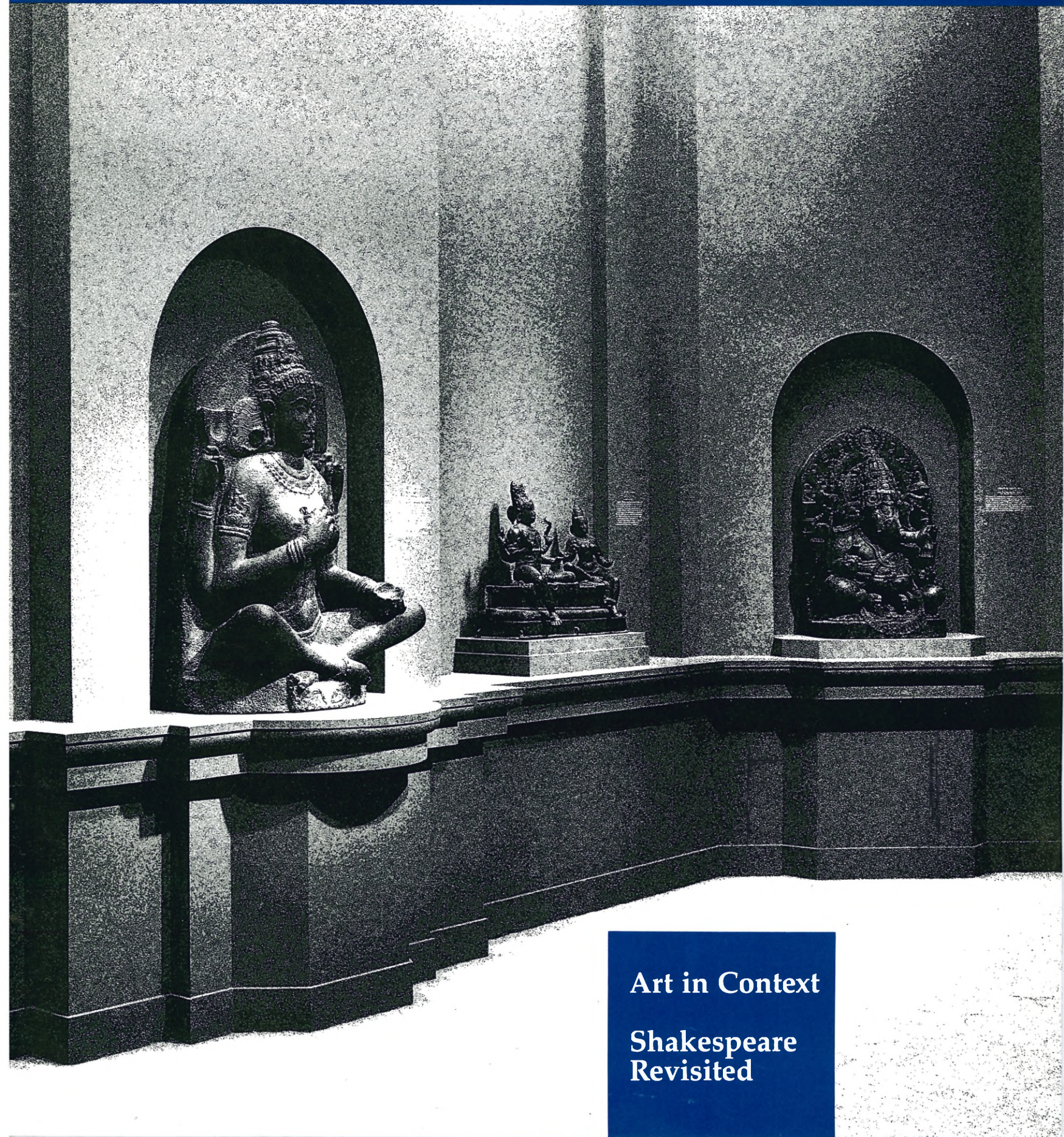


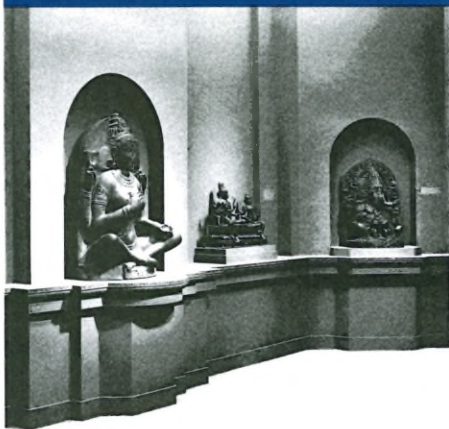
Humanities

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES • VOLUME 10 • NUMBER 2 • MARCH/APRIL 1989



Art in Context

Shakespeare
Revisited



Indian sculpture at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, a new Smithsonian Institution museum opened in 1987. The gallery displays works of art in settings that suggest their original context.
(Courtesy of Arthur M. Sackler Gallery)

Humanities

A bimonthly review published by the National Endowment for the Humanities

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Editor's Note

Art in Context

"Nothing speaks more loudly and persuasively than a great work of art, providing we can hear and understand what it is saying," writes Milo C. Beach in "Art in Context," which sets a theme for this issue of *Humanities*. Dr. Beach is director of the Sackler and Freer galleries in Washington, D.C., two museums with differing approaches. In displaying art, he writes, the concern is not just for the connoisseur, who is able to supply context through his own historical and cultural knowledge, but for the nonspecialist public as well, for whom the museum can provide a framework that makes the works of art more accessible.

The role of the connoisseur is also explored in "Applaud a Grand Exhibition, Assess Serious Scholarship" by Walters Art Gallery director Robert P. Bergman, who contends that "connoisseur" has too long been used as a pejorative against museum curators by university scholars. The time has come, he suggests, for a truce between museums and academia, and a place to begin would be to review exhibitions and their catalogues in scholarly journals.

Learning to "read" art history from the paintings themselves is described in "The Painting as Text" about an institute for teachers at the University of Pennsylvania. And cross-cultural perspectives are the focus in "Africa and the Renaissance," dealing with an exhibition currently at The Center for African Art in New York City. The show includes African ivories, bronzes, and silver and stone works juxtaposed with European tapestries and prints. In a departure, says museum director Susan Vogel, the viewpoint on the interaction of the two cultures is African rather than European.

"Indexing Nineteenth-Century American Art Journals" describes a project in which scholarly journals of the day can be used to reconstruct the struggle in America to free itself from European dominance in art. "Prints in America," about the Winterthur Museum's catalogue of early American graphic arts, examines the export of printmaking skills from Britain to the colonies and the development of indigenous engravings.

The second part of the this issue takes a literary turn, to Shakespeare. Roland Mushat Frye looks at Shakespeare and Renaissance art; David Bevington, at Shakespeare and music; and Jack J. Jorgens, at Shakespeare and film. Harold Cannon takes poetic license with the legacy of Julius Caesar in "Caesar's Ghost." And in "Blame It on Shakespeare" John F. Andrews raises the provocative notion that John Wilkes Booth may have gotten his nefarious ideas from acting in "Julius Caesar" in 1864. Completing the playbill, "Reconstructing Shakespeare's Stage" describes a study citing new evidence that Elizabethan playhouses were 24-sided.

Like Proteus, art has its many manifestations in terms of painting, sculpture, prints, poetry, music, film, and architecture. This issue looks at the relationships among them.

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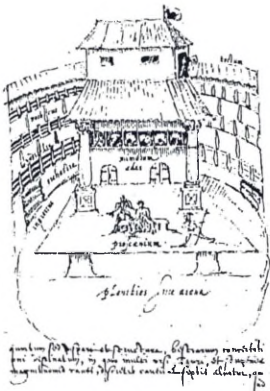
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Art in Context

CHARLES LANG FREER, one of the greatest American collectors of the arts of Asia, first established his reputation as a collector because of the American paintings he bought. The works by Whistler, Dewing, and Tryon that he assembled were affected in varied ways by American interest in the Orient at that time. When Freer came to know these artists, he quickly developed his own enthusiasm for the Far East.

Freer had no doubt about the validity of the formal and expressive correspondences he continually saw across temporal and geographic distance. He spoke of certain Japanese ceramics as Whistlerian; he saw in the glaze of a Chinese celadon a "delicate, grayish sea-green, suggesting in its consistency the sea in its churning shallows"—repeating a quality he loved in those American seascapes he also collected.

For Freer, the aesthetic qualities he perceived were universal and eternal. That the original historical context of these objects was of little concern was typical of the period. Ernest Fenollosa wrote in 1913 in his important study *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*: "We are approaching the time when the art work of all the world of man may be looked upon as one, as infinite variations in a single kind of mental and social effort."

When Freer selected the architectural design of the new museum in

Washington that would house his collection, the choice of an Italian Renaissance style seemed appropriate. He was interested in the interaction of the forms and surfaces of works he owned and admired, no matter what their date or cultural origins. A sequence of well-proportioned spaces in Renaissance style provided for him a setting that was harmonious with his collection.

As Freer in 1906 was creating his museum, across the Atlantic a contemporary, Henri Vever, was gathering his own great collection of Japanese and Islamic art. Like Freer, he found in Asian art a reflection of his own already developed aesthetic taste. The two represented a concern with the aesthetic effect of formal elements, connoisseurs as opposed to today's contextualists. In the craftsmanship and sinuous beauty of the lines of the Asian works, Vever found formal interests close to those he had himself developed in the Art Nouveau jewelry he designed and fabricated at his shop, the *Maison Vever* in Paris.

Vever was generous with his works and lent many of his paintings to the renowned Islamic Exhibition held in Munich in 1910. There, they were viewed by such artists as Henri Matisse, Wassily Kandinsky, and Franz Marc, who saw in these images additional qualities: attitudes toward color, line, and space that were new to them and that provided solutions to problems with which they were themselves then struggling in their paintings. These artists saw the works in a way very differ-

ent from Vever's experience: They admired the primitivism of color, for example, and it influenced their styles to produce results startlingly different from Vever's jewelry. (Vever's Persian collection inspired the Blaue Reiter movement and Kandinsky's early abstractions.)

This difference in perception introduces another context: the framework of interest or understanding brought by the viewer to the work of art. This is important to the way any object is experienced, for viewers see best that which they are prepared to see; as a corollary, works of art communicate most easily when they seem to reinforce existing or acceptable values.

Awareness of architectural setting and the viewer's framework of interest does not exhaust the concerns of museums that espouse the fashionable concept "art in context" today. This term additionally implies respect for aspects of the original purpose, setting, or effect of a work of art as distinct from those purely formal qualities that exist as independently expressive elements. Men such as Vever or Freer, who were concerned with the aesthetic effect of these formal elements, exemplify the term *connoisseur*. For reasons that make little sense, connoisseurship and contextualism seem locked in combat these days.

Understanding the contexts with which either museums or we ourselves as viewers surround works of art can frequently intensify or even alter our experience of the works' formal qualities. But equally impor-

Milo C. Beach is director of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution.

BY MILO C. BEACH

tant is a sense of the cultural context out of which the work was produced. For example, few visitors to China who are interested in the arts return home without a greatly enhanced understanding of Chinese painting, even if they have seen no works of art on the trip. And although some Japanese ceramics might appeal because they look Whistlerian, many other artistic traditions of equal importance within their own cultures are visually in conflict with traditions familiar in Europe or America.

When first confronted with Hindu sculptures, many Europeans dismissed their importance because they failed to follow artistic principles then thought to be universal—and best represented by the sculptures of Greece. In a famous passage, Sir George Birdwood wrote in 1880 of the many-headed, many-armed Hindu deities, "The monstrous shapes of the Puranic deities are unsuitable for the higher forms of artistic representation; and this is possibly why sculpture and painting are unknown, as fine arts, in India." And when Kandinsky admired what he interpreted as the primitive color in Persian manuscripts, he was severely misunderstanding an extraordinarily subtle and sophisticated court tradition.

A contextualist would use such examples to argue that it is culturally arrogant to believe that a full understanding of the forms of works of art from geographically or temporally distant cultures is possible with no sense of context. And the connois-



Courtesy of Archives, Freer Gallery of Art

Courtesy Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

The Jagdish Temple at Udaipur, Rajasthan. Inset: Indian sculptures in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery are installed in arched niches to give some idea of their original setting.



Courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art

An installation of Chinese painting and calligraphy in the Freer Gallery of Art in 1977.

seur would retort that a great work of art is self-explanatory; that one need know nothing about its time or authorship to perceive a work's significance, which is ultimately defined purely by its forms. Moreover, his thesis goes, formal similarities in the surfaces of objects from unrelated artistic traditions can mislead viewers to accept, for all the works, meanings only valid for those forms in familiar cultures, and to dismiss forms with no such correspondences. This was George Birdwood's solution for works whose context he did not understand.



Courtesy of Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

At the Sackler, photo-murals adapted from woodblock prints evoke the social world of the Ming dynasty.

Unless, like much contemporary art, a work of art was made for public display in a museum-like setting, the act of placing the work in a museum often severely alters its meaning by profoundly and insensitively changing its intended spatial context. There are exceptions: a Ming dynasty album of Chinese paintings, for example, or a sixteenth-century Persian manuscript. Both were made to be viewed as art objects by connoisseurs of their time, and the modern museum setting in no way intrudes on this purpose even if viewers can no longer hold these works in their hands. Showing the museum audience the architectural setting in which such objects might originally have been seen is a legitimate expansion of the understanding of context, but it does not necessarily change the character of the original visual experience.

Because not all works in a museum were made specifically to be appreciated for their artistic qualities, this is where original spatial and social context becomes crucially im-



Courtesy of Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

A seventeenth-century Chinese scholar's studio, recreated at the Sackler Gallery, gives a sense of the period.

portant. An image made for installation in the dark, cavelike inner shrine of a Hindu temple, to be seen only by a flickering oil lamp, was never meant to be isolated in a rationally ordered, formally harmonious building. Its meaning lies instead in the power of its presence projecting from a mysterious, limitless space. Nor was it intended to be viewed for its beauty or originality of form: It was a carefully crafted repetition of a traditional image of the god to be seen by devotees during an act of worship. This realization makes Fenollosa's assertion that the arts represent a "single kind of mental and social effort" a statement more informative about its time than about the arts. And it suggests that careless installation in a museum can destroy the ability of the untutored viewer to understand certain works in a valid way.

On the other hand, we can never exhibit the original context of any work of art, nor in many cases would we want to. The effect of *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, if produced today exactly as Wagner saw it, would be ludicrously out-of-date. A museum can hardly recreate a Japanese temple, full of worshippers, to set off a shrine image. Because a museum is primarily concerned with visual experience, it is also inappropriate to overwhelm the visitor with textual information on the historical, social, economic, or religious context from which a work was produced. However, museums are responsible for making the existence of detailed information known to their visitors through catalogues or other means.

Museums must indicate to the public the context that does exist, be-

cause the physical museum context, whether or not specially designed for the exhibition, is inevitable. The effect of Japanese Buddhist sculpture seen in an Italian Renaissance-style building is very different from the impact the same works might have in a room constructed with the proportions, materials, and workmanship of a temple space in Kyoto.

