

Bulletin 1981-1983.

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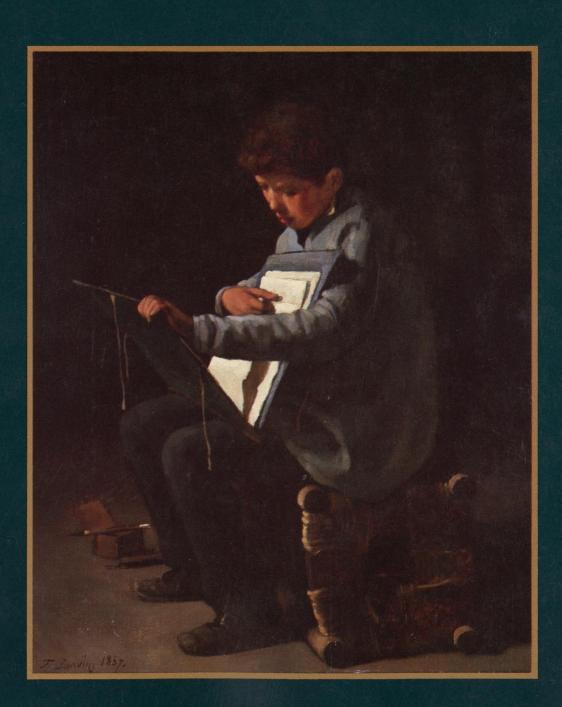
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Elvehjem Museum of Art





Elvehjem Museum of Art Bulletin University of Wisconsin-Madison

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Cover Illustration: Seated Boy with a Portfolio (1857) by François Bonvin. Martha Renk Fund purchase.



As members of the Elvehjem Museum of Art Council, whose lives were stimulated and enriched by our contacts with Katherine Harper Mead and who found new joy and understanding in the arts through her dedicated and skillful leadership, we wish to express our profound grief over her untimely death. It was our great privilege to be associated with this energetic director during these past years and to benefit from her vigorous pursuit of excellence in her chosen field.

From the statement adopted by the Elvehjem Museum of Art Council, October 7, 1983.

The period covered by this Bulletin is the two-and-onehalf-year tenure of Katherine Harper Mead, director of the Elvehjem Museum of Art from January 1981 to June 1983. Katherine Mead died on July 1, 1983, before she could write the "Report of the Director" included in every Elvehjem Bulletin. During her tenure she introduced a "Director's Column" for the Elvehjem Calendar (a bimonthly publication since September of 1981). The following words, though slightly edited, are hers. They were culled from the Calendar "Columns" and were chosen to convey her enthusiasm for and dedication to the Elvehjem and the University of Wisconsin. In them she underscores the Elvehjem's role as a dynamic art museum within the community—a role she enhanced through her own vivacious, outgoing personality and her unbounded energy in pursuing new projects.

> Stephen C. McGough Acting Director

1981: March, April, May

Before I even emerge from the packing boxes I should like to tender my admiration to those movers, benefactors, friends and professionals who, through dedication, energy, generosity and knowledge, have within the short span of ten years created a true museum-a place where art is. I clearly remember the delight I experienced when I first came to Madison last spring for my interviews and walked into the Elvehjem. The view from Paige Court quite took my breath away. And then, as I began to wander through the galleries, I discovered the impressive collection of Greek vases and classical coins, the Renaissance medals, the Indian miniatures, the porcelains, Joseph Vernet's beautiful Sunrise, the quiet charm of Boudin's Etretat, and a stunning selection of European and American prints. This initial encounter, however, turned out to be only the prelude to what promises to be a challenging voyage of exploration and discovery. . . .

How we manage, shape and add to the collections in the coming years will form one of the Elvehjem's highest priorities. . . . We will seek to acquire works relevant to the existing collections and to the educational function of the Elvehjem—works, moreover, whose worth resides in their esthetic quality and historical value rather than in a showy label. Today's market we should view not as an insurmountable hurdle but as a challenge to purchase with flair and discrimination. Purchases, however, can in no way constitute the main support for the Elvehjem's continued growth. Many of the excellent examples and strong areas in the collection have come to the Museum through the interest and generosity of patrons and collectors . . . the good will and generosity the Elvehjem attracts depends on the way it protects and cares for the works entrusted to it, documents and publishes them, displays them, makes them available to students, scholars and the interested public. . . . From the outset the Elvehjem has set high professional standards for itself and it will continue to work towards this goal.

I should also like to see the Elvehjem as an arm of a great university reach out, both internally to the many schools, departments, faculties and students on this campus, and externally to the community of Madison and to the other communities of the state. Already we have begun to plan exhibitions and events of a collaborative nature with other departments on the campus, and we look forward to an ever growing exchange of ideas with the many disciplines of this University. Likewise, we want to make the Elvehjem a vital part of the cultural life of Madison and we welcome the opportunity of cooperating with this city's various civic and public-spirited groups.

1981: June, July, August

The Elvehjem is riding the crest of a Japanese wave thanks to the recent bequest (December 1980) from John Hasbrouck Van Vleck of the Edward Burr Van Vleck Collection of ukiyo-e prints. The pictures of the "floating world" from this collection, on view since April 12, are acting as a magnet. . . . An appreciative throng of FRIENDS came for the opening of the Van Vleck exhibition on April 11, for which the curatorial staff mounted a stunning selection. We are now looking forward to many more coming to enjoy this gift to the Elvehjem on May 15 when, on the occasion of the International Museum Day (also proclaimed Wisconsin Museum Day by Governor Dreyfus), we will be holding open house and offering tours and a varied program of Japanese events. . . .

A distinctly Hellenic theme was heard in April when classical scholars from several countries and from a variety of disciplines—archaeology, art history, and literature came to the Elvehjem to attend the three-day symposium on *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* organized by Professor Warren Moon and the Institute for Research in the Humanities.

I have discovered that Madisonians and other Wisconsinites have an insatiable appetite for lectures. This predilection is one the staff and I plan to encourage so that we may continue to bring the word about art and the Elvehjem to the public. . . .

1981: September, October

The Elvehjem has a new Assistant Director, Stephen C. McGough. Steve, who came to the Elvehjem in July, brings to his demanding job excellent academic credentials and solid museum experience. Already Steve has taken hold of the several areas within his responsibilities, and he has fitted into the working of the Elvehjem so quickly that we all feel as if he had been a part of the staff for a good many months.

As we were greeting Steve, we were about to bid a regretful farewell to our FRIENDS Coordinator, Margie Elwood. On the staff since September 1978, Margie has left us to head development at Chicago's Lincoln Park Zoological Society. Her creative ideas and unquenchable energy have brought many a splendid reception and innovative program for the Elvehjem. Throughout the coming year her legacy to the Museum will be felt in the Sunday Afternoon Live concert series. . . . Wisconsin Public Radio which broadcasts these events regularly will also broadcast, during intermission time, a talk on the week's featured work of art. Our Curator of Education, Anne Lambert, has been plotting yet bigger and better afternoons. To this end she has marshalled an army of experts to give gallery talks following the concerts on two Sundays out of four. . . .



Professors Warren Moon, Nicholas Hammond (Cambridge University), and John Boardman (Oxford University) conversing during the symposium on Ancient Greek Art and Iconography.



Collector Arthur Frank and Professor Karl Schefold (Basel Antikenmuseum) at the reception given for the symposium on Ancient Greek Art and Iconography.

1981: November, December

The Elvehjem now has its full complement of staff. Sharon (Sherry) Fitzmorris joined the Elvehjem staff as Coordinator of Membership and Development in September. . . . Experienced, articulate, and attractive, Sherry is well qualified to spearhead the Elvehjem's forthcoming membership campaign. As art and music meet at the Elvehjem, so will art and natural history in the exhibition planned for the Christmas season. . . . When I learned that the Rare Book Department of the Memorial Library not only had the complete elephant folio of Audubon's *The Birds of America* but also had one of the finest collections of illustrated books on ornithology, an exhibition was born in my mind. There it would have remained were it not for Robert McCabe, Professor of Wildlife Ecology, University of Wisconsin-Madison, who as co-organizer of the exhibition and author of its accompanying catalogue, has brought his extensive knowledge to the project. . . .

1982: January, February

When it comes to art, we at the Elvehjem believe you can't start them too early. On almost any day of the week, one is likely to find a fleet of yellow school buses pulled up before the entrance to the Museum. Their youthful passengers are peering into the mysterious interior of the Roman sarcophagus, moving on to cluster around the Greek vases, listening to (and interrupting) their Docent as she conjures before their very eyes the gods and heroes who once walked the earth. . . .

An individual Docent has under her particular charge a group of no more than fifteen students. There are no canned tours, and for every group each Docent creates a fresh tour. In keeping with the Elvehjem's goals, these tours are entirely free and the Docents' services are available to all schools in the state.

1982: March, April

1981 proved to be an auspicious year for the Elvehjem's collections . . . concluding in December on a glowing note with the donation of the Alexander and Henrietta Hollaender Collection of CoBrA art; the impressive gift of *Orpheus Greeting the Dawn* by Camille Corot; as well as a splendid array of other works that significantly enriched important areas in the collection: Greek vases, Indian miniatures, Georgian silver, European medals, American prints and drawings, and Chinese ceramics.



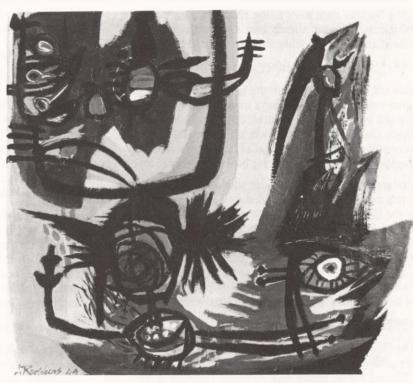
Docent Karen Sack urges first graders from Randall Elementary school to look closely at one of the two eighteenth-century gilded wood tables in Gallery V.

This rich harvest of art has given the Elvehjem cause to rejoice. The exhibitions, educational programs, and the many art-related activities the museum generates—all play a vital role in bringing art to the students and public. But an exhibition is, by definition, temporary. On the other hand, the permanent collection is the museum's continuing resource and legacy that the museum, acting as its steward, hands down to each new generation. . . .



Orpheus Greeting the Dawn (1865) by Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot. Gift in memory of Earl William and Eugenia Brandt Quirk, Class of 1910, by their children.

Art comes to the Elvehjem in two ways: through gifts or bequests, and through purchase. Both gifts in kind and monetary donations are entirely the product of private benefactions. The preponderance of the works in the Elvehjem's collections has been donated—much of it, but not all, by alumni. Although numerically smaller, acquisitions by purchase also play a decisive role in the strengthening and deepening of the collections. Income from endowments administered by the University of Wisconsin Foundation, contributions, grants from foundations and special funds, membership dues from the FRIENDS and Associates, and fund-raising events, provide the monies for acquisitions.



Vogelman (1949) by Anton Rooskens. Gift of Alexander and Henrietta W. Hollaender.

1982: May, June

For us at the Elvehjem, it is a pleasure to be able to exhibit recent works by the artists of this campus. The exhibition by the University of Wisconsin-Madison Art faculty this year is buoyant, richly varied, filled with high talent, and thoroughly enjoyable. There is no doubt, as we witness the enthusiastic throngs of students and visitors who come to view the exhibition, that it fills a deeply felt need on the part of the community.

1982: July, August

The permanent collection, with its new acquisitions of the year spills over much of the Museum, filling many of the galleries occupied this spring by the Art Faculty exhibition. The twentieth-century collection, now enriched with the 1981 gift of CoBrA works from the Hollaender Collection, has reclaimed the top floor. Bringing yet another dimension to the Elvehjem's display of modern and contemporary art is the loan of works from the Robert B. Mayer Memorial Loan Collection. . . .

Featured through July is the exhibition of John Sloan and the special loan of a group of paintings by Homer Boss. The Edvard Munch exhibition planned for late August will bring Norway once more to the Elvehjem. This major exhibition, however, already heralds the coming of the fall season and its heady schedule.

1982: September, October

This fall, the Elvehjem, with the help of its League and other volunteers, is launching a membership campaign. . . . We will be mailing letters, distributing brochures and flyers. Our League members will also be organizing a phonothon and hosting a series of Wednesday morning membership coffees that feature behind-the-scenes tours. . . .

Our membership drive coincides with what promises to be a rich program of art this fall. Four exhibitions are opening at the Elvehjem between late August and early October— Edvard Munch: Expressionist Paintings, 1900–1940; Prairie School Architecture; Spirit and Ritual: Ancient Chinese Bronzes from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse; and Christo: Collection on Loan from the Rothschild Bank, A.G., Zurich. Each one of these will be accompanied by a cluster of lectures, tours, and related educational events. . . .

1982: November, December

The Elvehjem's educational programs always depend on the collaboration of faculty, the Museum's staff, and an informed public. Sandy Kita, Assistant Professor in the Department of Art History, organized the highly successful symposium held on the occasion of the opening of *Spirit* and Ritual: Ancient Chinese Bronzes from the Collection of *Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse.* Professors Naess, Vowles, Buenger, Beetem and Menocal responded willingly to our calls for lectures, as did Arthur Frank, collector and friend of the Elvehjem, Gordon Orr, architect on campus, and Earl Morse, collector.

1983: January, February

Between August 25 and December 11, the Elvehjem opened five major exhibitions. In view of the museum's very limited staff, a schedule such as this one could only have been met by a totally dedicated and professional cadre. Particular congratulations are due, moreover, to Carlton Overland for organizing and bringing to Madison one of the most appreciated and successful exhibitions the Elvehjem has mounted, Edvard Munch: Expressionist Paintings, 1900–1940. . . .

1983: March, April

In the course of this year the staff and I have been meeting once a month on a Wednesday morning with FRIENDS and non-FRIENDS alike, with any individual or group interested in learning about what the Elvehjem is, has and does. These behind-the-scene tours, which we hoped would prove informative to our visitors, have turned out to be an eye-opener for ourselves. We have been learning a lot about what our public does not know about the Elvehjem.

Many of our Wednesday morning visitors, for example, were surprised to learn that one of the Elvehjem's richest resources lies in its print collection. Over 6,000 prints, 2,800 of which are in the Van Vleck Collection of Japanese prints, are housed in quarters that are the envy of many museum professionals visiting the Elvehjem: The Oscar F. and Louise Greiner Mayer Print Center. . . .

1983: May, June

It takes people to make things happen. As most of our FRIENDS already know, Joel Skornicka—alumnus of the University, Assistant Vice-Chancellor (1977) and Assistant Chancellor of the University (1977–79), mayor of Madison (1979–83) joined the University of Wisconsin Foundation as Vice-President for Administration and as Director of Development for the Elvehjem, effective April the 29th. The staff and I have warmly welcomed Joel Skornicka to the Elvehjem and wish to take the opportunity in this *Calendar* to introduce him to the FRIENDS.

Now, as in the past, the Elvehjem depends on private support. Without it there would be *no* Elvehjem. It was private support from alumni, friends of the University, businesses, corporations, and foundations that built the Museum, and in similar fashion it has been private support that has endowed the Elvehjem with its collections, certainly the most valuable resource the Museum can offer the students and public it serves.

W hile the Museum experienced something of a new beginning with the beginning with the assumption of the directorship by Katherine Mead in January of 1981, the curatorial staff was naturally occupied in carrying out projects which had their origins in the preceding months and years. The foremost of our preoccupations at that time was continuing to cope with the Van Vleck Collection of Japanese Prints which had descended upon us quite unexpectedly in the last month of 1980. Thus, the curatorial staff spent the early months of the new year virtually sequestered in a room with the approximately 2800 woodblock prints, inventorying, cross-indexing and making a selection of works to be included in a "preview exhibition" of the collection scheduled for April. By early spring, after every print had spent a brief "decontamination" period in the thymol chamber, the collection was moved into the Mayer Print Center, where it found temporary storage filed in the same oak cabinets it had occupied for the previous fifty years. Meanwhile the task of rematting the prints into 100% acid-free ragboard was begun, starting with the prints selected for the April exhibition.

Of course, other activities were also proceeding at a quickening pace. In February, the staff was faced with the challenge of installing Generations in Clay, a large exhibition of Pueblo pottery which called for certain innovative display techniques. In March, an exhibition of painting and watercolors by the California-based artist, Joseph Raffael, was presented in conjunction with his appearance on the campus as a Visiting Artist, sponsored by the Department of Art. In April, Arne Eggum, Chief Curator of the Munch Museum in Oslo, brought Inheritance (1898) by Edvard Munch to the Museum, the third painting in the rotating-loan program from the Munch Museum which was funded through the generosity of the Brittingham Fund, Incorporated. Mr. Eggum also delivered a public lecture on "Edvard Munch and the Fauves."

By the time the Van Vleck Collection "Preview" exhibition opened in April, another exhibition project was in advanced organizational stages. With Katherine Mead's assumption of administrative duties, I was able to resume teaching the Museum Training and Connoisseurship course (Art History 600-601) in the spring semester after a hiatus of a year and a half. Although the course was offered for one semester rather than two, the class was assigned the task of organizing an exhibition of works by artists who had been affiliated with the CoBrA movement of the late 1940s. The exhibition, comprised of thirty-five paintings, drawings, prints and sculptures, lent by Dr. and Mrs. Alexander Hollaender, was opened at a private dinner party for the Bascom Hill Society on June 30. The tremendous effort which the class put into organizing this exhibition and its accompanying catalogue paid handsome dividends for, by year's end, the Hollaenders had donated their CoBrA collection to the Museum.

During the summer months, three exhibitions were organized in collaboration with other University units. Traditional African Art: A Female Focus, co-sponsored by the African Studies Program, was a feature of the African Heritage Week celebration. The guest curator for that exhibition was Professor Freida High-Wasikhongo of the Department of Afro-American Studies. A selection of Tibetan Thankas and artifacts was exhibited in the Whyte Lounge to help celebrate a visit to Madison by the Dalai Lama in July. In August and September, the Museum exhibited Russian Imperial and Soviet painting and porcelains drawn from the Elvehjem's Joseph E. Davies Collection of paintings and porcelains and augmented by loans from two private collections. Professors Alfred Senn and Michael Petrovich from the Department of History and Professor Lydia Kalaida from the Department of Slavic Languages assisted in the selection of objects for the exhibition and delivered gallery lectures to the public.

Also during the summer of 1981, special wall-mounted display cases were installed in the first-floor lobby area. These cases were a gift from the Class of 1930, and have enabled the staff since then to mount small thematic exhibitions of prints which relate to the Art History classes being taught in the adjacent auditoria.

Cooperation and collaboration with other campus departments became one of the hallmarks of Katherine Mead's administration and, even if another department did not instigate a particular exhibition, she was quick to involve scholars from various disciplines in our exhibition programming, primarily through the format of Sunday afternoon gallery lectures devoted to the current exhibition(s). By the fall of 1981 these gallery talks had become a regular feature of our educational services, as previously noted in the cases of Professors Senn, Petrovich and Kalaida.

