. Peter* since the second version was not yet in production.) When the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* hanging in the Cerasi Chapel is compared with his *Entombment* of ca. 1602-4 (fig. 21) for the Cappella della Pietà in the Chiesa Nuova or the second version of the *Inspiration of St. Matthew* of ca. 1602-3 (fig. 22) for the altar in the Contarelli Chapel, the conclusion that Caravaggio conceived these paintings during the same time period, if not simultaneously, is unmistakable. All three share the same palette, tonality and darkened background, and are populated with highly sculptural figures as never seen before in the artist's repertoire. He organized the figures and space in a similar way too; all three scenes recede into the background along a great diagonal from left to

Fig. 21 Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, Entombment (c.1602-4), oil on canvas, originally located in the Chiesa Nuova; now in Pinacoteca, Vatican. (Photo: Alinari Archives, Florence)

Fig. 22 Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, Inspiration of St. Matthew (second version, c. 1602-4), oil on canvas. Contarelli Chapel, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome. (Photo: Alinari Archives, Florence)

right. Caravaggio even used the same elderly, bearded model as the protagonist in the *Saint Matthew* and *Peter* and same juxtaposition of color that he employed in the second *Peter* in the *Entombment*. The fact that the woodworker Bartolomeo installed the Cerasi lateral paintings in the chapel only in May 1, 1605, suggests that Caravaggio was at work on the revised *Crucifixion of St. Peter* until late in 1604, the year he finished the *Entombment*.

A tantalizing archival document strengthens my hypothesis that the *Peter* was begun after the final payment was received from Cerasi's heirs and after the second *Paul* was completed. In the August 26, 1605 inventory of Caravaggio's studio there is an item listed as: "one large painting on wood."[97] Might this be the first version of the *Peter* that Caravaggio had used as reference for the second, very similar *Peter* that had been installed by the carpenter just three months earlier? The willing buyer for the first panels, Cardinal Sannesio, had already relieved Caravaggio of the first version of the *Paul* and it was therefore not among the items in his studio.[98] The second *Crucifixion of St. Peter* was completed and installed in the Cerasi Chapel along with its pendant, the *Conversion of St. Paul* by November 11, 1606, the date of the chapel's consecration and the *terminus ante quem* for the Cerasi commission.[99]

The scholarly debate regarding many of the ideas I have presented here will no doubt continue. The issues and questions that have occupied and excited scholars for so long will only be resolved

with the discovery of some definitive document. As the x-rays of the Contarelli Chapel taken in the 1950s obliged art historians to rethink all aspects of Caravaggio's first large-scale religious canvases, so too, the new technical evidence related to Caravaggio's lateral paintings in the Cerasi Chapel will continue to generate and encourage new ideas and future discoveries as well.

Heather Nolin received her Masters in Italian Renaissance Art from Syracuse University in Florence. Currently, she is a Doctoral candidate at Rutgers University under the advisement of Dr. Sarah Blake McHam and a Kress Fellow at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome. Heather's project, entitled "Venetian Authority and Religious Reform: Artistic Commissions at San Giorgio in Braida, Verona 1426-1668," examines the art and architecture commissioned by members of the Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga who arrived in Verona from Venice in 1426. These artistic projects are considered in light of the Canons' desire for congregational unity, evolving reformatory strategies, and Venetian affiliations, ideologies and aesthetic tastes.

Notes

I would like to thank Sarah Blake McHam, Catherine Puglisi and the anonymous readers for their insightful comments and criticism of this article. I am grateful to Lydia Dufour, Lisandra Estevez, Sabrina Giambartolomei, Yuri Picciotti, Chiara Scappini, Jeremy Thompson and the staff and librarians at the Bibliotheca Hertziana and the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute for their help with various aspects of this article and its accompanying images. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

1. The contract was discovered by Denis Mahon in the 1950's. In it Caravaggio was named as "egregius in Urbe Pictor," or Most Distinguished Painter. The complete contract, written in Latin, is transcribed in Stefania Macioce, *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: fonti e documenti 1532-1724* (Roma: Ugo Bozzi, 2003), doc. 94, 91. Walter F. Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), doc. 46, 302-303 reproduces the contract with English translation.

2. "...cum omnibus et quibuscumque figuris, imaginibus et ornamentis ipsi Domino Pictori bene uisi ad satisfactionem tamen D[omi]n[ati]onis Suae Illustrissimae cui ipse Pictor teneatur, prout promisit, ante dictarum picturarum confectionem exhibere specimina et design[atione]s figurarum et aliorum, quibus ipse Pictor ex sui Inuent[ion]e et ingenio dicta misterium et martyrium decorare intendit." (Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, doc. 46, 302-303.)

3. Caravaggio received fifty *scudi* at the contract's signing and was to receive the remainder upon completion of the paintings. The contract does not specify who was to pay for the materials. The two works on cypress for the Cerasi Chapel were to measure 10 x 8 *palmi* or about 2.5 x 2 meters; by contrast the Contarelli lateral canvases each measure roughly 3.25 x 3.4 meters. For the Contarelli commission, Caravaggio had to pay for the canvas and the other materials and had five months from the contract's signing on July 23, 1599 to complete the paintings. He may have adhered to the deadline since the frames were paid for in December 1600, though the paintings were not unveiled until July 1600. (Howard Hibbard, *Caravaggio*, 1st ed., *Icon editions* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), 93, 296-298; Herwarth Röttgen, *Il Caravaggio: ricerche e interpretazioni* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974), 62.)

4. The complete passage reads as follows: "Nella Madonna del Popolo a man diritta dell'altar maggiore dentro la cappella de'Signori Cerasi sù i lati del muro sono di sua mano la Crocifissione di s. Pietro; e di rincontro ha la Conversione di s. Paolo. Questi quadri prima furono lavorati da lui in un'altra maniera, ma perche non piacquero al Padrone, se li prese il Cardinale Sannesio; e lo stesso Caravaggio vi fece questi, che hora si vedono, a olio dipinti, poiche egli non operava in altra maniera; e (per dir cosi) la Fortuna con la Fama il portava." (Baglione in Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, 232.)

5. For comprehensive discussions of Caravaggio's paintings see Denis Mahon, "Egregius in Urbe Pictor: Caravaggio revised," *The Burlington Magazine* 93 (1951): 226-227; Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, 3-33, 183-186; Maurizio Marini, *Io Michelangelo da Caravaggio* (Rome: Studio B di Bestetti e Bozzi, 1974), 31-32, 385-386, 390-391, 463; Mia Cinotti and Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua, *Michelangelo Merisi detto il Caravaggio: tutte le opere* (Bergamo: Bolis, 1983), 525-542; Hibbard, *Caravaggio*, 118-137; D. Stephen Pepper, "Caravaggio, Carracci, and the Cerasi Chapel," in *Studi di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Denis Mahon*, ed. Maria Grazia Bernardini, 109-122, (Milan: Electa, 2000); Luigi Spezzaferro, "La Cappella Cerasi e il

Caravaggio," in *Caravaggio, Carracci, Maderno: la Cappella Cerasi in Santa Maria del Popolo a Roma*, 9-34, (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana, 2001); Maurizio Marini, *Caravaggio: pictor praestantissimus: l'iter artistico completo di uno dei massimi rivoluzionari dell'arte di tutti i tempi*, 3rd ed., vol. 117, *Quest'Italia* (Rome: Newton & Compton, 2001), 45-48, 446-451; Catherine R. Puglisi, *Caravaggio* (London: Phaidon, 2003), 143-199; Bert Treffers, "Caravaggio: La Cappella Cerasi," *Storia Dell'Arte* v, no. 104/105 (2003); William Breazeale, "Il Caravaggio, il Carracci e la cappella Cerasi: eredità teorica e opinione moderna," *fronesis. Semestrale di ifilosofia, letteratura e arte* 2, no. 3 (gennaio-giugno 2006): 73-105.

6. Maria Grazia Bernardini, *et al.*, *Caravaggio, Carracci, Maderno: la Cappella Cerasi in Santa Maria del Popolo a Roma* (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana, 2001).

7. Macioce, *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: fonti e documenti 1532-1724*, doc. 89, 87-89. The original fifteenth-century chapel belonged to the Foscari family and was a shallow, semicircular space. It contained the bronze sarcophagus of Pietro Foscari (d.1485) that was relocated by the monks of the church to allow Cerasi to begin his renovations. (Spezzaferro, "La Cappella Cerasi e il Caravaggio," 12.)

8. Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, 183.

9. Vicenzo Giustiniani was the one who delivered Caravaggio's first payment in September 1600. (Hibbard, *Caravaggio*, 119.)

10. Annibale left Rome in February 1601 to attend the funeral of his brother, Agostino. This perhaps is why the fresco decorations were given to Innocenzo Tacconi.

11. Spezzaferro, "La Cappella Cerasi e il Caravaggio," 13; Puglisi, *Caravaggio*, 146.

12. See notes 19 and 20.

13. Caravaggio's Uffizi *Medusa* (c.1598) is a work on canvas stretched over a poplar wood shield. The *David with the Head of Goliath* (c.1607) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna is an oil painting on poplar wood. It is attributed to Caravaggio, but not universally accepted as such. See Marini, *Caravaggio: pictor praestantissimus: l'iter artistico completo di uno dei massimi rivoluzionari dell'arte di tutti i tempi*, no. 24, 403-405 and no. 478, 516-517.

14. Annibale Carracci used panel for other works during this same period: *Infant Hercules Strangling Serpents* (about 1599-1600, 16.5 x 14.5cm) in the Louvre; *Saint Gregory at Prayer* (1601-2, 265 x 152 cm) formerly in Bridgewater House, but destroyed during World War II; and *Domine quo vadis?* (1601-2, 77.4 x 56.3 cm) in the National Gallery in London.

15. Helen Langdon, *Caravaggio: a life* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1998), 180-181.

16. Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, 7.

17. The dedication served the additional function of honoring Cerasi's father who became a Roman citizen in 1530. (Puglisi, *Caravaggio*, 146.)

18. "Di Roma li 5 di Maggio 1601 / Mercordi Notte Mons[igno]re Ceraseo, Tesauriero Generale di S[an]ta Chiesa passò all'altra vita nella Villa di Frascati, dove stava per meglio curarsi del suo male di Pietra, poi che pareva gli conferisse poi quell'Aere che questa di Roma, nel qual luogo, a Purto N[ostra]. S[ignore]. vi giunse tempo per mandarli la sua S[an]ta. beneditione et sendosi aperto il Cadavero vi han[n]o trovato il Pulmone contaminato, et una grossa Pietra negli'intestini, qual cadavero han[n]o poi trasportato qua, et dato li honoratissima sepoltura nella sua bellisima Capella, che faceva fare nella Mad[on]na ~~del Popolo~~ [struck out] della Co[n]solatione, per mano del famosissimo Pittore Michel Angelo da Caravaggio per la qual morte, tutta questa corte ha' sentito dispiacere per esser Prelato di molto valore, qual primo che morisse, intendesi habbia giunto un Codicetto al suo testamento, fatto un pezzo fa, dove rimunero tutta la sua famiglia lasciando Herede delle sue facultà, li Padri della Mad[on]na della ~~Popolo~~ [struck out] Consolatione [con] obligo che debbino far finire la sud[det]ta Capella, Et il sud[det]to off[er]to di tesorieri solito di Comprarsi per m/60 scudi procura di ottenere Mons[igno]re Barberino, si come Mons[igno]re Ceuli." (MS 983, Avvisi di Roma 1600-1602, Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, fol. 53v-54r as transcribed in Christopher Witcombe, "Two Avvisi, Caravaggio, and Giulio Mancini," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 12, no. 3 (1993): Appendix I, 26-27. Witcombe (23) stated that the author of the *avviso* was probably Cerasi's doctor, Giulio Mancini, and that he erroneously cancelled "del Popolo" and incorrectly inserted "Consolatione" in the first case, and also in the second to correct a mistake when referring to the executors of Cerasi's will. The *avisso* is also transcribed, with variations, in Macioce, *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: fonti e documenti 1532-1724*, doc. 112, 104.)

19. Tiberio Cerasi wrote his testament on March 20, 1598; he added the codicil on May 2, 1601 (see note 20). Both are transcribed in Macioce, *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: fonti e documenti 1532-1724*, doc. 69, 66-68 and doc. 110, 103. In the May 5, 1601 *avviso* (see note 18 above) the *codicillo* is called a *codicetto*. Mahon pointed out the *avvisi* authors were the "journalists of the Seicento and were not always able to check their statements." (Mahon, "Egregius in Urbe Pictor: Caravaggio revised," 227, n. 241.) This could explain the erroneous notation that the *codicetto* was added *un pezzo fa*, or "a while back", rather than three days before the patron's death as the *codicetto* was dated in the notary's records. Even if, as Witcombe proposed (see note 18 above), the author of the *avviso* was Cerasi's doctor Mancini, the error could still have been made.

20. [c. 266r] "Die 2 Maij 1601 / Ill.mus et R.mus D. Thiberius Cerasius qui suum ultimum condidit testamentum ut asseruit Volens aliqua in ipso mutare sanus mente visu et intellectu presentes fecit codicillos et codicillando ad eius dictamen dicit ut infra [...]. In primis comanda alli suoi heredi che vogliano far finire la Capella al Popolo di esso codicillante conforme al disegnio gli darra Carlo Moderno Architetto et per quella spendere questa quantita di denari che serra bisognio et ivi sotterare il corpo suo et quello di suo Patre di sua Madre et di suo fr.ello con quella pompa che si giuducara necessaria et questo quanto prima..." (ASR, Archivio Notarile di Frascati, vol. 39, Notaio Ascanio Regio, cc. 265-267 as transcribed in Macioce, *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: fonti e documenti 1532-1724*, doc. 110, 103.) Tiberio Cerasi had numerous links with the Hospital: he leased a house from them, he gifted medical texts to them, and his father, Stefano, had been a prominent physician there. (See Mahon, "Egregius in Urbe Pictor: Caravaggio revised," 226.)

21. Silvia Ginzburg Carignani, *Annibale Carracci a Roma: gli affreschi di Palazzo Farnese* (Roma: Donzelli, 2000), 131.

22. The complete announcement appeared as follows: "Di Roma li 2 di Giugno 1601 / Alli Giorni passati si scoperse la no[n] men vaga, che Bella Galleria del Ill[ustrissi]mo Card[ina]le Farnese dipinta dal Carracci Bolognese, quel'è riuscita talme[n]te, che l'Ill[ustrissi]mo sig[nore]. Card[ina]le Aldo[brandi]no ha voluto un quadretto da d[ett]o Pittore d'un X[Cris]to et s. Pietro et gl'ha donato una Catena d'oro di 200 scudi, co[n] una grossa medaglia di N[ostro]. S[ignore]. per esser stata giudicata pittura mirabile onde che hora si scorge che Roma fiorisce nella pittura, non meno che habbia fatto a tempi a dietro, attendesi hora a finire la sala di Campidoglio dal Cavalier Giuseppe, li dua quadri che fa il Caravaggio per la Capella del gia Mons[igno]re Cerasio, Tesauriero, Il quadro Principale in essa Capella di d[ett]o Caraccio, essendo in soma quei tre quadri di tutta Eccellenza et Bellezza." (MS 983, Avvisi di Roma 1600-1602, Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, fol. 63v as cited in Witcombe, "Two Avvisi, Caravaggio, and Giulio Mancini," Appendix II, 27. The *avisso* is also transcribed, with variations, in Macioce, *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: fonti e documenti 1532-1724*, doc. 113, 105.)