While archaic Chinese jades mounted and lit in one way might stress their resemblance to contemporary sculptures by Isamu Noguchi, an alternate presentation could make clear that they are also archaeological artifacts with magical or preservative powers that were once buried in certain ritual configurations in tombs. Museums must acknowledge that such exhibition viewpoints exist and make them clear to the viewers. And, perhaps most importantly, the visitor must be helped to realize that any single presentation is only one possible interpretation.

The true specialist or connoisseur brings to a museum exhibition an appropriate context: awareness of original cultural situations, sensitivity to architectural spaces, knowledge of the historical or religious developments at the time. And it is either

the forgetting of this fact or simple elitism that often makes the connoisseur bemoan others' demands for context. For the connoisseur, seeing objects crowded in a museum store-room is often as satisfying as visiting a carefully composed, but more sparsely populated public exhibition.

The concern for appropriate contextual presentation by museums is, and should be, directed toward a nonspecialist public: those who bring no meaningful context with them—people for whom a Gothic altarpiece might be as strange a cultural artifact as Hindu sculpture was for George Birdwood. A sense of context can give information for understanding, ways to relate the work to other aspects of life, and the framework and confidence for valid preliminary judgments. And like most frames, the purpose of context is not to detract from the work it surrounds but to set it off. If contextual presentation succeeds, the viewer learns how to appreciate the language of the forms—in other words, the connoisseur in us all comes out. After all, nothing speaks more loudly and persuasively than a great work of art, providing we can hear and understand what it is saying. ↻

The Painting as TEXT

BY ELLEN MARSH

THE MEDIEVAL HOUSES of parliament were burning. As sparks from the fire mingled with the stars, Londoners gathered to watch the conflagration light the night sky. Among the spectators who saw the oldest timbered hall in England succumb to flames was sixty-year-old Joseph Mallord William Turner, one of Britain's most powerful and original artists. Inspired by the drama, in 1835 Turner painted two versions of the fire. The first, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, depicts the doomed medieval hall as the center of interest; the other, exhibited four months later, focuses on Westminster Hall, which survived the fire.

"Although both are passionately romantic paintings," says John McCoubrey, professor of art history at the University of Pennsylvania, "the excitement of the scene is especially evident in the earlier version, which was one of Turner's major depictions of a contemporary event." McCoubrey chose the Philadelphia painting as one of four "texts" in an NEH-supported summer seminar for school teachers, held last year and attended by fifteen participants selected nationwide, most of whom had no formal training in art history.

To complete the selection of painting-texts for the seminar, McCoubrey chose Edouard Manet's *Battle of the Kearsarge and the Alabama* (1868), Thomas Eakins's *The Gross Clinic* (1875), and Paul Cézanne's *The Great Bathers* (1905).

All four paintings are major works and illustrate the course of nineteenth-century art, from romanticism (Turner), to realism (Manet and Eakins), and finally to the post-impressionism of the turn of the cen-

Ellen Marsh is a research assistant in the NEH Office of Publications and Public Affairs.



Burning of the Houses of Parliament by Joseph Mallord William Turner.

tury (Cézanne). The seminar participants discussed the paintings, the artists who created them, and the art movements that preceded and followed them, thus surveying a century of art history.

Because he believes that actual contact with the work of art is important, McCoubrey carefully selected these paintings from conveniently located Philadelphia collections—the Eakins belongs to Thomas Jefferson University and the other three are in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Although McCoubrey uses slides in his teaching, he notes that "a slide is only colored light, sometimes enhanced by the reflective screen on which it is projected, and with colors that may not be true to the original." He emphasizes, "We must see the 'made thing,' which is what a painting is, examine the paint texture, experience its scale, and get the feel of a painting as an actual physical object."

The group spent the first part of the six-week seminar learning how to look at paintings and how to express in correct terminology what they saw. When the teachers entered the seminar room for their initial ses-

sion, McCoubrey projected Seurat's *Sunday Afternoon on La Grande Jatte* on the screen. "What do you see?" he asked. Many in the group had only a passing acquaintance with art and made vague statements, such as, "The figures are very definite." McCoubrey showed them what to look for and how to talk about line, form, balance, color, rhythm, and perspective. "Seurat is a good introduction to this sort of examination," McCoubrey says, "because the colors, shapes, and composition of his paintings are clear, measurable, and precisely planned. The bare bones are quite visible."

Joseph Truitt, who teaches English at Cherry Hill West High School in Cherry Hill, New Jersey, explains, "An analogy to McCoubrey's method would be teaching Shakespeare by reading the play and talking about the use of verse, imagery, the five-act structure, and its other formal elements, before discussing the plot and the meaning."

McCoubrey's approach was to show how much can be learned from a formal analysis of a painting before delving into the career of the artist, the spirit of the time that in-

Philadelphia Museum of Art, John H. McFadden Collection

fluenced the artist, and other art historical facts. "There is often a false dichotomy in art history," McCoubrey says. "Iconographers, who study the meaning of the images depicted by the artist, tend to dismiss the aesthetics of a painting—its formal elements of line, composition, shapes, and color—as lacking in significance. I try to combine the formalist and iconographic approaches in my teaching."

After the participants became familiar with what to look for in a painting, McCoubrey introduced romanticism by explaining the style that immediately preceded it—the neoclassicism of David and Ingres. Seminar participant Clare Brown, an English teacher at LaSalle College High School in Wyndmoor, Pennsylvania, recalls, "On any given day, Dr. McCoubrey would show us as many as sixty slides, always two at a time. He would hold one slide on the screen, using the other slide to provide details of the painting or to compare and contrast other paintings with it."


Field trips were an important aspect of the seminar. The participants visited the spot on the Schuylkill River where Eakins painted his sculling scenes, went to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts where he taught, and saw the extensive Eakins collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, along with the Constables, Cézannes, and Turners there. They also toured the nineteenth-century galleries of both the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., as well as museums and commercial galleries in the Philadelphia area.

Some of the teachers already had experience in combining art and literature in their classes, but the seminar gave them new material and ideas. Brown formerly introduced *The Red Badge of Courage* to her classes by showing prints of impressionist and pointillist paintings to demonstrate that Crane used words as impressionistically as the artists used pigment. "Now I will show slides in-

stead and will have the class talk about them, drawing out insights as Dr. McCoubrey did with us," she says. Although Irene Gilman, of Highland Park High School, Highland Park, New Jersey, had been accustomed to bringing in works of art to enrich a course called "Authors," she now says, "My eye is sharper than it was, and I know the right questions to ask to get my students to look at a painting carefully."

The seminar had unexpected benefits, such as the instructional ideas the teachers shared in informal discussion among themselves. The personal lives of the participants have also been enhanced. Gilman has become interested in learning to paint, and Brown says, "I will never again look at a painting in the same way I used to." Truitt has made a point of visiting museums when he travels, noting that he can now appreciate the richness of the collections.

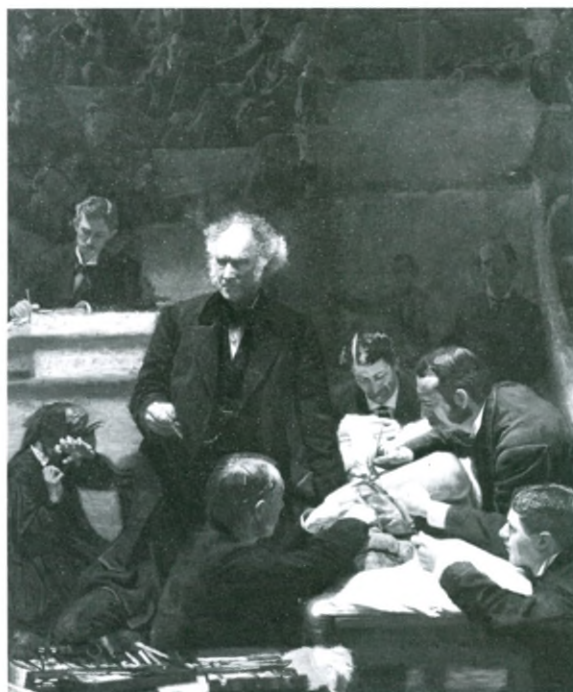
McCoubrey, too, has benefited. He says that his two NEH-funded "Paintings as Texts" seminars in 1985 and 1988 have been among the best teaching experiences he has had in thirty-six years as a professor. "The participants are eager to learn, the subject is a revelation to them, and, being teachers, they express themselves well and are not afraid to speak up."

According to McCoubrey, using actual paintings as primary texts is an important first step in understanding their cultural and intellectual context. Last summer's enthusiastic seminar participants agree. McCoubrey has opened their eyes to a richer acquaintance with art and to ways in which this knowledge can be incorporated into other areas of humanities instruction. As Brown says, "We are better teachers because of the seminar." 

In 1987, Professor John W. McCoubrey received \$76,271 from the Summer Seminars for School Teachers program of the Division of Fellowships and Seminars to conduct the seminar "Paintings as Texts."



Battle of the Kearsarge and the Alabama
by Edouard Manet.



The Gross Clinic by Thomas Eakins.



The Great Bathers by Paul Cézanne.

Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection

Thomas Jefferson University

Philadelphia Museum of Art, W.P. Witsch Collection

Applaud a Grand Exhibition,

A Plea for Scholarly Review of Art Exhibitions

BY ROBERT P. BERGMAN



A NUMBER OF US in the world of art museums have recently been accused of committing humanistic acts in public. Although certain traditionalists might recoil in horror at the mere suggestion of such seeming unorthodoxy, an ever-growing number of art museums are embracing humanistic approaches as fundamental to their mission. And a small but active minority of art museums is forging ahead with collection and exhibition plans in which humanistic thinking is a core element.

To complete the dialogue initiated by such projects, the community of scholars in the humanities must provide meaningful responses in the form of published critical review and commentary. Encouraging such critical assessment is my purpose here. But why is there need for such a plea? I offer some personal insights related to this issue from the point of view of a museum director transplanted from the groves of academe.

The Connoisseur/Art Historian Split

The primary critical—as opposed to public—audience for museum-based enterprises of scholarly significance has always been found among university-based scholars in the various humanistic (and, to some extent, social scientific) disciplines. The sheer number of our university colleagues far outstrips the universe of museum professionals involved in scholarly activities. Despite the seemingly natural affinities between the two spheres, however, deep divisions have always been the rule rather than the exception.

Robert P. Bergman is director of The Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore and adjunct professor of the history of art at Johns Hopkins University.

Much of the reason for this is historical. University scholars usually identify their museum colleagues strictly as “connoisseurs”—experts on the individual object—while the scholars consider themselves “art historians” in a much fuller and more profound sense. And although Erwin Panofsky’s assertion that “the connoisseur might be defined as a laconic art historian, and the art historian as a loquacious connoisseur” is a polite formulation of what *should* be true in an ideal world, common attitudes of the one toward the other have been far less sympathetic.

Traditionally, museum curators and directors came to their positions with a certain level of training in the history of art but were basically qualified by their enthusiasm for and knowledge of works of art. They had clearly chosen an educational and career path fundamentally divorced from the “contemplative” academic model. Once in the museum, however, they were often forced to operate as generalists, working in a variety of fields that in university settings would be covered by several specialists. It would not be unusual for a curator to work on a nineteenth-century painting subject and then to follow up with a project concerning Renaissance decorative arts.

Doubting that anyone could really master such a variety of specialties, many university scholars considered their museum counterparts shallow in their approach. With rare exceptions, the scholars considered the publications produced by museums to be superficial rehashings of prior scholarship or simple transcriptions of catalogue data from existing card files. In short, academic art historians have been deeply suspicious of, and have often felt infinitely superior to, their museum colleagues.

Such skepticism has been returned in equal measure by those in the museum world, who look upon academic scholars as thoroughly re-

Assess Serious Scholarship

moved from the works of art that form the basis of their research and publications. To many museum professionals, the academic art historian knows little concerning the techniques of artistic production, is often ignorant of the vital nuances of original works of art, and uncritically uses works as mere "illustrations" of ideas—often suspected of being preconceived. University art historians have been viewed by many museum colleagues as susceptible to serious flaws in their work because of their lamentable lack of knowledge concerning the objects of their research. Among museum professionals, there has been considerable disdain for art historians "who work from photographs" and who overly emphasize circumstances and context at the expense of the art.

These traditional battle lines do delimit certain aspects of the truth, but they represent basic oversimplifications of reality. Although the most pedestrian practitioners of either brand of the discipline might be guilty of such shortcomings, many a fine curator has been "loquacious" enough to be considered a card-carrying art historian; and many a distinguished professor has developed the keenest eye in his specialty by careful study of original works of art.

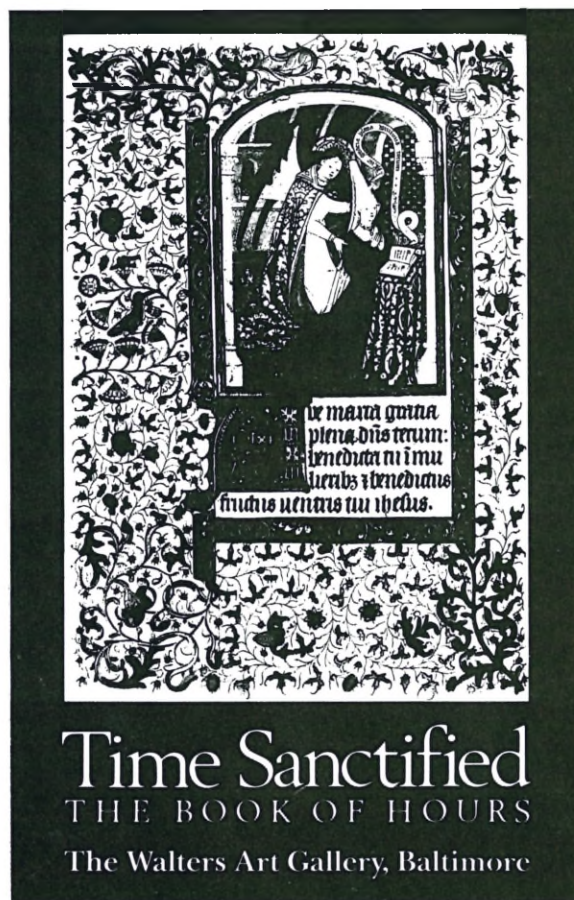
The Search for Common Ground

In recent years, the traditional dichotomy is further breaking down as forces conspire that encourage the two worlds to coalesce. More and more museum curators and directors come to their positions with the same doctorates in the history of art that are earned by university schol-

ars. Indeed, museum people often teach as adjunct faculty in universities. Although one likes to think of the increase in the number of museum curators and directors with Ph.D.'s as largely volitional, it is at least partially due to recent economic difficulties in academe. Museums have benefited in being able to attract object-oriented art historians with fundamental grounding in the field, many of whom have written and taught extensively.

In recent years, there has been increased collaboration between museums and university-based art historians, with both sides benefiting from these activities. The museums discover innovative approaches to their material, and the professors are able to see implemented projects whose results are both more tangible and have more widespread impact than many of their strictly academic pursuits. Moreover, these collaborative efforts provide academic scholars with opportunities for extended and profound contact with original works of art.