At the beginning of the fall semester, the Museum and the Department of Art collaborated in presenting an exhibition of works by the California artist Craig Kauffman, who appeared on campus as a Visiting Artist. At the same time, another joint project with the Art Department was brewing, the fourth in two years. In April and May of 1982, the Museum mounted the third quadrenniel Department of Art Faculty Exhibition.

Before the latter event took place, however, three other exhibition-related events occurred. In October, the curatorial staff installed From the Far West: Carpets and Textiles of Morocco which opened on October 18. Among other concerns, this exhibition posed the problem of hanging objects which were longer than our gallery walls were high. The solution was, to suspend carpets of up to twenty feet in length directly from the skylights. As a result an appropriately bazaar-like ambience was created affording textile mavens the opportunity of examining both sides of the carpets. This was a major exhibition, having been borrowed from various Moroccan museums and sponsored by the government of that Country, and the Elvehjem was one of only three American institutions to host it, the others being the Textile Museum in Washington D.C. (the organizer of the exhibition) and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

While the rest of the curatorial staff was preoccupied with Moroccan rugs, Katherine Mead was engaged in her own exhibition project, characteristically collaborative in nature. She and Dr. Robert McCabe of the Department of Wildlife Ecology jointly organized the exhibition *The Bird in Natural History: Before, During and After Audubon,* which was drawn largely from the collections of the Rare Book Department of the Memorial Library. Opening on December 6, this exhibition attracted many first-time visitors to the Museum and, together with the Moroccan show, provided the galleries with a most colorful and festive holiday ambience.

Katherine Mead's organizational efforts on The Bird in Natural History were reaching fruition when I embarked on a project which was to be my overriding concern for the remaining year-and-a-half covered by this report. For some three years, sporadic discussions had taken place between the Elvehjem Museum, the Munch Museum and Sons of Norway representatives concerning a possible Norwegian exhibition to coincide with the International Convention of the Sons of Norway scheduled to be held in Madison in late August of 1982. As of December of 1981, a mere nine months before the convention was to take place, no concrete proposal had been agreed upon, so when given the opportunity of escorting the Munch painting Inheritance back to Oslo I personally negotiated with museum and government officials. During those meetings we established a thematic focus, set up a checklist of



Carpets from Morocco were dramatically hung to highlight diversity and contrast.

paintings, and secured tentative sponsorship of the exhibition by the Royal Norwegian Foreign Ministry. The latter was predicated on my success in scheduling the exhibition at another museum which was participating in SCANDINAVIA TODAY, a pan-Scandinavian cultural celebration to take place throughout America in 1982-83. After my return from Oslo, I spent the next weeks and months constructing a budget, writing a prospectus, contacting other museums about booking the show, ironing out scheduling conflicts and, finally on April first, submitting an application for Federal Indemnification, a governmental insurance-underwriting program for international exhibitions, upon which the financial feasibility of the project rested. By that time, however, two other important steps had been taken, namely securing commitments from three other museums to participate in the tour of the exhibition (the Minnesota Museum of Art in St. Paul, the Newport Harbor Art Museum in Newport Beach, California and the Seattle Art Museum in Seattle, Washington), which in turn gained the sponsorship of the Norwegian Foreign Ministry for the exhibition as its national contribution to SCANDINAVIA TODAY.



Students in the Museum Training and Connoisseurship class install the exhibition *Hiroshige: 100 Famous Views of Edo.*

In mid-January, while I was still preoccupied with the Scandinavian project, Roger Keyes, a leading American scholar on Japanese prints, spent two weeks at the Museum as a consultant on the Van Vleck Collection. Once again, as we had done a year previously, the staff went through the entire collection of 2800 prints, but this time with the keen eye and deep historical insight of Mr. Keyes to lend a far greater understanding of the Collection, its strengths, its weaknesses and its peculiarities. One tangible result of this survey was the reorganization of the collection from a storage and record-keeping standpoint, another result, stemming from the inspiration which Mr. Keyes imparted during his stay, was the decision to use a small portion of the prints as the focus of the exhibition which the Museum Training and Connoisseurship class would organize during the spring semester. The previous fall this course had once again become a full two-semester offering taught by me and Assistant Director Stephen McGough, who had joined the staff the previous summer. For three months, the eight students in the class immersed themselves in Japanese history and print connoisseurship and produced the exhibition and catalogue Hiroshige: 100 Famous Views of Edo.

The other major exhibition held during that Spring of 1982, was the third edition of *The Department of Art Faculty Exhibition*, an "event" which has become a tradition in establishing goodwill, campus and community involvement, as well as a high quality exhibition.

In June, the Munch project was again a top priority when we received notification that the Federal indemnity had been granted. I immediately flew to Oslo to firm up catalogue details and deadlines, shipping schedules and various other matters. The rest of the summer was largely devoted to producing the catalogue and poster for the exhibition, as well as overseeing that shipping and customs arrangements were in order. Finally, on August 25, 1982, the exhibition *Edvard Munch: Expressionist Paintings*, 1900-1940 was unveiled before the Sons of Norway International Convention. During its ten-week run at the Museum, it proved to be the second most popular exhibition (on the basis of attendance figures) in the



A partial view of the installation Edvard Munch: Expressionist Paintings, 1900-1940.

Museum's history, drawing over 30,000 visitors. Subsequently, *Edvard Munch: Expressionist Paintings* broke attendance records for temporary exhibitions at the Minnesota Museum of Art and the Newport Harbor Art Museum. Because we were the American organizing institution, Lisa Calden, the registrar at the Elvehem, and I were responsible for overseeing each shipment between the participating museums, a task which spordically occupied us during the remainder of this reporting year. Before leaving this topic, I wish to once again express my appreciation to Alf Bøe and Arne Eggum of the Munch Museum, Dag Mork-Ulnes of the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, my colleagues at the other exhibiting institutions, and especially to Lisa Calden and Timothy Quigley for their assistance in carrying out this project. Whatever my personal perspective, the Edvard Munch show shared top billing during the fall of 1982 with Christo, a contemporary artist whose "wrappings" have intrigued the world. In an exhibition which at once reviewed Christo's past achievements and previewed his latest project, the "Surrounded Islands, Project for Biscayne Bay" visitors were treated to an assemblage of photomurals, lithographs, drawings and collages, recounting Christo's previous projects, and a large three-dimensional model of his "Surrounded Islands" project. Also during that fall, the Museum presented *Spirit and Ritual: Chinese Bronzes from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse*, a private holding that had previously been exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The winter schedule featured



Christo explaining his "Surrounded Islands" project to visitors at the opening of the exhibition of his works.

Russian Stage Design: Scenic Innovation, 1900-1930, something of a sleeper in terms of actual public response.

The spring brought with it an equally active exhibition schedule, as recorded elsewhere in this *Bulletin*. However, in hindsight, the events which best characterize Katherine Mead's administration were those collaborative endeavors underscored throughout this report. During the spring, we consulted regularly with Professor Walter Hamady's seminar on an exhibition of contemporary books, yet another example of our fruitful relationship with the Department of Art, which resulted in the exhibition *Breaking the Bindings, American Book Art Now*, opening on May the sixth. Simultaneously, the third class of the Museum Training and Connoisseurship course, taught again by Stephen McGough and myself, opened its class project *The Graphic Image: German Expressionist Prints.* This had been preceded by a crash course on German Expressionism and a week-end-long visit with the lenders during the second semester. It epitomizes another of Katherine Mead's characteristics, her ability to engage collectors in the process of museumship.

The year ended fittingly but tragically. The last week in June, I escorted the final shipment of the Edvard Munch exhibition back to Oslo, marking the end of a one-and-a-half-year endeavor. The day I returned to work at the Museum, Katherine Mead was killed in an automobile accident. Rest in peace.

Carlton Overland

mong the recent acquisitions of the Elvehjem Museum of Art is a small panel of a Seated Boy with a Portfolio (Fig. 1) by François Bonvin.¹ Signed and dated 1857, this work is a typical example of the artist's preoccupation with children first found in some of his earliest studies from the late 1840s and continued throughout the better part of his career.² Although the painting is previously unrecorded in the literature on the artist this should not dampen enthusiasm. In fact, the theme of a young apprentice, while seldom employed by Bonvin, was well represented in the iconography of other Realist painters. Thus, in order to understand Bonvin's interest in this theme it is essential to reconstruct Bonvin's life at the moment the panel was completed and then to place the work within the broader scope of the Realist movement. As a result the social implications of the theme and the reasons for Bonvin's selection of the image will emerge.

Bonvin's environment in the mid 1850s

During the mid 1850s Bonvin, while enjoying a modest reputation as a painter of genre scenes and still-lifes, lived a difficult existence trying to eke out a career from the few commissions he received or sales that he was fortunate enough to make. He was beset by family difficulties, bothered by anxieties of all types, and was seldom free from the difficulty of having to earn his living as best he could. Although a few of his paintings did sell, Bonvin seldom enjoyed an extensive or expansive reputation; he relied on friends and associates to mention his work to others and to purchase an occasional example. In truth, Bonvin lived the life of a diligent worker, constructing his painted images painstakingly from observed reality and studying his still-life objects with exactitude. Since he had received a third-class medal at the famed Realist Salon of 1850/51 Bonvin was seen as a respected member of the artistic community who received some financial support from the leaders of the Second Empire.³ But Bonvin's humble genre scenes, painted on an intimate scale, seldom brought him a wealthy client who wanted a large, grandiose composition. His retiring personality led him to

seek a quiet existence far from the limelight that haunted several of his friends, among them Gustave Courbet, and free from the more radical aspects of Realist doctrine. Despite his reclusiveness Bonvin was seen, by some, as an important member of the Realist movement. Mentioned by the art critic Champfleury as an advocate of humble truths Bonvin, more so than others, demonstrated a willingness to learn from the old masters. He utilized the works of Le Nain, Terborch, Rembrandt and Chardin as models of earlier modes of realism and as guides to his own view of the environment becoming a reincarnation of these earlier painters to many critics.

During the 1850s Bonvin also found time to take in young students. In 1851 a youth named Emile Renard selected Bonvin as his mentor;⁴ he was followed by two others in 1853.⁵ By 1856, Bonvin had enlisted another youth, Narcisse Mazier, and gave him the necessary references to copy the old masters in the Louvre.⁶ While it is not possible to know what these young men/boys actually did with the painter, or whether Bonvin worked closely with them in his studio, it is likely that they may have served as *rapins* who cleaned up after the master, helped prepare the oil paints in the morning, and occasionally posed. In return, Bonvin encouraged their artistic education by showing them his work or by urging them to study the old masters for guidance.

Although the specific age of the youths who studied with Bonvin is often unrecorded, the fact that the painter had an apprentice with whom he could share his ideas and his studio is a welcome thought. It tempers the belief that Bonvin lived in such painful penury that he often had to change his lodgings because he could not pay the rent. He also may have used these students as models, posing them for his better-known genre scenes of the period and, most likely, immortalizing their presence in small paintings such as his *Seated Boy with a Portfolio*.

Since the youth in the painting is wearing a blue working smock, similar to those worn by students in an *atelier*, and he is examining a series of studies in the portfolio, it suggests that Bonvin has captured a young assistant in a

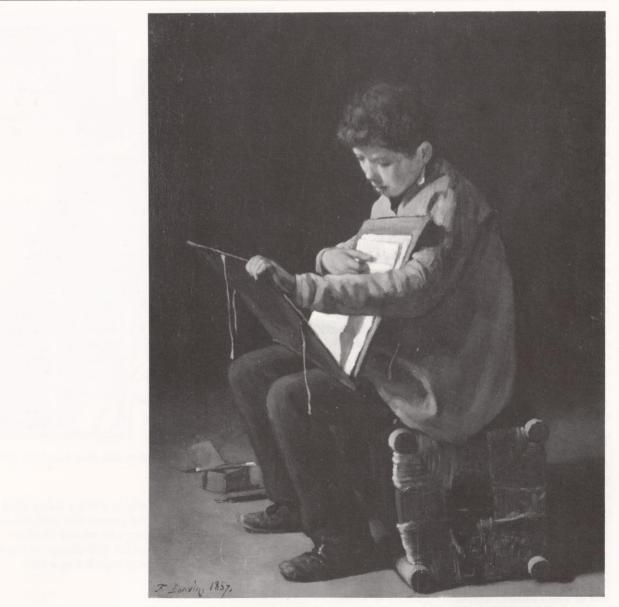


Fig. 1 François Bonvin, Seated Boy with a Portfolio, 1857, oil on panel, 33 x 26.9 cm., Martha Renk Fund purchase.

moment of thoughtful contemplation. The portfolio is most likely Bonvin's which the young boy, as willfull apprentice, is absorbing during a period when the artist was either not present or had left the child alone. By situating himself on an overturned bench, perhaps to provide support for the portfolio on his short legs, the child remains entranced. The brushes and chalksticks at the rear symbolically underscore the creative spirit. It is a touching, intimate moment that Bonvin has recorded.

Bonvin's painterly means also reinforce the activity. The child is alone, observed in dramatic illumination, and placed within a non-descript environment that forces attention on the act of looking-on the response to enjoying works of art. Thus, working with the simplest of compositions Bonvin has created a study that meant much to him personally. On the one hand he has shown a mundane studio moment when a young child has responded to what was near him; on another level the painter has focused on the importance of basing artistic response on the intuitive response of the eye. Since Bonvin, and the other Realists, continually relied on looking to create their compositions, and they were often criticized for having little intellectual content because of this process, this simple activity takes on added dimensions. On still another level, the painting relates to the activities of other artists of the time and their similar interest in childhood responses to art within the environment of the studio.

The Realist Tradition

Although Gustave Courbet's famous painting of *The Studio: A Real Allegory* is situated within the painter's atelier, it has only recently been noted that the young child on the floor, busily drawing amidst the panoply of visitors and models, is responding to the creative impulse. Since this painting was exhibited in 1855, at the moment when Paris was flooded with visitors to the *Universelle Exposition*, it signifies that there was considerable interest in the activities of young children and in particular the way in which children amused themselves.⁷ In a sense,



Fig. 2 François Bonvin, *Boy Sketching*, 1856, black chalk, 28.9 x 19.9 cm., Stadtmuseum, Frankfurt.

Courbet symbolized one way in which a young child learned by doing; it was this process that intrigued other members of the Realist camp who studied Courbet's painting and who were familiar with changes in the way in which children were being regarded by society.



Fig. 3 Pierre-Edouard Frère, Boy in a Studio, c. 1850s, oil on canvas, 30.5 x 23.5 cm., Private Collection.

Other painters of the Second Empire were equally adept at characterizing the new found fascination. Many artists became experts in this area as they found a ready market for images of children reading, preparing food, completing household chores, and playing games.⁸ In fact, painters demonstrated that children had their own set of responses and interests that were often quite different from those of adults. However, one theme that was not easy to isolate and characterize, and one that exuded an air of innocence, was that of youngsters trying to educate themselves in the visual arts. This was a realm that became of special interest to members of the Realist tradition.

Painters recalled ways in which they had been trained and tried to record processes from their own times. There were some members of the Realist camp who advocated working directly from nature; there were also many others who recognized that a child had to begin his education slowly by learning to look and then by copying what he saw. No one, therefore, advocated that a young child be asked to train without an appreciation of methods that had stood the test of time. Accordingly, even when Bonvin depicted a young child actively creating within the studio he did so by showing the youth copying a drawing that had been tacked onto the wall (Fig. 2). In a sense Bonvin revealed that the young apprentice learned by rote. It was too soon, too early for a child to be permitted to work directly from the model.

When other Realists focused on young children in the studio they did so with a similar type of programmatic response. Pierre-Edouard Frère, best known for his excessively sentimental studies of children completed during the Second Empire, managed to create some images with a haunting atmosphere. His small panel of a young boy leafing through a small sketchbook in an artist's studio (Fig. 3) creates the same atmosphere as Bonvin's Seated Boy with a Portfolio. Whether the youth is an apprentice, as in Bonvin's image, or only a casual visitor to the studio cannot be fully ascertained.9 Yet, what is similar is that both youths share a fascination with the artistic props found in the creative environment. In Frère's work there are discarded canvases, with their images to the wall, canvases without stretchers and the small sketchbook to hold the attention of a youth. In both paintings it is the entire world of art, and the pleasure of sheer looking, that hold a mysterious fascination. There is nothing playful about both these youths' examination of art objects; they have suddenly become older, wiser and more curious by looking at art. Both painters have tried to demonstrate that art can transform the viewer by providing a transcendent experience that goes beyond age.

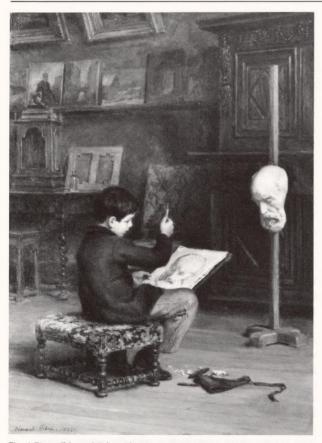


Fig. 4 Pierre-Edouard Frère, *The Young Artist*, 1879, oil on panel, 33 x 24.1 cm., Private Collection.

Later in his career, when Frère focused on a young child drawing from a plaster cast attached to a studio post (Fig. 4) he once again evoked Bonvin's earlier images for guidance. Frère's youth is seriously copying the plaster,

measuring the dimensions with his fingers, in order to capture a likeness on paper. While the setting is more elaborate than Bonvin's studio, and the child in Frère's late panel might merely be indulging a pleasant whim, Frère's youth is still very much enjoying what he is doing. In fact, the sense of enthusiasm and mystery contained in all of these paintings and drawings, three of them completed close in time, suggests that there was something much more compelling occurring than merely several artists' fascination with children. What these canvases suggest is that there has been a major transformation in society that had allowed painters to create images with these themes in this particular format. It is to this development we must turn in order to place these compositions, and specifically Bonvin's Seated Boy with a Portfolio, within a broader societal context.

The new interest in children

The Realists recognized that children were the hope of the future; they reflected, as well, on the naiveté of childhood channeling the aura of innocence in such a way as to achieve desired artistic effects.¹⁰ Beyond this theoretical attitude the Realists were also cognizant of an increased interest in education. They reflected that concern by frequently depicting children reading books or writing at school desks. During the Second Empire the liberalization of education increased as children were forced to attend school; the exclusiveness of privilege was weakened as the democratization of the masses became a tangible goal.¹¹ For the Realists the family also became an important unit that revealed that everyone was working for the betterment of the country and that fundamental codes of ethics were being upheld. The child, as one aspect of the family, helped expand areas of legitimate social concern. However, there still remained an area within the development of the family, and the education of children, that proved difficult to assess and define. While many were convinced that education would raise the level of a family, few were in agreement how the subtler aspects of life, a concern with the arts, could be similarly elevated. In the realm of "taste" there was considerable reluctance to mass education.