23. Pepper, "Caravaggio, Carracci, and the Cerasi Chapel," 109.

24. Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, 303.

25. "Di 10 novembris 1601 / Coram me etc. magnificus dominus Michel Angelus Marese de Caravaggio, sponte etc. omni meliori modo etc. conf[essus fu]it habuisse et recepisse, prout nunc manualiter habuit et recepit, a venerabile hospitali Beate Marie Consolationis herede universale bone memorie reverendissimi domini Tiberii Cerasii, prout ex testamento rogato per dominum Petrum Paulum Ennium [per manu illustris domini Iohannis Baptiste Alberini camerarii dicti hospitalis que sunt [*added in left margin*] scuta quinquaginta moneta pro residuo et finali pagamento [scutorum trecentorum monete per ipsum in pluribus pagamentis receptorum ex pretio et mercede [*added in left margin*] duorum quadrorum per ipsum promissorum [...] entio pro capella dicte reverendissimi domini Tiberii bone memorie existente in ecclesia Beato Marie de Populo prout in instrumento rogato per dominum Lutium Calderinum que idem Michel Angelus ad se traxit, de quibus vocavit etc. et exceptionibus quibuscumque renuntiavit ac quietavit dictum hospitale et pro eo illustribus dominis Antonio Stefanello et comiti Alexandro Sanctinello custodibus presentibus et promisit dictos quadros quos penes ipsum existunt acomodare pariete in suis locis dicte cappelle ad omnem requisitionem dictorum dominorum custodum et camerarii et pro quibus se etc. et bona etc. in forma [lacking etc.] camerae cum clausulis etc. citraque obligationi et relaxationi mandati etc. unica citatione consensit et approbavit renuntiavit iuravit rogavitque. Actum Romae in Camera Congregationis Regionis Ripe presentibus domino Luciano Blanco messinensi et domino Appollo Maceo de Stroncone testibus. [fol. 306v.] Die 10 novembrij 1601 / Quietantia scutorum 50 per dominum Michelem Angelum de Caravaggio." (ASR, *Ospedale della Consolazione*, vol. 82, *stromenti* 1580-1602, cc. 301r.-v. and c. 306v. as transcribed in Macioce, *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: fonti e documenti 1532-1724*, doc. 116, 106.)

26. It would be highly exceptional for an artist to receive final payment before delivering the completed work. However, I propose that it was only after receiving the final payment that Caravaggio began his second *Paul*. See discussion below.

27. "Eredità di conto deve dare adì p[ri]mo di maggio 1605 quattro scudi e cinquanta baiocchi pagati a Mastro Bartolomeo falegname p[er] haver accomodato li quadri delle pitture nella Cappella di Monsignor Cerasio nella Chiesa del Popolo come per moneta a tergo di suo conto." (ASR, Fondo Ospedali, Ospedali di Santa Maria della Consolazione, Inventario n. 52, B.

1245 [1604-1608], c. 211 as transcribed in Macioce, *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: fonti e documenti 1532-1724*, doc. 189, 161-162.)

28. "Hieronimus Cardinalis Pamphilius S.mi D.N. Papae Vicarius Generalis. Admodum Ill[ustrissimo] et R[everendissi] mo PD. Alexandro De Torre ep[iscop]o [...] ut Ca[...] A[...]tionis Beatx Marix Virginis sit[a] in etc[lesia] Beatx Marix de Populo consecrare possit et valeat [...] sitae licentiam damus et concedimus, ad hoc formulatam impartimus atque ad hoc specialiter deputamus in q[...]z[...] Dat[um]. / Romx die XI mens[is] 9bris 1606 B. Ep[iscopu]s An[r]cisa Vicess. Petrus Razziolus Sec.rius" (AGA, Fondo Convento Santa Maria del Popolo, M 35, II, c. 598 as transcribed in Ibid., doc. 319/a, 213.)

29. "...& nuovamente vi è una Cappella vicino all'altar maggiore a man sinistra di Monsignor Cerasio bo.me. dipinte da Michel'Angelo da Caravaggio...." (Guglielmo Facciotte, *Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma dove si tratta delle chiese, stationi, & reliquie de' corpi santi, che vi sono: con la guida romana, che insegna facilmente à forastieri di ritrovare le più notabili cose di Roma ... ; con un'aggionta di tutte le cose fatte dalla fe. me. di Papa Clemente Ottavo; et ristauratione di chiese, capelle, fatte da N. S. Paolo Papa V.* (Roma: Guglielmo Facciotti, 1608), 53.)

30. See note 4.

31. Puglisi, *Caravaggio*, 146.

32. "...la Mad[na]. di Loreto in S. Agostino, e quella dell'Altar de Palafrenieri in S. Pietro, molti quadri che possiede l'Ill[mo]. Borghese, al Popolo la Cappella del Cerasi, molti quadri privati, in casa Mattei, Giustiani, e Sennesio [*che possiede adesso l'Ill[mo]. Borghese con molti quadri privati che si vedono per quei studij privati, et imparticolare in casa Mattei, Giustiani e Card[e]. Senesio, che sono copiati, e ritoccati da qualli che sono nella Madonna del Popolo nella Cappella del (Cerasi)*]..." (Giulio Mancini, *Trattato*... Mss. It. 5571, Bibl. Marciana, Venice, pp. 59-61; varient in italics from Cod. Pal. 597, Bibl. Nat., Florence, pp. 115ff. as transcribed in Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, 255. A later version of the manuscript only notes that Sannesio had two pictures by Caravaggio.)

33. For research concerning the provenances of Caravaggio's first *Paul* and *Peter,* see Marini, *Io Michelangelo da Caravaggio*, 385-386, 463; Cinotti and Dell'Acqua, *Michelangelo Merisi detto il Caravaggio: tutte le opere*, 536; Antonio Vannugli, "Caravaggio: l'ultima traccia della 'Crocifissione di San Pietro' Sannesio," *Bollettino D'Arte* 84, no. 107, Jan./Mar. (1999): 103-106; Marini, *Caravaggio: pictor praestantissimus: l'iter artistico completo di uno dei massimi rivoluzionari dell'arte di tutti i tempi*, 447-451; Maria Grazia Bernardini, ""La quale istoria è affatto senza azzione": la *Conversion di san Paolo* di Caravaggio," in *Caravaggio, Carracci, Maderno: la Cappella Cerasi in Santa Maria del Popolo a Roma*, 87-107, (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana, 2001), 87; Rossella Vodret, "Le vicende storiche della *Conserversione di san Paolo* Odescalchi," in *Il Caravaggio Odescalchi: le due versioni della Conversione di San Paolo a confronto*, ed. Rossella Vodret, 15-18, (Milano: Skira, 2006); Pietro Boccardo, "Da Roma a Madrid, da Madrid a Genova, da Genova a Roma. Vicende della "Conversione di Saulo" del Caravaggio sullo sfondo del mercato internazionale delle opere d'arte nel Seicento," in *Capolavori da scoprire: Odescalchi, Pallavicini*, ed. Giada Lepri, 87-93, (Milano: Skira, 2006).

34. [p. 1] "Inventarium pro Ex.mis DD. de Sannesijs / Die 19.a Febrarij 1644..." [p. 12] "Nello appartamento di sopra... Nella seconda stanza...Doi quadri grandi in tavola che rappresentano un S. Pietro crocifisso e l'altro la convers.e di San Paolo corniciati e filettati d'oro." (ASC, Archivio Urbano Sez. 44, vol. 10, Not. Cesare Colonna, Strumenti dal 1644 al 1647 as transcribed in Macioce, *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: fonti e documenti 1532-1724*, inv. 37, 356. For a transcription of the entire inventory, see Luigi Spezzaferro and Almamaria Mignosi Tantilli, "Appendice documentaria," in *Caravaggio, Carracci, Maderno: la Cappella Cerasi in Santa Maria del Popolo a Roma*, 108-124, (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana, 2001), doc. 11, 117-124.)

35. The relevant entry is as follows: "En la Villa de madrid e siete dias de mes de agosto año de mill y seiscientos y quarenta y siete ante mi El Scrivano Ant.o Arias pintor pers.a Nombrada por parte de los ss.res Testamentarios del Ex.ma S.r D. Ju.o Alfonso Enrriquez de cabrera almirante de castilla que aya gloria para Tasar Las pinturas de todos generos Con marcos y son ellos que quedaron por muerte de su Ex.a [...] [c. 333r] [...] [86] 327 ytten Vio un quadro grande del martirio de sanct P.o con marco inventariado a n° 327 = Tasolo con el marco que es dorado y Tallado en Trescientos ducados Valen Tres mill y trescientos 3300 / [87] 328 yten Vio otro de la conversion de sanct Pablo gr.de como el de arriva con marco dorado ambos de mano del Carabacho = inventariado a n° 328 = Tasole en otros trescientos ducados 3300." (AHPM, Prot. 6.233, cc. 328r-362v as transcribed in Macioce, *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: fonti e documenti 1532-1724*, inv. 40, 357-358.)

36. "Nel Salotto primo...Quadro grande La conversione de S. Paolo di Michel'Angelo da Caravaggio." (ASG, Not. Gio. Francesco Sapia, Filza 23, testamenti, 3 September 1682 as transcribed in Ibid., inv. 58, 366.) The painting may have been sold first to Agostino Ayrolo, a Genoese aristocrat, who endowed his sister Barbara's dowry with it. The painting probably

passed into Balbi's hands through his association with Ayrolo's brother-in-law.

37. Antonio Morassi, "Il Caravaggio di Casa Baldi," *Emporium* CV, no. 627 (1947). Walter Friedlaender said it was "extremely difficult to say" whether the Odescalchi-Balbi *Paul* was Caravaggio's original, and Denis Mahon doubted it was by Caravaggio's hand based upon its discrepancies with the artist's style and within the development of his career. (Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, 185; Denis Mahon, "The Odescalchi-Balbi 'Conversion of St. Paul': Letter in response to Antonio Morassi," *The Burlington Magazine* 94 (1952): 118-119.)

38. Marini, *Io Michelangelo da Caravaggio*, 463; Vannugli, "Caravaggio: l'ultima traccia della 'Crocifissione di San Pietro' Sannesio."

39. [910] "Otra [pitura] en ttabla que ttiene de altto dos varas y media y de ancho dos Varas en que se ve ser el martirio de san Pedro Apostol en dos mill y Duzienttos Reales 2200." (AHNM, sección Osuna, legajo 498-2, cc. 10r-242v as transcribed in Macioce, *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: fonti e documenti 1532-1724*, inv. 64, 368-369.)

40. A convent in Seville contains a very badly damaged *Crucifixion of St. Peter* that is thought to be a derivation of Caravaggio's original. See Vannugli, "Caravaggio: l'ultima traccia della 'Crocifissione di San Pietro' Sannesio," Fig. 1, 106 for color reproduction.

41. Macioce, *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: fonti e documenti 1532-1724*, 368-369.

42. Acts of the Apostles 9: 1-19, 22:5-11 and 26:9-24: "Then Saul, still breathing threats and murder against the disciples of the Lord, went to the high priest and asked letters from him to the synagogues of Damascus, so that if he found any who were of the Way, whether men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem. As he journeyed he came near Damascus, and suddenly a light shone around him from heaven. Then he fell to the ground, and heard a voice saying to him, "Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting Me?" And he said, "Who are You, Lord?" Then the Lord said, "I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting. It *is* hard for you to kick against the goads." So he, trembling and astonished, said, "Lord, what do You want me to do?" Then the Lord *said* to him, "Arise and go into the city, and you will be told what you must do." And the men who journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice but seeing no one. Then Saul arose from the ground, and when his eyes were opened he saw no one. But they led him by the hand and brought *him* into Damascus. And he was three days without sight, and neither ate nor drank." (Acts 9: 1-19) *New King James Version*, (Thomas Nelson, 1982).

43. J.P. Kirsch, "St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles," in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, (2005).

44. Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, 32.

45. Pamela Askew, "Caravaggio: Outward Action, Inward Vision," in *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: la vita e le opere attraverso i documenti : atti del Convegno internazionale di studi*, ed. Stefania Macioce, 248-269, (Rome: Logart, 1996) and Treffers, "Caravaggio: La Cappella Cerasi."

46. Hibbard, *Caravaggio*, 132.

47. Puglisi, *Caravaggio*, 169-170, n. 126 points out that the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* was clearly painted using models and offers her observation, in confirmation of Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, 32, that in bright light the crossbeam appears to have been modeled from one piece of wood and the artist simply manipulated the shadow to make it seem as if two separate planks were intersecting at that point.

48. Leo Steinberg, "Observations in the Cerasi Chapel," *The Art Bulletin* 41 (1959).

49. Steinberg described this as at the fore of the "anteroom" where it intersects the "choir" in his proposed Latin-cross plan. Ibid.: 186.

50. Ibid..

51. Ibid.: 185.

52. Ibid..

53. Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, 16.

54. Ibid., 3-28; Hibbard, *Caravaggio*, 121-132; Langdon, *Caravaggio: a life*, 184; Bernardini, ""La quale istoria è affatto senza azzione": la *Conversion di san Paolo* di Caravaggio." Caravaggio had consciously referenced Michelangelo's precursors in the Vatican before. In the Contarelli Chapel the hand of Christ in the *Calling of St. Matthew* replicated the hand of God in the Sistine *Creation of Adam*. Caravaggio continued to appropriate fragments of Michelangelo's work in his *Entombment* (c.1602-4, fig. 21). His painted adaptation of the Renaissance master's sculpted *Pietà* is his own entry into the age-old *paragone* debate about the supremecy of one art form over another.

55. Hibbard, *Caravaggio*, 126.

56. Ibid., 134.

57. Michelangelo's frescoes of Peter and Paul are across from one another in the Pauline Chapel. Regardless, their compositions are distinct from, not mirror images of, each other. Caravaggio choose to reverse the arrangement of the narrative elements of one and not the other to better coordinate them across the narrow expanse of the altar space.

58. See also Roberto Longhi, "Ultimi studi sul Caragavvio e la sua cerchia," in *Proporzioni, studi di storia dell'arte*, 5-63, Vol. I, (Florence: Sansoni, 1943); Bernardini, ""La quale istoria è affatto senza azzione": la *Conversion di san Paolo* di Caravaggio;" Cinotti and Dell'Acqua, *Michelangelo Merisi detto il Caravaggio: tutte le opere*; Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, 185; Treffers, "Caravaggio: La Cappella Cerasi," 65.

59. Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, 185.

60. Longhi, "Ultimi studi sul Caragavvio e la sua cerchia," 59, n. 83.

61. Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, 3-28.

62. The differences in style could be conceivable if only the *Conversion of St. Paul* was shown to and rejected by Cerasi and Caravaggio painted the Hermitage antecedent specifically for Sannesio, never intending it to be placed in the chapel at all. However, the *Peter* in Sannesio's collection, and the *Peter* that appears in subsequent inventories, was listed specifically as *on wood* making it highly likely that a first version was painted by Caravaggio and at the same time he painted the first *Paul*.

63. I do not mean to suggest that the Hermitage *Crucifixion of St. Peter* is a work by Caravaggio executed at a later date. Denis Mahon is the only scholar who thinks that the Hermitage *Crucifixion of St. Peter* has nothing to do with the Cerasi lateral, but he believes it is from much later in Caravaggio's career. Mahon, "Egregius in Urbe Pictor: Caravaggio revised," 227, n. 239.