All of this has created a situation in which an increasing number of museum-based art historians (with and without Ph.D.'s) and their university counterparts function on common ground. More curators and directors now approach their work from a broadly based humanistic perspective, presenting and interpreting works of art not only as manifestations of singular or collective aesthetic points of view, but as aesthetic manifestations expressive of multiple aspects of the human condition. History, religion, cosmology, technology, philosophy, language, politics—almost any relevant "documentary" aspect of human experience—can contribute to the interpretive mix of the humanist curator's approach.



The Case for Review

The primary museum vehicles for such expression are special and occasionally permanent exhibition and catalogue projects. Herein lies the essence of my plea. Dealing with subjects of legitimate scholarly concern, often carried out to supremely high standards of scholarship, at their best expressive of innovative and even controversial points of view, and frequently incorporating multidisciplinary approaches, such projects remain almost invisible in the major American journals of art historical scholarship.

This deplorable situation deprives the museum scholar of the serious assessment that his work both requires and deserves so that it may assume a rightfully considered place in the continuum of scholarship. What's more, the lack of attention paid to such projects denies the scholar-readers of these journals knowledge of museum-based activities germane to their own interests.

The solution to this problem is really quite simple. The editorial boards of scholarly journals in the history of art and related fields should be convinced to include in their publications on a regular basis review of significant scholarly museum exhibitions and publications. I am not suggesting that coverage of museum scholarship in scholarly journals be merely celebratory. On the contrary, such attention needs to be analytical and critical. Ephemeral and superficial museum activities can be ignored with space devoted only to projects of significant intellectual dimension.

Ideally, critiques of serious, humanities-based public museum enterprises should offer comment on both the quality of their scholarly underpinnings and the effectiveness of their public presentation. Catalogues and other major publications should be held to the standards of any scholarly publication.

The exhibition itself should be judged from a variety of perspectives: the appropriateness of its subject or theme; the effectiveness of its overall organization and installation in reinforcing the essence of that subject; the appropriateness of the works selected; the quality of idea and expression in the texts and labels (even the brochures) that carry the exhibition's interpretive message; the effectiveness of the whole in communicating to visitors in a coherent and meaningful fashion the subject at hand; and the potential impact of the exhibition on a variety of audiences, often ranging from scholars to preschoolers. If there are educational programs organized in conjunction with the exhibition, these might be evaluated for their contribution to fostering understanding of the exhibition's theme or, what is often the case, for extending this theme to other related areas.

In the end, reviewers should be focusing on fundamentals: Have the research aspects of the project made a fundamental contribution to scholarship? Have those aspects aimed toward the public served to foster a broader humanistic understanding of the exhibition's subject?

Art Exhibitions for Town and Gown

At the Walters Art Gallery, we have implemented a whole series of Janus-faced projects in which major collection-based publications aimed at scholarly audiences have accompanied exhibitions mounted in ways that make the works of art accessible to a broad public through both installation and interpretation.

"Silver Treasure from Early Byzantium," "Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours," and "From Alexander to Cleopatra: Hellenistic Art in The Walters Art Gallery" form a meaningful triad. In all three projects, which received support from NEH, important aspects of the Walters' permanent collection formed the focus, major scholarly catalogues were published, and a significant

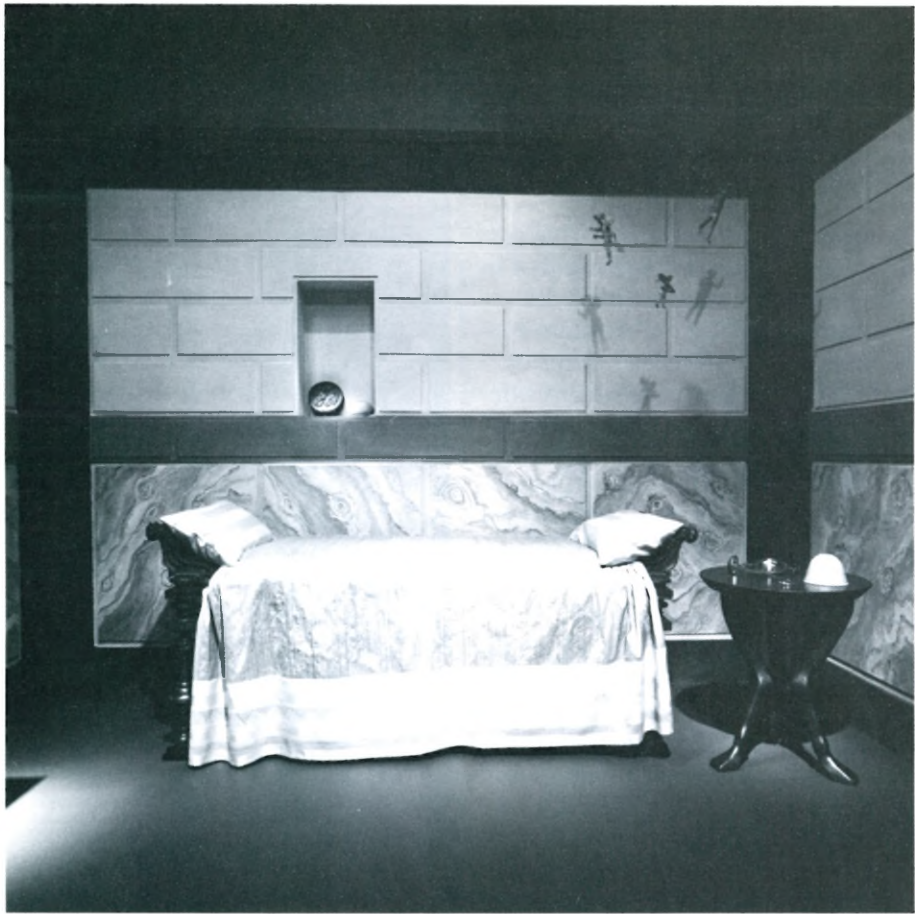
public exhibition was presented. Also in connection with each exhibition, we organized a substantial array of educational and public programs, ranging from symposia to films to family days.

In each of the three Walters exhibitions, carefully researched, evocative architectural environments served as installation centerpieces designed to suggest the original contexts of exhibited objects. "Silver Treasure" revolved around the reconstructed sanctuary of a sixth-century Syrian-Byzantine church where the silver would have been used in the liturgy; "Time Sanctified" had at its core a "private chapel" and the main chamber of a fifteenth-century Flemish house where the Book of Hours was often prayed; and "From Alexander to Cleopatra" featured a garden for statuary and an intimate reconstruction of the dining room of a second-century B.C. house on the island of Delos in which to display terra-cotta, bronze, and silver objects that would have been found in an elegant Hellenistic home.

In addition to these suggestive environments, the exhibitions included ample introductory wall texts, maps, chronologies, and explanatory labels that helped visitors understand the works of art in multidimensional fashion. It took careful and sensitive exhibition design to balance the needs of both aesthetic and thematic content through relative positions and juxtapositions of objects. Moreover, the significant amount of didactic material demanded subtle and discreet graphic design so as not to compete visually with the works of art themselves.

Catalogues Unreviewed

The catalogues of these exhibitions are major scholarly publications. Nevertheless, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, by Marlia Mango of Oxford University and edited by Curator of Medieval Art Gary Vikan, has not, to my knowledge, been reviewed in an



Courtesy of Walters Art Gallery

"From Alexander to Cleopatra" included a reconstruction of a second century B.C. dining room from a house on Delos.



A simulated private chapel in the "Time Sanctified" exhibition showed where a Book of Hours would have been used.



"Silver Treasure from Early Byzantium" displayed liturgical objects on the altar of a reconstructed sixth-century Syrian-Byzantine church.



Courtesy of Walters Art Gallery



© 1989 Dumbarton Oaks

Top: Detail of a first century B.C. relief showing Athena, Zeus, Artemis, and Apollo, and executed in a deliberately Archaic style. Below: The Byzantine Riha Paten is decorated with a symbolic performance of the communion liturgy.

American scholarly journal. This is particularly ironic considering that in 1987 the volume was awarded the *Prix Schlumberger* by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres of the Institut de France. *Silver Treasure* was the first museum-based publication to win this most distinguished honor in Byzantine archaeological studies—a prize that recognizes the most outstanding work of scholarship in the field produced worldwide over a three-year period.

Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life, by Associate Curator of Manuscripts Roger Wieck, centered on the function and meaning of the illuminations in what was the best-seller of the late Middle Ages. Contributions by social historian Lawrence Poos and religious historian Virginia Reinburg considered these illuminated manuscripts in connection with related impulses in the surrounding culture. A co-publishing arrangement with George Braziller has assured international distribution of the volume. A reviewer representing one scholarly journal viewed the exhibition and read the catalogue. To date, the review has not been published.

For *Hellenistic Art in The Walters Art Gallery*, by Curator of Ancient Art Ellen Reeder, the prospects for review are better because scholarly archaeological periodicals are far more progressive than their art historical counterparts when it comes to reviewing museum-based publications.


Translating the Scholar's Truth

Many academic art historians look askance at exhibitions aimed toward the edification of a wide public, even if these are informed by the most profound scholarship. Let the critic judge the catalogue by the standards of its constituency and the exhibition by its purpose, taking into account the exhibition's public and democratic dimensions. Indeed, the key test of the more publicly directed aspects of such projects is whether they appropriately translate scholarly truth and discourse into a language un-

derstood by the many rather than the few. Critics who disdain the enlivening of their discipline afforded by a widening of their audience are no allies of the scholarly enterprise; they may eventually bury it.

In *Humanities in America*, NEH Chairman Lynne V. Cheney describes the dichotomy between the state of the humanities in the universities and in the public sector. Many among the professoriate confirm that in institutions of higher learning the humanities are in crisis. Their campus constituency appears to be shrinking. Although there are many reasons for this development, surely a contributor is the overly atomized and supremely specialized nature of much current humanistic research, particularly as it affects the attitudes and course offerings of university faculties.

On the other hand, as *Humanities in America* makes clear, the public sector constituency for the humanities is growing by leaps and bounds. More and more institutions serving the public at large—museums, libraries, historical societies, public television stations—are approaching humanities programming in dynamic and innovative ways, engaging new audiences in exercises of self-discovery and understanding. Of course, the most significant of these enterprises are built on the bedrock of sound humanistic scholarship.

This assessment has implications for individual disciplines, such as the history of art, and suggests yet another compelling reason to include in scholarly journals reviews of significant humanistic activities in museums. It is self-evident that this criticism will contribute to the encouragement of such museum programs and to raising their scholarly standards. Less evident, but no less true, is that increased and consistent exposure to the accomplishments of the best art historical scholarship in our museums—where the humanities intersect with a broad spectrum of humanity—may well prove beneficial, even inspirational, to many academic art historians. 

AFRICA

and the Renaissance

BY ILA H. EDWARDS

DURING THE LATE 1400s, Portuguese sailors and traders exploring the west coast of Africa encountered exceptionally skilled African ivory carvers, whom they commissioned to craft ivory objects. Produced from 1490 to 1600, these intricately handmade ivories, along with other types of European and African artifacts, provide the earliest material evidence of cross-cultural interchange between Africa and Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

To convey an understanding of the mutual enrichment of European and African cultures during the Renaissance and a historical sense of the decline of Afro-European relations in subsequent periods, 105 objects made in Europe and Africa are featured in the NEH-supported exhibition "Africa and the Renaissance." Currently at The Center for African Art in New York City, the exhibition includes 75 of the 204 carved African ivories known to exist.

"These ivories, made at the moment of first contact, are evidence of sophisticated artists working in African kingdoms and courts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—an

era when African ambassadors resided at the Vatican, and Europeans and Africans traded on an equal footing," says Susan Vogel, executive director of the museum.

By enabling visitors to recognize African artists' remarkable sculptural virtuosity and Africa's high level of culture at the time of the Renaissance, the exhibition challenges conventional historical assumptions about Africa's isolation and backwardness and its differences from Europe, Vogel says.

A Special Category

The ivories carved by Africans for export to Europe were labeled "Afro-Portuguese ivories" thirty years ago by William B. Fagg, then keeper of the African collections in the Department of Ethnology at the British Museum. In his book, *Afro-Portuguese Ivories* (1959), Fagg identified the ivories as a distinctive stylistic category within the field of African art. Fagg is cocurator of the exhibition with Ezio Bassani, the leading expert on European collections of early African art and professor of African art at the Università Internazionale dell'Arte in Florence.

Made by African artists for Portuguese patrons who prized unique and rare luxuries, the ivories include



Ivory hunting horn, Sierra Leone, sixteenth century. The mouthpiece at the tip of the horn suggests it was made for export to Europe.

Ila H. Edwards is a freelance writer in the Washington, D.C., area.



A ring of crocodiles and a snake adorn the lid of this Sapi-Portuguese saltcellar, ca. 1490–1530. Figures of African women and European men encircle the stem.

Schedule of Events for "Africa and the Renaissance"

The exhibition will remain at The Center for African Art in New York City until April 9, 1989. It will then travel to The Museum of Fine Arts in Houston, where it will be shown from May 6 to August 20, 1989. The Center opened its exhibition with a two-day symposium for scholars and general audiences. Cocurator Ezio Bassani delivered the keynote speech on "The Dating of Afro-Portuguese Ivories." Other addresses included "Fifteenth-Century Cultural Imperialism: Portugal's Impact on Africa and Brazil" and "People and Cultures of Southern Sierra Leone and Western Liberia."

saltcellars, pyxes (Catholic liturgical vessels used to hold the consecrated elements), spoons, forks, dagger handles, and horns. The patron's commissioning agent provided specifications of size, subject, and materials for an object. The African craftsmen subsequently interpreted the foreign concepts, merging African and European motifs, thus creating a hybrid artistic style.

An example of this hybrid style is an ivory hunting horn, made for export and portraying a crocodile devouring a human figure, a typical African motif. Hunting scenes carved on the horn in low relief, however, are European in character. And, following European custom, the mouthpiece for this horn is on the tip of the tusk. Mouthpieces on horns made for African use were positioned on the side.

Although inexpensive in cost, the ivories made appropriate gifts for the elite and royal because of their exotic origin, exquisite craftsmanship, and precious material. Many people of stature, including the Medici popes, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and King Manuel of Portugal, owned African ivories.

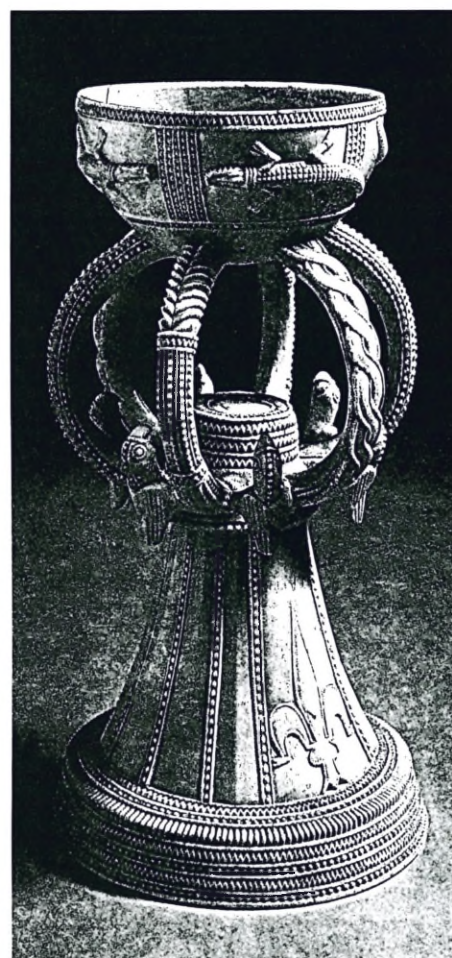
An Eclectic Collection

The exhibition's coordinators painstakingly gathered objects from African collections maintained in the United States and Europe. In addition to works in ivory, the exhibition includes African artworks in stone, silver, and bronze. European tapestries, prints, books, and maps complement these artworks in documenting the early history of interactions between African and European cultures.