Thus, exclusiveness still remained a partially essential feature in the appreciation of art at the time of the climax of some Realist tendencies in 1848. There seems to have been no widespread reform program, outside of the contest for the image of the Republic or the opening of the national museums to everyone, that was in existence to match the spread of compulsory education. The attitude of the schools toward the visual arts was also complicated. Until 1853 the schools ignored the question of art education.¹² Then, as secondary education was gradually transformed, art was introduced into the curriculum under the influence of the philosopher Ravaisson.¹³ But the aim of early art education was not to encourage spontaneity in children as much as it was to "train the eye." In this way taste was elevated by encouraging young children to find the ideal in the ordinary.14

Children began to draw parts of the human face, to study plaster casts, and then to work directly from prints and photographs to increase their proficiency. As suggested by Frère in his late paintings, copying was little more than the primary method, but, whatever the method utilized for training a child's eye and hand, it was strongly encouraged. While this process of art education dominated the nineteenth century, and copying became a well recognized procedure, individual initiative was not always encouraged. Although methods were rigid, at the beginning of these changes for the masses—during the mid 1850s—any interest in art was looked upon as a good omen. Children who studied art, especially within the confines of the sacred studio, were thought to increase their awareness in life by working in the visual arts.

With the new-found interest in teaching art to children gradually growing, and these changes affecting the masses, we may be impressed by the number of art works showing young children looking at art objects or trying actively to create. Both Bonvin and Frère were part of this larger development, as noted, but their commitment to record creativity implied a degree of social awareness that had previously not been found in Realist images of common genre themes. Thus, Bonvin's young boy which appeared at first glance to be solely derived from Bonvin's own life and activity takes on implied social connotations and metaphorical allusions when placed in the context of the 1850s. While a young child could work for a painter, the fact that Bonvin has shown his youth as deeply interested must be seen as a sign of the revolutionary change affecting the visual arts from the standpoint of subject matter.¹⁵

The young boy is not idly examining images; he is perceptively trying to train his eye by looking at works of art. The fact that the objects are in a portfolio—Bonvin's own—implies a degree of selectivity and choice. The fact that the youth is alone in the studio while undertaking this activity demonstrates that he is consciously trying to improve his understanding in order to acquire a sense of taste. Without overstressing points, both Bonvin and Frère were demonstrating that art can be cultivated; through continual application remarkable strides could be accomplished that would make the artistic experience valuable.

Since the young boy is learning about art in the quiet of the studio Bonvin has proceeded to remove the mystery surrounding artistic activity. The studio has been penetrated, the study of personal art work acknowledged, and artistic qualities broadened. Bonvin's image implies an end to privilege (as does Frère's early painting) and the full flowering of democratic response based on an individual's willingness to learn. Within the context of panel painting one of the fundamental democratic goals of the Realist tradition has been visualized.

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Footnotes

1. The painting was exhibited at the Shepherd Gallery, New York in 1982 and later at the galleries of Hazlitt, Gooden and Foxx, London. Prior to its appearance in New York there is no record of this particular composition in the artist's oeuvre. Since there are a number of missing Bonvin paintings, and a catalogue raisonné is not possible, it would be assumed that impressive paintings by this artist will continue to appear on the art market. See Elvehjem 1982.57.

2. For further reference see Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Bonvin* (Paris, 1979), cat. nos. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 49, 60 bis, 61, 62, 229, 255, and 320.

3. For this aspect of Bonvin's career see Gabriel P. Weisberg. "In Search of State Patronage: Three French Realists and the Second Empire, 1851–1871," in *Essays in Honor of H.W. Janson–Art the Ape of Nature* (New York, 1981), 585–606.

4. See "Registre de cartes d'élèves, January 8, 1850-February 16, 1860, p. 86, card no. 1786, December 23, 1851," *Archives du Louvre*. Renard was apparently older than most of the students that Bonvin would obtain; he was twenty-seven in 1851.

5. See "Registre de cartes d'élèves, 1850–1860, January 8, 1850–February 16, 1860, p. 123, card no. 346, March 1, 1853 (Paul Geruzer), and p. 124, card no. 463, March 15, 1853 (Théodore Kérody)," *Archives du Louvre*. Both artists came from the same general vicinity in Paris as Bonvin and this is one way that he may have actually met them.

 See "Registre de cartes d'élèves, 1850–1860, January 8, 1850–February 16, 1860, LL9," Archives du Louvre. Bonvin requested a card for Mazier on July 15, 1856; it was not issued until September 7, 1856.

7. For further reference see Meyer Schapiro, "Courbet and Popular Imagery, An Essay on Realism and Naiveté," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 4 (1941), 164–191. Schapiro emphasized the quality of naiveté found in the young child and perhaps in all creativity. It is this aesthetic quality that Courbet seized upon and which other Realists used to expand their renditions of how creativity was found and nurtured in children.

8. The number of images prepared by Pierre-Edouard Frère that appealed to the popular mass market eager to categorize childhood experiences was extensive. Frère became the chief exponent of the school of Ecouen where other French and American painters massed in order to produce images that extolled the virtues of childhood existence. Many of these images were also widely available in lithographic form for those who could not afford to purchase an oil painting. Thus, the emphasis on childhood naiveté was capitalized on by clever artists who were adept at meeting the needs of the market-place. For further reference to Frère see Gabriel P. Weisberg, *The Realist Tradition, French Painting and Drawing, 1830–1910* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980).

9. This painting appeared on the art market several years ago and has since entered a private collection. It suggests that there may be two aspects to Frère's style: a more serious painterly approach, as found here, and a more popular, anecdotic effect, that one generally associates with his work. He is a painter worth more serious consideration, since he binds together popular and serious aspects of French art in the mid-nineteenth century.

10. For further investigation of this theme see Pierre Georgel, "L'Enfant au bonhomme," in *Malerei und Theorie: das Courbet Colloquium* (Frankfurtam-Main: Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitut, 1979), 105–115. Georgel has become very interested in this theme over the years tracing childhood responses to creative endeavors. One artist most interested in this effect was Alfred Dehodencq who completed a work of a young child with a small paint box now in a private collection in the United States. The sense of innocent charm conveyed by the child's open eyes suggests the way in which this theme was generally treated by artists of the period.

11. For a discussion of this process see Theodore Zeldin, *France*, 1848– 1945, Vol. II (Oxford, 1977), 447–452. Zeldin notes that it was through reproductions that the masses cultivated a taste for art; prints made high art available to everyone and the masses would have enjoyed this.

12. Ibid., 447.

13. Idem.

14. The debate between the ordinary and the ideal colored much of the discussion of mid-century. Those critics antagonistic toward Realism believed that the ideal in art was being sacrificed to an appeal to baser instincts. It is precisely this attitude that may have led painters of children to idealize and purify their subjects to make a theme palatable to all.

15. The subject matter of Realist art has now been seen as containing fundamental aspects that have been overshadowed by the commitment toward seeing Realist painting solely from a formalistic viewpoint. For a full examination of Realist iconography see Weisberg, *The Realist Tradition*.

Two Early Engravings by Lucas van Leyden: Susannah and the Elders and The Conversion of St. Paul

T he Elvehjem is fortunate to own two early engravings by Lucas van Leyden (1489?-1533), the first Dutch printmaker whose name and biography are known. Both were purchased for the University's growing collection in 1964, long before the Museum became a reality, through the generosity of the Oscar Rennebohm Foundation and by the foresight of Professor James S. Watrous.

As Ellen Jacobowitz and Stephanie Stepanek have noted in their catalogue of the splendid exhibition of Lucas van Leyden's prints recently held in Washington and Boston,1 the graphic art of this artist is not well represented in American collections and is seldom found on the market in impressions of the first quality. This is due in part to Lucas's characteristically shallow manner of engraving, which made his plates more immediately vulnerable to wear than those of his older German contemporary, Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), whose work survives in far larger numbers of prime impressions. In part, however, it also has to do with the poor quality of the unauthorized editions of his plates printed after Lucas's death by his son-in-law, Dammas Claesz. de Hooey, and later by Martini Petri of Antwerp (1500-c.1565), who reworked them. The Elvehjem's impression of the Susannah and the Elders (B.33, Fig. 1), an undated plate from about 1508, is an early pull of particularly fine quality. The Conversion of St. Paul (B.32, Fig. 2), engraved in 1509, was one of the artist's largest and most popular plates, still much in demand in Rembrandt's day. The Elvehjem's impression of it is less fine than the Susannah, since the plate had already begun to show wear, but it still comes from the unreworked plate.

The sources of Lucas van Leyden's training are not securely documented, although tradition has it that he was a child prodigy who allegedly began to engrave at the age of nine and who sold his first painting at the age of twelve. His father, the Leyden painter Huygh Jacobsz., is thought to have been his first teacher, and Cornelis Enghebrechtsz his later mentor.² According to the biography published in 1604 by the Haarlem art historian, Karel van Mander, who apparently obtained his information from two of the artist's grandson's, both of whom were painters still living at the time of his writing, Lucas learned the principles of engraving as a boy under the informal tutelage of two craftsmen, one a goldsmith and the other an armorer. Van Mander's account can no longer be verified, and modern scholars are inclined to doubt that the birthdate of 1494 is accurate. However, it is certain that there was no previous engraver in Leyden with whom Lucas could have studied, and it is virtually certain that he can have been no more than nineteen years of age in 1508 when his first dated engraving was done (Mohammed and the Monk Sergius, B.126). Perhaps an artistic training carried on to a large extent outside the normal boundaries of apprenticeship could help to account for the high degree of originality which the youthful Lucas exhibited in his choice of subject matter, as well as in his willingness to experiment with new or unusual spatial relations and printmaking techniques. In addition to developing his own unorthodox burin technique, Lucas appears to have been the first printmaker to use a copper, rather than an iron plate for etching, and to combine the new technique with conventional engraving on the same plate (Portrait of Maximilian, B.172, dated 1520).

His general concepts of landscape and the human figure are clearly derived from the tradition of late fifteenthcentury Netherlandish painting as exemplified by Hugo van der Goes, Geertgen tot sint Jans and Gerard David; his graphic art, however, reveals early exposure to the prints of such German artists as Martin Schongauer, Albrecht Dürer, Israhel van Meckenem and the elder Cranach. Lucas van Leyden was one of the first artists to make extensive use of compositional inversion, or eccentric placement of the principal character in a narrative scene-a device which is used in the Susannah and the Elders to particularly telling effect. To some extent this use of space is prefigured in the art of Hugo van der Goes, and in late fifteenth-century Burgundian manuscript illumination, as well as in an early engraving by Albrecht Dürer, The Penance of St. John Chrysostom (B.63, c. 1497, Fig. 3). Dürer's print appears to have been engraved soon after his return from his first trip to Italy, when he was still much preoccupied with the study of the nude and in search of



Fig. 1 Lucas van Leyden, Susannah and the Elders, c. 1508, engraving, Oscar Rennebohm Foundation Fund purchase.



Fig. 2 Lucas van Leyden, The Conversion of St. Paul, 1509, engraving, Oscar Rennebohm Foundation Fund purchase.



Fig. 3 Albrecht Dürer, *The Penance of St. John Chrysostom*, c. 1497, engraving, Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago.

subject matter which would permit him to market his experiments. For obvious reasons, he chose to upstage the penitent John Chrysostom, dimly seen crawling about on all fours in the background at left, in favor of a nude frontal view of the princess with whom the holy man allegedly had sinned, and who now nurses the fruit of their ill-starred liaison. Chrysostom's supposed lapse of propriety with the princess is, of course, entirely apocryphal, but was nevertheless recounted with relish in the German version of the Golden Legend.

In contrast to Dürer's unique combination of still-medieval credulity and Renaissance interest in the depiction of nudity, Lucas van Leyden's Susannah and the Elders (B.33) depicts a biblical story of lust and voyeurism with surprising restraint, and is in keeping with the writings of the historical St. John Chrysostom. The story of the chaste Susannah, an example of the wife faithful to her husband until death, is told in the Greek but not in the Hebrew version of the Old Testament. It was included in the Vulgate as Chapter XIII of the Book of Daniel. (Martin Luther, recognizing the material as non-canonical, severed the story from the Book of Daniel but included "The History of Susannah" among the apocryphal works appended to the Old Testament, a practice which was also followed in the earlier editions of the Geneva Bible, as well as in the original King James version of 1611.) The story is also included in the fifteenth-century poem Der minnen loep, traditionally ascribed to Dirc Potter.³

In the biblical account, which takes place during the Babylonian exile the beautiful and virtuous Susannah, a young Jewish matron, is spied upon by two "Ancients of the people," both judges, who conspire to force her to submit to their unwelcome attentions. Surprising her alone one day in her garden, her two maids having been dispatched to fetch oil and soap for her bath, the two wicked elders declare their passion, threatening to accuse her publicly of adultery with a young lover unless she will agree to lie with them. Susannah, refusing to sin in the sight of the Lord, chooses to retain her virtue, and is convicted of adultery by their perjured testimony and sentenced to death. All ends happily, however, when the child Daniel demands the right to cross-examine the two conspirators separately and proves their testimony to be false: they cannot agree as to the species of tree under which they allegedly had observed Susannah's adultery. The court, duly noting that God saves those who trust in Him, releases Susannah and executes her two accusers instead.

Seventeenth-century Netherlandish painters, including Rubens, Lastman, Rembrandt, Van Dyck and Jacob Jordaens were to depict Susannah as a rather generously endowed nude heroine, surprised by the elders after her bath is irrevocably underway, and placed, to the viewer's delight, in closer proximity to the plane of the picture. Lucas's engraving, however, is more faithful to the apocryphal text in showing a still-clothed heroine awaiting the arrival of the servants with the soap. More importantly, he has chosen to emphasize her innocence by means of her remoteness, from the conspirators as well as from the viewer, as she cools her bare feet in the stream, in the privacy of her walled garden. The two conniving elders dominate the foreground, one cast entirely in sinister shadow, and the other betraying the extent of his guile by his dramatically crooked posture. Their place of concealment dominates the viewer's field of vision and is fully shaded by the two larger trees against which they are leaning, both of which are unidentifiable as to species since only their trunks are included within the frame of the composition.

Depictions of the Susannah story were still quite rare in the first decade of the sixteenth century when Lucas's engraving was done. Sebastian Brant had alluded to it in his chapter "On Old Fools" in *The Ship of Fools (Das Narrenschiff)*, first published in Basel on Carnival Day in 1494:

Susannah's judges showed us why On older men we can't rely: An oldish fool spares not his soul A sinner cannot change his goal.⁴

In focusing upon the two elders, rather than upon Susannah herself, Lucas's engraving parallels Brant's literary "perspective"; however, his characterization of the men as middle-aged rather than old is an indication that neither the *Narrenschiff* nor the Vulgate can have been his primary source.

As Mark Leach has shown, the image of Susannah was discussed at some length by the patristic writers, Sts. Hippolytus and John Chrysostom, as the prefiguration of the Church.⁵ Hippolytus, a third-century bishop of Rome, states in his commentary on the story of Susannah that she herself prefigures the Church, while her husband Joachim prefigures Christ. Their garden symbolizes the calling of the saints, who resemble fruitful trees, while the two elders personify those who conspired against the Church—both Jews and Gentiles. The sin of adultery he equates with apostasy.⁶

In his sermon on Susannah, St. John Chrysostom compares the purity of Susannah to that of the Virgin Mary, as illustrated by the "garden enclosed" and the "fountain sealed" of Canticles 4:12.7 Referring to Susannah's garden as "paradeisos," he compares the advances of the elders to those of the serpent in the seduction of Eve. Lucas's suggestive placement of the two voyeurs against supporting trees, and his emphasis upon the walled garden with its closed gates would seem to indicate knowledge of Chrysostom's sermon as well as of the Book of Daniel. It is also worth noting that Lucas van Leyden's most idyllic engraving of The Holy Family (B.85, Fig. 4) traditionally misidentified and called a rest on the flight into Egypt, is of nearly identical size (198 x 146 mm) and is also thought to date from about 1508. In this work the Virgin Mary, Joseph, and the standing child Jesus are grouped together under a large tree on a shaded promontory overlooking a sunlit, fenced garden with a pond. The two apples held by Joachim and the Virgin symbolize Mary's role as the new Eve, and may possibly refer to Canticles 2:3-5, traditionally interpreted as the song of Mary, as the Church, who desires to rest under the shadow of Christ: "Like the apple tree among the trees of the forest, so is my well-beloved among the sons of men; under his shadow had I delight, and sat down, and his fruit was sweet unto my mouth. . . . Comfort me with apples. . . . "

Lucas van Leyden's knowledge of biblical and moral subject matter is consistently accurate, unusually wideranging, and notably free from the restrictions of the church calendar of feast days. The presence in the province of Holland of a large number of literate people, educated in the excellent grammar schools of the *Devotio moderna* founded by the popular fourteenth-century



Fig. 4 Lucas van Leyden, *The Holy Family*, c. 1508, engraving, Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago.

teacher Geert Groote (1340-84) and his followers, constituted a unique market for Old Testament prints. As the most famous Dutchman of Lucas's day, Erasmus of Rotterdam remarked:

In no country are there more people with a tincture of learning than in Holland. If there are few deeply learned scholars, especially in the classics, this may be due to the luxury of life there, or it may be that they think more of moral excellence than of excellence in (classical) scholarship.

Erasmus. Adagia (1500)⁸

Geert Groote (who, like St. Augustine, had enjoyed the advantages of a misspent youth) had come to fear the impending collapse of the Church under the individual sins of the clergy, which he suspected were mostly sexual, and it was his theory that catastrophe could best be averted if there were to be universal literacy within the Christian community, for women as well as men, and most particularly for the schoolboys who would be the clergy and community leaders of the future.⁹ With this end in view, he himself had translated large portions of the Bible from the Latin of the Vulgate into Dutch, work which was carried forward by his fifteenth-century followers, who also continued the tradition which he had established of preaching to the laity in Dutch.

Unlike the later Protestant movements with which it is sometimes inaccurately compared, Groote's Modern Devotion was in no way a revolutionary movement. It stressed a return to early Christian simplicity and advocated moral reform as the responsibility of each individual believer, who must learn to apply Christian principles to the conduct of everyday life. Practitioners were urged to remain aloof from the temptations and entrapments of this world, particularly the sexual ones. In contrast to Martin Luther, however, who would later uncritically accept St. Augustine's concept of humankind as basically depraved, adherents of the Modern Devotion were taught that a small spark of divinity remained in humanity and that, by judicious exercise of free will and moral discipline salvation lay-in theory at least-within the reach of everyone. Groote had spent the last years of his life preaching in the Leyden area. There his teachings were enthusiastically received by both the laity and the religious community at the monastery of Hieronymusdael, which stood just outside the city gates. It was at Hieronymusdael, which maintained an "artists' colony" for laymen, that Lucas van Leyden's father, the painter Huygh lacobsz. was trained.10

The Conversion of St. Paul (B.32), dated 1509 and apparently done somewhat later than the undated *Susannah*, dramatically illustrates Groote's favorite theme of the power of salvation through individual repentance. This exceptionally large engraving (281 x 407 mm), which

was one of Lucas's most popular, offers a new and historically more accurate representation of Paul's conversion than the standard fifteenth-century type showing Paul alone on a fallen horse, in the manner of the fall of Pride from illustrated manuscripts of the Psychomachia of Prudentius.¹¹ The non-biblical motif of rider and fallen horse has been removed to the background, while the foreground is devoted to an entirely original, stately and serious crowd scene depicting the blinded Saul, whose companions lead him by the hand in accordance with the description of the event in The Acts of the Apostles. Lucas was the first artist to realize that it was not, after all, the horse who had the vision. The real point of the story lies, not in the vision itself, but in the repentance of Saul during the ensuing period of temporary blindness. The man who had witnessed, if not engineered the stoning of St. Stephen, the protomartyr, abandoned his original intention to arrest the Christians of Damascus to become the most successful of the early Christian missionaries, specializing in Greek and Roman converts.