64. It is curious that neither a verbal description nor a replica of Caravaggio's first, lost *Crucifixion of St. Peter* is extant. Yet neither exists of the Odescalchi-Balbi *Paul*, a painting the provenance and whereabouts of which are known and verifiable.

65. The contract for the painting has been lost. Passignano received 100 *scudi* for his planned altarpiece on October 4, 1602. Nissman speculated that Passignano began working in early 1603 since he received another payment in late winter of that year. The altarpiece is referred to as "*fatta*" in October 1605, but it may have been completed in late 1604 since it is described in a 1624 document as having been completed twenty years earlier. (Miles L. Chappell Jr. and W. Chandler Kirwin, "A Petrine Triumph: The Decoration of the Navi Piccole in San Pietro under Clement VIII," *Storia Dell'Arte* 21 (1974): 130, esp. n. 194; Joan Lee Nissman, "Domenico Cresti (Il Passignano), 1559-1638, a Tuscan painter in Florence and Rome" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1979), 125 and 299.)

66. Chappell Jr. and Kirwin, "A Petrine Triumph...," 120-170; Louise Rice, *The altars and altarpieces of new St. Peter's: outfitting the Basilica, 1621-1666* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 27-34.

67. Cristoforo Roncalli's *Death of Sapphria*, the only intact altarpiece, measures 769 x 427.5 cm.

68. Nissman, "Domenico Cresti (Il Passignano), 1559-1638, a Tuscan painter in Florence and Rome", 127. A mosaic version of Roncalli's altarpiece replaced Passignano's, which was removed in the eighteenth century because of its deteriorating condition. In place of Roncalli's altarpiece on the eastern side of the pier is a copy in mosaic of Raphael's *Transfiguration*, also created in the late eighteenth century.

69. A solution Nissman considered "retardataire." She also noted that Passignano's and Roncalli's altarpieces had little in common. (Ibid., 127-128.) An assessment of the artist's palette is difficult owing to the ruined state of the altarpiece's three remaining fragments.

70. In July 1600, when he Roncalli received his first payment, the painting was described as "*da fare*" implying nothing had been achieved by that date. (Chappell Jr. and Kirwin, "A Petrine Triumph...," 131-132.)

71. Puglisi, *Caravaggio*, 168.

72. See note 65 above.

73. The pilgrim would travel from the entrance of St. Peter's down the nave to St. Peter's tomb. From there he would circulate into one of the transcepts. If he turned toward the altar of the Holy Sacrament in the left transcept, he would approach Passignano's altarpiece from the left as he moved toward to the exit of the basilica.

74. "...di che, quando non mai altro, fa buona testimonianza quanto con un uomo insolente e stravagantissimo gli successe in Roma nel tempo che e'dipigneva la sua prima tavola del martirio di s. Pietro nella Clementina. Questi fu Michelangnolo da Caravaggio, il quale portatosi un giorno a quella chiesa, e adocchiato il serraglio che copriva il luogo ove l'opera si faceva, e ciò in tempo che il Passignano non era ancor comparso, ma vi aveva mandato Niccodemo Ferrucci a preparare quanto abbisognava per lo lavoro, senza aver riguardo, nè al luogo, nè alle persone, sfoderò la spada, e nella tenda fece un solennissimo sdrucio, per entro il quale avendo cacciato il capo, guardò ben bene tutta l'opera, e di quella poi disse per Roma tutto quel male che seppe uscir dall'organo d'un suo pari." (Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie de' professori del disegno...*, ed. Ferdinando Ranalli (Firenze: V. Batelli e Compagni, 1845-1847), vol. III, 447.)

75. Antonio Morassi, "The Odescalchi-Baldi 'Conversion of St. Paul'," *The Burlington Magazine* 94 (1947).

76. Mahon, "Egregius in Urbe Pictor: Caravaggio revised," 227.

77. Langdon, *Caravaggio: a life*, 186.

78. Röttgen, *Il Caravaggio: ricerche e interpretazioni*, 141-143; Treffers, "Caravaggio: La Cappella Cerasi," 65; Bernardini, ""La quale istoria è affatto senza azzione": la *Conversion di san Paolo* di Caravaggio," 87.

79. Bernardini, ""La quale istoria è affatto senza azzione": la *Conversion di san Paolo* di Caravaggio," 87.

80. Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, 28.

81. Walter F. Friedlaender, "The 'Crucifixion of St. Peter': Caravaggio and Reni," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 8 (1945): 157 dates Guido Reni's *Crucifixion of St. Peter*, now in the Vatican, to when Reni was in Rome in 1602 whereas Richard E. Spear, *The "Divine" Guido: religion, sex, money, and art in the world of Guido Reni* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) dates it to "around 1605." Spear also compares Reni's version to Caravaggio's second version and, unlike Friedlaender, "The 'Crucifixion of St. Peter': Caravaggio and Reni," does not make the connection to the first version, the Hermitage 'copy' or otherwise. I believe Reni's composition is based upon the first *Peter* painted by Caravaggio, the composition of which was oblique as I am proposing in this article, but Reni, knowing he had to paint an altarpiece and not a lateral as Caravaggio's work is, placed the main narrative action in the center of the canvas in a vertical format. Reni's sketch for the altarpiece (reproduced in Spear, *The "Divine" Guido: religion, sex, money, and art in the world of Guido Reni*, 284, fig. 143) shows the cross on which the martyr is being affixed rotated more into space, perhaps reflecting the position (but not the angle) of the cross in Caravaggio's first *Peter*.

82. Friedlaender, "The 'Crucifixion of St. Peter': Caravaggio and Reni," 152-153.

83. Ibid.: 159.

84. Catherine Puglisi agreed that the time between the signing of the contract and the death of Cerasi was sufficient for both of the first versions on panel to be completed. She also stated that the second versions on canvases were approved and paid for by the Fathers of the Ospedale. She pointed to the first and second versions of the *Conversion of St. Paul* to illustrate the marked and dramatic break from the "youthful manner" of Caravaggio exemplified in the Odescalchi *Paul* and the artist's arrival into his "artistic maturity" as the work *in situ* illustrates. (Puglisi, *Caravaggio*, 165.)

85. Baglione's strange reference to the paintings as "in oil because he knew no other medium" may also refer to his employment of canvas in the final paintings.

86. An idea that was first proposed by Mahon, "Egregius in Urbe Pictor: Caravaggio revised," 227, n. 240.

87. Pepper, "Caravaggio, Carracci, and the Cerasi Chapel," 12.

88. Bernardini, ""La quale istoria è affatto senza azzione": la *Conversion di san Paolo* di Caravaggio," 104.

89. The notation in the ledger of the Ospedale clearly states that the final paintings were still in Caravaggio's possession.

90. Gianni Papi, "Conversione di San Paolo," in *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: come nascono i capolavori*, ed. Mina Gregori, 200-205, (Milano: Electa, 1991), 200.

91. Spezzaferro, in an earlier 1980 catalogue entry for the first *Inspiration of St. Matthew*, speculates that both of the first versions of the *Paul* and *Peter* were accepted by Cerasi, but after his death, Caravaggio told Cerasi's heirs that he would like to repaint the lateral and accepted a reduced salary. (Cinotti and Dell'Acqua, *Michelangelo Merisi detto il Caravaggio: tutte le opere*, 536 quoting Spezzaferro, 1980.)

92. Sometime during the summer of 1602, Giustiniani acquired from Caravaggio the *Inspiration of St. Matthew*, the altarpiece for the Contarelli Chapel. The priests of San Luigi dei Francesi had rejected it because "no one had liked" it and because it had "neither decorum not the appearance of a saint." (Puglisi, *Caravaggio*, 150.) Later, on June 16, 1606, another of Caravaggio's rejected works would be purchased, this time for 100 *scudi*. By April 14, 1606, the *Madonna dei Palafrenieri* was installed in the chapel of the Confraternity of the *Palafrenieri* in St. Peter's. But it hung there for just two days. The Confraternity quickly decided they did not like Caravaggio's altarpiece so they had it removed to the church of Santa Anna dei Pelefrenieri where it stayed until it was sold to Cardinal Borghese on June 16, 1606. (Puglisi, *Caravaggio*, 153.)

93. Hibbard, *Caravaggio*, 132-137.

94. See note 32.

95. The *Crucifixion of St. Peter* is referred to by Askew in the discussion of Caravaggio's representation of a "double drama." The figure dressed in red is singled out by Askew as the "seer" of St. Peter in an otherwise profane scene of three men laboring to lift a heavy beam. The fact that the saint is not in physical contact with any of the figures, Askew argues, emphasises the separation of the profane act from the sacred vision. In the same article Askew also discusses the "double drama" illustrated in the *Conversion* where the groom holding the horse is the "seer" of the Conversion in the foreground. (Askew, "Caravaggio: Outward Action, Inward Vision," 248-269.)

96. Treffers, "Caravaggio: La Cappella Cerasi," 73-74.

97. "Item un quadro grande de legname" (Maurizio Marini and Sandro Corradini, "Inventarium imnium et singulorum bonorum mobilium di Michelaneglo da Caragavvio 'pittore'," *Artibus et Historiae* XIV, no. 28 (1993): 162.)

98. To verify my assertion and proposed chronology for Cardinal Sannesio's purchase of Caravaggio's paintings, one would have to locate documents related to the purchase of Sannessio's pictures.

99. Bernardini, *Caravaggio, Carracci, Maderno: la Cappella Cerasi in Santa Maria del Popolo a Roma*, doc. 8, 111.

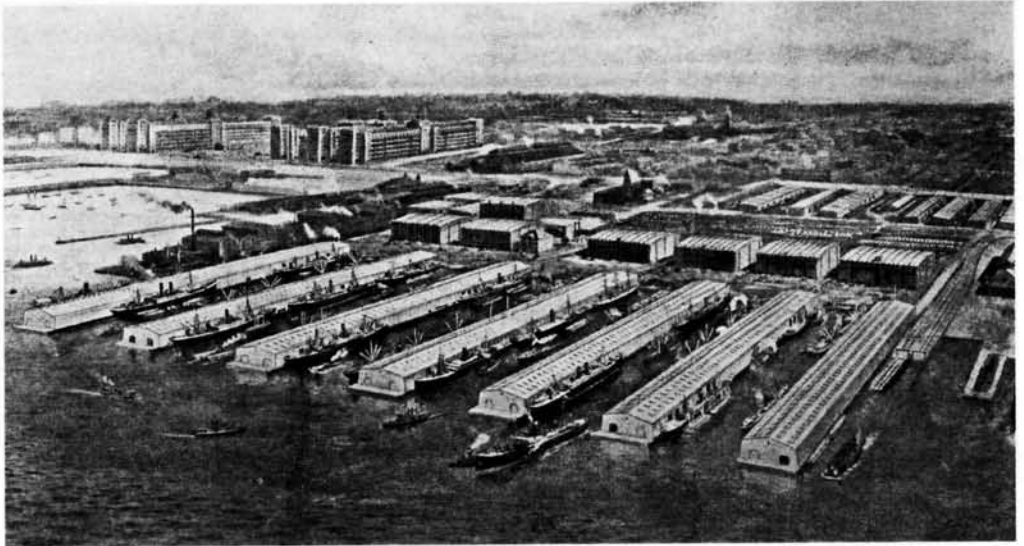


Fig. 1 William Higginson, Bush Terminal, aerial view, 1911. Brooklyn, NY. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

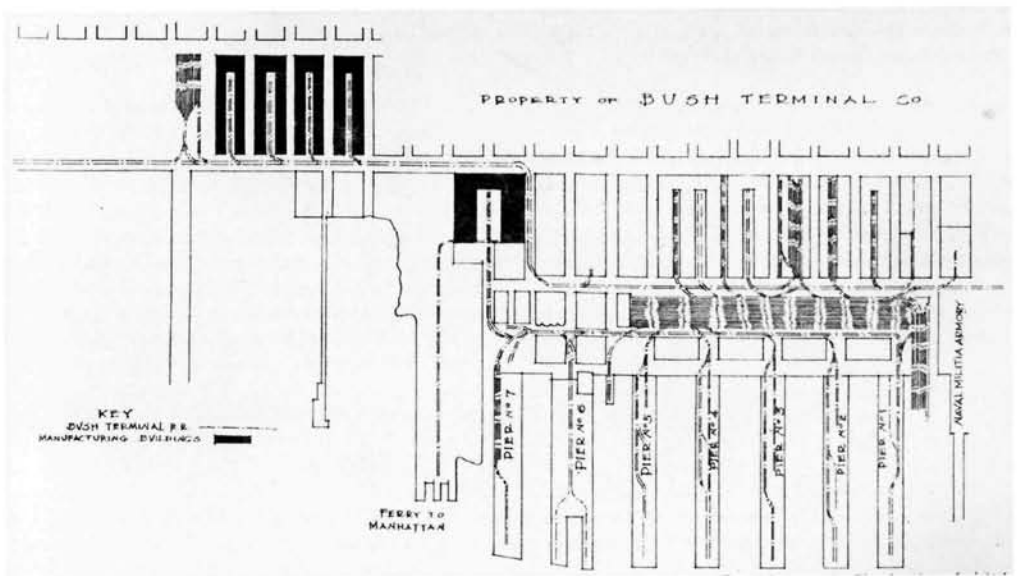


Fig. 2 William Higginson, Bush Terminal, site map, 1911. Brooklyn, NY. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

The Architecture of Industry: Bush Terminal and the Evolution of Modern Industrial Form

Malka Simon

> Let us listen to the counsels of American engineers. But let us beware of American architects.
> —Le Corbusier[1]

When Le Corbusier wrote these words in *Vers une Architecture*, he had in mind two distinct strains of American building. On the one hand, he respected and admired the great reinforced concrete factories that dominated America's industrial centers. Their pure geometric forms honestly expressed their utilitarian function without superimposing any frivolous "style." On the other hand, he loathed the deceptive forms of Beaux-Arts buildings whose external appearances offered no clue as to their internal structures or functions.

However, Le Corbusier failed to realize that these two strains overlapped, and that his cherished factories were, in fact, often designed by American architects. In the United States, the early twentieth century saw the growth of a new discipline, that of industrial architecture. As industry boomed across the country, businessmen increasingly looked toward architects to design buildings that were rationally planned and aesthetically appealing. These designers had to reconcile the architectural forms they already knew with unfamiliar building materials such as reinforced concrete. Their struggle to find the appropriate formal expression for these new building types often resulted in oddly hybrid works, boasting state-of-the-art structural systems cloaked in the most traditional of forms. This incongruity ultimately prompted architects to reconcile engineering with architecture, resulting in works where form rationally reflects function in traditional modern fashion.

This paper will explore the relationship between modern architecture and industrial expansion. Brooklyn's Bush Terminal (1895-1925, fig. 1) epitomizes urban growth at the intersection of architecture, engineering, and industrial production. Designed according to modern principles of efficiency and economy, its buildings nevertheless are defined by historicizing forms, and reflect a period of architectural experimentation on the boundary of traditionalism and modernism.

The brainchild of industrialist Irving Bush, Bush Terminal was the first facility in the United States to integrate warehousing, shipping, and manufacturing.[2] Its piers, storehouses, and factories are located in southwest Brooklyn, stretching along the waterfront from 28th to 51st Streets. For many years, this section of Brooklyn, known as Sunset Park, was a rural backwater. Though Bush's choice of this outlying site seems counterintuitive, the mechanics of freight transit in New York Harbor actually favored an isolated location.