The exhibition's first section establishes this historical background by presenting the cultural similarities between the Portuguese and Africans during the Renaissance in their habits of daily life, their knowledge of medicine and science, and their skill as artisans. Visitors are introduced to the European context of the Portuguese presence in West Africa

with a presentation of the Age of Discovery and to the African context of the art objects with a presentation of the civilizations encountered by the Portuguese on the African coast.

European engravings and woodcuts show that when contact began, Europeans portrayed Africans as a little darker in complexion but similar to themselves in looks and dress. Africans represented Europeans with straight hair and pointed noses but otherwise with little distinction from themselves. An image linking the two cultures appears on a saltcellar from Sierra Leone, which portrays African women and European men alternating around the base.



Above: Sapi-Portuguese saltcellar, ca. 1490–1530. Right: Detail from a Sapi-Portuguese saltcellar depicting Daniel kneeling between two lions. The Bible story has been reduced to its simplest elements.

The largest part of the exhibition is divided according to the ivories' places of origin, regions that today constitute the nations of Sierra Leone, Nigeria, and Zaire. Sapi-Portuguese ivories from the Sapi peoples of Sierra Leone are the most fully documented and the most numerous of the ivories. There are Bini-Portuguese ivories from the peoples of the Kingdom of Benin, Nigeria, and other ivories from the area of Zaire at the mouth of the Congo River.

One elaborate Sapi-Portuguese ivory is a saltcellar composed entirely of European motifs, except for four serpents suspended from the base. The surface depicts Christian themes—Daniel in the lion's den and the three Israelite children in the fiery furnace, with the Virgin Mary nearby. Also depicted are a dog with a collar, two sirens, fish, a butterfly, stylized torches, plant forms, knots and braids, the arms of the ruling house of Aviz in Lisbon, and the Cross of Beja (arms of the Military Order of Christ).

The exhibition's final section explores the theme of Renaissance contacts in historical perspective. The benign cultural exchanges of Renaissance times are contrasted with the exploitative encounters that occurred

during the period of slave trade, Europe's Industrial Revolution, and the colonial era. Generated by the rise of empirical science during the seventeenth century, Europe's emerging technological culture caused Europeans to argue their cultural superiority and to justify colonial rule.

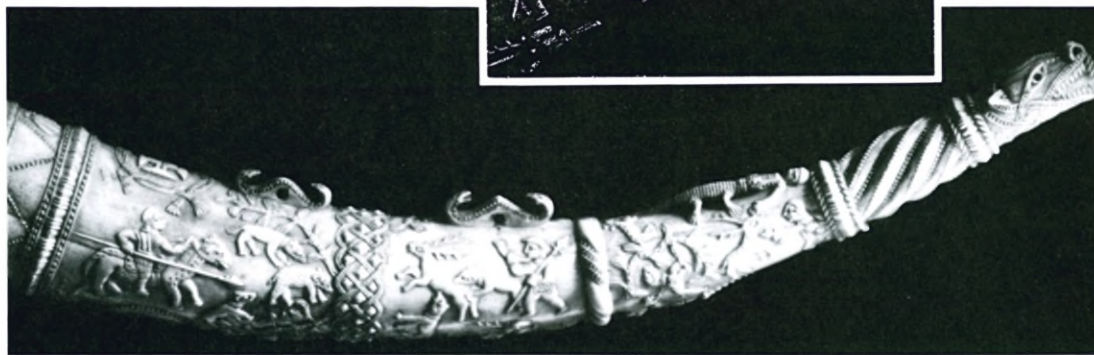
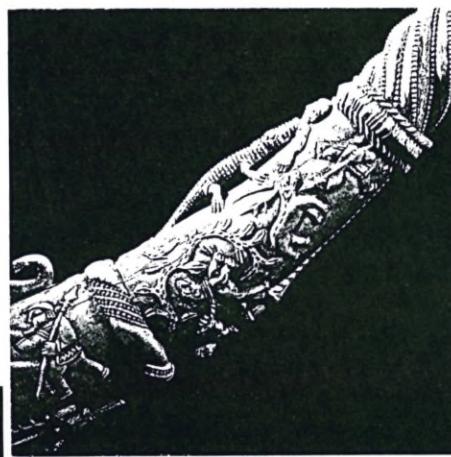
The artworks displayed in this section reveal a change in perspective and sentiment. As the era of benign relationships eroded, the sense of balance and compatibility in artistic representations disappeared. The African objects depict Europeans in satirical fashion—drunk, hostile, and strange. Likewise, European artists depicted Africans scornfully and harshly.

Updated Scholarship

Accompanying the exhibition is a 255-page catalogue, *Africa and the Renaissance: Art in Ivory*, written by Fagg and Bassani and edited by Vogel. The catalogue, which also received NEH support, is the first fully illustrated catalogue raisonné of all known Afro-Portuguese ivories and the first publication on Renaissance African ivories since Fagg's 1959 book. Lavishly illustrated, the catalogue includes two introductory essays, "Africa and the Renaissance" and "European Perceptions of Black Africans in the Renaissance," and twelve chapters covering the legacy of the navigator, Sapi- and Bini-Portuguese ivories, and Renaissance-era African bronze casting.

According to Vogel, the exhibition's significance arises from its comparative analytical approach. Characteristically, exhibitions of Renaissance Europe and Africa during the same period present objects from one or the other culture and usually from a European perspective, because the historical evidence is overwhelmingly European. In contrast, this exhibition juxtaposes objects from both cultures to emphasize the African perspective, showing the influence of cross-cultural contact on the style and iconography of West African artistic traditions. The exhibition may engender new thinking, Vogel says, about the nature of sculpture, the definition of African art, the extent of patronage in Africa, and the incorporation of foreign motifs in artistic traditions.

For the exhibition "Africa and the Renaissance," the Center for African Art received \$211,325 from the Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations Program of the Division of General Programs in 1987.



Ivory hunting horn, Sierra Leone, ca. 1490–1530. The hunt scenes carved in low relief on the sides of the horn are European motifs. Top: Detail showing a crocodile devouring a human figure, a typical African motif.



INDEXING NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN ART JOURNALS

BY MAGGIE RIECHERS

IN THE SECOND half of the nineteenth century, while the impressionists were making their mark on European painting and moving the art world in a new direction, the American art community was grappling with an identity crisis. Even as it tried to establish an American point of view, it continued to rely on European academic artists for its definitions of art.

Articles published in American art journals of the late nineteenth century illuminate this struggle within the American art community. From the late 1870s until the turn of the century, the number of American art journals increased markedly as publishing houses, art associations, and art schools began producing their own periodicals covering the art scene. Before this period, many of the art journals were simply listings of art union transactions.

For contemporary art or cultural historians, access to these journals has been almost impossible. "At this time, there is no published index or guide to nineteenth-century American art periodicals," says Mary Schmidt, librarian at Princeton's Marquand Library. "Scholars hoping to find information pertinent to their research in the nineteenth century must first identify the journals that are likely to have the desired references and then search laboriously page by page for the names wanted."

Maggie Riechers is a freelance writer in the Washington, D.C., area.

The researcher might thumb through thirty years of journals to see whether a subject is mentioned."

To remedy this situation, Schmidt has been working on such an index with support from NEH. The index, which she has been compiling intermittently since 1976 when she was arts librarian at Columbia University, will cover between thirty-five and forty American art journals published between the 1840s and 1909. Nearly 40,000 articles will be indexed.

Based on the format of RILA (International Repertory of the Liter-

ature of Art), an important bibliography for art historians, the index will be divided into two parts. The first part will be an alphabetical arrangement by journal of each issue's contents, including the title and author of each article and an abstract, if the article title is not self-explanatory. Part two will be an index by author and subject with each entry followed by a number referring the reader back to the citation in part one.

A look at the journals' contents provides insight about American tastes in art during the period, says Schmidt. "European art styles were much admired, although generally not much was written at the time about the European artists who are most well-known today." She points out that there was more comment in American magazines on the French academic artists Leon Bonnat and Adolphe Bouguereau than on Monet, Van Gogh, or Degas. Similarly, contemporaneous American artists such as Daniel Huntington and Elihu Vedder, who are not widely studied today, were discussed at length in journal articles. Impressionism was not explored in America until the 1890s, says Schmidt, citing an article "On the Art of Degas, the Painter of Ballet Effects, Or Meditation on Dancing," published in the journal *Modern Art* in 1893.

A perusal of article titles from the period suggests a preoccupation by the American art community with developing an American identity, Schmidt says. An example she cites is an article titled "How An Ameri-



Above: Portrait of the American artist Edmund C. Tarbell, in Brush and Pencil, January 1899. Cover of The Art Amateur of October 1880, depicting Sarah Bernhardt as drawn by "Prof. Camille Piton of New York."

Courtesy of Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University

can Art Could Be Developed," published in *Art Critic* in 1893. In the article, Sadakichi Hartmann, the artist and critic, proposed the creation of an art guild, a national art gallery, and an academy of fine arts. Other titles emphasizing the need for an endemic American viewpoint in art include "Tendency of Art in America" in *American Art Review*, published from 1879 to 1881, and "Novelty in American Art" and "The Subjects of American Painting," both published in *Art Review* in 1886.

"Establishing an indigenous American tradition in art was a major concern of the art community at the time," says Schmidt. "Critics sought to define what was unique about American art and called on American artists to eschew imitations of European art styles."

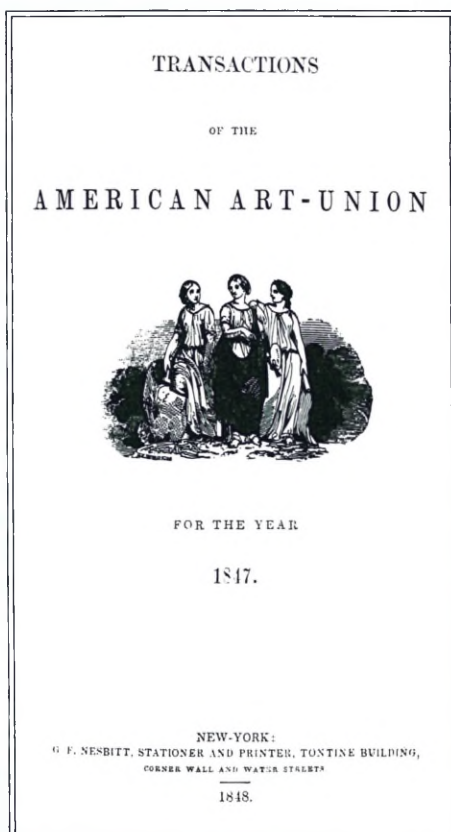
Despite such nationalistic leanings, Schmidt says, an American identity in art did not emerge easily. American artists continued to travel to Europe to study art, and American art styles were still derived from European models. Even the Hudson River school of landscape painting, typified by Thomas Cole and emphasizing the majestic beauty of nature in America, was influenced by the style of France's Barbizon school. Moreover, contributions by American artists such as Whistler, Homer, and Sargent are not mentioned until the 1890s.

A variety of art news was presented in these journals, including much about art exhibitions in Europe and at the major art centers in the United States, such as New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco. In addition, every magazine commented on exhibitions such as those at the National Academy of Design in New York and the Pennsylvania Academy for Fine Arts in Philadelphia, Schmidt says. Articles were also written on the collections of various art museums and on the major collectors of the day, including such prominent Americans as Henry Walters of Baltimore and the Hearsts of San Francisco.

Many of the journals covered more than art, Schmidt points out. One journal, *The Collector*, published in 1879, reported on all types of collections, including coins, books, art,



Will Bradley of Springfield, Massachusetts, briefly published an art journal, *Bradley His Book*. This design appeared in the February 1897 issue.



A mid-nineteenth-century art journal, *The American Art Union* (1847 to 1853) listed its members, the reproductions of works of art available to its members, and reprints of lectures and eulogies.

even tattoos. Poems and short stories appear throughout the journals—a few by well-known authors such as Whitman and Longfellow, most by obscure American and English authors, and some published anonymously. Other journals included coverage of sculpture, architecture, and photography. *Art Amateur* concentrated on the decorative arts, and *The Illustrated Magazine of Art* included natural history.

For Schmidt, the process of indexing has been long and painstaking, not only because she and the indexers working with her must read every article in each issue of each journal but also because the work completed to date is now being transferred to another computer system. "Once we complete the computer system transfer, we hope to complete the index in two years," Schmidt says. She adds that the index has potential for on-line availability, although there are no plans for that at the moment.

Schmidt expects the completed work to run approximately 3,500 pages in three volumes. Researchers may currently use printouts, available at five libraries, of the twenty-eight journals and 8,400 articles indexed to date. Three of the libraries are in New York City: the New York Public Library, Avery Library at Columbia University, and the Thomas J. Watson Library of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The other two are the Boston Public Library and Princeton's Marquand Library.

"One happy offshoot of the project is that a publisher has now reprinted on microfiche nine of the journals that have been indexed," says Schmidt. "It is often the case that if an index exists for little-known journals, a publisher will then put them on microfiche." If other publishers follow suit, the door to research in nineteenth-century American art journals, already unlocked by Schmidt's indexing efforts, will be nudged open a jot further.

In 1987, Mary Schmidt received \$149,009 from the Reference Materials category of the Division of Research Programs to complete the "Index to Nineteenth-Century Art Journals."



Courtesy of Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum

Niagara Falls. Part of the British Fall taken from under Table Rock. Painted by W.J. Bennett and engraved by J. Hill; published in New York in 1829. This aquatint had simple watercolor washes to give color to the print.

BY JAMES S. TURNER

THE *Baltimore American & Commercial Daily Advertiser* of July 11, 1829, carried the following announcement of the opening of J.H. Naff's showroom:

I have Arranged and Bound
in neat VOLUMES, SCRAPBOOKS, &c. &c.
a number of Beautiful ENGRAVINGS.
Many of them Possessing Merit
as DESIGNS,
and Deserving much PRAISE
for Style and Execution . . .
The Object in EXHIBITING
this COLLECTION is
for the Purpose of RECREATION and
AMUSEMENT to such as are Desirous of
Being Instructed and Engaged
during a LEISURE hour;
There is Worse Employment
than looking over a Good COLLECTION
of caricature, fancy, sentimental
and landscape ENGRAVINGS.