The story of Paul's conversion is recounted three times in the Book of Acts: first (9:1-19) as a straight forward thirdperson narrative, and later (22:3-21 and 26:9-23) as an autobiographical account related by Paul himself in Jerusalem and Caesarea. On this last occasion, in his testimony before Agrippa and his queen, Paul quotes *in extenso* from the voice which had spoken to him on the road to Damascus, revealing that he had been told by Christ to "rise, and stand upon thy feet," and was urged to become a minister and witness to the Gentiles, "to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins . . . [and] that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance."

For Lucas, the fall of Paul's pride retained its medieval significance as a prerequisite to his conversion, but it was of less immediately consuming interest than his resultant change of heart and acceptance of the mission to lead the Gentiles to repentance.

Plates of such large size as *The Conversion of St. Paul* were still quite rare in the early sixteenth century, since flawless

sheets of rolled copper were difficult to obtain in large dimensions and were even more difficult to engrave and print without incurring surface damage. The resulting impressions were difficult to store without folding because of their abnormal size. Despite these disadvantages, however, there seems to have been a continuing demand for this engraving, for the plate was reworked by Martini Petri after Lucas's original linework had been totally exhausted. The popularity of The Conversion of St. Paul may well have escalated after 1524, when Erasmus published his tract championing the Catholic doctrine of freedom of the will against Luther's attack. Fortuitously, Lucas's design, originally created for a Catholic public believing in free will and in the sacrament of penance, was later to prove readily acceptable to a Calvinist society believing neither in freedom of the will, nor in penance, nor in the efficaciousness of good works. For Calvin's followers the conversion of Paul was interpreted in terms of the awakening conscience, and Christ's charge to the apostle constituted his ordination to the ministry.12 Thus, two generations after Lucas's death, this engraving influenced Pieter Brueghel the Younger in Catholic Brussels, while in the Calvinist Dutch Republic it was so much in demand that Rembrandt's pupil Johann Ulrich Mayer paid the extraordinary sum of 1,400 guilders for fourteen of Lucas's engravings, a group which included this one.13

For Rembrandt (1606-69), who was born and raised in Leyden, Lucas offered important precedents, both as painter-engraver and as an essentially self-made man—a realist who had no need to travel to Italy in order to perfect his style. In Rembrandt's youth, the standard Dutch manual of instruction for young artists was Karel van Mander's *Schilderboek*, with its set of edifying biographies and program of useful exercises for young art students. In van Mander's chapter on Lucas van Leyden, one of the lengthiest and most laudatory, we read the following entry on *The Conversion of St. Paul*:

In the same year (i.e., 1509) he engraved the marvellously beautiful and well-composed *Conversion of Paul*, which shows him being taken to Damascus, blind, with the blindness and the secondary attributes well depicted. Here and in all his other prints one detects a large and artful variety of faces and old-fashioned garb-hats, caps, and headgear, no two alike, so that major Italian artists of our time misused his prints freely by borrowing from them for their own work, sometimes with slight changes. The Conversion of Paul is also mentioned by Vasari, who rates Lucas higher in several respects than the outstanding Albrecht Dürer, saying, "Lucas' works are sufficient to place him among the outstanding practitioners of the burin. The compositions or arrangements of figure pieces are very characteristic, and are executed with such clear depictions of faces and with such a sure hand, so free of confusion and error, that there can be no doubt as to which story they depict, to the exclusion of any other possibility; his prints, too, are better observed according to the demands or rules of art, than those of Albrecht Dürer. . . Whenever a composition receded or dissolved into the distance he worked lightly, to allow for a certain fading, just as in reality distant objects tend to disappear from view. Indeed, he made those prints with such care, with such gentle transitions, that they could not be improved upon in paint, and many a painter has learned a lesson from studying them."14

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Footnotes

1. Ellen S. Jacobowitz and Stephanie Loeb Stepanek. *The Prints of Lucas Van Leyden and His Contemporaries*. Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1983, 20.

2. See Rik Vos, "The Life of Lucas van Leyden by Karel van Mander," Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek XXIX (1978), 31-4; Walter S. Gibson, "Lucas van Leyden and His Two Teachers," Simiolus IV (1970), 90-99; Jacobowitz and Stepanek, 11-15.

3. J.C. Brandt Corstius, Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur (Utrecht and Antwerp, 1959), 80-81.

4. Sebastian Brant, *The Ship of Fools (Das Narrenschiff)*, ed. and trans. Edwin H. Zeydel (New York, 1962), 70-71; Jacobowitz and Stepanek, no. 68.

5. Mark Carter Leach, "Rubens's 'Susannah and the Elders' in Munich and Some Early Copies," A Tribute to Wolfgang Stechow (Print Review V, Spring 1976), 120-127; L. Popelka, Susanna Hebrea, Theatrum castitatis sive innocentia liberata: Ein Beitrag zur alttestamentlichen Ikonographie besonders des deutsch-niederländischen Kunstbereiches, Phil. Diss. Vienna, 1956; H. Schlosser, "Die Daniel-Susanna Erzählung im Bilde und Literatur der Christlichen Frühzeit," Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte XXX, Supplement (1965), 243 ff.; G. Antonucci and G. Di Lentaglio, "La leggenda di Susanna nella tradizione giuridica e nella iconografia," Emporium LXX (1929), 3 ff.; L. Dunand, "L'iconographie de Suzanne au bain," Bulletin des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais (1972), no. 4, 57 ff.

6. St. Hippolytus, in J. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca* (Paris, 1857) X, 689 ff.; S.D.F. Salmond, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* (Edinburgh, 1869) X, 477 ff.; Leach, notes 125, 17.

7. St. John Chrysostom, in Migne, PG, LVI, 591; Leach, 125, note 20.

8. Margaret Mann Philips, The 'Adages' of Erasmus: A Study with Translations (Cambridge, 1964), 209-211.

9. On Geert Groote and the Devotio moderna see Regnerus R. Post, The Modern Devotion (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought III, Heiko Oberman, ed., Leiden, 1968); E.F. Jacobs, "Gerard Groote and the Beginning of the 'New Devotion' in the Low Countries," Journal of Ecclesiastical History III (1952), 40-57; Theodore van Zijl, Rev., Gerard Groote: Ascetic and Reformer, Ph.D. Diss., The Catholic University of America, Washington D.C., 1963. I am grateful to Morris Perinchief for this reference. Regnerus R. Post, Kerkelijke Verhoudingen in Nederland voor de Reformatie (Utrecht and Antwerp, 1954), Chap. V, "Het Leven, met Name et Onderhuden van het Celibaat," 97 ff.; Van Zijl, passim. See in particular Van Zijl's discussion of Groote's treatise, De matrimonio.

10. Huygh Jacobsz. is recorded as having been apprenticed to Brother Tymanus at Hieronymusdael between 1469-71. See Jacobowitz and Stepanek, p. 16. See also Jeremy D. Bangs, "Hieronymusdael and the Early Years of Huygh Jacopsz.," *Cornelis Engebrechtsz.'s Leiden* (Assen, 1979), 49-50, 92-96.

11. On the iconography of St. Paul's conversion, see Ernst von Dobschutz, "Die Bekehrung des Paulus," Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft L (1929), 87 ff.; and Jacobowitz and Stepanek, 76-77. See also Peter Parshall, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek XXIX (1978), 221-223.

12. See, for example, the marginal notes in *The Geneva Bible* for Acts 9 and 26 (facsimile of the 1560 edition, with an introduction by Lloyd E. Berry, Madison, 1969).

13. Jacobowitz and Stepanek, cat. no. 19. See also U. van Ryckevorsel, "Een Bekeering van Paulus door Pieter Brueghel II," Oud-Holland LII (1935), 182-183; Joachim von Sandrart, Academie der Bau- Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675, A.R. Peltzer, ed. (Munich, 1925), 86.

14. Rik Vos, "The Life of Lucas van Leyden by Karel van Mander," Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek XXIX (1978), 467. Among the "major Italian artists" who "misused" Lucas's prints are numbered Andrea del Sarto, Jacopo Pontormo, and Francesco Ubertini ('Il Bacchiacca'), as well as Marcantonio Raimondi, who had copied Lucas's landscape setting from the Susannah and the Elders as a backdrop for a figure by Raphael in his Suicide of Lucretia (B.192) of about 1510. A n exceptionally well-preserved Etruscan vase of rich red impasto fabric with elaborate painted decoration (Figs. 1 and 2) expands the range and content of an already impressive collection of Classical (Mediterranean) vases in the Elvehjem Museum of Art.¹ At the very outset, attention must be called to a red impasto vase in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (Fig. 3),² which stands so close to the Wisconsin vase (including lid) in fabric, shape, dimensions, and decoration that they can be rightfully regarded "mates," or better, "twins."³ Consequently, the astute observations of Robert Gordon, Jr. in his study and publication of the Missouri vase are conveniently applicable to the Elvehjem vase.⁴

The handsome vase—in essence a storage jar nearly two feet in height exhibits a graceful body resting on a flat base, and a set of vertical, double-looped handles placed high on the shoulder. The lid—for which its fabric, close fit, and decoration argues convincingly that it indeed belongs to the vase—sits on the shoulder of the vase and tightly against a short conical neck which is not visible behind the deep, steeply sloping sides of the lid.⁵ An upright pomel-and-disc surmounts the lid to serve as an ornate handle. To judge by the highly fugitive nature of the creamy-white paint applied directly to the impasto surface, the richly decorated vase must have served more an aesthetic than a strictly functional purpose—perhaps even funerary—since constant handling would have assuredly damaged (worn away) the painted decoration.⁶

The remarkably intact painted patterns are meticulously executed with a fine eye to the overall decorative effect. The horizontal bands of varying breadth are set off by tight parallel lines arranged in groups of four or five, with the exception of the lower portion of the lid and the base of the vase where the horizontal lines are comparatively thick—thereby imparting a "visual" stability to the vase. At the lower half of the vase, two broad bands carry equally spaced and carefully rendered elongated solid triangles which, because of the sharp contrast between the red impasto base and the creamy-white paint, may be "read" as upright white or pendant red triangles. A series of loose "s" motifs, inclined to the right, are set within a single narrow band on the lid and within two bands on the body which, in turn, frame the chief decorative zone for the upper half of the vase.

Between the handles at each side of the vase are found the sole figural decorative elements; namely, two highly stylized birds which face (fly?) to the right. These seemingly heavy footed or clawed birds defy exact parallels on vases other than those on related red impasto



Fig. 1 Etruscan Red Impasto Vase, H. 57.2 cm., Harold F. Bishop Fund purchase.



Fig. 2 *Etruscan Red Impasto Vase* (side view), H. 57.2 cm., Harold F. Bishop Fund purchase.



Fig. 3 Etruscan Red Impasto Vase, H. 57.2 cm., Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri.

examples, yet have close counterparts on Italo-Geometric vases.7 Although seventh-century Italo-Geometric pottery offers analogous decorative details, the more significant chronological clue for dating the Wisconsin vase may be derived from the handsome, lace-like floral pattern set within the broad primary band on the upper half of the body. This continuous decorative band is composed of a repeated pendant palmette-lotus (or bud) motif which is in harmonious contrast to the graceful tendril-like curve that encloses the palmette, the diagonal petals, and the short horizontal and vertical dashes for both palmette and lotus. Such floral motifs mark the "Orientalizing" phase of art which, we now know, is not confined to Greek art (especially pottery) from the mid-eighth through the seventh centuries B.C., but has a like appearance in the central Mediterranean. In Etruria, "Orientalizing" (Near and Middle East influences) has been credited respectively by various scholars: to immigrant craftsmen; artistic inspiration derived from imports (as in Greece); or as Etruscan imitations of already "digested" Near and Middle Eastern (i.e., "Oriental") themes on Greek crafted imports.8

From the evidence of typology for the palmette-lotus depicted on the Wisconsin vase, links have been made with Etruscan bucchero vases of varying shapes which carry an incised palmette-lotus of similar form. Significantly, these bucchero vases are attributed to a special workshop at Caere (present-day coastal Cerveteri, c. thirty kilometers northwest of Rome) where they are believed to have been produced during the second half of the seventh century B.C.9 More important, however, a tomb at Caere has disclosed at least six red impasto vases (Figs. 4 and 5) so very much like the Wisconsin and Missouri specimens in shape and decoration that, as noted by Robert Gordon, Jr.,¹⁰ they were unquestionably created in a single Caeretan workshop for which the last quarter of the seventh century B.C. should prove an acceptable period of production.

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Footnotes

1. Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin, inv. no. 1978.34. Harold F. Bishop Fund purchase. Height, 57.2 cm. I wish to thank Professor Warren Moon, Department of Art History, and Director Katherine Mead, for their kind permission to study and publish the attractive Etruscan red impasto vase in this number of the Museum's *Bulletin*.

2. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, inv. no. 68.71. Height, 57.2 cm. I am grateful to Dr. Jane Biers, Curator of Ancient Art, for permission to include an illustration of the vase in this presentation.

3. It would prove of no great surprise to eventually learn that both the Wisconsin and Missouri vases actually come from the same Etruscan (Caeretan) tomb.

 Robert L. Gordon Jr., "Evidence for an Etruscan Workshop," Muse (Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri), 5 (1971), 35–42.

5. Three broad horizontal lines are painted round the conical neck of the Missouri vase: see *ibid.*, 37. The Wisconsin vase is exactly similarly decorated.

6. Cf. Warren G. Moon, "An Enigmatic Vase from Centuripe," in Elvehjem Art Center Bulletin (1975-76).

7. E.g., see A. Akerström, Der geometrische Stil in Italien (Lund/Leipzig, 1943).

8. See I. Strom, Problems Concerning the Origin and Early Development of the Etruscan Orientalizing Style (Odense, 1971).

9. Gordon, 38ff.; cf. B. Hiller, "Beiträge zur figürlich geritzten Buccherokeramik," Marburger Winckelmann Programm (1965), 16-29.



Fig. 5 Etruscan Red Impasto Vases, from the Banditaccia cemetery.

10. From the Necropoli della Banditaccia, "Zona A 'del Recinto," Tomb no. 10 (cf. Gordon, 37 and note 8. See G. Ricci in Monumenti Antichi, XLII (1955), 317, no. 32, fig. 63 (whence here, Fig. 4)-but text mentions absence of lid present in fig. 63; 318, no. 41, cf. fig. 61; 319, no. 56; 322, no. 94, fig. 62 (whence here, Fig. 5, right); 323, no. 97, fig. 62 (whence here, Fig. 5, left); and 324, no. 103 (whence here, Fig. 5, middle). The preserved lids are totally different, however, and some variations such as the presence or absence of the "s" band, etc., are to be noted in the painted decoration for these six vases. The palmette-lotus motif appears on all vases but in the upright rather than pendant position. Interestingly, the height of all six Caere, Tomb 10 specimens is equal to the Wisconsin and Missouri vases; i.e., ca. 56-57 cm. Gordon (41 and note 36), cites a footed amphora in Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. no. ABc 833 (CVA National Museum 5, pl. 205, no. 7) as belonging to our workshop. However, this amphora shows only white triangles (pendant and upright). Perhaps handleless red impasto jars (olle) with white triangles G. Matteucig, Poggio Buco (Berkeley, 1951), pl. VIII, fig. 19 and pl. XII, fig. 7, or olle with alternating red impasto and white squares (checquerboard) may be considered products of Caere-if not the same workshop: ibid., pl. VI, fig. 3 and pl. XV, fig. 10.



Fig. 4 Etruscan Red Impasto Vase, from the Banditaccia cemetery. **I** n 1978 Professor Frank Horlbeck published an interesting and sensitive analysis of the palmesel (Fig. 1) acquired by the Elvehjem Museum of Art, accompanying his description with several comparisons to similar carvings in European and American collections.¹ In conclusion he stated that the use of the palmesel in Palm Sunday observances seems to be confined to the Germanic regions of Central Europe and suggested that this may have resulted from the Palm Sunday procession having been introduced in Germany in the tenth century directly from Byzantine practices.²

This appears to be a reasonable assumption, and one further question may be asked. Were there any circumstances in Germany that could have made the use of such a group in this custom particularly appealing? A suggestion is offered here as to what some of those circumstances might have been.

If the palmesel is viewed in general terms, it consists of a group formed by a donkey and a rider, mounted on a wheeled platform and drawn in festival procession. The festival honors a divine/heroic person who will be sacrificed and who promises good in an after-life to those who follow him. In the Christian context within which the European palmesels were made this procession is of course the Entry into Jerusalem, re-enacted on Palm Sunday and ushering in the Holy Week observances, ranging from festive through penitent to exultant.

The earliest mention of the use of the palmesel is evidently in the *Leben St. Ulrichs von Augsburg* of Gerardus, showing the custom at least by the death of St. Ulrich in 973.³ During the two preceding centuries Christianity had become more fully established in Germany since the time of St. Boniface, "the Apostle to the Germans" (d. 754), the northern regions of Saxony and Frisia being among the last to be converted. The neighboring regions of Denmark remained heathen until the 960s, and the lands east of the Elbe were largely unconverted until the twelfth century.⁴ The Christian Germanic peoples were accordingly close to those who still held to their pagan heritage and traditions.



Fig. 1 Unknown Austrian artist, Palm Sunday Processional Figure of Christ Riding a Donkey, c. 1450, FRIENDS of the Elvehjem purchase through the Glenn McHugh Bequest.

Search among those traditions for a figure having significant characteristics in common with the Christ of the Entry into Jerusalem is quickly rewarded, although it must be stated at once that the parallels are not absolutely precise. In the figure of Wotan, the Odin of Scandinavia, however, can be seen the chief god, who may assume human form, who rides his great horse Sleipnir to the land of the dead, who hung on the World Tree, pierced by a spear, as a sacrifice, and who welcomed his warriors into Valhalla.⁵ The differences between the Christian and pagan figures are profound, despite certain striking similarities relevant to the present inquiry. Another important element of the palmesel carvings is the almost universal mounting of the groups on wheeled platforms, lacking in the Elvehjem example, which enabled them to be drawn through the streets and into the churches. No such observance appears to have taken place in honor of Wotan. A different tradition in Central and Northern Europe, however, may be recalled which may further illumine the layers of meaning of the palmesel.