New York Harbor was one of the largest ports in the world, rivaled only by Hamburg and Rotterdam. But New York remained unique in that it lacked a railroad belt line. The thirteen railroads that entered the port all terminated across the bay in New Jersey, a disjunction due to the private and piecemeal development of port facilities through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such a setup necessitated a complex network of marine-freight transfer operations.[3] Ultimately, the water itself came to function as a railroad belt line, with lighters and carfloats shuttling across the harbor, connecting the terminals in New Jersey with the piers in New York. Lighters transported individual goods between ships and railroad terminals, while carfloats carried the actual railroad car, thus streamlining the entire transfer process.[4]

While lighterage served the needs of the railroads and shippers, it also contributed to the notorious congestion of the port. Further complicating matters was the fact that development gen-

Fig. 3 Kirby, Petit and Green, Bush Terminal Loft 1, 1905. Brooklyn, NY. (Brooklyn Public Library – Brooklyn Collection)

erally proceeded according to private interests. Consequently, factories, warehouses, and shipping facilities were jumbled together on, near, and not-so-close to the waterfront, in an often impractical sequence that meant inefficient transportation and lost money.

Irving Bush sought to impose a measure of order on the chaos that was the Port of New York, and in doing so he transformed the landscape of Sunset Park while reaping a tremendous profit. Bush understood that New York's industrialists needed a consolidated system of piers, warehouses, factories, and rail transit facilities. Locating these facilities adjacent to one another would save precious time and money, since such a setup eliminated the need for transporting goods across the city's crowded streets. Bush's innovation lay in this realization; as simple as it may sound, it was at the time a groundbreaking idea. In fact, Bush boasted that he coined the word "terminal" to describe a place where "transportation serves industry."[5] Though his claim contradicts reality, it does reflect the degree to which he was identified with the terminal concept; harbor engineer B.F. Cresson later described Bush's enterprise as "probably the finest example of terminal development on the Atlantic Coast, if not anywhere in the world."[6]

Bush cleverly exploited his site's isolation. He used the space on his undeveloped land to build longer and wider piers, thus eliminating one of the port's major problems—congestion. Tugs had ample room to maneuver lighters to shore, and could even fit between two ships berthed at adjacent piers.[7] Additionally, the vast acres of vacant upland property would later prove ideal for large-scale construction of warehouses and factories.

In 1902, to connect the piers to the warehouses he had built, Bush laid track for a railroad which initially ran for a couple of miles along the shore.[8] The Bush Terminal Railroad would prove vital to the success of the enterprise, functioning as a "circulatory system" that connected the entire terminal and linked South Brooklyn to the Port of New York. Transfer bridges—structures specially

designed to transfer railroad cars from their tracks onto waiting carfloats—allowed the Bush Terminal Railroad to bring cargo from Terminal tenants to all parts of the harbor. Similarly, freight from the major railroad terminals could easily reach Bush's tenants.[9]

Bush wanted to expand beyond shipping and storage, envisioning the industrial equivalent of a speculative apartment building. He sought to attract smaller businesses that could not afford to build their own facilities but wanted the same amenities as their larger competitors.[10] To that end, he would construct, over the course of two decades, a series of massive industrial loft buildings. These factories featured flexible open floor plans, ample natural lighting, and heavy load capacities, so that they could easily accommodate a wide variety of manufacturers.

The first phase of loft construction at Bush Terminal began in 1904 and consisted of eight buildings, running north up Second Avenue from 37th Street to 33rd Street. Most were laid out with the same U-shaped footprint: lofts were paired together to present a single, unbroken façade on Third Avenue, then diverged in the rear to create courtyards along Second Avenue that allowed for rail access (fig. 2). The Bush lofts were noteworthy for innovations they introduced in the field of engineering. They also differed markedly in appearance, testifying to Bush's stylistic experimentations with industrial architecture, which were representative of larger trends in that field.

Loft Building 1 (1905) stands out as the only brick-clad factory loft in the entire terminal complex (fig. 3). It was the only loft whose elevation was designed by Kirby, Petit and Green, the firm that designed Bush's townhouse and the Bush Terminal Company's headquarters in lower Manhattan. Though they serve different purposes, the three buildings resemble each other in their historicizing designs. Bush's home and his company headquarters were both executed in a Dutch revival style, while Terminal Loft 1 wears a Gothic revival skin. Six stories tall, its regular gridded façade is dressed up with segmental arches, decorative variegated brickwork, and a striking pointed arcade that runs along its top story.

The combination of brickwork and historicizing forms belied Loft 1's plain, utilitarian interior, though its gridded elevations with their large expanses of windows hinted at its concrete skeleton. The Engineering Record discussed the construction techniques of Bush Terminal's first factory loft in a pair of articles published shortly after its completion, hailing its efficient construction meth-

Fig. 4 William Higginson, Bush Terminal Lofts 2-8, 1905-1915. Brooklyn, NY. (Photo: Author)

Fig. 5 William Higginson, Bush Terminal Loft 8, detail, 1915. Brooklyn, NY. (Photo: Author)

ods and innovative techniques. Overall, the articles praised the design and construction process as highly effective in creating a strong building that would be able to serve its future tenants to maximum capacity. The reinforced concrete frame played a pivotal role: its great compressive strength could support heavy machinery, and its thin vertical piers left room for large windows and precious natural light.[11] At its core, then, the factory was functionally modern, which was most essential to Bush.

Irving Bush's choice of reinforced concrete was not necessarily an obvious one at the time. His initial group of warehouses employed traditional mill construction with heavy timber framing that would burn slowly in the event of a fire. However, by the time Bush began building his lofts, reinforced concrete was a more familiar material. As described above, concrete boasted immense compressive strength; steel reinforcement gave it tensile strength as well. Though he did not invent the material, engineer Ernest Ransome was the man most responsible for the spread of the reinforced concrete factory in America. His patented system of reinforcement proved strong, reliable, and perhaps most importantly, fireproof. Ransome's earliest concrete buildings were located in California, but he brought the form east in 1897 with the construction of the Pacific Coast Borax Company's plant in Bayonne, New Jersey. This building essentially made concrete's reputation after a dramatic fire in 1902—though the flames consumed the steel and iron supports, Ransome's reinforced concrete floors, columns, and exterior walls survived the intense heat.[12] Industrialists took note of this dramatic display, and as commissions for reinforced concrete factories grew, so did the number of new patents on construction techniques. Ransome remained active in the field, and his 1903 addition to Pacific Coast Borax's Bayonne plant embodies another of his great innovations, the creation of the daylight factory.

The first Borax plant had walls punctuated by small windows, and from the outside looked very much like an old-fashioned mill building. However, the second factory reflected a dramatic departure in its vast expanses of windows. In 1902, Ransome patented a structural skeleton whose floor slabs extended beyond the frame's outermost columns. The resulting beltcourses could then support infill walls or windows.[13] This method of construction translated visually into a grid of windows which admitted copious amounts of sunlight into previously dark factory floors. The aptly-named daylight factory, with its reinforced concrete frame, quickly became standard in industrial construction.

Of course, not all buildings with concrete frames necessarily showed them off. As was the case with Bush Loft 1, many architects chose to clothe modern technology in the more familiar language

Fig. 6 William Higginson, Bush Terminal Loft 19, 1912. Brooklyn, NY. (Photo: Author)

of brick and stone. However, the bottom line would eventually trump tradition. After the completion of Loft 1, Bush decided to discontinue the use of brick cladding to save money on construction.[14] Also, at this point William Higginson replaced Kirby, Petit and Green as designing architect for the rest of the manufacturing lofts at the Terminal. Bush's choice of Higginson as supervising architect for the Terminal buildings ultimately determined their appearance. Though relatively unknown today, Higginson was a proficient industrial architect whose clients included a diverse array of manufacturers across New York City.

William Higginson immigrated to the United States from England at the age of seventeen. Nothing is known about his formal education—if he had one at all—but he eventually made a name for himself in the growing field of industrial architecture. His clients would include the William Wrigley Company, the Loose-Wiles Biscuit Company, and the American Safety Razor Company, to name a few.[15] Higginson's earliest works in New York appear to date to the 1890s, when he was a partner in the firm Angell and Higginson. These buildings, such as the warehouses he designed for Brooklyn's American Manufacturing Company, were not concrete, but of brick mill construction, which was typical for that period. However, Higginson soon embraced the potential of concrete. Perhaps his most historically significant contribution in this area was the group of buildings he designed for the Gair complex in Brooklyn. Robert Gair, who made his fortune in cardboard boxes, was one of the first clients of the fledgling Turner Construction Company. Though he had initially instructed Higginson to design a traditional brick-and-wood building, he was persuaded by Turner of concrete's superiority for factory construction. The 170,000 square foot factory that was finished in 1905 had the distinction of being the biggest reinforced concrete structure built up to that point. Its completion helped put Turner Construction on the map, and the company would ultimately dominate reinforced concrete construction jobs in New York City.[16] As New Yorkers who were pioneers in their fields, Higginson and Turner would often work together on industrial projects. And Irving Bush, with his eye for innovation, hired them both just as Gair's concrete factory neared completion.

No matter which industrialist he worked for, Higginson maintained a fairly consistent style. Neither purely modern nor stubbornly traditional, his works struggle with the role of modernity and engineering in architectural design. Bush Terminal Lofts 2-8, erected between 1905 and 1915, typify his approach (fig. 4). Their simple, unclad façades draw attention to their concrete frames; their paucity of ornament helps mark these buildings as products of modern engineering. Neverthe-

less, they sport enough decorative elements to soften their modernity and evoke the more elaborate style of Bush's non-industrial buildings.

Lofts 2-8 are all six-story reinforced concrete daylight factories. These buildings are essentially identical in design and layout, and when viewed from Second Avenue, they look like an army marching in unison up the street. But rather than appearing monotonous, their similarity creates a rhythmic progression and a visual continuity that unites them over the distance they cover, making them greater than the sum of their parts. The individual lofts echo the regularity of the ensemble, with logical geometric façades that respond to their underlying structure. The factory fronts are basically big grids – much like Loft 1, without the brick – that correspond in layout to their reinforced concrete skeletons. Rusticated piers break up the façade while adding texture. Spandrels inscribed with pairs of rectangles create rhythm through relief and shadow. Higginson reserved the bulk of the ornamentation for the most visible parts of the building. Double-gabled parapets adorn the center and corners of each roofline, and also crown each stairwell. A row of miniature brackets runs just below the parapets, effectively framing the entire façade (fig. 5).

At Bush Terminal, Higginson's limited placement of ornament suggests that he used it partly to relieve the potential harshness of a monumental gridded façade, but also to create a sort of corporate identity; the prominent gables make the Bush lofts highly visible from both land and water.

As his clientele grew, Bush expanded. Although noticeably larger, his later lofts conform to the precedent set by the original row—buildings share a façade on their east flank, then diverge into rail courtyards on the west. Their gridded façades, rusticated piers, and ornamental rooflines echo the smaller original lofts. This resemblance between the factories creates an impressive visual coherence across the complex despite the considerable distance between them (fig. 6).

Higginson also experimented with styles that broke from the precedent he set with the original row of factories. Loft 10 (1916-18) stands out noticeably from its southern neighbors. Twelve stories tall, it employs a Gothic revival motif unique at Bush Terminal. Nevertheless, the overall concept of the façade remains the same: a regular grid of windows is embellished with simple ornamentation that is restricted to the most visible parts of the building. The arched windows on the second story play off the other neo-Gothic features of the design. The Third Avenue elevation features an ornamental entryway with arched openings adorned with miniature turrets. These tur-

Fig. 7 William Higginson, Bush Terminal Loft 10, detail of entryway, 1916-18. Brooklyn, NY. (Photo: Author)

Fig. 8 Edward E. Rutter, Loading at a Bush Loft building, gelatin silver print, 7 x 9 in. Brooklyn, NY. (Brooklyn Public Library – Brooklyn Collection)

rets reappear at the roofline, with each vertical pier terminating in a Gothic flourish (fig. 7).

While important as individual works, much of Bush Terminal's beauty lies in the relationships between the buildings and the Terminal's transportation infrastructure. Irving Bush employed the most innovative theories of his day, planning his operation in a Taylorist manner that minimized waste and maximized profitability for both him and his tenants. Thus, the factory lofts must be considered within their larger context, as one part of a landscape that operated according to the guiding principle of efficiency.

Irving Bush sought to accommodate his tenants with a wide range of services that would boost their own profits and keep them at Bush Terminal. Construction technology and the Terminal railroad both served important functions in his effort. Bush's use of fireproof reinforced concrete kept insurance costs considerably lower than at other industrial locations. Tenants also saved time and money on shipping by relying on the Terminal railroad. Service extended to all warehouses and factories; not only did tenants receive shipments at their door, but they could also load goods directly onto their freight elevators, where Terminal staff took over, packing wares into the cars waiting below (fig. 8).[17] One tenant calculated that he saved over $20,000 in trucking and shipping costs by moving from Manhattan to Brooklyn.[18]

Efficiency extended to policies regarding employee care and satisfaction. Irving Bush, like many of his fellow industrialists, firmly believed in welfare capitalism, which posited that workers' benefits, instead of losing money for the employer, could actually result in productivity gains. As Bush explained, "An employee who is sick or hurt cannot do his quota of work. That is the selfish, practical viewpoint—and the Bush system of social service is admittedly selfish and necessarily practical." To that end, Bush made provisions for the physical and mental health of his and his tenants' employees, providing services such as job insurance, a loan bureau, an on-site

hospital, offsite workers' housing, and even healthy food in the employee cafeterias and organized sports teams to promote physical well-being.[19] Essentially, this system of social engineering paralleled and facilitated the rational system of industrial engineering that was already set in place.[20] Even the Bush Terminal newsletter's logo reinforced the message of industriousness: a stylized beehive conjured an image of productive workers, while the slogan "efficiency and economy through co-operation" drove the message home (fig. 9).[21] Scientific management, efficiency, and profit were wrapped up in a Taylorist package that dictated operations across Bush Terminal.

Irving Bush's desire for efficiency yielded a landscape of modernity, whose very spatial patterns testify to the processes of production. Bush Terminal owes its vast scale to the structural capacities of reinforced concrete. The arrangement of the buildings, with a fairly steady ascension of height from the waterfront inland, was simply a question of functional logic – valuable waterfront lots were reserved for use by the warehouses, which required proximity to the piers and steamship cargo. Manufacturing lofts could expand upland since waterfront access was less vital for them. Finally, the Terminal's great square footage, spread out over more than 200 acres at its peak, was made possible by the connecting railroad, which easily facilitated transportation. In fact, the generous distance between buildings was viewed as a hallmark of modernity. Contemporary writers contrasted Bush Terminal favorably against the crowded factories that were "struggling for breathing space in tenement districts." Through Irving Bush's method of "scientific and systematic freight movement," wholesale commerce could flourish in a well-planned environment.[22] Bush himself took no small amount of pride in his achievement, describing with satisfaction the neatly-defined components of his enterprise, from piers to bulkhead to warehouses to railyards to factories, and finally, "back of them all…the homes of the more than 30,000 men and women who work in this little industrial city."[23] Compared to the tightly-packed jumble of industry and residence that dominated most of the waterfront, Sunset Park seemed to inhabit another planet.