PRINTS IN

A selective catalogue of the Winterthur Museum

In the nearly 120 years that had passed since Virginia Assemblyman William Byrd II began to collect and display prints for the amusement of his family and friends, engravings had become a staple of American household furnishing and an indicator of American taste in art. Except for the few colonials with the leisure and money to recross the Atlantic to have their portraits done fashionably in London, Paris, or Rome, not many Americans could afford fine imported furniture or paintings. But printed materials—maps and prints foremost among them—were readily transportable overseas, relatively economical and easy to distribute commercially, suitably reflective of European taste, and demonstrably superior in workmanship to printed materials produced in the colonies.

The production, commercial promotion, and use of prints in early American culture are the subjects of *Two Centuries of Prints in America 1680–1880: A Selective Catalogue of the Winterthur Museum Collection* (University Press of Virginia, 1987). The catalogue was compiled and written by E. McSherry Fowble, curator of graphics and paintings at the Winterthur Museum in Winterthur, Delaware, with support from NEH. A leading authority on prints pertaining to the American scene from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, Fowble presents original, previously unpublished research on a little-known slice of early American culture: prints as evidence of artistic craftsmanship, commercial practices, and fashion.

Fowble is caretaker of a large collection of more than 5,000 prints assembled under the auspices of Henry Francis du Pont, pioneer preser-

vationist of American material culture from the 1920s to his death in 1969. This monumental and eclectic survey of prints is the outgrowth of a program of research initiated at Winterthur in 1970 to better understand prints as products and reflections of their time. The catalogue features nearly four hundred of the collection's most historically significant and visually appealing prints dated before the 1880s. The bulk of the material, however, covers the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to approximately 1840, by which time the advent of photography had begun to compete with prints for a hold on popular tastes in pictures.

Several key questions were raised at the outset of the Winterthur research program: How were the prints made? Who made them? How were they marketed? Who bought them? What meaning did their subject matter have for the owners? How were they displayed in the home? The answers were painstakingly culled from contemporary written records, which included newspapers, business records, account books, diaries, wills, private letters, and household inventories.

The Economics of Printmaking

Printmaking in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was primarily a business enterprise motivated by the printmakers' desire for commercial success, Fowble explains. Critical to that success were "the basic economics of replicating pictures with the greatest facility and selling them in quantity to a wide audience."

Because the subjects that engravers portrayed were chosen less often for their aesthetic merit than for their appeal to public tastes, the catalogue focuses on prints as a business and as a popular art form. "People lived with them daily and

James S. Turner is the assistant editor of Humanities.

AMERICA

collection of prints and engravings

intimately," writes Fowble. "Because prints touched so many aspects of American life, they may be examined as the graphic remains of the nation's early activity."

Structurally the catalogue is divided into two sections to establish a fundamental distinction between prints produced in Europe for the American market and prints produced in America for the same market. "The two need to be treated separately," says Fowble, "because it is unfair to compare the mature European-made prints of the colonial period and into the first decades of the nineteenth century with the fledgling efforts at printmaking by American engravers in the post-revolutionary period."

"My primary purpose in undertaking the project was to convey an appreciation for the decorative use of prints in early American homes," she continues. "But secondly I want-

ed to show the evolution of the American interest in prints extending from the colonial period, which was dominated by European prints sold on the American market, to the early nineteenth century, when American engravers emerged as recognizably skilled artisans with an increased interpretive awareness of the American scene."

Each section discusses printmaking technology, artists and craftsmen, advertising strategies, kinds of buyers, and subject matter, as well as how, where, and in what quantities prints were displayed in American homes and businesses. Individual prints within each section are grouped according to type: maps, landscapes and cityscapes, portraits, social or political satires, allegories, architecture, historical events, current events, scenes of everyday life, amusements, and more. These groupings are arranged in general order of their popularity in America. Fowble extrapolated the relative popularity of each type of print from the frequency with which each type was mentioned in contemporary records.

Importing Prints from Europe

Printmaking in the eighteenth century was a skilled craft involving proper tools and training, neither of which were readily available in the New World. Moreover, the colonial preoccupation with more practical pursuits, such as carving a living out of an inhospitable wilderness in an often harsh climate, did not allow much time for artistic pursuits.

American print production was greatly limited before 1700. According to Fowble, the first letterpress was not brought to the colonies and put into opera-



Left: The portrait of John Wilkes Esqr., drawn and etched by William Hogarth, 1763, was popular on both sides of the Atlantic. Above: Sprigs of Laurel, printed in Philadelphia. Large aquatints of the naval battles of the War of 1812, such as this one, were handsome—and expensive.

tion until the end of the fourth decade of the seventeenth century. Although the number of both letterpresses and rolling presses in the colonies increased in the first half of the eighteenth century, the American market before 1800 relied on London and the continent to supply printed maps and pictures. These reflected European decorative customs and fashion.

The production of engraved plates was costly and time consuming. For nearly seventy-five years, the production of a particular map or view could remain tied to the number of prepublication subscribers that could be secured to underwrite the expense of the engraving. Moreover, the time between signing up as a subscriber and actual receipt of a print could be quite lengthy—measured in terms of a year or two rather than a few months. Delays were inevitable when images drawn



Although accurate when drawn, a map was often obsolete as a guide to the American hinterland by the time the engraving arrived from London or Amsterdam. Nonetheless, even as records of past events or to imply educated or accomplished status, maps were favorites as wall hangings. Personal papers and early inventories indicate that maps were owned by both the wealthy—merchants, military officers, clergy, government officials, and plantation officials—and less wealthy—mariners, millwrights, tradesmen, and innkeepers.

Beginning with the third decade of the eighteenth century, three significant factors in colonial life began to emerge that whetted the colonists' appetite for European prints. First, print sellers' shops, from which other merchants bought for the trade in towns and villages, opened in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Second, European-trained artists with sophisticated knowledge of engraving came to sojourn in the colonies and to teach and practice their craft. They encouraged a colonial taste for fine engravings, particularly portraits of European worthies. By the 1750s, favorites among the colonists had diversified to include views of major cities, important buildings, landscapes, and seaports; romantic and historical subjects, such as battle scenes on land and sea; humorous subjects, such as political and social satire; allegories lauding bravery and nobility; popular themes represented in matched sets and series; and pictures to entertain and instruct children. As the economy expanded and wealth became more widely distributed, more Americans were able to travel to Europe on business or holiday. There, within the limits of their wealth, they indulged an appetite for things European and returned with paintings, prints, furniture, and other decor for their ever more stately colonial homes.

first to advertise as a "print seller," formed an American vanguard of a "small but growing appreciation of the engravers' arts and a preference in art for what represented the master accomplishments of Europe," says Fowble.

At first colonial print sellers were blunt in their advertising techniques. They commonly resorted to ultimatum: "Unless Subscriptions come in it will not be Printed," Price advertised in the June 3, 1723 *Boston Gazette*. Few print sellers missed the opportunity to remind the public that prints were a luxury available at "reasonable prices." Gradually, the print sellers became more adept at promotion and by the end of the century turned to identifying subscribers as people of taste whose names were printed on each issue of a given print.

To capture the spirit of national pride in the young American nation in the last years of the eighteenth century, print seller T.B. Freeman announced that he would eventually be selling "works of Artists in this country, that will convince the rest of mankind that America is their equal in elegance and taste, as much so, as she has been found their superior in liberality and public spirit."

That Freeman's proposal could find an appreciative and supportive audience was due, in large measure, to the efforts of eighteenth-century émigré artists and engravers such as John Smibert, Gustavus Hesselius, Charles Bridges and William Dering, Peter Pelham, and William Williams. Bringing with them a knowledge of some of the best engravings to be obtained, these émigrés taught their patrons an appreciation of engravings as a ready reference to the best in European painting.

The 1790s became a pivotal decade in the development of a self-consciously American expression through engravings. Native American talent, including Cornelius Tiebout, Edward Savage, and Charles Willson Peale, ventured to London to seek experience in the fine points of engraving: mezzotint, line, and stipple. Returning to America, they were the first native sons to impress the American mar-



A Topographic Chart of the Bay of Narraganset, published in London in 1777. Although decorative and pastoral in appearance, surveys like this served the British well during their occupation of Rhode Island from December 1776 to October 1779.



This Building by the bounty of Government and of many private Persons was piously founded for the Relief of the Sick and Miserable. Anno 1755.

Above: South Front of the Pennsylvania Hospital, designed by William Strickland and engraved by Samuel Seymour; published in Philadelphia ca. 1805–1820. Strickland worked as a painter, draftsman, and engraver until he received his first major architectural commission in 1818. Right: The business advertising card of Robert Kennedy, a Philadelphia framer and printseller, ca. 1766.

ket with their talent for rendering the American scene through engravings. Even so, they met stiff competition from other English émigrés, such as William Russell Birch, his son Thomas, William Rollinson, and Alexander Lawson, who sought to set up print shops in America.

"With printing machinery at hand," Fowble explains, "American engravers were free to pursue subjects of their own choosing. A number of portraits, some views, and a series of commentaries on political events were engraved for the American market in the post-revolutionary period. Most were rudely executed and printed, and only a few had artistic qualities that would be appreciated in England."

American engravers were slow to attain commercial success in the face of such high standards of taste. Yet, in time, with the development of lithography after its invention in 1798, American engravings reached new heights of achievement, including the artistic attainment of Currier and Ives in the later nineteenth century.

Fowble believes that the catalogue will be of value to students of American civilization, popular culture, commerce, technology, and graphic arts history. "If I do anything with this catalogue," says Fowble, "I hope that I move prints out of the world of the connoisseur into the world, first, of collectors who collect prints because they find them interesting and want to understand them, and, more importantly, into the world of historians who may discover evidence in the printed image that helps to clarify particular historical issues."

Although NEH typically provides support for interpretive catalogues connected with a specific exhibition, catalogues interpreting permanent collections are also eligible.

For "A History of American Printmaking from 1708 to 1858," the Winterthur Museum, under project director Ian Quimby, received \$40,000 in outright funds from the Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations Program from the Division of General Programs in 1984.



The Mirror Up To Nature

BY ROLAND MUSHAT FRYE

SHAKESPEARE'S EYE FOR the small and large details of nature was one of his most attractive qualities. In this as in much else, he was very much at one with the visual arts produced under the influence of the Renaissance.

From the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, interest in landscape increased, as evidenced both in more careful and convincing representation and also in the continued exploitation of landscape for symbolic and emotive potential. Medieval artists had, for the most part, represented external nature only in its parts and had rarely sought to coalesce those parts, however well perceived, into a single accurately represented whole.

In the fifteenth century, however, painters began to show entire landscapes not merely as imaginative constructs but as believable pictures of what lay about them in nature. Such paintings in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries used the landscape as a setting for human activities, rather than as an end in itself. The quality of the landscape represented was designed to reinforce the mood or to point the moral for some human theme, event, or individual.

This does not mean that Shakespeare and the visual artists of his age regarded nature as humanity's docile servant. They knew far better than that. In *Timon of Athens*, Shakespeare has Apemantus ask Timon,

❖ What, think'st
That the bleak air, thy boisterous chamberlain,
Will put thy shirt on warm?
Will these mossed trees,
That have outlived the eagle, page thy heels
And skip when thou point'st out?
Will the cold brook,
Candied with ice, caudle thy morning taste
To cure thy o'er-night's surfeit? ❖

The answer obviously is no: Nature is not the slave to every human wish. But the Renaissance did nonetheless see humanity as the center of God's creation, and as its created apogee as well. Nature could and should be made to serve the human mind and rational spirit, and in art it did so. For Shakespeare, nature was the servant of art, and Prospero expressed the attitude of Renaissance poets and painters alike when he said,

❖ I have bedimmed
The moontide sun,
called forth the mutinous winds,
And 'twixt the green sea and the azured vault
Set roaring war; to the dread rattling thunder
Have I given fire and rifted Jove's stout oak
With his own bolt;
the strong-based promontory
Have I made shake and by the spurs plucked up
The pine and cedar; graves at my command
Have waked their sleepers, oped,
and let 'em forth
By my so potent art. ❖

The Landscape of Arcadia

In his study of Italian Renaissance landscape paintings, A. Richard Turner cites the influence of Dante, who taught that "the business of landscape painting was to evoke a moment of contemplation wherein a man might discover his just relationship to an often tumultuous world." To those words on the poetic inspiration of landscape painting in the Re-

naissance, Turner added these on the mood of such paintings: "They offer us a *locus amoenus*, where the weather is fair and the landscape friendly, . . . an idealized realm where one may find peace and well-being."

Bernard Berenson has observed that "the pleasure we take in actual landscape is only to a limited extent an affair of the eye, and to a great extent one of unusually intense well-being. The painter's problem, therefore, is not merely to render the tactile values of the visible objects, but to convey, more rapidly and unfailingly than nature would do, the consciousness of an unusually intense degree of well-being."

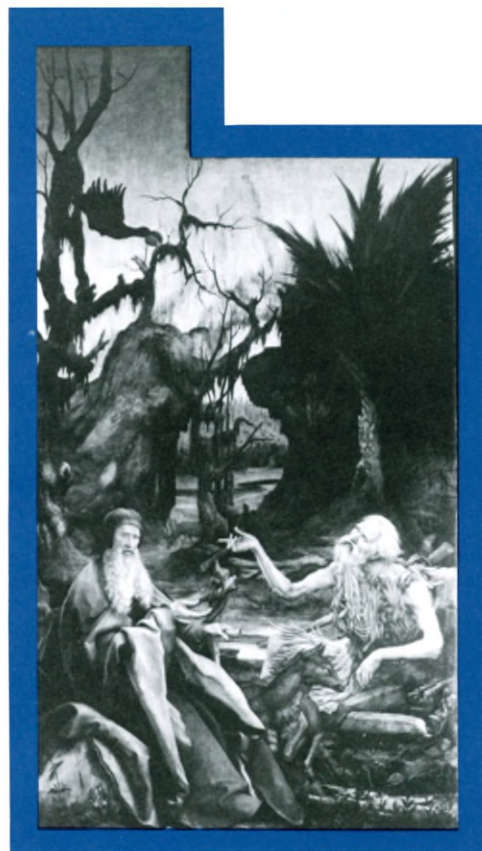
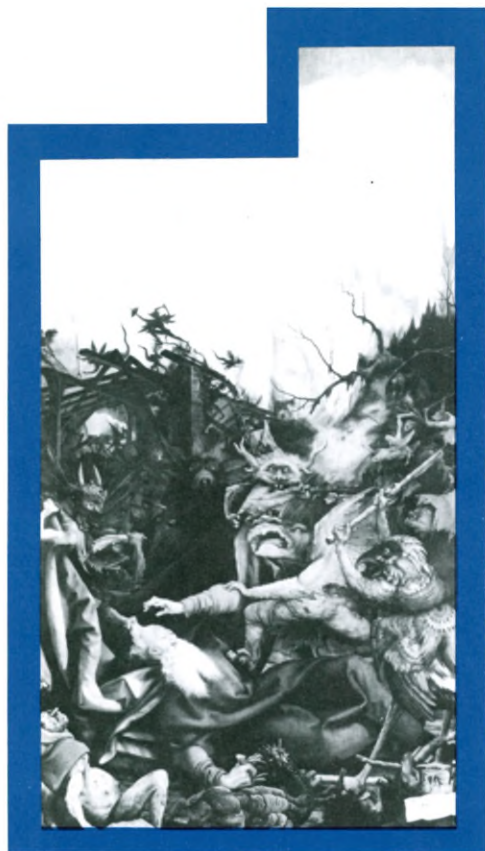
That understanding of a painted landscape applies with equal force to Shakespeare's verbal pictures of the Forest of Arden. Neither Shakespeare nor the painters were intent upon providing a precise and meticulous reproduction of nature, but both manipulated nature in a credible way so as to evoke or express a desired mood or attitude in the audience, as nature was made to serve their "so potent art."