This is the tradition of the votive wagon or cart, often associated with fertility rites, which is thought to have been wheeled around in annual or more frequent celebrations. Some examples were models, and others were full size. They date from the Bronze and Iron Ages. Three will be briefly described here in order to establish the particular meanings and associations which they seem to have held over at least a millennium in Central and Northern Europe.

The Trundholm Sun Chariot (Fig. 2), buried in a bog near Nykøbing, Denmark, c. 1400 B.C., is one of the most spectacular of the prehistoric carts.6 It was discovered in fragments and has been reconstructed to constitute a bronze disc, gilded on one side, and drawn by a horse, the whole assemblage mounted on six four-spoked wheels. It is just under two feet long and is probably the earliest extant example of a ritual model drawn on wheels in Northern Europe. That it was probably not unique is suggested by fragments of another chariot found near Hälsingborg in Sweden.⁷ Although the accuracy of the present reconstruction of the Trundholm chariot is a matter of some dispute,⁸ for the present discussion it is more significant that the patterns on the neck and head of the horse have been seen as Danubian in origin,9 and that the practice of wheeling a votive urn around the fields is known from the Bronze Age in Central Europe.¹⁰

A later example from the Hallstatt culture, possibly in the seventh century B.C., is a much more elaborate bronzewheeled model which was placed in a barrow at Strettweg, Austria.¹¹ In this case a goddess standing in the center, holding a bowl on her head, is accompanied by mounted warriors, other attendants, and a stag, the entire group



Fig. 2 Trundholm Sun Chariot, c. 1400 B.C., Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen.

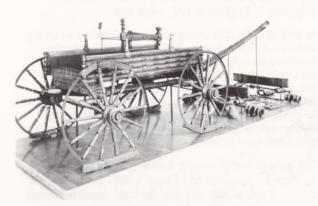


Fig. 3 Dejbjerg Cart (reconstructed), Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen.

being assembled on a wheeled platform. Again this is a small model, the chassis under fourteen inches long and the goddess just under nine inches high.

The third cart from Northern Europe with an apparently ritual association is not a model but is full size. This is the Dejbjerg Cart (Fig. 3), a La Tène work of the second or first century B.C.¹² Its flimsy construction and rich ornamentation suggest a ritual use, possibly in such a ceremony as that of the goddess Nerthus described by Tacitus.¹³ In this case a life-size image may have been drawn in procession. There was sacrifice in connection with the Nerthus ceremonies, and possibly also with the use of the Strettweg wagon.

A third quality can be added to those characteristics of Wotan which can be compared to those of Christ on the donkey in the palmesel group and the European traditions of cult groups drawn on wheels. The adoption of Christianity in Northern Europe did not mean immediate complete rejection or suppression of all pre-Christian symbols and practices. It appears that even the missionary clergy did not always intend that this should be the case. Pope Gregory the Great, sending instructions for St. Augustine in England in 601, wrote that

the temples of the Idols among that people should on no account be destroyed. The idols are to be destroyed, but the temples themselves are to be aspersed with holy water, altars set up in them, and relics deposited there. For if these temples are wellbuilt, they must be purified from the worship of demons and dedicated to the service of the true God. In this way, we hope that the people, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may abandon their error and, flocking more readily to their accustomed resorts, may come to know and adore the true God.¹⁴

The passage continues with instructions for changing the sacrifices to "demons" to "devout feasts" in honor of the saints. "It was in this way that the Lord revealed Himself to the Israelite people in Egypt, permitting the sacrifices formerly offered to the Devil to be offered thenceforth to Himself instead."

The transformation of primitive, pre-Christian cult festivals, especially those in connection with the changes in season from winter to spring, spring to summer, etc., is especially evident in the early medieval folk festivals. The spring festivals especially stressed sacrifice and fertility rites, celebrating the rejection of winter and the welcoming of spring.¹⁵ For the Germanic-Celtic people who came under Rome, the Roman calendar, as modified by Julius Caesar, established more fixed dates for the annual feasts, to which were eventually added the Christian feasts.¹⁶ The feast marking the beginning of summer was now Palm Sunday and Easter.

In the Scandinavian area Christianity came much later, with tentative beginnings under the missionary bishop Ansgar in the ninth century. By the beginning of the tenth century the new faith was moderately well established in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The visual evidence for the continuation of pre-Christian or Viking traditions is strong. The archaeological problems of possible pagan temples as reflected in the stave churches have been extensively debated, with some possibilities of finding Christian churches on sites already sanctified by tradition or the actual ruins of pagan sanctuaries. The inclusion of Viking elements on Christian churches such as on the portals from Hylestad, Norway, is also well known and attests to the strength of tradition now transformed by the new faith.17 This could not have been possible without permission and even encouragement from the German missionary clergy, similar to that which Gregory the Great had recommended for England.

As for the use of carts in Viking celebrations, the examples on the Oseberg tapestry have been thought to be carts in a ritual procession.¹⁸ The full-size cart found in the Oseberg burial may also have been so used, and it can be asked whether the princess in this burial was not also a priestess as well. Whatever the actual meaning of the real and represented carts at Oseberg, they were important enough to be included in this major burial, and were only a century before the introduction of the palmesel farther south in Augsburg.

These comments can only briefly summarize the extensive findings from documentary and visual materials that make possible studies of the relations between folk and Christian customs in the early Middle Ages. A general picture may, however, be seen of a Central and North European culture

Palmesel

which inherited a long tradition of wheeled ritual groups associated with sacrifice and fertility rites and a pantheon of deities headed by a mounted victim/savior. Christianity was introduced into this culture, and apparently the use of the palmesel in the Palm Sunday observance was added in the first centuries of the conversion effort in Germany. It seems reasonable to suggest that this custom won the popularity that it evidently quickly attained because the climate of pre-Christian worship in this region included elements particularly favorable to its acceptance.

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Footnotes

1. Frank P. Horlbeck, "Glory, Laud and Honor: The Palmesel and Palm Sunday," Elvehjem Museum of Art Bulletin (1977-78), 14-37.

2. Ibid., 36.

3. Cited in Sir Edmund K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, 2 Vols. (London, 1903), Vol. 1, 334.

4. Stages in the conversion of Northern Europe are summarized in Grahame Clark, World Prehistory in New Perspective, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1977), 206–208.

5. Edward O. G. Turville-Peter, Myth and Religion of the North (New York, 1964), 35-74.

 Nancy K. Sandars, Prehistoric Art in Europe (Harmondsworth, 1968), 183-185, Fig. 69, and Pls. 185-186.

7. Mårten Stenberger, Sweden (New York, 1962), 89.

8. For a discussion of the reconstruction and of possible sun chariots represented in Bronze Age rock engravings see Peter Gelling and Hilda Ellis Davidson, *The Chariot of the Sun and Other Rites and Symbols of the Northern Bronze Age* (New York, 1969), 14–21.

9. Sandars, 185.

10. Marija Gimbutas, Bronze Age Cultures in Central and Eastern Europe (The Hague, 1965), 342.

11. Walter Torbrugge, Prehistoric European Art (New York, 1968), 147–148, with illustration. A detailed study of the Strettweg wagon was made by Judith A. K. Perkins in *The Strettweg Wagon*, M.A. Thesis, University of Oregon, 1973.

12. Torbrugge, 218-219, with illustrations.

13. The passage from Tacitus describing the use of a ritual cart is in *Germania*, trans. Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb (New York, 1942), 738–739.

14. Bede, A History of the English Church and People, trans. Leo Sherley-Price, rev. R. E. Latham (Harmondsworth, 1968), 86-87.

15. Glynne Wickham, The Medieval Theatre (London, 1974), 128-136.

16. Chambers, Vol. 1, 108-115.

17. Now in the University Museum, Oslo. See Peter Anker and Aron Andersson, *L'Art scandinave*, 2 Vols. (Paris, 1968–69), Vol. 1, 413–417 and Pls. 217–222.

lthough Piet Mondrian (1872–1944) is best known as a painter of abstract works, almost half of his output consists of naturalistic representations of the Dutch landscape, a subject that would continue to be a major source of inspiration long after he had rejected naturalism for abstraction.1 One group of landscapes, the famous Farm at Duivendrecht series, includes an intriguing large oil version (Fig. 1) that has been exhibited in the Elvehjem on several occasions. Though this version of Farm at Duivendrecht has been frequently published,² it has received little close scholarly attention. For years the painting was thought to have been produced during the artist's naturalistic "evening landscape period"3 of circa 1905–08, when he is known to have made some of his earliest versions such as the charcoal drawing now in the Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto (1905/06, Fig. 7) and the oil in the Bak collection in the Hague (1905, Fig. 8). If this painting's picturesque subject of a farm in the early evening is similar, however, its style is not. Mondrian's use of prominent areas of almost pastel hues and complementary contrasts clearly reflects the influence of French Fauvism, yet the colors are entirely different from the bright anti-naturalistic ones of his first Fauvistand Neo-Impressionist-influenced works of 1908 and 1909.⁴ In fact, this painting's comparably softer hues of blue, orange, and pink and the deliberately loose and unfinished manner in which they were applied demonstrate much closer affinities with the abstract Cubist works that he had begun to develop during his sojourn in Paris from 1912 until his return to the Netherlands in the summer of 1914. In addition to several other features, the coloring suggests that this version of Farm at Duivendrecht could only have been produced during or after that first Cubist period.

As Cor Blok⁵ and other Mondrian scholars long ago recognized, both the emphatically flattened linear articulation of the motif in a grid on the surface and the careful rendering of the branches in refined curving segments adapted to the grid's larger order also suggest that this and at least one of the other later versions of the farm, an oil in the Gemeentemuseum in the Hague (Fig. 4)

postdate the artist's earliest Cubist works, especially the Cubist depictions of trees (1913, Fig. 2) that they immediately recall. Whereas the painting has a recognizable subject, its stylistic aspect closely approaches that of totally abstract conceptions such as Composition in Line and Color (1913, Fig. 3),6 which shows a similar, but more pronounced, Cubist distribution of linear elements in a surface grid with the greatest concentration of forms in the center and a comparable range of colors applied in a similarly loose manner. That Composition in Line and Color was ultimately derived, as Robert Welsh has shown, from one of Mondrian's earlier naturalistic representations of a windmill,⁷ also demonstrates that the orgin of the artist's early abstract works was not as far from that of naturalistic landscapes such as Farm at Duivendrecht as might at first be expected.

The later dating suggested by this painting's style is also substantiated by extrapictorial documentation.⁸ The other late version of the farm that corresponds most closely in size, composition, and color with this one, the oil in the Gemeentemuseum (Fig. 4), has long been supposed to have been commissioned about 1915 or 1916 by a patron who requested a work like, or a copy after, one of the artist's well-known earlier versions of the subject.9 Mondrian's own letters of 1915 and 1916 indicate how at that time, during the course of World War I, he found it necessary to paint portraits, to copy works in museums, and to repeat "my farms"¹⁰ and other popular subjects of his earlier naturalistic period in order to make a living. Unlike his new, Cubist-inspired abstraction, which would soon lead him to reject all naturalistic appearance from his art, his earlier styles and subjects were greatly admired in his home country, and generally seem to have been preferred by many of his wartime patrons.¹¹

Mondrian's mention of working on his farms in a letter of February, 1915, suggests that he might have received the commission for the Gemeentemuseum oil, if that indeed was the "commissioned" work, as early as the summer of 1914, or shortly after he learned that the war would force him to remain in the Netherlands¹² and oblige him to find new supporters. Since the version exhibited in Madison is



Fig. 1 Piet Mondrian, Farm at Duivendrecht, c. 1914-16, oil on canvas, 86.3 x 108.6 cm., Private Collection. Version IIIe.



Fig. 2 Piet Mondrian, Study of Trees II, 1913, charcoal on paper, 65.4 x 87.6 cm., Gemeentemuseum, The Hague.

more closely related to the Gemeentemuseum oil than to any other of the known later versions, it probably was begun about the same time. Its much broader, deliberately sketch-like execution shows it to have been more freely and boldly conceived, either before or after the carefully worked-over, more subdued, and relatively "finished" commissioned painting in the Gemeentemuseum.

One of the work's most striking features is its highly stylized aspect, manifested above all in the refined treatment of the branches and in the pronounced symmetry and formal closure introduced by the reflection. Such stylization, and Mondrian's whole tendency to endow landscape with a special, venerated appearance, have their roots in late nineteenth-century Symbolism, with which he had been deeply involved already in the 1890s and continued to be preoccupied in the years immediately preceding his first experiments with Cubism.¹³ This type of stylized branching was prominent in many Dutch Symbolist works of the 1890s, and seems to have its closest precedent in the works of Floris Verster (1861– 1927), whose works such as *Snow Landscape* (1895, Fig. 5) can be shown to have influenced Mondrian's own earlier treatments of trees and of other related subjects.¹⁴

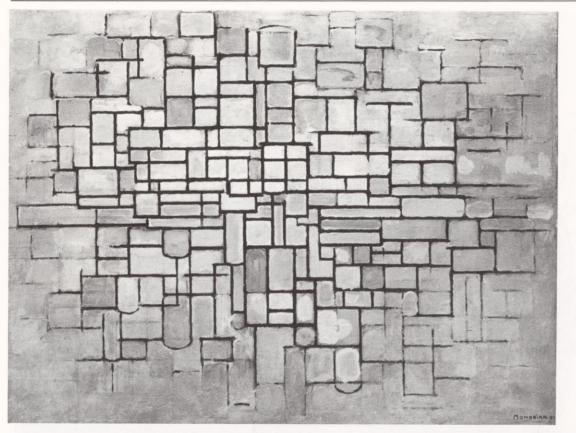


Fig. 3 Piet Mondrian, Composition in Line and Color, 1913, oil on canvas, 88 x 115 cm., Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo.

Mondrian had been intrigued with other Symbolist features of symmetry, centrality, and closure in many of his early landscapes;¹⁵ his grand conception of the farm in the later versions of *Farm at Duivendrecht*, however, might also be indebted to the late symmetrical landscapes of the Swiss Symbolist Ferdinand Hodler (1853–1918).

It is unlikely that he knew much, if anything, of Hodler when he made his first versions of *Farm at Duivendrecht* in 1905 and 1906,¹⁶ but in the following decade he would have had numerous opportunities to view the latter's work in both illustrations and exhibitions.¹⁷ A large retrospective of Hodler was held in Paris when Mondrian lived there, in the Salon d'Automne of 1913,¹⁸ and conceivably could have stimulated the Dutch painter's wartime versions of the farm. Hodler's own later, colorful, and loosely painted landscapes such as *Lake Silvaplana* (1907, Fig. 6) seem highly pertinent; others, that seem to have been influenced by Fauvism, show more remarkable coloristic similarities.¹⁹ In Hodler's landscapes, then, it is perhaps possible to see another impetus to Mondrian's more ambitious and colorful later development of the farm.

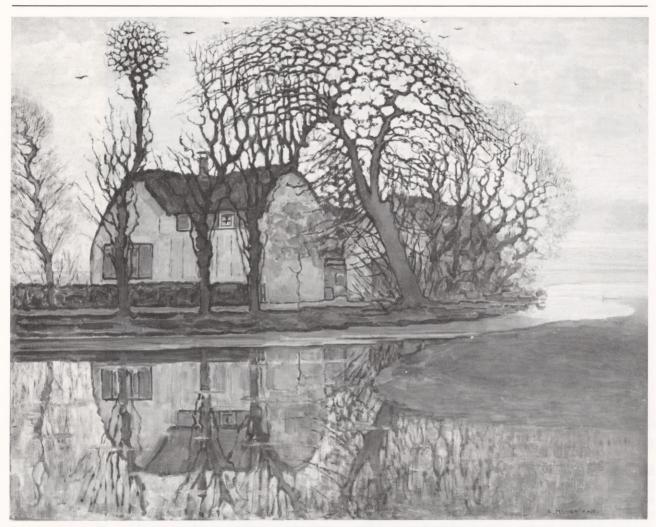


Fig. 4 Piet Mondrian, Farm at Duivendrecht, 1915/16, oil on canvas, 85.4 x 108.6 cm., Gemeentemuseum, The Hague. Version IIId.



Fig. 5 Floris Verster, Snow Landscape, 1895, lithographic reproduction of original drawing, Stedelijk Museum "De Lakenhal," Leiden.

The version of *Farm at Duivendrecht* exhibited in Madison—hereafter referred to as Version IIIe, its number in Blok's chronology—is not, as was long supposed, a radically innovative work that astonishingly combined Fauvist colorism with the Symbolist intensity of Hodler in 1905–08, but a work of at least seven years later, produced long after the artist was well-acquainted both with those earlier tendencies and with Cubism. If a general chronology of the later versions and the whole Duivendrecht series has been established, however, it remains to be shown why the artist took up this subject and how and why he progressively developed it through this final stage.

Ι

Mondrian's selection of a rural motif and very orientation as a landscapist reflect his assimilation of practices of the Hague School of landscape painting, a sort of Dutch counterpart to the French Barbizon School;²⁰ these habits, impressed upon him by later exponents of the Hague tradition such as his uncle, Fritz Mondrian,²¹ had been at the basis of his art since he began painting in the mid-1890s. Like the Hague School artists, those of Mondrian's much younger generation generally preferred the authenticity and sobriety of country motifs to those of the city²² and emphasized the at once productive and inspiring, if unrelenting, qualities of the Dutch landscape and the predominantly rural way of life.²³ Mondrian's first representations of the picturesquely irregular buildings of the Duivendrecht farm, viewed from an oblique angle at a quiet, late afternoon or early evening hour (Figs. 7 and 8) immediately recall similar features in Hague School paintings such as The Milking Yard (circa 1890, Fig. 9) by the older Hague painter George Jan Poggenbeek (1853-1903). Poggenbeek, however, used the farm buildings chiefly as descriptive elements subordinate to his main theme of peasants at work, whereas Mondrian focused more insistently on the buildings themselves and on their relation to the forms of nature around them. Like the Hague painters, he too had represented figures and animals in his earliest landscapes, but by the time he began the Duivendrecht series he had come to concentrate



Fig. 6 Ferdinand Hodler, *Lake Silvaplana*, 1907, oil on canvas, 71.1 x 92.4 cm., Kunsthaus, Zurich.

almost exclusively on landscape and architecture. Unlike Poggenbeek, who had used diagonals to establish a continuous, flowing movement into the vast space of his scene, Mondrian harnessed the forms of his buildings and



Fig. 7 Piet Mondrian, Farm at Duivendrecht, 1905/06, charcoal on paper, 46.4 x 60 cm., Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Version Ia.



Fig. 8 Piet Mondrian, Farm at Duivendrecht, 1905, oil on canvas, 89.1 x 116.1 cm., J.P. Bak, The Hague. Photograph: Frequin. Version Ib.

landscape into a flat network that loomed large on the surface, initially arresting progression into the deeper space of the background. In subsequent versions he increasingly flattened the buildings to make them fill the surface more emphatically as two-dimensional forms, and in the final versions they even appear as if they had been viewed head-on.