Clearly, Irving Bush had no fear of modernity. It is ironic, then, that the buildings he commissioned retain so many aspects of architectural tradition. Bush differentiated between industry and art; while modernism might have been suitable for business practices, in Bush's eyes it was not necessarily appropriate for artistic or architectural endeavors.

Virtually no documentation of the design decisions relating to the Bush Terminal lofts survives. However, it is reasonable to assume that they owe their appearance at least partly to

Fig. 9 Bush Magazine logo, 1918.

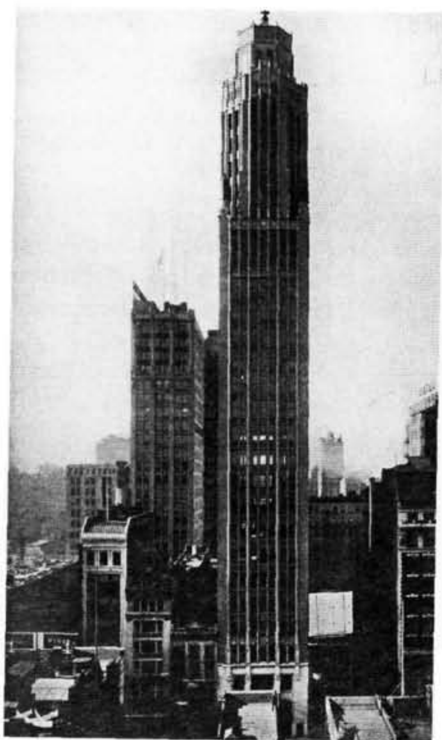


Fig. 10 Helmle and Corbett, Bush Tower, 1917, New York, NY. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

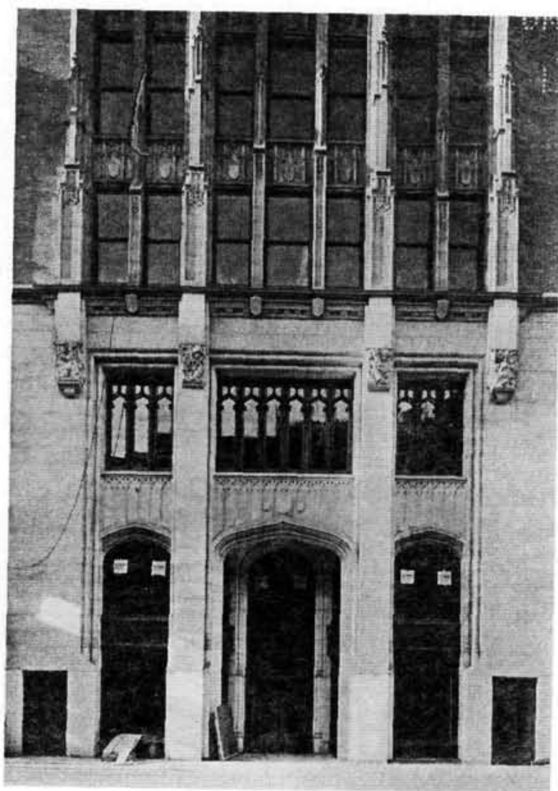


Fig. 11 Helmle and Corbett, detail of entrance of Bush Tower, 1917, New York, NY. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

Fig. 12 Babb, Cook and Willard, The Hanan Building, 1884-85, New York, NY. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

Bush's personal preferences. And when it came to art, Bush's tastes ran to the conservative. He praised American architecture, declaring that its "outstanding" contribution to the world was its adaptation of Greek and other traditional forms to American skyscrapers.[24] In fact, his own skyscraper – the neo-Gothic Bush Terminal Exhibition and Sales Building near Times Square – reflected that ideal (figs. 10 & 11). This tower, the Beaux-Arts Bush House in London, and the Dutch-inspired Bush Terminal office in Lower Manhattan earned praise as "landmarks of beautiful architecture."[25] Absent from the discussion of Irving Bush's architectural sponsorship are the Bush Terminal stores and lofts themselves. Architecture periodicals do not appear to have analyzed Bush Terminal in significant detail. The manufacturing lofts got press in local papers, but that coverage emphasized their modern efficiency, never their aesthetic value. And while engineering and transportation periodicals frequently discussed Bush Terminal in glowing terms, the aesthetic aspects of the factories were barely mentioned.

Despite the silence over the Bush lofts, they arguably stood at the forefront of developments in industrial architecture. In order to properly analyze the vernacular quality of Bush Terminal, and William Higginson's role in the evolution of modern factory design, we must consider the broader debate in the field of architecture over the most appropriate look for industrial buildings.

An examination of American architecture periodicals indicates that concerns over the appearance of industrial architecture first emerged in earnest around 1904, and the debate was still going strong into the 1940s. The haphazard growth and poor design of early factories provoked the discussion, and the introduction of reinforced concrete only intensified it as critics increasingly concerned themselves with the appropriate uses for this new material.

In a series of articles between 1904 and 1908, Russell Sturgis addressed the issue of architectural treatment for utilitarian factories and warehouses. Although Sturgis prioritized simple profiles and strong proportions, his examples generally featured highly ornamental details. For instance, he cited buildings faced with traditional materials such as brick and stone, and trimmed with decorative cornices, entryways, and parapets. These structures were typical of the Rundbogenstil, or round-arched style, which dominated warehouse design in the late nineteenth century (fig. 12).[26]

Critics' calls for well-designed industrial buildings kept intensifying. In order to persuade bottom-line industrialists of the importance of aesthetics, writers began connecting the dots between architectural and economic value. An attractive factory could serve as an advertisement for its company. Even better, such a building could raise profits in the long run by boosting worker morale, thus making employees more productive. Articles on the subject of industrial architecture almost always devoted at least a few lines to the economic benefits of hiring an architect before raising the issue of style.[27]

On the subject of appearance, critics consistently stressed the importance of massing, texture, and proportion. But in a departure from earlier writers such as Sturgis, later critics discouraged superficial ornament in favor of clean lines that emphasized the structural foundation of the factory. One of the finest examples of this approach is Bush Terminal's southern neighbor, Cass Gilbert's Brooklyn Army Supply Base. (fig. 13). This masterpiece of monumental simplicity is an essay in solids and voids whose total lack of ornament is precisely what makes the complex so striking. Gilbert relied solely on the rhythms created by vertical bays of different proportions to unmistakably express strength and solidity.

The shift away from architectural embellishment may be attributed to several factors. First and foremost, minimalism was economical; extra ornament added up to extra costs.[28] But certainly, the spread of European Modernism encouraged architects to embrace the simplicity favored by their budget-conscious clients. In 1927, Ely Jacques Kahn, citing Behrens and the Bauhaus as models, wrote about factories in Corbusian terms: "The successful industrial establishment exists primarily...to serve a functional purpose. If it succeeds in that...it will be agreeable to look at for the same reason that the machine itself is attractive —there is nothing

Fig. 13 Cass Gilbert, Brooklyn Army Supply Base, 1918-19, Brooklyn, NY. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

Fig. 14 William Higginson, Gair Co. Clocktower, 1914. Brooklyn, NY. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

extraneous, and the proportions are normal to a working unit."[29] Ironically, Le Corbusier and Gropius had already cited American factories as models for their own work, albeit with the assumption that these were structures designed by engineers, not architects. And although many industrial structures did not actually live up to the standards of pure functionalism that the Europeans attributed to them, at least on paper critics continually warned against superficial ornament and promoted functional expression.[30] Interestingly, concrete helped make their stylistic arguments. Frank Helmle, writing in 1921, declared that "simplicity should be the watchword in architecture." He added that the nature of concrete construction limited ornament—formwork was not conducive to intricate detail. Recessed panels (so often used on gridded factory facades, including those at Bush Terminal) were much easier to cast, and could create interesting rhythms.[31] The inherent limits of concrete construction meant that simplicity and cement went hand in hand.

Bush Terminal embodied the theoretical concerns raised by critics. Irving Bush prioritized profit; it should come as no surprise that he hired an industrial architect if common wisdom held that such a move could boost revenues. His switch from Kirby, Petit and Green's brick-clad design to Higginson's exposed concrete lofts paralleled the broader move toward the minimally ornamented—and less expensive—exteriors discussed above. Bush's choice might also reflect Higginson's place at the forefront of industrial architecture; from early on, the architect was involved with significant industrial projects, and he continued to receive commissions from firms across New York. In later years, his work would be featured in several issues of *American Architect* devoted to industrial architecture (fig. 14).[32]

Formal simplicity in the service of perfect efficiency would become the hallmarks both of American industrial architecture and the early Modernists. The absence of archival records makes it unclear how aware Higginson was of broader developments in American and European architecture. But if Higginson's factories do not fit neatly into the Modernist canon, they are nevertheless honest responses to the conditions of modern industrial production. Their technical design and layout successfully accommodated manufacturing. Functionality extended to their visual design as well, with ornament carefully deployed to boost worker morale and output in accordance with contemporary psychological theory. The Bush lofts, then, are not simply transitional works on the road to Modernism. Rather, they offer an alternative vision of modernity, driven not by abstract design theories but by the industrialist's bottom line, where form must always follow function.

Malka Simon is a doctoral candidate in Modern Architecture and Urbanism at the Institute of Fine Arts, NYU. Her dissertation, entitled The Space of Production: Brooklyn and the Creation of an Urban Industrial Landscape, *addresses the impact of industry on urban form.*

Notes

1. Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture.* Trans. Frederick Etchells (New York: Dover, 1986), 42.

2. Michael S. Raber and Thomas R. Flagg, *Historic American Engineering Record No. NY-201: Bush Terminal Company* (Historic American Engineering Record, 1989), 2.

3. Carl W. Condit, *The Port of New York*, vol. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980-1981), 102-9.

4. Ibid., 71-76.

5. Irving T. Bush, *Working with the World* (New York: Doubleday, 1928), 49.

6. Quoted from NJ Harbor Commission, 1914 in Thomas R. Flagg, "Brooklyn Waterfront Railroads," *Transfer* January-April, 2003: 6.

7. Michael S. Raber and Thomas R. Flagg, *Documentation for Determination of Eligibility for Bush Terminal, Brooklyn, Kings County, NY.* (Prepared for the NY District of the US Army Corps of Engineers, 1986); Raber and Flagg, *Historic American Engineering Record*, 10.

8. Bush, *Working with the World*, 80.

9. Raber and Flagg, *Historic American Engineering Record*, 4-5.

10. Bush, *Working with the World*, 78-79.

11. "The Reinforced Concrete Factories for the Bush Terminal," *The Engineering Record* January 13, 1906: 36-38; "Erection of a Reinforced Concrete Factory of the Bush Terminal Company," *The Engineering Record* March 3, 1906: 282-84.

12. Reyner Banham, *A Concrete Atlantis: U.S. Industrial Building and European Modern Architecture 1900-1925* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1986), 64-65.

13. Betsy Hunter Bradley, *The Works: The Industrial Architecture of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 157.

14. A.D. Mellor, "The Use of Concrete for the Bush Terminal Development," *Cement Age*, December 1910: 336-42.

15. "Wm. Higginson, 76, Architect, Is Dead," *The New York Times* August 6, 1943: 15.

16. Christina Lee Wallace, *The Evolution of Reinforced Concrete Technology (1848-1918).* (Master's Thesis, Columbia University, 1987), 42-43.

17. Raber and Flagg, *Historic American Engineering Record,* 4-5.

18. *Brooklyn, a National Center of Commerce and industry* (Brooklyn, N.Y., Committee on industrial advancement of the Brooklyn league, 1914).

19. "Social Welfare in the Rent," *Bush Magazine* April 15, 1916: 22-33 "South Brooklyn Tenements," *The New York Times* April 3, 1910: X12.

20. Lindy Biggs, *The Rational Factory* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996): 70-75.

21. *The Bush Magazine of Factory, Shipping and Sales Economy.* July 1918.

22. Walter M. Ostreicher, "The New Shipping Creed," *Cassier's* December 1910: 182-84.

23. Bush, *Working with the World,* 13.

24. Ibid., 101.

25. Alexander R. Smith, "Bush Terminal Changes Port of New York," *The Port of New York and Ship News* October 1925: 3-7.

26. Russell Sturgis, "The Warehouse and the factory in Architecture," *Architectural Record* January 1904: 1-17; "Factories and warehouses," *Architectural Record* May 1906: 369-75; "Some Recent Warehouses," *Architectural Record* May 1908: 373-86.

27. "Aesthetic consideration in factory designs," *The American Architect* June 14, 1911: 243; "Utilitarian Structures and their Architectural Treatment," *The American Architect* November 10, 1909: 183.

28. F.M. Gardiner, "Architecture and industry," *The American Architec.* May 10, 1916: 297-301.

29. Ely Jacques Kahn, "The architecture of industrial buildings," *The Architectural Forum* September 1929: 273-77.

30. Some examples include: Arthur Waltersdorf, "An expression on the design of factory and warehouse buildings," *The American Architect* June 14, 1911: 237; Harvey Wiley Corbett, "Facts, Factories and Frills," *The American Architect* February 27, 1918: 233; Cass Gilbert, "Industrial Architecture in Concrete," *The Architectural Forum* September 1923: 83-86; Moritz Kahn, "Planning of Industrial Buildings," *The Architectural Forum.* September 1929: 265-72.

31. Frank J. Helmle, "Architectural expression in concrete," *The Architectural Forum* January 1921: 11-16.

32. The June 1911 issue feature plates of the Arbuckle Warehouse and Bush Terminal lofts and warehouse; the February 1915 issue pictured the Gair clocktower; the March 1916 issue pictured buildings for the Loose-Wiiles Biscuit Co., William Demuth & Co., Brett Lithographic Co., and Studebaker Corporation.

May 1968 and the Question of the Image

Victoria H.F. Scott

Fig. 1 This image appeared in the May 11 edition of the French illustrated weekly Paris-Match and was one of the first widely disseminated representations of the events. Notably it became available almost a week after the first skirmishes with the police had taken place. (Photo: André Sas)

In her book *May '68 and its Afterlives* (2002) Kristin Ross claimed that a cultural reading of the events of May 1968 in France has erased the political nature and foundation of the revolutionary situation. As she explained, "May '68 itself was not an artistic moment. It was an event that transpired among very few images; French television, after all, was on strike."[1] Despite the surprising logic of this thesis that linked together art, images and television, whether or not the events were cultural or political, the uprising in Paris took place during a period of intense change *vis-à-vis* visual information: one that connected these usually separate categories.