The Landscape of Horror

Opposite to the idyllic mood evoked by Arcadian painting and poetry was the landscape of horror, technically known as the *teratology*. The tradition of a demonic terrain infested with ominous or perverted forms goes back many centuries but never achieved a more terrifying visual expression than in the *Temptation of St. Anthony*, and the *Temptations of Saints Anthony and Paul*, which Grünewald executed for the Isenheim Altarpiece between about 1510 and 1515 (Figure

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Figure 1. The Isenheim Altarpiece, Grünewald, ca. 1510–1515. "Shakespeare's lines for Tamora encapsulate a verbal conception of evil directly comparable to the painted conception of Isenheim; in both, there are the same lean and forlorn trees, overhung with baleful moss, cut off from the blessing of the sun, blighted by unclean and ominous fowl, and surrounded by hissing reptiles, swelling toads and urchins, all suggesting a precipitous decline into madness."—R.M.F.



Unterlinden Museum, Colmar

1). Kenneth Clark finds in the moss dripping from those dead tree branches the "perfect symbol of decay." This conception, admittedly melodramatic as it was, crossed and crisscrossed Europe as a powerful symbol of the depravity and distortion of evil, finding myriad expressions in painting and in the graphic arts. Writing about these paintings, Clarke observes that "Grünewald, in his attempt to use all the machinery of horror, has, like some of the minor Elizabethans, come near to the vulgarity which accompanies too-muchness."

Some seventy-five or eighty years after Grünewald painted the Isenheim Altarpiece, Shakespeare had not yet emerged from the status of "minor Elizabethan" when he composed *Titus Andronicus*. The first of his tragedies and largely melodramatic, it was the work of a brilliant beginner, replete with many kinds of too-muchness. In such a play, the landscape of horror is entirely fitting. When the villainous Empress Tamora appropriately describes the vale of murder and rape, we find ourselves in a world of teratology like that of Grünewald:

❁

*A barren detested vale you see it is;
The trees, though summer,
yet forlorn and lean,
O'ercome with moss and baleful mistletoe.
Here never shines the sun;
here nothing breeds,
Unless the nightly owl or fatal raven;
And when they show'd me this abhorred pit,
They told me, here, at dead time of the night,
A thousand fiends, a thousand hissing snakes,
Ten thousand swelling toads, as many urchins,
Would make such fearful and confused cries
As any mortal body hearing it
Should straight fall mad, or else die suddenly.*

❁

That Shakespeare never saw Grünewald's work is as nearly certain as such things can be, but he did not need to see it. These Grünewald paintings represent a widespread common language of images and symbols. The printing press propagated not only the written word but visual images throughout Europe, so that paintings had not only a direct influence but an indirect influence also, transmitted through various forms of prints and engravings. Teratologies were spread through the graphic media, and the same imagery was employed by writers, each use reinforcing the other.

The Landscape of Choice

The Arcadian landscape and the teratology are in an important sense moralized landscapes in which natural description is infused with moral judgment. But the *paysage moralisé* is epitomized in the presentation of a choice of ways of life, symbolized by two roads leading in different directions and to different goals, high and low, or good and bad. In *Hamlet*, this *paysage moralisé* is explicitly and unmistakably announced. It comes in the first act, when Laertes has been advising Ophelia, and she replies by painting a little word picture that deftly evokes the traditional landscape of moral choice:

❁

*but, good my brother,
Do not as some ungracious pastors do,
Show me the steep and thorny way to heaven,
Whiles like a puffed and reckless libertine
Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads
And recks not his own rede.* ❁

In general terms, those lines recall scores of paintings and prints, but John Doeblér has perhaps brought us closest to the immediate source of Shakespeare's imagery in citing a woodcut from Alexander Barclay's

influential English version of Sebastian Brant's *The Ship of Fools*, which illustrates the choice as a dream vision presented to a sleeping Hercules (Figure 2).

The Garden Landscape

Moving beyond the landscapes already surveyed, we come to the garden landscape which can apply either to an individual or a family or an entire society. The stiff portrait of Charles I with his family, engraved

by William Marshall about 1630, makes the point (Figure 3). This little engraving was designed and printed so as to give the monarch's subjects an attractive and intimate glimpse of Charles and his family. It appeared years before the Civil Wars in which the king suffered his own "disordered spring" and "himself met with the fall of leaf."

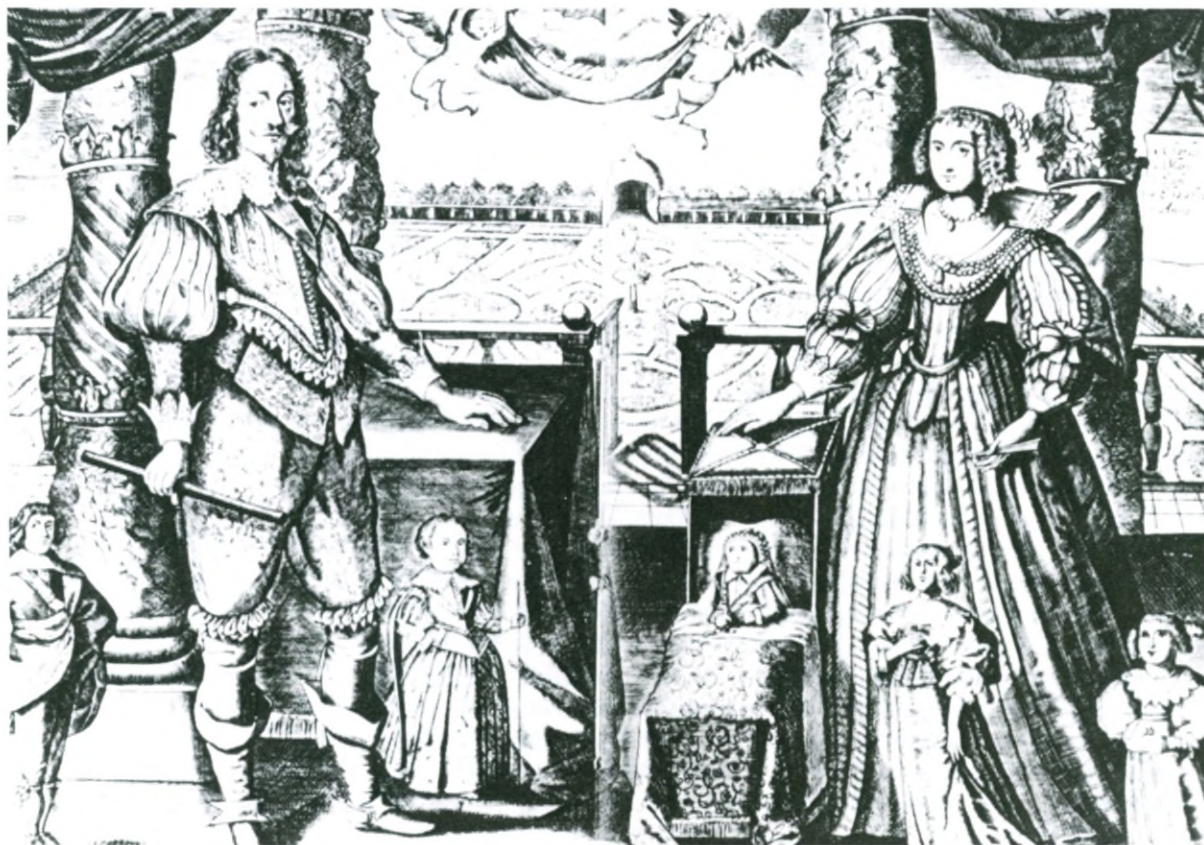
Those Shakespearean phrases from *Richard II* will call to mind the apposite scene where the gardeners discuss the care they have devoted to the garden, which is their limited responsibility, and wish that the fallen King Richard had done as much for "our sea-walled garden, the whole land."

Marshall's picture of King Charles was carefully designed to suggest that this virtuous monarch has tended the garden of his nation as well as the smaller garden within the parterre that we see. But King Charles died under a headsman's axe because he had not tended the public garden of England as scrupulously as he tended the garden of his private life. His tragedy would be compared at the time to that of Shakespeare's Richard II.



Figure 2. *The Ship of Fools*, Sebastian Brant. "On the left, a naked woman entices Hercules to follow the path of dalliance that leads to possessing her and her primroses, while on the right the steep path of virtue is symbolized by thorns and the serious figure of Virtue herself."—R.M.F.

Figure 3. *Charles I with His Family*, William Marshall, ca. 1630. "The king is shown with Queen Henrietta Maria and their five children gathered in a portico of Solomonian columns. Just beyond is a garden laid out in graceful geometrical designs, formal but not repressive. The vine-covered pavilion at the far end looks inviting, and the whole is well ordered for refreshing and sustaining the human spirit."—R.M.F.



When the gardener in Richard II refers to the "sea-walled garden," he is describing the whole state of England, unpruned and disordered by the king's misgovernment.

The Dynastic Landscape

The garden landscape is related to but is also significantly different from the dynastic terrain. A. Richard Turner observes that in the Renaissance certain kinds of landscape and of portraiture "are concerned primarily with outward signs of status rather than with more personal or intangible qualities." He calls this the "propagandistic function of landscape," and he sees it as traceable "right through the Renaissance in a great variety of paintings to find a logical conclusion in the courtyard of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, where the frescoes of the possessions of the house of Austria might better be described as aerial maps than as landscapes."

That courtyard to which Turner refers is covered with murals representing the vast possessions of the family of the wife of a Medici prince, visually designed to assert the riches and power of the sixteenth-century marital alliance between the ruling houses of Tuscany and Austria. Such paintings fulfill the same purpose as King Lear's poetic descriptions of the vast and rich domains he will bestow upon his daughters:

*Of all these bounds, even from this line to this,
With shadowy forests
and with champains riched,
With plenteous rivers and wide-skirted meads,
We make thee lady.
To thine and Albany's issues
Be this perpetual.*

The stage business here has Lear referring to a map, but his words draw a picture that is readily imaginable in the mind's eye—the picture of a dynastic landscape.

The Individualized Landscape

The glimpses of landscape in the backgrounds of Tudor portraits were probably never intended as actual topographical descriptions of particular scenes. Often, however, they may be called individualized land-



National Portrait Gallery, London

scapes, not because they reproduce a particular terrain but because they contribute to understanding the individual portrayed. Their purpose was to convey a symbolic or atmospheric comment on the subject of the painting.

The portrait of Sir Edward Hoby at the age of twenty-three in 1583 (Figure 4) provides a similar example. Here the window or insert in the upper right shows another outdoor scene, but again it exists not as a thing of beauty in itself but as a commentary upon Hoby, a soldier who has laid aside his arms. What we have here is the abjuring of war, however temporarily, and the visualizing of that abjuration in the veiled armor, arms, and drums constitutes a personal landscape. In such paintings, the inset pictures are not important in themselves but for what they contribute to an understanding of the characters portrayed.

Figure 4. Sir Edward Hoby, artist unknown, 1583. "An auburn-haired woman wearing a crown and dressed in purple (apparently suggesting Queen Elizabeth) comes out of a castle and observes a trophy of the implements of war over which a veil has been cast, as if to suggest that the young knight has put aside his arms at the wish or even the command of the queen; the Latin motto on the label declares that they have been 'laid aside, yet not blunted.'"—R.M.F.



Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London



Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

Figure 5. Elizabeth Cecil, George Gower(?), 1580. In this portrait, lost since 1893, the inset background of spring leaves and a singing bird accords with the age of the young woman.

Figure 6. A Lady with a White Ruff, artist unknown, 1590. "Whereas Elizabeth Cecil was obviously young, this lady with the autumn foliage has entered her middle years (at least in Elizabethan terms) as can be seen both from her face and from the background scene."—R.M.F.

I have called these window-like inserts "individualized landscapes" because they were inserted to reflect some aspect of the personal situations of the subjects portrayed. Shakespeare adapted such miniature landscapes not only in his plays but also in his sonnets. In Sonnet 73, the opening quatrain introduces these familiar and haunting images:

That time of life thou mayst in me behold
When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang
Upon those boughs
which shake against the cold,
Bare ruined choirs,
where late the sweet birds sang.

The primary image here is unmistakable—autumn branches whose leaves have already begun to turn and to fall, and where the birds of

spring are no longer to be seen and heard.

Two Elizabethan portraits serve to put Shakespeare's lines into context. Both place their subjects before a background of foliage which correlates symbolically with the subject's "time of life." The first example is of a young woman known (somewhat uncertainly) as Elizabeth Cecil, who was painted in about 1580, the artist being unidentified, although George Gower has been surmised (Figure 5). Through the window behind her, we see spring leaves and a singing bird, exactly the image that Shakespeare's opening evokes in Sonnet 73 as part of his persona's past.

Those spring branches with singing birds cannot for long endure but must give way to the autumn of life, which is Shakespeare's primary focus in Sonnet 73. We find a close visual counterpart to that conception in a lovely portrait of an unknown woman, dating from the 1590s and known only as "A Lady with a White Ruff," which is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (Figure 6). Like Shakespeare's persona in the sonnet, this lady has entered upon a time of life when "yellow leaves, or none, or few do hang/ Upon those boughs which shake against the cold,/ Bare ruined choirs where late the sweet birds sang."

In these paintings from Shakespeare's lifetime, and in his sonnet, we see parallel ways in which closely focused pictures of nature were used not as ends in themselves, but rather as means to what the Renaissance regarded as the higher end of throwing light upon some facet of a human personality or a human situation. Similarly, Shakespeare's verbal pictures of the natural world were created as instruments for exploring the human world. Wherever he evokes an imaginary landscape, he evokes it as a way of expressing some human personality or experience, some moral vision or nightmare of evil, some aspiration or fear. Significantly too, that was also the rationale for most of the renditions of landscapes in the paintings of his age, for poets and painters used nature in closely comparable ways. It may all be summarized in the words that Hamlet used to define "the purpose of playing," which applies also to every mimetic art:

Whose end, both at the first and now,
was and is, to hold,
As 'twere, the mirror up to nature,
to show virtue
Her own feature, scorn her own image,
and the very
Age and body of the time her form and pressure.

CAESAR'S GHOST

BY HAROLD CANNON

WHAT DO WE KNOW of Caesar quite apart
From Shakespeare or from Shaw, from Hollywood,
The cardboard sets, or Gielgud or Claude Rains?
Ancient historians combine
Their praise and blame in anecdotes that beg
The question: was he great, or merely lucky?
The recent scholarship extends confusion,
And Caesar, equally admired and scorned,
Eludes our searching. How can history
Peel back the layers two millennia thick
And find the Roman leader? Caesar wrote
Long commentaries with himself as hero,
Describing his campaigns: the wars in
Gaul, Battles in Spain, the rivalry of Pompey—
All brought to victory, and schoolboys wonder
Why his lieutenant Labienus made
Mistakes so regularly Caesar had
To save him from defeat so many times.