Like that of his Hague School and Symbolist predecessors, Mondrian's response to the landscape was fundamentally romantic,²⁴ and he is known to have been particularly interested in the rural architecture and in the peasant way of life.²⁵ Instead of focusing on the sentimental aspects and peasant themes favored by the Hague painters, however, he sought to be more concrete or realistic—as he himself put it-by producing architectonic renderings of the countryside's basic forms. His special stress on architecture and on taut pictorial constructions also reflects the influence of the Amsterdam Realists from whom he had received most of his formal training, artists who had consciously departed from the lyricism and nostalgia of the Hague School subjects to create a more logical and sober art. Thus though Mondrian readily acknowledged his roots in the Hague traditions, he also felt that he had adopted a quite different approach from the beginning: "I often sketched by moonlight cows resting or standing immovable on flat Dutch meadows, or houses with dead, blank windows. I never painted these things romantically; but from the very beginning, I was always a realist."26

He apparently first studied and sketched the farm at Duivendrecht about 1905,²⁷ and ultimately treated it—if intermittently—for a period of over ten years in no less than seven oil paintings and in at least as many drawings and watercolors.²⁸ Such a large number of versions of the same subject is not unusual in his oeuvre; in fact, throughout his career Mondrian made a habit of returning to the same or similar motifs both to refine his ideas and to watch and record the development of his style. The farm at Duivendrecht, on the other hand, was one of the few specifically identifiable subjects he depicted with such frequency. He seems to have had no personal involvement with the farm or its owners,²⁹ though, and might have



Fig. 9 George Jan Poggenbeek, The Milking Yard, dated 1882, watercolor on paper, 20.5 x 29.5 cm., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

chosen to paint it simply because he was intrigued by its appearance.

If the artist insisted he was realistic, rather than romantic, in his perception of the farm and his other rural subjects, he nevertheless revealed a subjective response in his tendency to represent them in the moody, early evening period as well as in his interpretation of their structures. Welsh³⁰ and other scholars have observed how Mondrian's depiction of farms, windmills, and churches as important, centralized forms that dominate the landscape reflects musing on both their symbolic and functional roles. The imposing treatment of the farm at Duivendrecht (which bore the name of "Zeldenrust," meaning seldom or rarely rest)³¹ and its surroundings, man-made landscape of canals and irrigation ditches similarly seems to make an emblematic expression of the work and effort that dominated that way of life. This is realized above all in Mondrian's formal comparison of the labor, achievement, and aspirations embodied in the rustic order of the farm to nature's even grander creation of order in the crowning trees.

Π

The several versions of Farm at Duivendrecht are in different states of finish. Although a few might have been executed totally or at least partially in situ,³² the majority seems to have been worked up in the studio or from memory and from earlier versions or sketches. During the period of his first phase of work on the subject, from 1905–08, Mondrian occasionally developed programmatic series of paintings in which he represented the same motif at different times of day.33 This does not seem to have been his method with the farm at Duivendrecht, whichwith one exception-he depicted consistently in the early evening hours. In these years he almost always chose to represent his subjects at dusk or early evening: as he later said, he enjoyed how the veiling evening dusk generalized the landscape into more simple and regular forms, and thus lent the subject a tranquility that could not be felt in the more exasperating, unlimited variety of natural detail visible in full daylight.34

Cor Blok has established a chronological order that assigns the Duivendrecht representations to three different groups.35 The works in his Group I are the most naturalistic in color and conception and originated close to the artist's initial study of the farm in 1905; they include the only firmly dated version of this subject, the oil in the Bak collection (Version Ib; 1905, Fig. 8) and some of the major versions on paper, such as the charcoal in Toronto (Version Ia; 1905/06, Fig. 7). The Bak oil and Toronto charcoal reveal how from the start Mondrian was interested in emphasizing the grid of horizontals and verticals that his subject naturally suggested. The charcoal is an image of great vitality, due especially to the unusually high placement of the farm and horizon in the picture plane, and to the dynamic angling accents introduced in the spit that projects from the right side and in the paralleling, uneven reflection of the farmhouse in the water. All of the motif's main lines are drawn into a taut network on the surface; the forms in the reflection are almost as dense as those in the work's upper half, and reinforce the subject's essential structural elements and

flatness as they establish its striking, vertical axial symmetry and closure.

As Welsh has cautioned,36 however, viewers looking for the later, abstract Mondrian in these early naturalistic works should not over-emphasize the structural aspect to the point of ignoring their other features. Here and in most other versions of Groups I and II his pronounced interest in defining the subject's structural qualities is matched by an almost equal concern for rendering effects of light and atmosphere, those same, transient aspects of nature he would later reject, along with naturalistic appearance in general, as being too subjective or "tragic" for the purified, totally abstract, Neo-Plastic art he formulated in 1916.37 He did even more to accentuate "tragic" aspects of mood and light in his subsequent versions, particularly in a lost oil, Version IIc, that is known only through a black-and-white reproduction published in a review of a show in which it was exhibited in January, 1909 (1908, Fig. 10).38

Like those of Group I, the Group II works are basically naturalistic in color and conception, but they demonstrate the artist's new tendency towards a greater generalization of the subject. Combined with his rendering of the farm lower in the composition, without its full reflection, the new generalization lends the subject a heavier, and sometimes-as in the lost Version IIc-an almost haunted appearance. As Blok has suggested, it was probably Version IIc and one other version of the farm that the critic Frans Lapidoth described when he reviewed some of Mondrian's works exhibited in January, 1909.39 Lapidoth's description clarifies how the artist treated the motif at this stage: "a cluster of houses on a small neck of land in a bend of a canal. In one work the motif is seen treated in a somewhat blackish and gloomy way; in another [version] one descries practically the same motif turned into something spectral with a fiery sky, nightmare trees, and water done as if with blue powder and boiling."40 If the description of the latter painting corresponds to Version IIc, as Blok thinks, Mondrian must have used vivid blues, and perhaps strong oranges and pinks for the fiery sky, to create the spectral, mysterious, and boiling effects that are mentioned by Lapidoth and that are apparent even in the

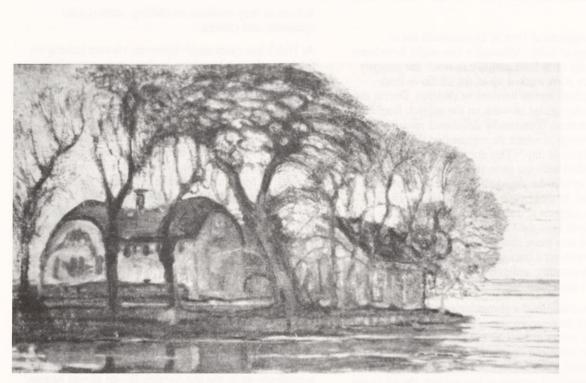


Fig. 10 Piet Mondrian, Farm at Duivendrecht, probably 1908, oil on canvas, location unknown. Version IIc.

black-and-white reproduction. The more generalized and intensified rendering of the subject in this version, comparable to that in some of his other expressionistic landscapes of the same period,⁴¹ gives further indication of the artist's highly subjective responses to the moods of nature, and thus also of how much he still was concerned with communicating a sense of nature's transient and tragic aspect.

Blok's Group III includes four oils,⁴² including the Version IIIe shown in Madison and the Gemeentemuseum version (IIId), and at least two highly developed versions on paper, Versions IIIb and IIIc.⁴³ The artist's more pronouncedly linear and flattened treatment of the motif, increased by his new emphasis on the facade's vertical decorative siding, makes these works differ markedly from the more loosely rendered or more generalized versions of Group II. For this reason Blok considers all four of the Group III oils as later, World War I versions of circa 1915–16, although he does not rule out the possibility that some could have been executed as early as 1908 or 1909.⁴⁴ Important differences of these four oils, however, suggest that they were painted in at least two different periods, the first two, Version IIIa (Fig. 11) and another oil not specifically designated with a number by Blok (Fig. 12), probably having been executed much closer to the Group II work in 1908 or 1909.

The four later oil versions exhibit two different types of compositions. The first, represented by Version IIIa and its



Fig. 11 Piet Mondrian, Farm at Duivendrecht, 1908/09?, oil on canvas, 78.7 x 104.2 cm., Private Collection. Version IIIa.

closely related counterpart (Figs. 11 and 12), combines aspects that had interested the artist separately in works of Groups I and II. As in the Group II works the buildings were placed relatively low in the field and the full expanse of the branches was depicted above them; as in the Group I works, however, the farms' full reflections were again included and extend almost to the paintings' bottom edges. In these, in which he clearly proceeded more from earlier versions than from memories of nature, Mondrian represented the farm from a closer point of view and showed three thick-trunked trees in front of the house instead of the four seen in most other versions.⁴⁵ The closer view, then, was conflated with other features—the complete reflection and the full crown of the trees' branching—that were visible only from a more distant point at the site itself.

In these two oil versions he also made his first extensive development of the rounded crown of branches on the first large tree before the house on the left,⁴⁶ although the degree of the branches' stylization is otherwise closer to



Fig. 12 Piet Mondrain, Farm at Duivendrecht, 1908/09?, oil on canvas, 85.1 x 100 cm., Private Collection (formerly Janis Collection).

that in the lost Version IIc of 1908 than to that in Versions IIId and IIIe. Mondrian's introduction of a trefoil-like bulge of foliage behind the major branching of the largest, forked tree in Version IIIa (Fig. 11)⁴⁷ can be seen as a further manifestation of the tendency towards generalization that was found in the works of Group II, and thus would also suggest that this painting dates closer to 1908 than to 1914.

All the works of Group III exhibit substantially stronger hues applied in relatively large areas. In Version IIIa and figure 12, however, this new colorism, like that of many landscapes of 1905-08, is realized within a predominantly naturalistic, tonal scheme,48 and thus differs markedly from the much lighter coloring in Versions IIId and IIIe. Version IIIa differs from all the others of this group by virtue of its dark blue evening or nighttime sky, a feature found otherwise only in a few works of 1908, the so-called "blue tree" landscapes such as The Red Tree (1908)49 and Evening Landscape (1908?), the latter of which has already been compared to Version IIc. The coloring, then, would also suggest an earlier date of circa 1908-09 for this work, although it must be noted that its blue is much darker and much more laboriously handled than that in the remarkably bold and freely rendered skies of the "blue tree" landscapes.⁵⁰ The especially charged treatment of the motif in Version IIIa, with its pronouncedly dark blue, and often nearly black, coloration and stylized, swelling trefoil form, suggests not only that it is another of the expressionistic landscapes of 1908, but possibly even that other version of the farm Lapidoth described as having been exhibited along with the lost Version IIc in January, 1909. For Version IIIa, more than any of the other known versions, certainly can be said to represent the farm "in a black or gloomy manner."51

III

In Versions IIIe and IIId, apparently the last two oil versions (Figs. 1 and 4), Mondrian returned to the compositional idea of his earliest conceptions to place the farm and horizon relatively high in the frame and to reflect both the full expanse of the buildings and some of

the sky above them in the water. For the first time the irregular natural arch formed by the bending trees in front of the buildings occurs as an important, directly centralized feature; though the buildings remain asymmetrical horizontally, this new emphasis on the central arch and its reflection make the vertical axial symmetry and closure of the motif more pronounced. The artist's stylized rendering of the trees' branching and brighter coloring also contribute to the new and more splendid presentation of the farm in these versions, which, as observed earlier, seems at least partially influenced by recent paintings of Hodler.

It has been noted that the markedly open and free execution of Version IIIe differs sharply from that of the relatively more finished Version IIId, distinguishing the former as a deliberately sketch-like conception, and the latter as a painting more carefully completed in fulfillment of a commission. In Version IIIe uniformly intense hues of blue, orange, orange-brown, pink, and yellow are applied loosely and in broad patches across the entire composition, so that much of the plain canvas and the underlying, orange-brown drawing with which the artist originally designed his composition show through. Although he worked with mixed colors instead of with the pure hues of the French Fauvists, Mondrian similarly introduced radiant, though more subtle and subdued, complementary contrasts in his juxtaposition of the greyish, teal-blue of the buildings to the warm orange-brown of the trees, foliage, and roofs. At the center of each of these later versions he drew attention to the complementary relations in an almost abstract manipulation of color and form fully in keeping with his current Cubist practice. Under the great central arch, for instance, he emphatically contrasted a prominent area of orange-brown in the small tree's foliage to an almost equal-sized rectangle of complementary blue on the farmhouse facade. To the immediate right, just below the painting's exact center, he continued his abstract contrast of form and color by placing a small, firmly defined rectangle of a strong blue at the bottom of a larger rectangle painted in the work's strongest orange. On the right side of the same orange field he maintained and

reinforced that contrast through his addition of a single, rectangular dab of blue (barely visible in the black-andwhite reproduction), which anticipates the larger rectangle of the work's strongest blue in the shed door just a few inches to the right.

In Version IIIe Mondrian marked out the color scheme boldly in broad and regular strokes that often parallel the direction of the forms they designate. In Version IIId, on the other hand, he worked up most areas more carefully, and modulated the fresh hues of Version IIIe through a substantial addition of touches of light brown, although the relative scale of coloring in this work still is much higher than that in the other, more tonal Group III versions. His summary but forceful rendering of the basic architectonic elements of the buildings and trees in the same, strong blue/green and brown hues in Version IIIe makes those stand out pronouncedly on the surface, whereas the same elements in more subdued colors in Version IIId recede a bit more naturalistically into space.

Version IIIe, then, shows a greater degree of daring. It conceivably could have been a study in which the artist planned the basic outlines and colors of a work he intended to finish more completely for a commission. On the other hand, it also could have been a later version in which, after repeating the major linear structure he had established in Version IIIb, c, and d he permitted himself more liberty and a greater freshness of execution.

The branching in Versions IIIe and IIId is much more stylized and decorative than that in the earlier paintings, yet at the same time has a more lively feeling than the patterns found in Dutch Symbolist works or even in the vital branching in Verster's *Snow Landscape* (Fig. 5). Especially in Version IIIe, where much of the branching remains in an unfinished state, Mondrian's spontaneous execution shows that even as he tended towards a greater degree of stylization he continued to try to convey a sensation of nature's robust energies. His careful placement and distribution of the numerous small curving segments of the trees' branches in a grid, already compared to his closely contemporary Cubist renderings of trees (Fig. 3), also demonstrate the new confidence he had found in using the dynamic tensions of pure linear elements to create an equivalent for the animation of nature.

In these later versions, both in his treatment of the branches and in his organization of the motif as a whole, Mondrian created a more abstract, balanced, and almost musical order that reads as if it unwound from left to right and reached a climax in the intertwining of branches at the large central arch. The dense concentration of detail at the center recapitulates and expands upon motifs first announced at the picture's left side, including the strident, repeated vertical tendency of the three younger, thicktrunked trees before the farmhouse, and the rounded crown of branches at the top of the first of these trees, which anticipates or is a first statement of the intricate branching that is developed in the center. As in earlier versions, the quieter counterpoint of a slighter, more distant leftward leaning tree on the far left of the painting is also reiterated, with much greater force, in the angle of the largest, forked tree. The opening between that forked tree's main branches⁵² introduces a slight pause, just after the branches' most detailed interaction and the dramatic central arching; this largest tree's other main branch then initiates the gently curving, downward motion that is continued in the small trees on the right. The somewhat more chaotic and freely drawn branching patterns of these much younger trees make diminished, yet still vibrant, echoes of the larger and more elegant curves at the painting's center and finally discharge the trees' branching energies into the sky. Reinforcing the symmetries and structural regularities that had attracted him in the natural branching of trees, Mondrian used these considerably more ordered and stylized curving elements to create a different, pictorial equivalent for the rhythms of nature. That he had recently begun to discuss musical composition extensively in Paris with his close friend, the Dutch composer and Bach specialist Jakob van Domselaer, in 1912⁵³ suggests that he might consciously have had a musical or contrapuntal model in mind when he began to develop these wartime versions. As Karin v. Maur has shown, such an interest in rhythmic articulation was fully consistent

with his current reduction of landscape motives in his development towards abstraction,⁵⁴ and would be repeatedly expressed in later writings in which he stressed that the artist should try not just to duplicate nature's outward appearance, but to search behind that appearance to discover its more fundamental, "interiorized" harmony or rhythm.⁵⁵

Mondrian's subject, then, was not just the farm and its reflection, but especially the trees' branching, which in these versions was announced only once, in a single powerful statement in the composition's upper half. His creation of these magnificent branching patterns recalls the similar emphasis in representations of isolated trees of both the evening landscape and Cubist periods. As in those works, this seems to convey a meaning similar to that he had expressed in a much earlier, more overtly Symbolist work that is now lost, the gouache and watercolor entitled *Church at Winterswijk* (1899, Fig. 13).⁵⁶

In Church at Winterswijk, which, as previously noted, gives further evidence of his early acquaintance with the art of Verster,⁵⁷ the young Mondrian depicted a church viewed through an imposing natural frame of tangled branches. Both in the lost work and in a poem written on its reverse side he compared the aspiration of the man-made steeple towards heaven to the natural rising and meeting of young and old branches before it: "And the twigs of the young trees rejoiced,/ and came together with those already at peace with the grey sky,/ or hanging suspended from the great trees,/ and beneath, the silent green plain./ And the church towered above the village."58 Though he did not continue to make such specific elucidations of his pictorial ideas, a similar type of symbolism seems intended in the many different versions of Farm at Duivendrecht. His monumentalization of a broad, "rejoicing" interaction of rising young and horizontally spreading old branches in a large central arch before the quiet farm at Duivendrecht makes a similar comparison of natural and man-made orders. Though the farm is a much more humble structure than the Gothic church, it too seems celebrated both as a proud manifestation of man's labor and as a guarantor of his future and is similarly made to echo aspects of nature's

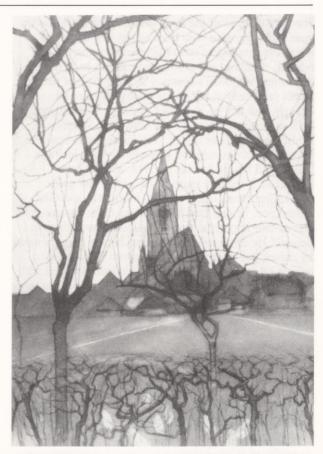


Fig. 13 Piet Mondrian, Church at Winterswijk, 1899, gouache and watercolor on paper, location unknown.

more beautiful model of order in the branching of the trees. It might be partly because Mondrian had repeatedly conceived the trees and the farm at Duivendrecht with such subjective, poetic associations that he never attempted to develop these subjects further, as he did the windmill against the bare sky, the sea, or the Paris church facades, towards a more purified state of abstraction. The later versions of the farm were derived more directly from earlier versions than from nature, and show less interest in detailing effects of light and weather than in refining, distilling, and articulating nature's basic rhythms and forms. Mondrian's eventual abandonment of natural motifs came only at the end of a long and gradual struggle, and that he continued to derive abstract works such as Composition in Line and Color (Fig. 3) from landscape subjects as late as 1916 further underlines the importance that nature and naturalistic vision had as a basis for all his art. In fact, by 1918, after he had formulated a severely spare abstract style that used nothing but forms of the vertical, horizontal, and their intersection, he said that he employed those because the vertical and horizontal were to be found everywhere in nature.⁵⁹ He continued to assert that he was deeply moved by nature, but thought he could express its true feeling only in other, purer forms: "when we look at nature with our natural vision alone, it is impossible to avoid the tragic vision. Thus a deeper vision is necessary. Only he can escape from tragic emotion who has learned, precisely by cultivating pure plastic vision, to fashion the universal from the particular."60

The two final versions of *Farm at Duivendrecht* give further evidence of how Mondrian continued to be intrigued with the forms and moods of nature even at that late date. His long and substantial preoccupation with the farm named "Zeldenrust" also illustrates the degree of his fascination with rural subjects, and, as noted above, suggests the possibility that his subjective or "tragic" associations with that motif might have precluded his developing it towards a state of purer abstraction.