In May and June of 1968 a protest by students over visiting rights in college dormitories in the suburbs of Paris evolved into the largest general strike in French history. Not only did it constitute the first major insurrection in the West since the Second World War, it threatened to permanently undermine the French state. At its peak, out of a population of fifty million, ten million workers went on strike for four straight weeks. Like other revolutions that preceded it, the May uprising fired up the press and written comment proliferated, but efforts to report on what was widely considered to be the most dramatic event in France since Liberation in 1944 were extremely patchy and often censored. The resultant coverage was neither objective nor consistent. The political

intensity and uncertainty of the moment exposed the definitive characteristics and very different political dispositions and audiences of the four sectors of the French media: newspaper, radio, the illustrated press, and the relatively new television.[2]

Incidents in Germany that April, involving Rudi Dutschke and the Springer Press, had increased the French public's sensitivity to issues regarding freedom of the press.[3] As the events unfolded in Paris it became clear that this grave concern was not unwarranted. While momentum was building in the Parisian streets two issues were occupying the chamber of deputies in the *Assemblée Nationale*: first, whether or not the arms-length policy of the government toward the central telecommunications agency, the *L'Office de Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française* (O.R.T.F.) should be changed, and second, if and when advertisements should be introduced to French national television. In fact this controversial issue was the last subject debated in the National Assembly of France on April 23 before the events broke out.[4]

Television caught on late in France, television advertisements even later. Whereas advertisements had been a part of American television since the forties, *les pubs*, as the French refer to them, did not appear on French television until 1969. France was, in fact, the last country in the industrialized West to introduce commercials and this legislation marked an important turn in French visual culture. Up until that point, the more politically independent and contrary illustrated press, which included magazines such as *Paris-Match*, had been both the chief forum for advertising and the prime source of what Europeans call visual information, in the form of high-quality black-and-white or color photographic essays.[5] Subsequent to the spring of 1968, however, television would assume this lucrative and powerful position.

The introduction of commercials to television was critical to the fortunes of the illustrated press as revenues from advertisers were the industry's biggest source of income.[6] While on the surface this change would appear to be an inevitable historical development brought about for economic reasons, the rise of television in France was part of a bitter struggle for control over the French mass media. Income from advertisements had been the key source of revenue for the illustrated press and therefore was the fountainhead of their political independence. Without that income the illustrated press could not afford freedom of expression. Or to put it another way, advertisements on French television deprived the illustrated press of the source of their independence, while simultaneously increasing the French government's control over television, thereby weakening an important venue of independent political debate.

The French public had no illusions about the consequences this legislation would have for the popular illustrated press, which included weekly magazines such as *Noir et Blanc*, *Détective*, and *Paris-Match*, and in angry opposition to the government's plans to introduce commercials to television, deputies of the *Fédération de la gauche*, an alliance of leftist groups, introduced a counter-motion "on the anti-democratic politics of the government in the domain of information, and notably the abusive utilization of audio-visual media, put at the disposition of the state, by the nation."[7] However, the ultimate decision about the introduction of advertisements would not be finalized until later that summer after the uprising was over.

In the following pages, I argue that this important shift in the transmission of visual information was connected to a growing interest in the influence of the image, as it took shape throughout the sixties in texts on the Left and Right. By focusing on the illustrated press and television and comparing their coverage to the way other important media reported on the strike, I establish the degree to which the question of the image shaped, and was in turn shaped by, the revolutionary situation, thereby demonstrating the extent of the exchange, overlap, and mutual determination between the production of images and history at this moment.[8] My argument is that the rise of the new medium of television in France was accompanied by what Roland Barthes identified early on as a veritable "panic," and that this panic crystallized in the events of 1968.

* * *

Anticipation and concern about the role the increasingly pervasive "image" was playing in society had been a persistent feature of intellectual discourse since before World War II and questions about the image, in relationship to advertisements, film, and television continued to be a recurrent theme in the work of a large cross-section of European and North American intellectuals after 1945.[9] The Italian scholar Galvano Della Volpe's essay *Estetica del Carro Armato*, which appeared in the journal *Il Primato* (1941), was one of the first attempts to discuss the power of images, but this thread was later taken up famously in Barthes' *Mythologies* (1957), the anthology *Civilisation de l'image* (1960), and finally Guy Debord's *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967).[10] Although they do not constitute a debate as such, these texts define key positions in the discourse and demonstrate the increasing importance of this issue to writers and thinkers across the political spectrum during the sixties.

Historically, the English and American reception of this body of writing has represented Debord as the leading, or at least the most radical, theorist of the relationship between the image and consumer society in the postwar period. The Situationists and Debord are regularly credited with sparking off the events of 1968 and are widely considered to be responsible for the much celebrated playful atmosphere of the uprising. Debord's theoretical authority has also been increased through the repeated characterization of his work as drawing from "the deep past" of Marxism, i.e. from German philosophy, and French classical literature, rather than, for example, from the work of his immediate peers.[11] However, as former Situationist Donald Nicholson-Smith has pointed out, *The Society of the Spectacle* only came to prominence *as a result of* the events.[12] It cannot be emphasized enough that up until 1968 the book was of little importance and very few people had actually read it. Furthermore, while in hindsight it may seem obvious that *The Society of the Spectacle* owes a great debt to Barthes' *Mythologies* this fact is rarely acknowledged in even the best historical treatments of the literature.

Barthes and Debord were part of a European movement that sought to reinvent Marxism in the wake of the brutal suppression of the revolt against the Stalinist government in Hungary in 1956. While Barthes was the leading light of the Paris-based academic journal *Arguments* (1956-1962), Debord was involved in the more anarchist-oriented *Potlatch* (1954-1957) in Belgium, before going on to found the group known as the Situationist International in Cosio di Arroscia, Italy, the same year that Barthes' *Mythologies* was first published, in 1957.[13] Though both of their theoretical frameworks turned on the question of ideology, the philosopher and the younger activist filmmaker challenged Stalinism in very different ways.

Barthes defined myth as an incessant game of hide-and-seek between meaning and form.[14] According to Barthes, images were presented as innocent rather than motivated constructions and operated by locking consumers into an all-embracing ideological order or myth.[15] For Barthes however, the image was only a secondary concern. The images cited—which were almost exclusively photographs, many of which were culled from France's favorite illustrated weekly *Paris-Match*—though essential to the argument as evidence, were not central to the theoretical armature. That is to say, in *Mythologies* the question of the image was always secondary to the question of *how* ideology functioned in society.

In contrast to *Mythologies*, the collection *Civilisation de l'image* (1960), which was published by the *Centre catholique des intellectuels français*, focused solely on the image and new technologies, and comprised a series of essays representing several disciplines from sociology to theology, with no explicit political agenda. This book is important because it was, as Barthes later pointed out, one of the first texts to recognize that the surfeit of images that characterized this era constituted a new and privileged form of propaganda.[16] Practical rather than theoretical, addressing film, photography, and television, this study was more of a status report on the role of the image in society and a

guide for implementing governmental and ecclesiastical policy rather than a critical assessment *à la* Barthes. Above all it was focused on the opportunities presented by this new situation and argued that there was a pressing need to develop an understanding of the government of the imagination now that state governments were faced with a society and culture defined by the exploitation of images.[17] Barthes wrote a lukewarm review of *Civilisation* for the first edition of the new journal *Communications* in 1961. In 1964, to mark the publication of the Italian translation, he observed that the continuing popularity of this book suggested that a kind of panic about images had taken hold of society.[18] Still, Barthes did not see images, or the relationships that they fostered, as the emblem of capitalism or the source of society's problems. As Barthes stated, to condemn the image was to condemn modernity.[19]

Where as *Civilisation de l'image* welcomed this new regime of visual information and sought to control it, in 1967 Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* aimed to orchestrate its imminent and permanent downfall. Taking for his subject the role of visual representation in postwar consumer society, Debord scorned the spectacle as a totalizing regime that controlled social relationships through images.[20] In contrast to Barthes, the image was the keystone of this theoretical complex, but echoing Barthes' notion of myth, Debord's theory of the spectacle claimed that images established a set of relations that fixed consumers into what he called the spectacular-merchandise society:

> The spectacle is not a collection of images; rather it is a social relationship mediated by images. It cannot be understood as a deliberate distortion of the visual world or as a product of the technology of the mass dissemination of images. It is far better understood as a Weltanschauung that has been actualized, translated into the material realm—a worldview translated into an objective force.[21]

Debord understood better than most the significance of the image in relation to the government, the government of the public's imagination, and mass communication. However, the claim that the spectacle cannot be reduced to the mass dissemination of images, which has since been reiterated by many of Debord's readers, does not withstand scrutiny, especially when the historical context of this theory is taken into consideration.[22] In this sense the theory of the spectacle is both less and more than Debord claims: less because despite Debord's trademark bombast there is absolutely nothing metaphysical about the spectacle, as is implied by the use of the word *Weltanschauung*, and more because the spectacle *is* exactly a terribly mundane product of the mass dissemination of images and a deliberate distortion of the visual world, as the example of 1968 demonstrates.

* * *

In 1968 the French government recognized very early on that there was a powerful rapport between the information diffused by the media and the collective imagination of the public, and right from the very beginning took every measure to control, and in some cases suppress, all communication about the general strike.[24] Certain key moments shed light on the difficulties the media encountered when attempting to report on the crisis. The example of the *Panorama* episode stands out in this respect. Although there had already been significant street-fighting beginning on May 6, the first television program about the events was not scheduled to air until May 10. *Panorama*, a popular weekly news journal, was preparing a documentary which was to be broadcast at 5:30 but the show was pre-empted by censors representing both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Information.[25]

Their timing could not have been worse. Later that night violent confrontations between students and police increased dramatically. Barricades made of paving stones and burning cars

multiplied in the Latin Quarter. Radio, particularly international radio, which had largely been ignored by the French public since World War II, was the only media technically able and willing to report on the events as they occurred from a variety of locations.[26] One observer described the scene like this:

> On the night of May 10 and 11 barricades were built up and down rue Gay Lussac. Transistor radios, at full volume, were positioned on balconies, on the sills of open windows, or on piles of paving stones. It was total stereo. From all corners, everywhere in the streets, we bathed in the sounds of the events; there was total instantaneity between the event and the information, between the information and its reception. Information was integrated with the events as they unfolded.[27]

The next morning, the "total instantaneity" turned into absolute outrage over what was widely perceived to be unnecessary and over-zealous police brutality. The failure of television to cover the events the day before was seen as a betrayal of public trust and provoked an intense desire that "everything be seen and said."[28] By limiting the available information the government had only increased the public's desire to know, generating a widespread demand for what was variously referred to as "raw information," "direct information," and "total information."[29] The French newspaper *Le Monde* was scandalized by "*La Grande Muette*" (the great silence) and reported on it in a special weekend edition.[30]

In 1968 ten million households, or two-thirds of French households, owned a radio while approximately one million owned a television.[31] Thanks to the portable tape recorder, *le Nagra*, on-the-spot radio transmission was possible. In contrast to the newspapers, the illustrated press and television, radio was the only medium capable of reporting on events as they were happening on location. The transistor radio was singled out because it allowed every individual the opportunity to plan his or her own personal strategy during the insurrection in 1968.[32] However, after May 11, international radio stations were also put under pressure to conform to government edicts. We can speculate that newspapers were also coerced by the government at this time, as was the case with the illustrated press, a medium that historically had defined political independence.

Picture magazines date back to the nineteenth century, but developments in photographic printing techniques combined with the liberal opening up of the Weimar Republic, made the 1920s in Germany a particularly rich era. Illustrated magazines on every topic, representing a wide variety of political positions, appeared at this time. *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* (1924-1938) and *Münchner illlustrierte Presse* (1923-1945) were the most famous, but journals sprung up all over, on every imaginable topic from politics to home decorating. French examples include *Détective* (1928), *Photo-Monde* (1932-1934), *Voilà* (1931-1939), *Regards* (1931-1939), and *Match* (1937-1939), just to name a few.[33] An important predecessor to *Paris-Match* which dates from this period was *VU magazine* (1928-1940). Established by Lucien Vogel, the Paris-based *VU* was forced to shut down in 1940 after advertisers withdrew *en masse* because of Vogel's unwavering support for the Popular Front Government and the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War. As it turned out, 1968 would have similar consequences for *Paris-Match*.

The illustrated weeklies returned after the Second World War but without the same diversity, and by the beginning of the sixties their fortunes were in decline all over Europe. France was no exception. In 1956 *Paris-Match* was printing 1.8 million copies a week, but by 1967 its circulation had dropped to 1.4 million.[34] Still, despite the decrease in sales, the journal maintained its position as the primary source for high quality color photographs for the sole reason that no other media was, as yet, consistently providing this important service.[35] Consequently, regardless of its shrinking numbers, *Paris-Match* remained France's largest selling illustrated weekly and literally dominated the field of visual information during the sixties, which put it in direct competition with television.[36]

The newspapers covered the events of 1968 fairly consistently, and new journals and special

editions appeared almost on a daily basis. However, as we have already seen, the nature of the print medium prevented the simultaneous transmission of information, which meant that there was always a delay between the events and the appearance of the newspapers.[37] Also, images of the events were few and far between. Only a handful of photographs appeared in the newspapers, and those that illustrated the front pages of *Le Figaro*, *Paris-Soir*, or *L'Humanité* were in black-and-white. Although *Le Monde* was happy to print half page photographs in the form of advertisements, they seldom printed photographs in conjunction with news stories, and almost never on the front page. This is because their readership had traditionally disapproved of the combination of news and images. Strictly speaking, in 1968 photographs of current events were perceived to be the exclusive domain of the more common, more "popular" illustrated press.

The sixties are notable historically for the sheer density of dramatic news stories and before 1968 *Paris-Match* covered all of them in vivid color: from the atrocities of the Vietnam War to the Civil War in Biafra. In total five issues of *Paris-Match* were devoted to the events in Paris: two in May, two more at the end of June, and one in July; but during the critical four weeks between May 18 and June 15 it was conspicuously unavailable. The two issues of *Paris-Match* published in May that addressed the events appeared on May 11 and May 18. The first acknowledged the events peripherally and included five pages of photographs that displayed the students posing cheerfully behind unconvincing barricades under a predictably overcast Parisian sky (fig.1). However, production time did not allow the weekly to include any images of the violent street-fighting that had taken place the night before (fig. 2).

The disparity between the playful images that appeared in this issue and the still smoldering wrecks of over 160 overturned burnt out cars that littered the Latin Quarter must have been

Fig. 2 The aftermath of the street-fighting on May 10 as it appeared the morning of May 11, 1968. (Photo: Bruno Barbey)

Fig. 3 The interior of the poster workshop at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris, May 1968. (Photo: Bruno Barbey)

alarming. *Paris-Match* made up for this inconsistency a week later in their May 18 edition which included twenty-four pages of photographs of the events. This is important because it means that the first comprehensive images of the extensive property damage caused by the uprising were not available to the public until May 18, a full twelve days after the first barricades were erected. According to the Canadian writer Mavis Gallant, who happened to be in France at the time, this prompted one shopkeeper to dismember an early edition and put the images up in his window because "people must be made to see."[38] Timing is crucial here, especially because of what happened next.

The second half of May witnessed the amplification of the strike on all fronts. Whereas originally the disruption was largely confined to the Latin Quarter and the participants had been almost exclusively students, after May 13 wildcat strikes began to break out at important factories all over France. De Gaulle, who at first shrugged off the general strike, leaving the country for Romania on May 14, cut short his diplomatic trip, returning on May 16 in order to deal with what had since become an increasingly pressing domestic issue.