But still the man Calpurnia married stays
In shadow. His contemporaries saw
Only his power and his influence.
Catullus loathed his engineer Mamurra
And said so, in iambs. Cicero
Declared that all good men would murder him
If they but had the chance. And many did.
The pirates captured him, and only greed
Prevented them from killing him. Instead
They asked for ransom, waited patiently,
Laughed at his threats of some day coming back
And punishing them well, received their price,
And let him go. It was a fatal error.
Caesar returned, and crucified them all.
In battle Caesar seemed invulnerable
And reckless; once against the Nervii
He charged alone to certain death, had not
The legionaries hastened to protect him.
Yet there was humor in the man, a grim
Sardonic recognition of his place
As it affected other men. When Caesar rode
In triumph, Aquila the tribune would not stand
With all the rest, and Caesar noticed this.
"Hey, Aquila!" he cried, "Would you restore
"The old republic single-handedly?"
Thereafter his decrees began as follows:
"If Aquila the tribune will permit, . . ."

The Ides of March in 44 B.C.
Created our dilemma: Was it envy
Or patriotic fervor at its work,
Sharpening assassins' knives, or did he fall
A victim to his own ambition? Pride
He had aplenty; did that justify
The butchery that bloodied Pompey's feet?
Shakespeare preferred to simplify the matter
By picking Brutus as his hero; thus
He could encompass both the rise and fall
Within the play itself, and round it off
With Stoic suicide at Philippi.

But Caesar is obscure, dead long before
The real denouement: Antony's oration,
The flight of the conspirators, the greed
And peculation, and the sordid truth
That left a rancid taste between the teeth
Of Brutus running on his outstretched sword.
So all our pity finds a Portia weeping,
And leaves Calpurnia miserably alone.

Nothing in Shaw or Shakespeare indicates
Great Caesar's legacy to us—no, not the will
That Antony delayed the reading of
Until the crowd demanded it—the great
Eventual effects of his career.
Whatever language Gallic chieftains spoke
When Caesar made a province of their land,
They soon forgot it and adopted Latin,
Which Norman soldiers carried into Britain
To shape our mother-tongue. Caesar taught
His heirs that one could hold the power alone
And rule the empire. On this solid base
His heir Augustus built the dynasty,
The ancestor of all our modern empires.

He would have smiled, had he but lived to see
The last long triumphs of his active life.
He would have laughed to watch two thousand years
Roll by and find us, 'tother side Atlantis,
All speaking Latin bravely, but not well,
Much like his chiefs of Gaul. And he'd have roared
To hear us speak of it as "dead". "No more!"
He'd cry, "It's no more dead than I! It breathes
Through Shaw and Shakespeare, and it lives for all
Eternity." ☞

Harold Cannon is director of the Office of Challenge Grants.

Where did John Wilkes Booth
turn for a role model?

BLAME IT ON SHAKESPEARE

BY JOHN F. ANDREWS

IF YOU'VE EVER ambled through the groves at the south end of New York's Central Park, you may have happened upon sculptor John Quincy Adams Ward's splendid monument to Shakespeare. Roughly parallel to 67th Street, it looks across a garden plot to a symmetrically placed statue of Christopher Columbus that dates from 1892.

The Shakespeare memorial was commissioned on April 23, 1864, to commemorate the three-hundredth anniversary of the playwright's birth. It was dedicated eight years later on May 23, 1872. The principal speakers on that lovely spring afternoon were writer William Cullen Bryant, who extolled Shakespeare as "a giant among philosophers," and actor Edwin Booth, who recited a poem that said

*The hearts of all men beat in his,
Alike in pleasure and in pain.*

The ceremony concluded with an orchestral performance of Robert Schumann's stately overture to *Julius Caesar*.

In all likelihood, the music for the occasion was selected by Edwin Booth, who had just concluded a

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Unveiling the William Shakespeare statue in New York's Central Park, May 23, 1872. John Quincy Adams Ward was the sculptor.

The New-York Historical Society, New York City
record run of eighty-five consecutive nights in the principal roles of Shakespeare's Roman tragedy. Booth had spearheaded the raising of funds for the Shakespeare monument, and it may well be that at this moment his thoughts wandered back to a performance of the play that he had arranged for November 25, 1864.

Promoted as a benefit for "The Shakespeare Statue Fund," the evening's playbill announced that the performance would be "made memorable by the appearance of the sons of the great [Junius Brutus] Booth, . . . who have come forward with cheerful alacrity to do honor to the immortal bard from whose work the genius of their father caught inspiration and of many of whose creations he was the best and noblest illustrator the state has ever known."

Edwin played the role of Brutus; his older brother, Junius Brutus, played Cassius; and his younger brother, John Wilkes, played Mark Antony.

According to a review the following day, the theater was "fairly carried by storm from the first entrance of the three brothers. . . . Brutus was individualized with great force and distinctiveness. Cassius was brought out equally well. And if there was less of real personality given Mark Antony, the fault was rather in the part than in the actor. . . . He played with a phos-



National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

phorescent passion and fire which recalled to old theatregoers the characteristics of the elder Booth."

When we think about what happened less than five months later, we realize that as Mark Antony the youngest Booth was cast in the wrong role that night. But it may have entered his mind even then that he was in the right play. And with what rapt attention he must have listened as he heard his older brother speak Cassius' prophetic words:

*How many ages hence
Shall this our lofty scene be acted over
In states unborn and accents yet unknown?*

Junius Brutus Booth the elder was an English actor who had moved to America in 1821. By the time of his death in 1852, he had established himself as the leading tragedian of his generation. Like his forebears, the elder Booth was staunchly anti-authoritarian in his political convictions; and the names that he and his wife bestowed on their children were clearly meant to express those convictions. Their oldest son they named for Lucius Junius Brutus, the hero who had driven the Tarquins from Rome, abolishing kingship and establishing the Republic in 509 B.C. And John Wilkes they named after an eighteenth-century British radical known as "the Agitator." The original John Wilkes considered King George III a tyrant and supported

The Booth brothers in Julius Caesar. Left to right: John Wilkes Booth as Mark Antony, Edwin Booth as Brutus, and Junius Brutus Booth, Jr., in the role of Cassius. Albumen silver print, 1864.

the rebellion of the secessionist American colonies during the civil war that led to the establishment of a new republic on this side of the Atlantic.

The Booths settled on a farm in northern Maryland and, like many another American family, eventually found themselves divided by the great conflict that erupted in 1861. Mary Ann Booth and all but one of her children supported the Union and were fond of President Lincoln. On one occasion, in fact, Edwin saved the life of young Robert Todd Lincoln when the President's son fell between a train and a railway platform in Jersey City. This spontaneous act of heroism earned Edwin a letter of appreciation from General Grant and the warm regards of the President, who attended a number of his performances and became one of his greatest admirers.

But of course it was the youngest Booth whose destiny most significantly intersected with the President's. John Wilkes Booth despised Lincoln and convinced himself that this "boorish" frontiersman was out to destroy the republic the Founding Fathers had created. In Booth's view, the President's policies were de-

signed to abrogate the Constitution, do away with states' rights, abolish civil liberties, and reestablish monarchy. Persuaded that the Confederacy was the only bulwark against "King" Lincoln's tyranny, Booth became a passionate advocate of the South's cause. During the early years of his career, he performed frequently in cities such as Richmond, Montgomery, and New Orleans. And for much of 1864 and early 1865, he plotted to kidnap the President and use his capture to ransom Confederate prisoners of war.

There is a story that sometime in the spring of 1865 John Wilkes Booth was having a drink in the tavern next to Ford's Theatre when one of his detractors infuriated him with the challenge that he would "never be the actor [his] father was." The swash-buckling young thespian's reply was ominous: "Before I leave the stage, I'll be the most famous man in America."

And so he was. As he hobbled across the boards of the theater after shooting Lincoln on April 14, 1865, Booth spat out "Sic Semper Tyrannis" (Thus be it ever to tyrants), thereby evoking the image proverbially associated with both Brutuses, and thereby casting himself forever in the role that Shakespeare had written for history's most famous assassin. Now as fate would have it, Booth's victim was also an ardent Shakespearean. Lincoln had commit-



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ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN
BY JOSEPH EDWARD BAKER, 1865

ted to memory long passages from the tragedies. During his time in the White House he attended dozens of plays, many of them Shakespearean. And he sometimes drew parallels between his own melancholy and that of the Prince of Denmark.

On Palm Sunday, April 9, the President had engaged some of his closest companions in a lengthy discussion of the scene in *Macbeth* where Duncan is assassinated. One member of the party later recalled that Lincoln seemed particularly preoccupied with the passage in which Macbeth says

*Duncan is in his grave;
After life's fitful fever he sleeps well;
Treason has done his worst: nor steel,
nor poison,
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing
Can touch him further.*

Around this same time, Lincoln told a few close family friends about a nightmare he had had about ten days earlier. In this dream Lincoln had awakened to hear "mournful sounds of distress" in the White House. After wandering through the corridors, he eventually discovered a corpse lying in state in the East Room. When he asked who it was, he was told that it was "the President: he was killed by an assassin!"

In *Julius Caesar*, on the eve of the assassination Calpurnia dreams that she sees the fountains of Rome flow-

ing with her husband's blood. Like the Soothsayer who has warned Caesar to beware the Ides of March, she implores him not to go to the Capitol. Disregarding her, Caesar says

*What can be avoided
Whose end is purpos'd by
the mighty Gods?*

Like Caesar and to some degree like Hamlet, Lincoln had a fatalistic turn of mind. And he too set aside his own forebodings and the repeated warnings of others when he proceeded with his announced plan to attend "Our American Cousin" on an overcast Friday night at Ford's Theatre.

THERE IS NO REASON to suspect that John Wilkes Booth attached any significance to the fact that he performed his terrible deed on Good Friday. But the symbolism of the date had at least a subliminal effect on the rapidity with which Lincoln came to be revered by his grieving nation as a man of Christ-like compassion.

Meanwhile, the name of John Wilkes Booth was vilified in ways that may recall to our minds the

place that Brutus had long occupied in Dante's *Inferno*. Dante had consigned Brutus to the lowest circle of Hell, a bad eminence "the noblest Roman of them all" shared with only Cassius and one other archetypal traitor: Judas.

This connection too is echoed in *Julius Caesar*. In a significant addition to what he found in Plutarch, Shakespeare has Brutus describe the assassins as "sacrificers but not butchers." The play refers repeatedly to the blood of a man who is to be carved "as a dish fit for the Gods." Shakespeare has Caesar invite his "friends" to "taste some wine" with him before they depart for the Capitol. He informs us that the slaying occurs at "the ninth hour." And when Brutus agrees to let Mark Antony speak at Caesar's funeral, Shakespeare has Cassius tell Brutus, "you know not what you do."

Like Brutus, John Wilkes Booth was astonished by the reaction to his deed. Near the end he wrote in his diary, "After being hunted like a dog . . . with every man's hand against me, I am here in despair. And why? For doing what Brutus was honored for, what made William Tell a hero."

As he lay dying after his capture, John Wilkes Booth's last request was "Tell Mother I died for my country." By a most fitting coincidence, he expired on April 26, 1865—the 301st anniversary of the christening of William Shakespeare. ♡

SETTING SHAKESPEARE TO MUSIC

BY DAVID BEVINGTON

THE IMPULSE TO expand the musical potential of Shakespeare's plays is a response to Shakespeare's own abiding interest in music. A great lyricist as well as a great dramatist, Shakespeare conceived of his comedies in musical terms. And he knew he could count on trained professional musicians to perform the music as an integral part of the show.

As You Like It, for example, contains a medley of musical numbers, including "It was a lover and his lass," for which the well-known composer Thomas Morley wrote the music:

*It was a lover and his lass,
With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino,
That o'er the green corn'field did pass,
In the spring time, the only pretty ring time,
When birds do sing, hey ding a ding, ding;
Sweet lovers love the spring.*

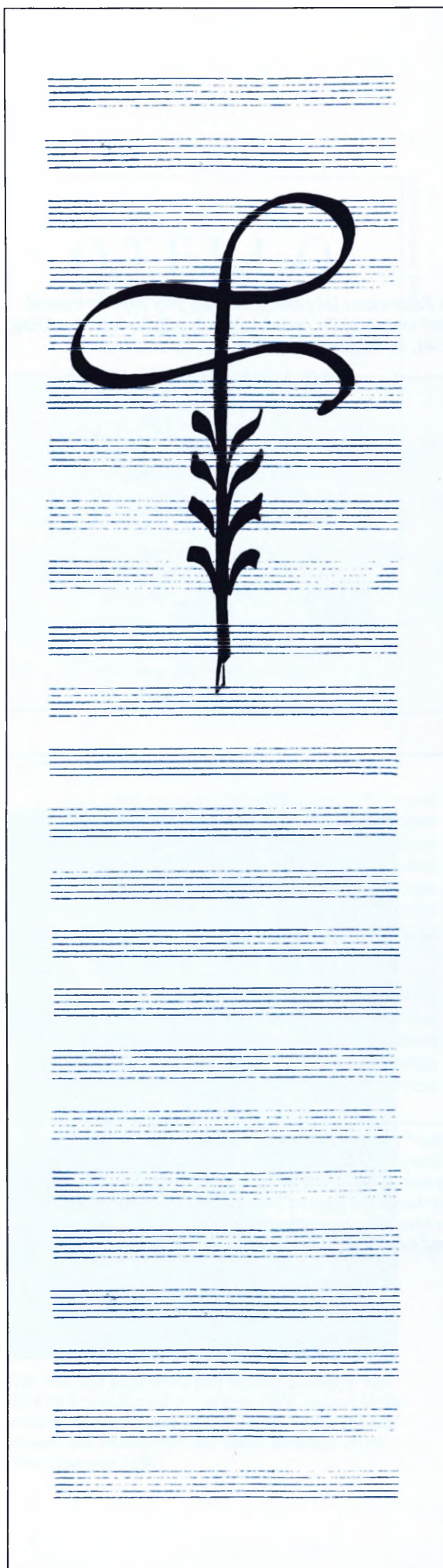
Similarly, the original theatrical rendition of *The Tempest* must have given major attention to Ariel's songs and the hymn to marriage sung by Juno, Ceres, and Iris in Act 4. The songs are not simply a central component of the show in terms of entertainment; they express with delicate feeling the themes of death by water and miraculous recovery, of the island's magical nature, of foison and harvest in the sacrament of marriage. Even Caliban sings a song of freedom, for he understands that the isle is full of noises.

*No more dams I'll make for fish;
Nor fetch in firing
At requiring.
Nor scrape trenchering, nor wash dish;
'Ban, 'Ban, Ca—Caliban,
Has a new master—Get a new man.
Freedom, high-day! high-day, freedom!
freedom! high-day, freedom!*

Meantime, Stephano reveals his amiable drunken coarseness by singing a bawdy sea chanty of sailors and their molls.