Although Version IIId in the Gemeentemuseum, and perhaps the two comparable later versions on paper (Versions IIIb and IIIc), seem to have been commissioned by patrons requesting works "like" some of the artist's much earlier farms, none of these nor any other of the later versions was only a slavish repetition of an earlier idea. Version IIIe, with its deliberately broad and unfinished execution, striking colorism, and emphatically flat articulation on the surface, is much less particularized and calm than Version IIId, and consequently is considerably different from the other two oils of Blok's Group III. Its unusually fresh energies and emphatically musical abstraction reflect the excitement the artist could still feel as he evolved a new conception of a much older motif, incorporating the coloristic and structural vigor he had recently discovered in the Symbolism of Hodler and in his own Cubist abstraction, and perhaps also something of his new awareness of rhythmic and contrapuntal structure in music.⁶¹

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Footnotes

1. The interrelation of Mondrian's conceptions of nature and abstraction was repeatedly noted by the artist himself, and is dealt with extensively in the writings of Robert Welsh: see especially Welsh, "The Birth of De Stijl, Part I: Piet Mondrian. The Subject Matter of Abstraction," *Artforum*, 11 (April 1973), 50–53. See also Welsh, *Piet Mondrian's Early Career. The "Naturalistic" Periods* (New York, 1977), hereafter referred to as Welsh 1977; *Piet Mondrian*, 1872–1944 (Toronto and Philadelphia, 1966); and "Piet Mondrian's Landscapes of around 1908," in *Piet Mondrian and the Hague School of Landscape Painting* (Regina and Edmonton, 1969), pp. 37–43; and Cor Blok, *Piet Mondriaan. Een catalogus van zijn werk in Nederlands openbaar bezit* (Amsterdam, 1974), hereafter referred to as Blok 1974, 19–22, 44–45, 172–173, 186. I would like to thank both Welsh and Blok for supplying me with further information in correspondence.

2. Its most recent publication is in John Canaday, *What is Art? An Introduction to Painting, Sculpture and Architecture* (New York, 1980), 129, where it is again presented as a work of "about 1906."

3. The term was first used by Blok in the 1964 catalogue of Mondrian's works in the Gemeentemuseum; see also Welsh, "Mondrian and the Period of Evening Landscapes," in *Piet Mondrian. The Early Years 1905–1908* (New York, 1964), unpaginated.

4. Though Fauvism had originated in France in the years 1905–07, it hardly became known in The Netherlands until 1908, and then chiefly through the works of Dutch transmitters of new French coloristic innovation such as Jan Sluyters (1881–1957) and Jan Toorop (1858–1928), who were the chief influences on Mondrian's own coloristic transformation in that period. He himself later characterized this development in "Towards the True Vision of Reality" (1942) in *Plastic Art and Pure Plastic Art (1937) and Other Essays, 1941–1943,* ed. Robert Motherwell (New York, 1947), 10: "The first thing to change in my painting was the color. I forsook natural color for pure color. I had come to feel that the colors of nature cannot be reproduced on canvas. Instinctly I felt that painting had to find a new way to express the beauty of nature."

5. Blok 1974, 44-45, 172-173.

6. Blok was the first to suggest a comparison of the later versions of *Farm at Duivendrecht* with this sort of Cubist work, comparing them, for instance, with *Composition in Line and Color* (1916, New York, Guggenheim Museum): Blok 1974, 45.

7. The artist inscribed "No. 2 Windmill" on the back of this work's stretcher: noted in Welsh, "The Birth of De Stijl," 50 and 53, note 8.

8. All that is known of this painting's provenance is that it and a few much earlier paintings came directly into the family of its present owner sometime during or shortly after World War I. 9. In a letter of January, 1980 Welsh said that these rumors were ultimately traceable to Solomon Slipper, a good friend of Mondrian's who was the last private owner of the Gemeentemuseum oil. Welsh believes that Slipper might have acted as an intermediary between the artist and customers who wanted or were willing to commission naturalistic works. No written record of a commission for this or any other version of the farm has yet been found.

10. Mondrian in a letter to H. van Assendelft, February, 1915, published in J.M. Joosten, "Documentatie over Mondriaan: 17 brieven van Piet Mondriaan aan ds H. van Assendelft 1914–1919," *Museumjournal*, 18 (October 1972), 218: "Ik kan nu mijne boerderijen niet zoo spoedig aftleveren en zit dus wel in geldverlagenheid."

11. See Blok 1974, 44-45 and passim.

12. He had returned to Holland before the outbreak of the war, intending to return to Paris in August.

13. These tendencies would have been well-known to Mondrian in Amsterdam, where exhibitions in the early years of the century included works of several of the Belgian and Dutch Symbolists as well as some of the symmetrical landscapes of Monet. Other examples were probably known to him through illustrations in journals.

14. Cf. Mondrian's Church at Winterswijk (1899, lost gouache and watercolor, Fig. 13), with Verster's Village Church Behind the Trees (1888), in Floris Verster 1861-1927. Volledige geillustreerde catalogus van zijn schilderijen, waskrijt-en waterverfteekeningen, en grafisch Werk (Utrecht, 1928), 124, graphics cat. no. 3.

15. See especially Farm in Marshy Country (1906, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum) and Farm with Trees and Water (1906, The Hague, Gemeentemuseum).

16. The first widely accessible source of illustrations of Hodler's works that could have been known to Mondrian was probably an article that appeared in *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, 17 (1907), 218ff.

17. His only recorded mention of the Swiss artist seems to be the cryptic comment noted in James Johnson Sweeney, "Piet Mondrian," *Museum of Modern Art Bulletin*, XII (1945), 2–3: "When Mondrian was asked even in his seventieth year, what he though of Hodler, for example, he replied: Toorop liked him very much.""

18. I have been unable to locate a catologue of that exhibition. Peter Selz, *Ferdinand Hodler* (Berkeley, New York, and Cambridge, 1973), p. 128, notes that Hodler was the featured artist in that salon.

19. The colorism of Hodler's *Sunset on Lake Geneva* (1915, Zurich, Kunsthaus), for instance, is most similar to that in this version of Farm at Duivendrecht, but of course postdates the Salon d'Automne exhibition if not also Mondrian's painting.

20. An exellent summary of Dutch artistic developments in this period is found in Joop Joostens, "Painting in Holland," in Post-Impressionism (London, 1979), pp. 255–279. See also Gerben Colmjon, The Hague School. The Revival of Dutch Painting Since the Middle of the Nineteenth Century (Rijswijk, 1951); H.E. van Gelder, Guide to Dutch Art (The Hague: Government Printing and Publishing Office), 64–67; A.M. Hammacher, Amsterdamsche Impressionisten en hun Kring (Amsterdam, 1947); and A.B. Loosjes-Terpstra, Moderne Kunst in Nederland. 1900–1914 (Utrecht, 1959).

21. On Mondrian's youthful development see Herbert Henkels in *Mondriaan in Winterswijk* (The Hague: Gemeentemuseum, 1979) and *Mondrian and the Hague School* (Manchester, 1980), 51–61.

22. Even at the end of his life, long after he had become a confirmed city dweller and had totally rejected naturalistic subjects and appearances from his art, Mondrian spoke of how naturalistic landscape painting "could be seen as a product of the revolt against the wrong side of town life": Mondrian, "A New Realism" (April, 1943), in *Plastic Art and Pure Plastic Art*, 20.

23. See Theodor Weevers' discussion of the parallel phenomenon in contemporary Dutch poetry, especially in the works of Henriette Roland-Holst, in *Poetry of the Netherlands in its European Context*, 1170–1930 (London, 1960), 204–207 and passim.

24. See Robert Rosenblum's characterization of this tendency in "Notes on Mondrian and Romanticism," in *Piet Mondrian* (Toronto and Philadelphia, 1966), 17–21, and *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition: Friedrich to Rothko* (London, 1974), 173–194.

25. In 1904, for instance, the year before he began the Duivendrecht series, he even took the unusual step of giving up his Amsterdam apartment to paint subjects in the remote rural area of North Brabant: noted in Welsh 1977, 66. At the time and much later he wrote of how deeply he was moved both by the peasants' way of life and by the forms and decoration of their farm architecture. Cf. Michael Seuphor, *Piet Mondrian: Life and Work* (New York, 1956), hereafter referred to as Seuphor, p. 53; Welsh 1977, 66–67; and Mondrian, "Natural Reality and Abstract Reality" (1919–20), in Seuphor, 336. Mondrian was not interested in creating a regionalist or nationalistic art, but did tend to be more particular than many of his predecessors in distinguishing the architectural and decorative features of buildings that were peculiar to each area in which he worked: see Welsh 1977, 99 and passim, and "Mondrian's Landscapes of Around 1908," 39–40.

26. Mondrian in "Toward the True Vision of Reality" (1942), in Plastic Art and Pure Art, 10.

27. Seuphor, 47, states that the artist first found and studied the motif around 1892 at the time he lived close to Duivendrecht at Rijndijk 128 in Watergraafsneer; the first pictorial representations of the subject, however, seem to date only from about 1905. In a letter of January, 1980, Welsh wrote that the artist's old friend, A. van de Briel, remembered that Mondrian discovered the Duivendrecht motif while bicycling between Amsterdam and the Gein River. 28. Most are listed in the catalogue entry on the series in Blok 1974, 172-173, cat. no. 89.

29. Information from Welsh, January 1980, who wrote that van den Briel thought Mondrian did not know the farm's owners.

30. In Piet Mondrian (Toronto and Philadelphia, 1966), cat. no. 26 and elsewhere.

31. Information from Welsh, January, 1980.

32. Welsh believes that the only certain evidence of the artist working *in situ* is his sketches of the farm and surrounding trees in a small notebook: illustrated in Welsh 1977, Fig. 110.

33. For instance, the *Haystack* series of 1908, Seuphor classified catalogue (hereafter referred to as Seuphor c.c.) nos. 166–188. It is generally agreed that Mondrian's conception of such a series was at least partially indebted to Monet, although at that time he probably knew no more than a few of the Frenchman's works.

34. See "Natural Reality and Abstract Reality. An Essay in Dialogue Form" (1919-1920), in Seuphor, 303-310.

35. Blok 1974, 172-173, cat. nos. 89-91, and 186, no. 250.

36. Welsh in Piet Mondrian (Toronto and Philadelphia, 1966), cat. no. 28.

37. As interpreted by Seuphor, 352, " 'tragic' . . . signifies every kind of fear of life, including the dread of the new, and sentimental attachment of the past. In short, the word serves to denote everything that is opposed to Neo-Plasticism."

38. Illustrated in Frederick van Eeden, "Gezonheid en Verval in Kunst," Op de Hoogte, 6 (January 1909), 85.

39. The exact contents of this exhibition, a joint show of Mondrian, Jan Sluyters, and Cornelis Spoor (1867–1928), can be determined only through descriptions in contemporary reviews. Works known with certainty to have been in the show are the lost oil version of *Farm at Duivendrecht* (Blok 1974, cat. no. 89, Version IIC); *Sunflowers* (Seuphor c.c. 156; Blok 146); *Devotion* (Seuphor c.c. 14; Blok 151); *Passion Flower* (Seuphor c.c. 22; Blok 154); *Woods Near Oele* (Seuphor 65; Blok 159); *Red Tree; Mill at Sunlight* (Seuphor c.c. 113; Blok 166); and the *Haystacks series* (Seuphor) c.c. 166–168. Works whose presence in the show is more doubtful include *Trees in the Gein with Rising Moon* (Seuphor c.c. 72; Blok 142) and *Evening Landscape* (Seuphor c.c. 95; Blok 162).

40. F. Lapidoth in *Nieuwe Courant* (Amsterdam), January 30, 1909: I am grateful to Blok for making me aware of this quote and for providing me with this translation.

41. The stylistic aspect of the lost oil closely approaches that of *Night Landscape* (1908), Seuphor c.c. 96. Cf. also the later version of the same subject, *Evening Landscape*, Seuphor c.c. 95, Blok 162.

42. The four oils are all signed "Mondriaan," a spelling he generally employed only until 1911; for later versions of motifs from his earlier naturalistic period, however, the artist regularly adopted the pre-1911 spelling.

43. These, a watercolor and a charcoal drawing, might have served as completed sketches or cartoons for Versions IIId and IIIe, but also might have been developed as finished works in their own right. They could even be some of the other "farms" the artist spoke of working on in his letter to van Assendelft of February, 1915.

44. Blok confirmed and elaborated on those views in letters of September, 1979 and February, 1980.

45. I.e., he seems to have removed one of the two central trees before the house seen in the Bak oil (Fig. 8), Toronto charcoal (Fig. 7), and Version IIIe (Fig. 1).

46. Though this manner of rendering the branching in curvilinear fragments was not used in earlier versions, it recalls a detail that interested the artist in some of his earliest studies. Cf. the small sketches he made at the farm in 1905 in Welsh 1977, fig. 110.

47. This feature was also rendered in a loosley conceived working drawing of the farm (1908/09?, private collection (formerly Janis collection), Seuphor c.c. 117) that seems to have directly preceded this version. The drawing, with its especially generalized and highly animated appearance, seems to represent a transition from works of Group II such as Version IIb (1906/08?, The Hague, Gemeentemusem, Blok 91) to Version IIIa and Fig. 12. The linear definition of the contours of the land and trees in this drawing is also similar to that in those two oils.

48. Welsh remembers Fig. 12 as the most naturalistically colored of all the Group III works, and still dates it circa 1905–06: letter of January, 1980. I have been able to study this painting only in an Ektachrome reproduction.

49. Seuphor c.c. 171, Blok 163. Welsh 1977, 142 and 221, note 66, remembered the blue background of Version IIIa as being "virtually identical" to that of *The Red Tree*.

50. This manner of handling the surface, however, seems more typical of the evening landscape period, when the artist frequently experimented with different painterly modes.

51. Lapidoth in Niewe Courant (January 30, 1909).

52. The lit area and lines of this and of the openings on either side of it subtly echo the trefoil shape defined in dark foliage in Version IIIa (Fig. 11).

53. Documented in Karin v. Maur, "Mondrian und die Musik," Mondrian. Zeichnungen, exh. cat. Stuttgart, The Hague, and Baltimore, 1980–81, 287. Welsh, "De Stijl: A Reintroduction," in *De Stijl:* 1917–1931. Visions of Utopia, ed. Mildred Friedman (New York, 1982), 33, note 31, notes that van Domselaer was a Bach specialist and that Mondrian had great respect for Bach.

54. Maur, "Mondrian und die Musik," 301-310

55. See Mondrian, "Liberation from Opression in Art and Life" (1941), in *Plastic Art*, p. 44: "In nature, the appearance of things is so expressive, so 'living,' that the tendency is to feel only harmony and to ignore rhythm. If art is to give us the feeling of reality, it cannot follow reality's aspect. Art has to accentuate rhythm but in such a manner that rhythm dissolves in a unity."

56. Illustrated in Welsh 1977, fig. 30. Welsh 1977, 118 was the first to comment on this continuity of meaning. Here illustrated from *Mondrian*. *Zeichnungen*, see above, note 53.

57. See above, note 14.

58. "-En de takjes van de jonge boompjes jubelden op tot ze samenkwamen met die reeds in rust van de grijzen lucht neerhingen van den grooten boomen en daaronder de zwijgende groene flakte-En de kert rees hoog, boven't dorp uit." The poem is quoted and discussed in Welsh 1977, 32-34 and 189, note 26; this translation, by I. Rike, is from Mondrian and The Hague School (Manchester, 1980), 57.

59. Noted in Welsh, "The Birth of De Stijl," 50 (letter of c. 1918).

60. Mondrian, "Natural Reality and Abstract Reality" (1919/20), in Seuphor, 315.

61. I am most grateful to Annette Mahler for her considerable help in looking at and analyzing this painting.

T he Elvehjem Museum of Art Council, in its advisory capacity, has concluded its tenth year of activity. The Council's role has primarily been to encourage the staff, and to participate in the fund-raising efforts of the Director.

In 1981 the Dean of the College of Letters and Science again reaffirmed his view that the Elvehjem is one of the jewels of the College. He also told the Council that the continuation of high quality museum activities was being assured in a difficult fiscal period through supplementary funding from various foundations and trusts. The Elvehjem Endowment Fund at the University of Wisconsin Foundation reached \$1,175,208 (market value), generating neary \$100,000 of income annually.

Director Katherine Mead maintained the tradition of informing the Council concerning on-going and planned activities. Staff members outlined individually the programs for which they were responsible such as acquisitions, maintenance, and programming. In these biannual meetings the members of the Council are kept abreast of the year's highlights and the Museum's needs.

Newman T. Halvorson, Chairman

Ex-Officio Members

Bryant E. Kearl, Vice-Chancellor
E. David Cronon, Dean of College of Letters and Science
Robert B. Rennebohm, Executive Director, UW Foundation
Fannie Taylor, Coordinator, Consortium for the Performing Arts
Katherine Harper Mead, Director, Elvehjem Museum of Art

Members-at-Large

Ineva Baldwin Joyce Jaeger Bartell John A. Bolz Ellen M. Checota Arthur J. Frank Walter Frautschi Newman T. Halvorson, Chairman Robert Hood David J. Horsfall **Edith Jones** Hope Melamed Mrs. Frederick W. Miller Catherine Quirk Roth Schleck Gordon W. Walker **James Watson** Jane Werner Watson

Madison Campus Faculty and Student Members

George Bunn, Law School Frank R. Horlbeck, Department of Art History John Wilde, Department of Art Steve Sennott, Graduate Student, Department of Art History **T** he Elvehjem Museum of Art Council is an advisory group appointed by the Chancellor. It has no governing function but it provides support and encouragement for the Elvehjem's professional staff and the many volunteer assistants and contributors.