During this extended intermission a wave of graffiti and handmade posters created in support of the general strike flooded into the Latin Quarter, covering every surface with defiant, poetic, and sometimes humorous and philosophic messages and images. Considering the numbers and timing one could speculate that the graffiti and posters were an attempt to fill the aforementioned vacuum left by the censorship of television and the illustrated press; as one bystander acknowledged: "We found that all the media were in the hands of the establishment. The only way we could reach people was through posters. Some set up a little litho shop, others a little silk screen shop."[39]

To summarize, after the preliminary disturbances and the *Panorama* debacle on May 10,national television went off the air on May 17 and *Paris-Match* disappeared following May 18. On May 15, as institutions and factories all over France were being occupied, artists and others took over the art and professional schools and turned them into makeshift propaganda centers, printing the first of the thousands of posters that would eventually cover the walls of the Latin Quarter. The most famous poster workshops were set up at the *École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts* (fig. 3), and the more technically design-oriented *École nationale des arts décoratifs*. Others included: the *Comité d'action des étudiants en médecine*, the *Faculté des sciences*, the *Institut d'art et d'archéologie*, the *Atelier populaire Marseille* and *Montpellier*.[40]

Lithography was used for the first posters, but the students quickly moved on to serigraphy or silk screen printing because it was faster. Though technique and politics varied, these workshops were nominally non-specialist: propositions for posters were drawn up and then debated by a General Assembly before being collectively printed in runs of up to 3000 for the more popular compositions. Eventually 500,000 posters were produced in this manner, with over 600 different designs. In 1990 Adam Gopnik and Kirk Varnedoe celebrated the phenomenon with these words:

> Graffiti in Asger Jorn's sense would become the grounding for a counter-cultural scheme in May 1968 when students from the École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts and elsewhere waged an intensive campaign of postering and sloganeering on walls throughout Paris. With simply conceived silk-screen images and painted aphorisms such as "Sous les pavés la plage" (Under the paving stones the beach) these students tried to reawaken the power of writing on public walls as something *immediate and instrumental*, rather than immemorial and self-indulgent–to construct on the model of graffiti a renewed public art that with a knowing eye to the power of advertising's catch phrases, would define a binding anti-authoritarian language of the oppressed. For at this moment, it seemed that a true civic art form, politically effective yet consecrated to the expanded reign of play and imagination, had come alive through a new merger between the art studio and the street.[41] (Italics mine)

Michel de Certeau wrote that the events in Paris in 1968 were characterized above all by *la prise de parole*, a phrase which translates imperfectly as the capture of speech or the right to speak in your own voice.[42] In a context where questions regarding the integrity of the media dominated, it is unsurprising that the graffiti and the posters were celebrated for their immediacy and widely vaunted as the most democratic form of political expression.

Jean Baudrillard has suggested that the only authentically revolutionary forms of communication in 1968 were the acts that bypassed the media and the official circuits of the arts. According to Baudrillard the streets were subversive because they in no way claimed objectivity as did the newspapers, radio, and television; the posters and the graffiti were the *sine qua non* of communication at this time exactly because they were un-*mediated*.[43] Kristin Ross likewise argued that the 1968 posters did not aim to represent the events but rather strove to "be at one with – at the same time with, contemporary with – whatever was occurring. Speed, a speedy technique was of the essence," concluding with the intriguing proposition that: "in this moment art achieved presentation, rather than representation."[44]

* * *

The broad censorship of the media combined with De Gaulle's perceived indifference to the escalating national crisis aggravated the situation in the streets. On the evening of May 23 the government prohibited shortwave radio transmissions in preparation for De Gaulle's national address which was scheduled to be delivered on long wave radio the following evening. In the hopes of appeasing his

quickly growing opposition on May 24, he gave a seven-minute speech which aired on both long wave radio and television to announce that a referendum on university reform would take place on June 16. Public reaction to this event is nicely summarized by a graffiti that appeared the next day in the Grand Palais: "It took him three weeks to announce in five minutes what he would do in a month's time, what he hasn't managed to accomplish in ten years."[45] This miscalculation on the part of De Gaulle and his government gave the unions the upper hand in the negotiations that ensued. The Grenelle Accords, which attempted to legislate the strikers back to work with a series of new and improved benefits, were ratified on May 27, but there was still widespread dissatisfaction, and on May 28 the headline of the popular daily *L'Aurore* was: "Total Stagnation."[46]

Though it was widely reported in the press that De Gaulle had decided on a whim to visit his home in *Colombey-les-deux-Eglises*, on May 29 De Gaulle actually flew to Baden Baden to solicit the support of General Massu. In the case of a civil war, he needed to know whether French troops could be relied upon to fight against French citizens.[47] On his return supporters organized a massive march in his honor. In a last ditch effort to reassert his authority, on the night of May 30 De Gaulle made a final announcement, but this time he chose to deliver it via the radio, and *only* the radio. Interestingly short and long wave radio were both back in full working order for the occasion.[48] At that point televising the address was not a risk De Gaulle was willing to take. Not only was he aware that more people in France were listening to the radio than were watching television, delivering a speech over the radio also gave him an opportunity to remind the French public of his historic 1940 radio broadcast from London that launched the French Resistance.[49]

When *Paris-Match* finally returned two weeks later on June 15 it would outsell every previous issue ever printed despite striking vendors.[50] On the same day *Le Monde* ran its one and only story about the four missing editions of *Paris-Match* in a small anonymous article on page 17d under the headline: "Monsieur Prouvost appoints a director to *Paris-Match*." The newspaper attributed the absence of the popular weekly to striking printers, but the real focus of the story was the profound reorganization of the editorial team, which, they noted, coincided with the events.[51] The other alternative explanation for the absence of the journal was provided by a short editorial that appeared in the June 22 edition of *Paris-Match*. Apparently the magazine merely needed extra time in order to make technical improvements that would allow them to print more color photographs. However, that does not change the fact, as Myriam Akoum has noted, that while the first two May issues were clearly pro-student, when *Paris-Match* returned in June its sympathies were explicitly with the French state.[52]

In July, when most of the would-be revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries gave up and left for their summer holidays, the government began setting up the administrative committees necessary for the implementation of the advertising legislation. The decision was made final on January 30, 1969. The advertisements would be only for consumer products deemed a priority by the government. On January 31, 1969 an industrialist from Lyon threw his television off the Eiffel tower to protest.[53] The first advertisement appeared on French television October 1, 1969. It was for the ever popular and ever spreadable Boursin cheese. It is tempting to surmise that advertisements were introduced to French television at this juncture simply because television was becoming an increasingly influential medium and therefore a more cost effective way of reaching the public, but despite its increasing importance, we know that in 1968 there were still more radios in France than televisions, and advertisements were not introduced to French radio until 1984.

When President Charles de Gaulle came to power with the foundation of the Fifth Republic in 1958, he was well aware of the importance of supervising public media because of his experience with radio in England during the Second World War. At that time De Gaulle had been a leading member of the Resistance and was instrumental in the liberation of Paris in 1944. As a result he was highly sensitive to questions regarding the control of the media. His government deemed

television to be the best means for disseminating policy, but also as powerful ammunition against the troublesome newspapers and illustrated press.[54] As early as 1961 he referred to television as "a magnificent instrument which supports the public spirit."[55]

Although on paper the body which represented the industry, the *Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française*, known as the R.T.F., was supposed to be independent, in reality it was subject to daily and direct control from the French government. And despite the establishment of an apparently more independent separate *L'Office de Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française*, known as the O.R.T.F. in 1964, the situation hardly changed.[56] The introduction of advertisements to French television was strategic rather than economic, in that it gave the government more control over television and simultaneously deprived the illustrated press of its principal source of revenue, thereby destroying its political independence and up until then unchallenged domination in the field of visual information; an important issue which became absolutely critical to the fortune of the French government in 1968.

In 1976 former editor of *Paris-Match* Guillaume Hanoteau claimed mysteriously and without explanation that May '68 had had grave consequences for the magazine.[57] Throughout May and June French television and the popular illustrated press were repeatedly prevented from broadcasting, publishing, and distributing images of the street-fighting and barricades, and many of France's best selling illustrated weeklies, such as *Paris-Match*, *Détective*, and *Noir et Blanc* were simply unavailable throughout the four crucial weeks that spanned the months of May and June, from May 14 to June 18. The diligence of the newspapers, particularly *Le Monde*, in condemning the government for its censorship of television at this time has been noted. *Le Monde* was the only media source that attempted to account for the goings and comings, not just of television and radio reports, but of other newspapers as well, both regional and local. And yet *Le Monde* failed to account for the absence of *Paris-Match* until much later, on June 18, when the events were coming to a close, and even ignored the other illustrated weeklies which also went missing during this time.

In 1972, teetering on the brink of bankruptcy, *Paris-Match* was sold and after a brief hiatus returned in its current politically unrecognizable format under new management.[58] Shortly thereafter in 1973, a new daily, *Libération*, was launched in Paris by a group of prominent Maoist *soixante-huitards*. *Libération*, affectionately known as *Libé* to its readers, was conceived as a leftist alternative to *Le Monde*, and one of the ways in which it strove to set itself apart was through its treatment of images. Rather than using photographs as mere illustrations, in the pages of *Libération* photographs were considered valuable in their own right and just as important as the written news stories that accompanied them.[59]

* * *

Questions concerning the means of representation and visual communication were more central to the events of 1968 in France than is generally recognized. It has been observed that in the largest unpublished collection of the May posters there are more posters about the media than on the student movement itself.[60] However, the idea posited by Ross and others that the posters constituted an alternative media, more powerful, exactly because it was a more direct, transparent, or even democratic form of communication is problematic and raises the issue of what Hal Foster once termed "the Expressive Fallacy."[61] By 1968 the idea that expression was mere convention had been current in French intellectual circles for some time, and yet during the uprising artists and others continued to produce works which endorsed this idea. Although many of the participants in the workshops were professionally trained artists and designers whose prior and later work was characterized by more sophisticated methods, they consistently rejected advanced technical means in favor of stencils and silk screens. An important example was the almost complete refusal, in all

the workshops, to use photographs as the basis for silk screen poster designs. Subsequently the idea that the posters achieved presentation rather than representation, that they were authentically spontaneous, or un-*mediated*, becomes more complicated.

The retreat into an anachronistic expressionist mode can be ascribed to the influence of the Dazibao (sometimes referred to as Tatzepao) poster campaigns in China associated with the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). The influence of Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution in France is well known, and the Chinese Dazibao posters from this era are often cited as an important precedent to the May '68 posters, however until now the degree of similarity between the two campaigns has remained unexplored.

In 1966, sections of the Red Guard created and posted thousands of handmade anonymous posters in China in an effort to discredit Mao's political enemies (fig. 4). By this time Mao had lost control of the official Propaganda Department, and in order to reassert his dominance, he needed to put forward a rival apparatus which appeared to be both independent and spontaneous. Handmade posters were an efficient low-tech means of disseminating his message. It has been suggested that the Dazibao were the definitive medium of the Cultural Revolution.[62] In this light the make-shift aesthetic of the posters of May and June in France begin to look like a deliberate and conscious pose rather than evidence of direct or spontaneous expression. Indeed in 1970 Susan Sontag compared the French posters to Cuban posters from the same era, and argued that they were less stately because they "cultivated, for reasons of practical exigency as well as ideological motives, a raw, naïve, improvised, youthful look."[63] Instead of achieving, as Ross has argued, presentation, rather than representation, echoing Sontag I would argue that the posters of 1968 achieved the

Fig. 4 Dazibao from the Chinese Cultural Revolution in Beijing in 1966. (Photo: Solange Brand)

Fig. 5 Asger Jorn, lithograph poster (from a series of four) created in sup¬port of the general strike in 1968. The text reads "Pas de puisance d'imagination sans images puisante" (No powerful imaginations without powerful images)

representation of presentation. In this sense Ross is correct when she states that May was distinctly political rather than artistic or cultural.

Though the Situationists are often credited with instigating the insurrection of May 1968, Maoists were much more influential and much more important for the events. Discussions of 1968 tend to paint Debord as the leading theorist of the image, but the question of the image and its role in postwar society was a widespread concern, not just on the left, but also on the right, in intellectual as well as governmental and religious circles. Contemporary writing on Situationist theory often gives the impression that this body of writing appeared in 1968 as a fully formed monolithic doctrine, which makes it easy to overlook the fact that Situationist ideas were actually more heterogeneous and evolved gradually over the previous decade, starting with a generalized critique of art before moving on to attack the image more specifically. It is the heterogeneity of Situationist theory, regarding precisely this question of the image, which I would like to turn to now.

As is well known, one of the most important slogans in 1968, which was subsequently turned into a very popular graffiti, was: "L'imagination au pouvoir!" which is often translated as "All power to the imagination!" To conclude, I would like to discuss a series of posters which addressed

the relationship between the image and imagination, designed by the Danish artist and former Situationist Asger Jorn (1914–1973).

Jorn is best known as an expressionist painter but his talents and skills were applied to an enormous range of activities. For example, Jorn compiled a thirty-two volume compendium entitled *10,000 Years of Scandinavian Folk Art*, wrote extensively on science, aesthetics, and philosophy and established the Institute for Comparative Vandalism in Silkeborg, Denmark in 1961.[64] He was also a founding member of the Situationist International, though in 1961 he was expelled from the group when the Situationists proclaimed they were against art and artists. Nevertheless, Jorn continued to fund the group through the sale of his much sought after paintings.

In June 1968 Jorn produced a series of posters for sale with all proceeds going to support the student movement. Printed by Peter Bramsen at his rue Vielle du Temple print shop in an edition of 1000 (4 in 1), two of these posters are exceptional because they are the only examples from May and June that explicitly address the question of the image.[65] More interestingly they make clear that Jorn harbored very different ideas than Debord about this issue. Their deliberately misspelled titles read: "Brisez le cadre quietouf limage" (Break the frame that strangles the image) and "Pas de puisance d'imagination sans images puisante" (No powerful imaginations without powerful images) (fig. 5). Asger Jorn's 1968 posters are obscure but they mark an important crossroad in the postwar history of western art and politics.

In a lecture entitled "Depiction, Object, Event" (2006) the Vancouver artist Jeff Wall (b. 1946) described the contemporary art of the global biennials as "institutionalized neo situationism."[66] Whether or not the so-called avant gardes of the last thirty years have succeeded in their stated objective of destroying the boundaries between art and life—through institutional critique, performance and installation art—certainly the Situationist attacks against art and its strange consort "the image" have become standard practice in the contemporary art world and beyond. The post-1968 campaign against the apparent tyranny of the image and art, not to mention museums, largely attributable to the Situationists, has influenced much (but not all) of the art, theory, and politics produced over the last forty years. In this sense Michael Fried's essay "Art & Objecthood," published in *Artforum* in 1967 the same year as *The Society of the Spectacle*, can be seen as a kind of signpost for the road not taken.

While Fried's critique of anti-modern theatricality, on the one hand, and Debord's critique of the spectacle, on the other, seemed to bear some intriguing resemblance, especially in terms of their commitment to the dialectic method, their positions were fundamentally opposed. Debord's revolutionary theory turned on the destruction of categories, specifically the categories of art and life, while Fried's aesthetic philosophy was driven by the conviction that what lay between the categories of the arts was mere theater.[67] Whereas Debord espoused the idea of the realization of art in the name of life, it could be argued that Fried championed the realization of life in the name of art. This is what I think he meant in the famous last lines of his essay: "We are all literalists most or all our lives. Presentness is grace."[68] In a similar vein, Penelope Fitzgerald once made the following observation about the relationship between art and life: "The world will not be right till poetry is pronounced to be life itself, our own lives but shadows and poor imitations."[69]

In 1968 the Maoist paradigm of "cultural revolution" superseded the notion of classical revolution and Situationism began to take hold in Europe and elsewhere as the leading aesthetic paradigm for those artists aspiring to enter the ranks of the avant garde. The effect this turn of events has had on art and artists, not to mention art history and the sphere of politics, has yet to be fully determined.

Victoria H.F. Scott is a PhD Candidate at Binghamton University. This article is material from her dissertation, "Silk Screens and Television Screens: Maoism and the Posters of May 1968". Currently she is a visiting instructor in the Department of Art and Art History at the College of William & Mary.

Notes

I would like to thank Michael Fried for his generous support and encouragement, the organizers of the conference "Recovering Postwar Europe: Art and Architecture 1945–1970" (2004) at the University of Pennsylvania, who gave me the first opportunity to present this material, and Damien Kempf for patiently reading several drafts of this paper.

1. Kristin Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002), 15.

2. Film might also be seen as a logical medium to discuss here but there are good reasons for leaving it out. During May commercial cinemas continued to project films without interruption. Concurrently, a revolutionary group, interested in reassessing the status quo called États Généraux du cinema was formed, and at the two major film schools debates about the role of film and the reformation of the industry took place. During this time the famous cinétracts were also produced. These were not shown regularly, and are in no way equivalent to the more traditional sources of visual information. The cinema influenced by May mostly occurred afterwards, during the seventies. See David Faroult and Gérard Leblanc, *Mai 68 ou le cinéma en suspens* (Paris: Éditions Syllepse, 1998), Margaret Atack's *May 68 in French Fiction and Film: Rethinking Society, Rethinking Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), and Sylvia Harvey, *May '68 and Film Culture* (London, BFI Publishing, 1980).

3. On April 11 1968, an assassination attempt was made on the life of the German student activist Rudi Dutschke. He was shot in the head by a Joseph Bachman who had been inspired by the campaign led by the mass media owned by Axel Springer to "Stop Dutschke Now!"

4. *La grande aventure du petit écran: la télévision française 1935–1975* (Nanterre: Bibliothèque de documentation contemporaine, 1997), 93.

5. Ibid. See also Gisèle Freund, *Photography and Society* (Boston: David R. Godin, 1980), 141. It is often forgotten that Freund's book was first published in French, 1973–and in English, 1980. This makes her work an important precedent to both Sontag's *On Photography* which appeared in 1977 and Barthe's *Camera Lucida* from 1980.

6. See Freund, *Photography*.

7. André-Jean Tudesq, "La radio, les manifestations, le pouvoir in O.R.T.F.," in *Mai 68 à L'O.R.T.F. Comité d'histoire de la télévision* (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1987), 140.

8. Contemporary historian Michelle Zancarini-Fournel has noted the fundamental role images and *parole* played in the student and worker movement of 1968. See Michelle Zancarini-Fournel "1968: Histoire, mémoires et commémorations," *EspacesTemps* 59–61 (1995), 154. Two other articles that have been very important for thinking about this subject have been Jean-Marie Apostelidès, "Du Surréalisme à l'International situationniste: la question de l'image," *MLN* 105 (1990): 127–149, and Jeanne M. Przyblyski's, "Revolution at a Standstill: Photography and the Paris Commune of 1871," *Yale French Studies* 101 *Fragments of Revolution* (2001): 54–78.

9. A short list would include the writings of Sartre, Malraux, Galvano Della Volpe, André Bazin, Christian Metz, Daniel Boorstin, and Julia Kristeva. Eventually I would like to follow this idea as it evolved throughout the seventies, in which case Umberto Eco and Baudrillard would have to be added. Also Walter Benjamin and Georges Lukàc's writings are not irrelevant here, although they were not translated into French until 1964 and 1971 respectively, and even then only in excerpts. Still their names and ideas surface repeatedly in journals from the period. The same could be said about the extensive Marxist aesthetic debates around and within the Frankfurt School about what constituted the correct 'dialectical image.' Again some cautious leeway is justified here due to the phenomenon of European intellectual osmosis. I would have included the Marshall McLuhan's Understanding Media (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964) and The Medium is the Massage (New York: Random House, 1967) also, but they were not translated into French until 1967 and 1968.

10. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1957), *Civilisation de l'Image. Recherches et débats, centre catholiques des intellectuels Français* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1960); Guy Debord, *La Société du Spectacle* (Paris: Buchat-Chastel, 1967).

11. See Michael Stone-Richards, "A Reflexion on the French and American Perception of Guy Debord," in *Parachute* 93 (1999): 56-58; Bradley J. MacDonald, "From the Spectacle to Unitary Urbanism: Reassessing Situationist Theory," *Rethinking Marxism* 8, 2 (Summer 1995): 89-111; and T.J. Clark and Donald Nicholson-Smith, "Why Art Can't Kill the Situationist International," *October* 79 (1997): 23.

12. Donald Nicholson-Smith was briefly part of the English section of the Situationist International. See Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone Books, 1994).

13. A useful discussion of *Arguments* can be found in Mark Poster's *Existential Marxism in Postwar France: from Sartre to Althusser* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 202–213.

14. Barthes, *Mythologies*, 225.

15. Ibid. This subject was part of a network of connected issues that interested Barthes. A short list of articles would include: "Le message photographique," *Communications* 1 (1961) (reprinted in *L'Obvie et l'obtus*, Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 1982); "Civilisation de l'image," *Communications* 1 (1961); "L'information visuelle" *Communications* 1 (1961); "Le message Publicitaire" *Les cahiers de la publicité* No. 7 (July-September 1963); "La Civilisation de l'image" *Communications* 3 (1964); "The Rhetoric of the Image," *Communications* 4 (1964); *Image, Music, Text*, ed. and trans. Stephen Heath, New York: Hill and Wang, 1977); "Image, raison, déraison," Preface to *L'Univers de l'Encyclopédie* (Paris: Librairies Associées, 1964); and "Société, Imagination, Publicité" *Publicità e televisione*, under the title, "Società, immaginazione, publicità", RAI, Rome, 1968. "L'information visuelle" was a report on the first international conference on visual information that took place in Milan in July 1961 which was organized by the *Instituto per lo studio sperimentale di problemi sociali con richerche filmologiche ed alter techniche*. By 1968 this view would change slightly, and Barthes would take a more Situationist position as the R.A.I. essay confirms; however, this essay, which was a commissioned piece, was originally written in French before being translated into Italian in 1968. Eric Marty has informed me that it was never published in French during the author's life time and in fact, first appeared in print in French on the occasion of the first edition of Barthes collected works in 1993.

16. Barthes, "La Civilisation de l'image," *Communications* 3 (1964): 63.

17. Henri Lemaître, "L'image et ses pouvoirs," in *Civilisation de l'image* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, December 1960), 67.

18. Barthes, "La Civilisation de l'image," 63.

19. Ibid.

20. In the ten years leading up to its publication Debord developed what Situationists termed a unified critique against art and architecture which they hoped would result the 'Revolution of Everyday Life.' Carried out through the convergence of the previously distinct categories of art and life, by a process variously referred to as the supersession or realization of art, it would be consummated over the condemnation of the image. In this way art could be used to invigorate everyday life, as opposed to merely offering a futile momentary escape.

21. Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, 12.

22. Books that have been important for establishing a more historical approach to the Situationist International include Anselme Jappe's *Guy Debord*, trans. Donald Nicholas-Smith with foreword by T.J. Clark (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), and Tom McDonough's *Guy Debord and the Situationists: Texts and Documents* (New York: MIT Press, 2002) and "The beautiful language of my century" : reinventing the language of contestation in postwar France, 1945-1968 (New York: MIT Press, 2007).

23. Translations are those of the author. "Lors de la crise de mai-juin 1968, le governement est très tôt sensibilisé au rapport que l'imaginaire sociale peut entretenir avec les informations diffusées par la radio et la télévision." (Archives départementales (désormais AD) des Bouches-du-Rhône, 135 W 42, circulaire du 15 mai 1968, 18 h 15; AD Bouches-du-Rhône, 135 W 350, télégramme16 mai 16 h 40). Cited Marie-Françoise Lévy and Michelle Zancarini-Fournel, "La légende de l'écran noir: L'information à la télévision en mai-juin 1968," *Réseaux* 90 (1998): 97–117.

24. Ibid.

25. Évelyne Sullerot, "Transistors et barricades" Édition spéciale, in *Ce n'est qu'un début*, ed. Philippe Labro (Paris: Éditions

et publications premières, 1968), 124–140.

26. The two main sources of information were both international stations: Europe 1 and Radio Télé Luxembourg (RTL).

27. "Rue Gay-Lussac, la nuit du 10 au 11, des barricades étaient construites. Les transistors, ouverts à fond, étaient posés sur les balcons, sur les rebords des fenêtres ouvertes, sur les pavés entassés. Stéréophonie totale. De toutes parts, dans toute la rue, on baignait dans le son de l'événement : il y avait instantanéité totale entre l'événement et l'information, entre l'information et sa réception. L'information se confondait avec l'événement en train de se faire," cited in Sullerot, "Transistors et barricades": 128–129.

28. "*Tout soit VU et DIT*," cited in Sullerot, "Transistors et barricades," 123.

29. "*Information brute*, " "*information directe*, " and "*information totale*." Ibid., 133.

30. "En cette période de crise nationale ne fut-elle la grande muette?" *Le Monde* May 11 (1968): 97.

31. Marc Martin, "Radio et TV dans la crise de mai 1968," *Espoir* 66 (March 1989): 74. In 1967 there were 167 televisions per 1000 people in France. In the United States the number was closer to 400 per 1000, while in Germany and England there were 231 and 263 per 1000 respectively (*Annuaire Statistique de Unesco* quoted in Moinard, 95).

32. Sullerot, "Transistors et barricades," 127.

33. Some of these journals published the early photomontages of the constructivists and John Heartfield. At this time photographers could not support themselves by art alone. The market for art photographs had not yet established itself, so many doubled as documentary, fashion or commercial photographers. Photographers we now consider artists, such as André Kurtész, Lucien Lorelle, Jean Moral, Lucian Aigner, Maurice Tabard, and later, Man Ray, Robert Capa, Henri Brassaï, Cartier-Bresson, and Otto Wolfgang Schultz (also known as Wols), would all support themselves by working for the illustrated weeklies in Europe in these years. See the catalogue for the exhibition: *A Laboratory of Modernity: Image and Society in the Weimar Republic*, Busch-Reisinger Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 19 November 1998–10 January, 1999.

34. *Le Monde*, December 3/4, 1972; cited by Gisèle Freund in *Photography and Society* (Boston: David R. Godin, 1980), 139.

35. In *On Photography* Susan Sontag claims that *Le Monde* resisted printing photographs until 1970. See Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1973), 22. Certainly *Le Monde* was not enthusiastic about the prospect but they did print photographs before 1970, though rarely on the front page. Similarly images were not part of television news broadcasts until the Gulf War as discussed in Jean Baudrillard's *La Guerre de Golfe n'a pas eu lieu* (Paris: Galilée, 1991).

36. Freund, *Photography and Society*, 139.

37. Though striking vendors occasionally prevented newspapers from being distributed, and no newspapers were available on the 14, due to the general strike on May 13.

38. Mavis Gallant, "The Events in May – A Paris Notebook – II" *The New Yorker*, (September 21, 1968): 107.

39. This was an offhand remark attributed by an incognito New York Times reporter to the painter "Alain." See David Kunzle, *Eat: Posters of Protest: The Posters of Political Satire in the US, 1966–1970* (Santa Barbara: University of California Press, 1971), 71 note 5.

40. Afterwards other poster workshops sprouted up in England, the United States, Prague, Mexico and Argentina.

41. Kirk Varnedoe and Adam Gopnik, "Graffiti," *High & Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture* (New York: MoMA, 1990), 92.

42. Michel de Certeau, *La prise de parole, pour une nouvelle culture* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1968, English trans. Tom Conley, *The Capture of Speech and Other Political Writings*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

43. Jean Baudrillard, *Pour une critique de l'économie politique du signe* (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), 218.

44. Ross, 15.

45. "Il a mis trois semaines pour annoncer en cinq minutes qu'il entreprendre dans un mois ce qu'il n'avait pas réussi à faire en dix ans." See Julien Besançon, ed., *Les Murs ont la Parole: Journal Mural Mai '68* (Paris: Claude Tchou, 1968), 47.

46. Many workers did not return to the factories until June 17.

47. Massu agreed but only on condition that certain members of the Organisation de l'Armée Secrète (O.A.S.) who were in prison for conspiring against the government during the Algerian War, be released, which they were—in mid-July.

48. Sullerot, "Transistors et barricades," 135.

49. Lynn A. Higgins, "Signs of the Times: Fictions of May 1968," in *New Novel, New Wave, New Politics: Fiction and the Representation of History in Postwar France* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 161.

50. Editorial Note, *Paris-Match*, no. 999, June 28 1968.

51. *Le Monde*, June 18 1968, 17d.

52. *L'Image des manifestations dans Paris-Match de 1949-1968*. November 1989, 221 p (dir. A Prost, and D. Tartowsky). Université de Paris I: 87.

53. *La grande aventure du petit écran: la télévision française 1935-1975*, 124.

54. Anthony Smith, "Television as a Public Service Medium," *Television: an International History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1998), 41–42.

55. "Instrument magnifique de soutien de l'esprit public," De Gaulle, *Lettres, notes et carnets, janvier 1961-décembre 1963* (Paris: Plon, 1986), 369; cited in Marie Françoise-Levy "Les Femmes du temps présent à la télévision," in *Les années 68: le temps de la contestation*, edited by Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand, Robert Frank, Marie-Françoise. Lévy, and Michelle Zancarini-Fournel (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 2000), 201.

56. In fact this was the case until the election of Mitterrand in 1981. Ibid, 42–43.

57. Guillaume Hanoteau, *La Fabuleuse Aventure de Paris-Match* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1976), 188.

58. Olivier Gobessier, *Le Rachat de Paris-Match et son renouveau*. Mémoire DESS: Marketing/Paris I ; 1986 : sess. Déc. Bibliothèques Interuniversitaire CUJAS.

59. Richard Vinen, "Shock Tactics," *TLS* 5271, April 9 2004, p. 36. This group included Serge July, among others.

60. Michael Seidman, "Revolutionary Collectivism: Parisian Poster Art in 1968," *Contemporary French Civilisation* 1 (1996): 145–167.

61. Hal Foster, "The Expressive Fallacy," *Art in America* 71 (January 1983): 80–83, 137.

62. Barry M. Broman, "Tatzepao: Medium of Conflict in China's Cultural Revolution," *Journalism Quarterly* 46 (Spring 1969): 100–104.

63. Susan Sontag, "Posters: advertisement, art, political artifact, commodity," Dugald Stermer, *The Art of Revolution: 96 Posters from Cuba* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), xiv.

64. Only part of this project was realized as *Signes Gravés sur les églises de L'Eure et du Calvados* published in Copenhagen in 1963 and in Paris in 1964. See Niels Henriksen, "Asger Jorn and the Photographic Essay on Scandinavian Vandalism," Article 5, *Inferno* Volume VIII, 2003: 2. http://eprints.st-andrews.ac.uk/archive/00000369/01/11_-_Article_5_-_%5B8%5D.pdf

65. Thank you to Axel Heil for providing this information.

66. Jeff Wall, Hermes Lecture, "Depiction, Object, Event," presented on October 29, 2006 in 's-Hertogenbosch, the Netherlands. http://www.hermeslezing.nl/hermeslezing2006_eng.pdf

67. Michael Fried, "Art and Objecthood" in *Art and Objecthood: Essays and Reviews* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 164.

68. Fried, "Art and Objecthood," 168.

69. Cited in Jeremy Adler's article "Novalis and Philo-Sophie," TLS 5481, April 16 2008, 3.