The Council ordinarily meets twice a year. At the April 30, 1983 meeting, an executive committee of Council members living within easy commuting distance of Madison was appointed in accordance with the request by Director Katherine Mead for more Council input. At the same meeting, a representative from the Elvehjem Docents and one from the Museum League were added to the Council. Joel Skornicka, the new Vice President for Administration of the University of Wisconsin Foundation was introduced; he will serve half time as Director of Development for the Elvehjem. It was also reported that the Elvehjem Endowment Fund at the University Foundation has passed the \$2 million figure, nearly double the amount of the preceding year.

Later in the year, the support function of the Council was tested by the tragic automobile accident that killed Katherine Harper Mead in July of 1983. In the months following her death, the Museum's sound administrative structure maintained the organizational equilibrium, and Stephen C. McGough, the Assistant Director, took over as Acting Director.

On October 7, 1983 a memorial program was held for Katherine Mead. It was attended by the staff, the members of the Council and the general public. This moving program was followed in the afternoon by the Council's regular meeting, where a memorial statement was unanimously adopted and a Mead Memorial Fund for the purchase of a work of nineteenth-century French art was authorized.

Fannie Taylor, Chairman

Ex-Officio Members

Bryant E. Kearl, Vice-Chancellor E. David Cronon, Dean of

College of Letters and Science

Robert B. Rennebohm, Executive Director, UW Foundation

Katherine Harper Mead, Director, Elvehjem Museum of Art

Joel Skornicka, Vice-President for Administration, UW Foundation

Members-at-Large

Ineva Baldwin Joyce Jaeger Bartell Anne Bolz Ellen M. Checota Jane Coleman Arthur J. Frank Walter Frautschi Newman T. Halvorson, Chairman (through April 1983) Robert Hood David J. Horsfall **Edith** Jones Hope Melamed Mrs. Frederick W. Miller Earl Morse Catherine Quirk Bryan Reid Roth Schleck Fannie Taylor, Chairman (beginning April 1983) James Watson Iane Werner Watson

Madison Campus Faculty and Student Members

George Bunn, Law School (through October 1982) Warrington Colescott, Department of Art (beginning April 1983) Frank R. Horlbeck, Department of Art History Robert Krainer, School of Business (beginning April 1983) John Wilde, Department of Art (through October 1982) Charles Doherty, Graduate Student, Department of Art History (beginning April 1983) Steve Sennott, Graduate Student, Department of Art History (through October 1982) Fixed Term Appointments

Angelena Lenehan, Elvehjem Museum League Jane Pizer, Elvehjem Docent

 $oldsymbol{E}$ ducation Services certainly received Katherine Mead's imprimatur and enthusiastic support during her directorship. Interpretation of works of art with words, both written and spoken, were the hallmark of the years covered by this Bulletin. The community was also treated to numerous public lectures by our university colleagues and by Docents. The Elvehjem sponsored 71 lectures, attended by over 3,800 people. Though it is not possible to list here each University of Wisconsin professor and staff member who participated, the departments represented include Art, Art History, Communication Arts, History, Scandinavian Studies, Slavic Languages, the State Historical Society and Wildlife Ecology. Most were Sunday Afternoon Gallery Lectures, a popular format which enables viewers to get a close look at the exhibitions while speakers lecture "in the round." Visiting lecturers from around the country and abroad included Christo, David Sanctuary Howard, Robert McDonald, Earl Morse, Marian Burleigh-Motley, Vincent Price, Joseph Raffael, and Daniel Robbins. Written educational materials in the form of gallery notes were produced for eleven temporary exhibitions and several objects in the permanent collection. Donations from the Norman Bassett Foundation, Eugenie Mayer Bolz, the Eviue Foundation and the John A. Johnson Foundation made possible free distribution of over 17,300 of these gallery handouts. Half of this number were given away in Edvard Munch: Expressionist Paintings, 1900-1940 alone!

With the encouragement of Katherine Mead, children's programs expanded beyond the traditional offering of public school tours. Nancy Giffey was hired to teach and administer studio/art appreciation classes for children eight to twelve years old. Ms. Giffey taught over 500 children in thirty different series of art classes on topics ranging from drawing and painting to Greek myths and bookmaking. She also supervised numerous UW art and art education students who gained valuable practice teaching experience. Children in schools on the East and West sides of Madison, at Madison General and UW Hospitals (under a grant from the Dane County Cultural Affairs Commission), and as far away as Mazomanie have participated in these programs.



Earl Morse lectures to interested Museum visitors on his collection of Ancient Chinese Bronzes exhibited at the Elvehjem in the fall of 1982.

Elvehjem Docents have translated into eve-opening tours rich and varied temporary exhibitions of Japanese prints, Christo projects, the Bird in Natural History, Prairie School architecture, carpets and textiles of Morocco, UW art faculty members' work, and Munch's expressionist paintings. From January 1981–June 1983 over 18,000 children (pre-school-grade twelve) and 6,000 adults have had guided tours by Docents. Most school groups received the Elvehjem's preparatory materials before their tours. A training class of seventeen new Docents graduated in the spring of 1982 and began giving tours and lunchtime lectures. For example, Docents presented popular lunchtime tours of Edvard Munch: Expressionist Paintings, 1900-1940 to over 200 participants. For the first time Docents were represented on the Elvehjem Museum of Art Council. Chancellor Shain appointed Jane Pizer to that role. Two Docents, Virginia Dymond and Susan Stanek, were selected by their peers to be delegates to the National Symposium of Art Museum Docents in Milwaukee. The University League provided the funds that enabled them to attend.

Films, slide programs and Museum Short Courses added variety to our activities for adults. Feature films, Andrei Tarkovsky's Andrei Rublev, and Peter Watkins' Edvard Munch, as well as three Soviet silent films to complement Russian Stage Design: Scenic Innovation, 1900–1930 were shown. Christo's Valley Curtain enhanced his public lecture. Slide programs highlighted the exhibitions Generations in Clay and The Gloria and Donald B. Marron Collection of American Prints. Museum Short Courses on exhibitions and special collections (co-sponsored with UW Extension and given at night) attracted 610 people to the museum for forty different classes.

Museum education at the Elvehjem during this period was greatly enhanced by a generous spirit of cooperation on the part of University faculty members especially in Art History, Docents, graduate students, sister institutions such as the Madison Art Center and the State Historical Society Museum, and the surrounding community.

> Anne Lambert Curator of Education

Elvehjem Docents

Docents' language skills for tours indicated

Betty Alexander Connie Bernt Mary Berthold Iane Biondi Marilyn Blettner Elise Boake Catherine Bonnard (French) Virginia Botsford Sara Boush Marilyn Bownds Helene Byrns Irmgard Carpenter Linda Celesia Louise Clark Iane Coleman Catharine Conley Susan Covino Audrey Dybdahl

Virginia Dymond Iane Eisner Elizabeth Erbe Loretta Feldt Sara Fellman Io Anne Flowers Marietta Fox Suzanne Frey Mary Gadzinski Carolyn Gaebler Virginia Gibson Gail Goode Kathleen Green Florence Greville Mary Jane Hamilton Loni Hayman (German) Lydia Herring (Spanish) Vibeke Hill (German and Danish)



Nancy Giffey introduces a drawing project to students in an Elvehjem Children's art class.

Elizabeth Hughes Donna Lenhardt Janet Loomis Patricia Luberg Rona Malofsky Maria Matallana (Spanish) Joan Maynard Jean McKenzie Helene Metzenberg Judith Mjaanes Elaine Nadler Linda Nichols Karen O'Neil Virgie Peloquin Erica Pistorius (French) Jane Pizer Kay Pohle Fran Rall Pat Reboussin

Patricia Roedell Helen Roman Ingrid Russell Karen Sack Miriam Sacks Ann Sauthoff Linda Savage Mary Ann Schmitz Henryka Schutta Pauline Scott Carla Smith Susan Stanek Ramona Steele Catherine Steinwand (French) Barbara Tiao Nancy Vick Margy Walker Shirley Williams

D uring much of the period covered by this *Bulletin* the dedicated, efficient and coordinated staff of the Kohler Art Library adopted a stance of status quo under the acting directorship of Phyllis Kimbrough. The library did, however, actively participate in the preparation of the elegant *The Bird In Natural History* exhibition, especially in terms of acquisitions and research. Also during this period two new bibliographies were produced: the subject indexed "Kohler Art Library Periodicals" by Mary Meyer and the forty-one page annotated "Kohler Art Library Selected Reference Materials" by Louise Henning.

Again the issue of space was a preoccupation. Four years ago the installation of a compact storage facility was the joy of the staff. One year ago an extensive shift was its lament. With limited space, when "evermore" is the cry, only technology offers a solution. Thus we look to microtechnology to meet the demands of research and expanding scope in the coming years.

During this period, using state funds, the library expended \$84,220 to purchase 5,844 new books and \$32,590 to maintain its serial continuations and periodical subscriptions. 262,150 readers visited the library, withdrew 138,076 books and asked 61,284 reference questions.

William C. Bunce Assistant Professor and Director



William Bunce with two members of his staff (Louise Henning and Mary Byrne) in the Director's office of the Kohler Art Library.

T he Elvehjem Museum Shop has initiated two projects that have become part of its operations. In the spring of 1981 the Museum Shop published for the first time a poster in conjunction with an exhibition organized by the Elvehjem. This publication increased the Museum's ability to publicize its exhibitions. It was so successful that four additional posters were subsequently published. Several of them have been included in an exhibition of art posters that traveled around Wisconsin, and mail orders have resulted in the distribution of Elvehjem posters throughout the United States.

The second project was the introduction of the Christmas Shop in the Whyte Lounge in November of 1982. Open for two months, the Christmas Shop gave Elvehjem visitors more space in which to shop as well as a larger selection of art cards, ornaments by area artists and handcrafted ornaments from around the world.

The Museum Shop has continued to offer numerous publications otherwise unavailable in the Madison area. These include books written by the University of Wisconsin-Madison Art History faculty, catalogues of major exhibitions in other cities, the Elvehjem's own catalogues, and inexpensive art books for University students.

Most of the exhibitions in the Whyte Lounge (see p. 65) were sponsored by the Elvehjem Museum Shop. However, four of the exhibitions listed below were presented in collaboration with the University of Wisconsin-Madison Department of Art and contained works by students in that department. They were underwritten by the University's Consortium for the Arts.

Kathleen Parks-Yoast Museum Shop Manager



University students selecting art cards in the Elvehjem Museum Shop.

D uring her brief tenure as Director of the Elvehjem, Katherine Harper Mead often made use of the "Director's Column" included in the Museum *Calendar* to introduce new programs and extend her personal thanks to the FRIENDS of the Elvehjem.

Time and again she reasserted her conviction that the permanent collection is the Museum's greatest resource. In the spring of 1982 she enthusiastically invited the FRIENDS to participate in the selection of an acquisition. Of the three works selected by the staff, Antoine-Louis Barye's *Theseus Combating the Minotaur* (1846) was chosen by the FRIENDS and Associates as a joint gift. This bronze sculpture with its fine patina, refinement and clarity of detail, and surface modulation constitutes a welcome addition to the Elvehjem's nineteenth-century French collection. The following spring the Museum League purchased a Greek sixth-century B.C. Rhodian alabastron in the shape of a satyr with monies raised by the first Elvehjem Benefit.

"If questionaires tell the truth," wrote Katherine Mead in the September/October Calendar of 1982, "our FRIENDS like the Elvehjem and what it is doing." Special exhibitions, Sunday concerts and lectures were ranked by the FRIENDS as the activities they liked best. The happy union of art and music that characterizes the Sunday Afternoon Live concert series is the legacy of Margie Elwood who took a position as development head at Chicago's Lincoln Park Zoo in 1981. To the broadcast of those concerts which were carried by Wisconsin Public Radio and beamed across the entire state, Katherine Mead added the weekly intermission feature, "Focus on Art: Director's Choice," featuring lively discussions of works of art and of current exhibitions. After each concert during the forty-week season the Museum League served tea in Paige Court with unfailing dedication.

In November of 1982, the "Director's Column" focused on the cooperation of professionals and volunteers. Though generally not visible, this cooperative activity is an important aspect of what makes the Elvehjem work. The Museum League, which had formerly been the Museum Aides, was renamed during this period and bylaws were drawn up to reflect a new sense of direction. As in the past the group organized preview receptions, provided the Sunday afternoon teas, trimmed the annual Christmas tree, and sought to augment membership by extensive mail drives and phonothons. An auxiliary cadre of volunteers was drawn from within the general FRIENDS membership to provide manpower for numerous projects.

Under the able leadership of the elected presidents Gail Kohl (1981–82) and Angelena Lenehan (1982–83), the League also initiated active fund raising efforts on behalf of the Museum. The annual Elvehjem Benefit was inaugurated in the spring of 1982, featuring the American Players Theatre. The following spring Benefit featured a Noel Coward review by Linda Clauder, Del Lewis and Kay Lindblade. These delightful results of monumental organizing efforts were chaired by Mrs. Kohl, Jane Henning and Helen Kelman.

Other FRIENDS' activities during this period included a Benefit Concert by Gunnar Johansen designed to showcase the Museum's new treasure, a Steinway concert grand piano; numerous trips to museums enabling FRIENDS to see important exhibitions; summer outings to the American Players Theatre; and such innovative events as the Wednesday morning behind-the-scene tours inaugurated by Katherine Mead and most often conducted by her, dedicated to learning about "what the Elvehjem is, has and does."

In June of 1983, Susan Latton joined the staff as the new Coordinator of Membership and Outreach. I know she joins me in echoing Katherine Mead's sentiments.

> Sharon Fitzmorris Coordinator of Membership and Development



Guests sample hors d'oeuvres before being entertained with a Noel Coward Revue at the Elvehjem League's Spring Benefit.

Museum League

Barbara Anderson Grace Argall Lois Bahnson Gloria Bolles Kate Boynton Mary Carbone Linda Celesia JoAnn Chapin Gayle Cody Sarah Conroy Sally Cummings Muriel Curry Phyllis Eichman Connie Elvehjem JoAnne Evans Alexandra Ferreri Donna Fullerton Audrey Giles Vicki Hallam Mary Harshaw Helen Hay Jane Henning Janet Herzog Ginger Hinderaker Carol Hird Anne Hugget Helen Kelman Gail Kohl Jane Lathrop Angelena Lenehan Ellie Mack Becky Martell Alice Martin Carolyn McKinney June McLean Kathleen McNamara Willette McNary Karen O'Neil Mary North Kristin Ostrander Mary Jo Prieve Diane Rader Barbara Rewey Henryka Schutta Mary Alice Shahidi Dottie Sledge Nancy Smith Susan Stanek Nancy Thorp Mary Ann Travers Mary Trewartha Margaret Van Alstyne Jane Varda Jackie Vastola Anne Warnock Iris Weiland Sue Weston Tress Wiedrich *February 8—March 29, 1981* Generations in Clay: Pueblo Pottery of the American Southwest

March 7–April 5, 1981 Jacob Jordaens: Drawings and Prints

March 28–May 3, 1981 Joseph Raffael: Paintings and Watercolors

April 12-May 17, 1981 The Van Vleck Collection of Japanese Prints: A Preview

May 31–July 25, 1981 CoBrA Thirty Years Later from the Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Alexander Hollaender (Museum Training Class Exhibition)

June 20–July 26, 1981 Traditional African Art: A Female Focus

June 27–August 9, 1981 Tibetan Art

August 1–September 27, 1981 Selections from the Joseph E. Davies Collection of Russian and Soviet Paintings

August 30–October 18, 1981 Craig Kauffman: A Comprehensive Survey, 1957–1980

October 18-December 27, 1981 From the Far West: Carpets and Textiles of Morocco

November 1–December 6, 1981 Recent Acquisitions: Contemporary Art

December 6, 1981–January 24, 1982 The Bird in Natural History: Before, During, and After Audubon

January 2-February 28, 1982 Portraits from the Watson Indian Miniature Collection

January 24–March 14, 1982 Cy Twombly: Works on Paper, 1957–1978 *February 1—March 14, 1982* Selections from the Katherine Ely Ingraham Print Collection

February 1—March 14, 1982 Nineteenth-Century French Art from the Elvehjem's Collection

February 6–March 21, 1982 The Gloria and Donald B. Marron Collection of American Prints

April 4–May 30, 1982 UW-Madison Department of Art Faculty Exhibition

April 18–May 23, 1982 Hiroshige: 100 Famous Views of Edo (Museum Training Class Exhibition)

June 6–August 11, 1982 Selections from The Robert B. Mayer Memorial Loan Collection

June 12–August 15, 1982 John Sloan: Paintings, Prints, Drawings

June 12-August 15, 1982 Homer Boss: Paintings, Watercolors and Prints

June 15–August 1, 1982 Recent Acquisitions

August 25–October 31, 1982 Edvard Munch: Expessionist Paintings, 1900–1940

September 4–October 3, 1982 Prairie School Architecture in Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin

September 25–December 5, 1982 Spirit and Ritual: Ancient Chinese Bronzes from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse

October 10-November 28, 1982 Christo: Collection on Loan from the Rothchild Bank, A.G., Zurich December 12, 1982–February 20, 1983 Russian Stage Design: Scenic Innovation, 1900–1930

February 27—March 27, 1983 Recent Acquisitions

March 5—April 3, 1983 Modern Masters from the Collection of Mrs. Albert D. Lasker

March 6—April 24, 1983 Hans Hofmann as Teacher: Drawings by Hofmann and His Students

April 2–May 1, 1983 Seventeenth-Century Italian Prints from the Marcus S. Sopher Collection

May 7-July 3, 1983 Breaking the Bindings: American Book Art Now

May 8–June 26, 1983 The Graphic Image: German Expressionist Prints (Museum Training Class Exhibition) Whyte Lounge Exhibitions

February 7–March 6, 1981 Contemporary Indian Arts

October 26–November 20, 1981 Children's Posters

January 1-31, 1982 "J. Cousteau Knew Nothing About This!"

Feburary 1–27, 1982 Intentional Wanderings: Photographs

March 29–April 22, 1982 Shakespearean Memorabilia

May 8–June 14, 1982 Contemporary Polish Theatre Posters

June 20-July 19, 1982 Traditional Icons by Contemporary Artists

September 1–30, 1982 Recent Works of Calligraphic Art

January 18–30, 1983 Movement and Participation: Computer Works

February 25-March 20, 1983 Paul Vanderbilt: Landscape Photography

March 23–April 10, 1983 Icon and Idea

April 12–May 2, 1983 Drama and Documentation

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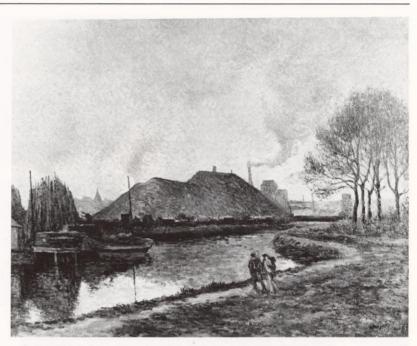
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Gigante, Giacinto (Italian, 1806–1876) *Tarantella Dancer* Pen and ink on paper, 11.1 x 9 cm. Martha Renk Fund purchase, 1983.3

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