Although the history plays have never lent themselves readily to musical interpretation, some of Shakespeare's tragedies have been great hits as musical adaptations. For example, when Samuel Pepys went to a performance of *Macbeth* in 1667, he praised it highly as "one of the best plays for a stage, and variety of dancing and music, that ever I saw." The version he attended,

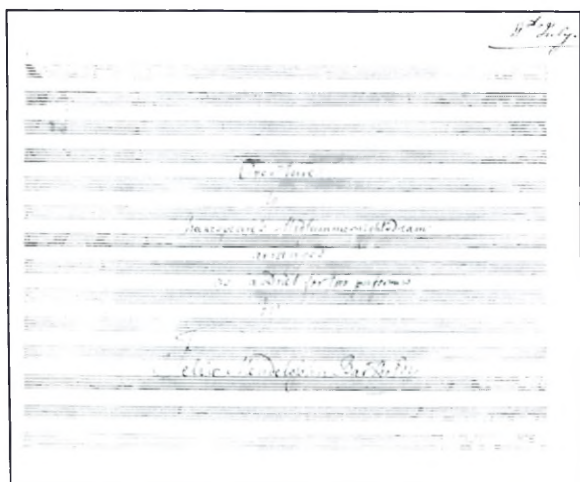
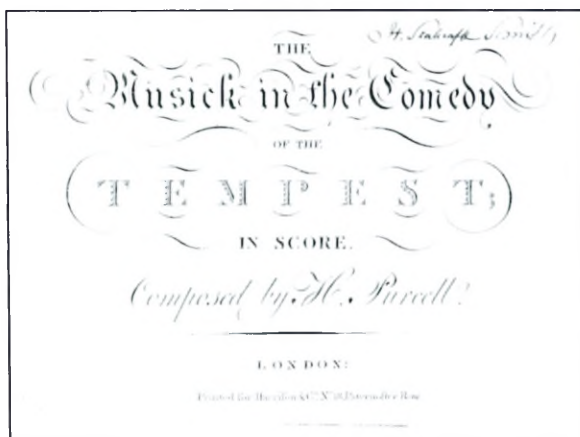
David Bevington is Phyllis Fay Horton Professor of Humanities and English at the University of Chicago. He has edited Shakespeare for Scott, Foresman and Bantam Books and loves both theater and opera.



A Renaissance lady and gentleman play popular musical instruments of the period in Vonden Erfindern der Ding, 1544, by Polydorus Vergilius.



Folger Shakespeare Library



Top: "The Musick in the Comedy of The Tempest" by Henry Purcell, ca. 1785. Below: "Overture to Shakespeare's Midsummernight's Dream arranged as a Duet for two performers by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy." This is Mendelssohn's manuscript copy, signed by the composer and dated 10th July (1826?).

produced by William Davenant, was operatic in its splendor, as we know from John Downes's comment in 1672 about a performance at the Dorset Garden Theatre. The play on that occasion was "dressed in all its finery, as new clothes, new scenes, machines, as flyings for the witches, with all the singing and dancing in it." The music was provided by Matthew Locke and others. This version of *Macbeth* was strikingly different from the play Shakespeare wrote, even if he too had originally called for music and theatrically astonishing devices. Evidently *Macbeth's* fascination with witches, cauldrons, and talking apparitions invited musical and spectacular elaboration, much as *The Tempest's* delight in invisible spirits and harpies seemed to call for all sorts of special effects.

Most Shakespeare in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was adapted to the tastes of the age, and in this endeavor music was an essential ingredient. The comedies especially were converted into musicals, often with songs borrowed from other plays or from the sonnets. An operatic version of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* by Frederic Reynolds and H.R. Bishop at Covent Garden in 1821 added numerous songs taken freely from some six of the sonnets, as well as from *Venus and Adonis* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The famous song later set to music by Franz Schubert that actually does belong to *The Two Gentlemen* was improbably sung, in the Reynolds and Bishop version, by a group of outlaws with the invented names of Ubaldo, Rodolfo, Carlos, and Stephano:

Who is Silvia? what is she?
That all our swains commend her?
Holy, fair, and wise is she;
The heaven such grace did lend her.
That she might admired be.

What Schubert, or we, would have thought of Reynolds and Bishop's arrangement of this song staggers the imagination.

The Merry Wives of Windsor was another favorite in the eighteenth-century operatic repertory. At Drury Lane in 1824, Reynolds and Bishop dressed up their fanciful version by adding to it, among other things, the song from the end of *Love's Labour's Lost* that had also made its way into other Shakespearean comedies of the age:

When daisies pied and violets blue
And lady-smocks all silver-white
And cuckoo-buds of yellow hue
Do paint the meadows with delight,
The cuckoo then, on every tree,
Mocks married men; for thus sings he,
Cuckoo;
Cuckoo, cuckoo: O, word of fear,
Unpleasing to a married ear!

In a sense then, the nineteenth-century operatic adaptations of *The Merry Wives* by Otto Nicolai (1849) and Giuseppe Verdi (1893) were following a well-established precedent in seeing the musical potential of this play.

A Midsummer Night's Dream was still another natural target for this sort of musical elaboration. Converted into a spectacular operatic version in 1692 with music by Henry Purcell, the play was actually billed on that occasion as "an opera represented at the Queen's Theatre." David Garrick continued this musical tradition with a confection he called *The Fairies* at Drury Lane in 1755. Room for the musical expansion required heavy cutting in the text. This version, for example, did away entirely with Bottom the Weaver and his Athenian tradesmen.

When Felix Mendelssohn turned to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1826, he inherited a long-established tradition of musical elaboration for this play. Mendelssohn's incidental music displays many features of nineteenth-century interpretation. The score is utterly romantic in its benign view of fairy magic. The lovers' tribulations and triumphs are expressed by the strings in soaring melodies, while the fairies are suggested through staccato, pianissimo, swift-moving irregular rhythms, often high on the musical scale. The court of Theseus and Hippolyta is depicted by hunting horns and comfortably ceremonial fanfare, including the famous wedding march. Bottom and his friends are invoked by bassoons and the comic textures of folk music. Although the music still holds our imagination today, we can see that Mendelssohn's is a world of unthreatening charm that makes little room for a darker twentieth-century interpretation of malignancy and sexual power.

On the tragic scene, nineteenth-century musical rendition of Shakespeare is close to the theater of its time. Giuseppe Verdi's *Otello* (1887), for example, based on the libretto of Arrigo Boito, makes a number of choices about text that depart from the original but that can also be found in the staged version recorded by Bell in 1773 and in later productions. The opera starts on the island of Cyprus, not in Venice. Only through the lovers' own narration of their past history are we told of Otello's courtship of Desdemona and of her father Brabantio's disappointment. This rearrangement gives Verdi's opera a grand opening in which the composer must call on all his extensive repertory of orchestral and choral effects to convey the sense of a menacing storm and its eventual subsiding, at which point the music finally reaches its first harmonic resolution. The opening in Cyprus also avoids a costly stage setting for Venice and a time-consuming scene change, and it preserves the unities of time and place. All of these considerations were essential criteria to nineteenth-century actor-managers, who relied on verisimilar and expensive sets.

At the end of *Otello*, Verdi and Boito excise the gathering of the witnesses who, in the play, give us an important sense of the social consequences of Othello's fearful deed. In the opera, as in many a nineteenth-century staged version of the play, the drama ends with Otello giving his last kiss and falling dead beside Desdemona. The operatic rearrangement focuses on the lovers, rather than on the social surrounding, and it also gives Verdi the musical opportunity of bringing back his motif of the kiss with which the love story of Otello and Desdemona begins and ends. The emphasis is on passionate love and on the emotional intensity of the protagonists, for it is on such material that opera thrives.

Charles Gounod's *Roméo et Juliette* (1867) also rearranges Shakespeare's text to suit the tastes of the age. The composer and his librettist begin with Juliet's entrance into the ballroom where she will meet Romeo, rather than Shakespeare's opening confrontation of feuding servants of the two households of Montague and Capulet. Because the opera version is less concerned with the social matrix than with the intense relationship of the two lead singers, it ends with the duet of the dying lovers in Juliet's tomb, rather than



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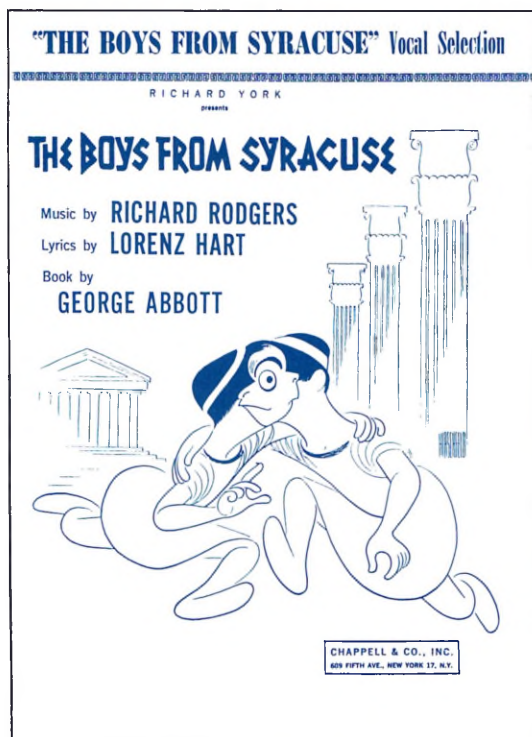


Opera News

Top: The title page of the full score of Giuseppe Verdi's *Otello*, published in Italy in 1894. Below: Verdi and the baritone Victor Maurel, who created the role of Iago. The photograph was taken backstage at the Paris Opera in 1894.



Folger Shakespeare Library



© Warner-Chappell Music

Top: Madame Guidetta (Negrès) Pasta as Desdemona in Rossini's *Otello*. Mme. Pasta made a triumphant debut in this role on June 5, 1821, in its first Paris performance. Below: Rodgers and Hart took a lighthearted look at Shakespeare in *The Boys from Syracuse*.

with a long, full-stage examination of the larger consequences of the lovers' tragic end. David Garrick's theatrical production in 1748 was only one instance of adopting similar cuts and emphases.

Even in the absence of a libretto, orchestral renditions of Shakespeare in the nineteenth century offer programmatic interpretations that are opera-like in their soaring emotion and depiction of conflict leading to resolution. Mendelssohn's music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* establishes a pattern that is further developed in Hector Berlioz's *King Lear Overture* (1831), his dramatic symphony *Roméo et Juliette* (1839), and Pyotr Ilich Tchaikovsky's *Romeo and Juliet Fantasy Overture* (1869, revised 1880), to name a few.

The kinds of emphases found in nineteenth-century operatic and symphonic interpretations of Shakespeare raise interesting questions and lively disagreement among critics. Are some operatic versions better than the original? Is the emphasis on romantic love at the expense of social consequences a more pertinent way of viewing the great stories that Shakespeare dramatizes?


Not surprisingly, Verdi is the composer most often given credit, by opera lovers at least, for going Shakespeare one better. Many are the devotees of opera who prefer *Otello* to the original *Othello*. They point out that the story line is clearer and more emotionally overwhelming without the distraction of minor characters like Bianca and Brabantio; they argue that the shift from Venice to Cyprus in Shakespeare's play misses the unity of effect achieved by Verdi in beginning with the storm at the Cyprian port; and they claim that social issues of bringing Iago to justice and continuance of stable rule on Cyprus divert attention from the terrible intensity of *Otello*'s troubled relationship with Desdemona and Iago.

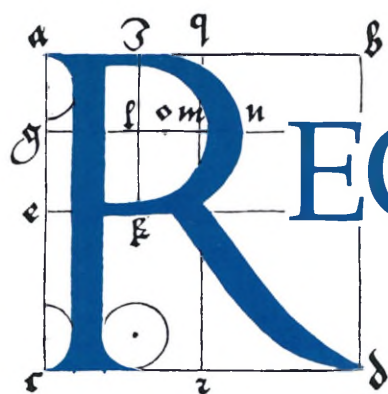
To an even greater degree, *Falstaff* is regarded by opera lovers as a real improvement over Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. There, the minor plots of quarreling among Dr. Caius, Sir Hugh Evans, and the Host of the Garter Inn or scenes of testing the instruction of young William Page in the rudiments of Latin seem hard to follow and even unnecessary. Shakespeare's love plot in *The Merry Wives* also seems too peripheral and unromantic for many opera lovers. The business of tricking Falstaff time and again into hiding from the jealous Ford, while funny, may seem more repetitious to some viewers than it need be. Theatergoers are less apt to agree with these assertions. They generally find that the intensified romantic focus of opera is paid for at the considerable expense of lost material and delicate complexity.

Underlying this debate are two strikingly different critical perspectives that result from the conflicting demands of two different genres. Opera, usually conceived on a grand scale, must make room for big emotions. It needs a relatively simple plot to allow for musical elaboration. Music can and indeed should do some of the things that dialogue and gesture do in non-musical drama by portraying character, tone, mood, even relationship.

The duet is a particularly expressive means of depicting the yearnings, the misunderstandings, and at last the mutuality of a man and a woman in love. When they finally sing in unison, as in many a duet by Verdi or Gounod, we know how close they are to sharing one another's deepest feelings.

Twentieth-century operatic versions of Shakespeare are more likely than nineteenth-century versions to use Shakespeare's text as written, although cuts are necessary simply as a matter of length of performance. Benjamin Britten's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is respectful of the original language throughout. At the same time, Britten explores a darker side of the play that was largely ignored by Mendelssohn. To that extent, his opera seems a fit companion piece for Peter Brook's influential staging of the play in 1970 in which the fairies were played by adult actors, the lovers were aggressive in pursuit of one another, and Bottom was undoubtedly if comically potent in his role as lover of the queen of fairies. Britten calls upon the eerie effects a modern orchestra can evoke, including *portamento* slides from chord to chord, to suggest a forest where the unexpected may happen at any moment.

Both darker and more lighthearted metamorphoses of Shakespeare's texts, such as Cole Porter's *Kiss Me Kate* (1948) and Richard Rodgers's *The Boys from Syracuse* (1938), serve as reminders of how invaluable music is as a means of expressing our own world and Shakespeare's place in it. Any such translation remains, of course, an interpretation—one that tells as much about ourselves and our ancestors as it does about Shakespeare. 



RECONSTRUCTING Shakespeare's Stage

BY KATHI ANN BROWN

"ALL THE WORLD'S a stage," wrote William Shakespeare nearly four centuries ago in *As You Like It*. Today, Shakespeare's stage is all the world to Richard Hosley, professor of English at the University of Arizona. With NEH support, Hosley is currently completing his monumental study of Elizabethan playhouses targeted for publication in 1991. Based on more than three decades of research, *Renaissance English Playhouses: A Study of Playhouse Structure in the Age of Shakespeare 1567-1642* will be the most comprehensive survey yet attempted of the great Elizabethan and Jacobean playhouses where Hamlet and Othello, Rosalind and Falstaff, Shylock and Cleopatra were introduced to the world.

The study focuses on the architectural design of English playhouses between 1567—the construction date of the Red Lion, which was the earliest edifice built specifically as a playhouse in London—and 1642, the year in which Parliament prohibited performance of plays, temporarily ending not only elegant productions of plays and masques at Court but also the flourishing commercial playhouses in London and its suburbs.

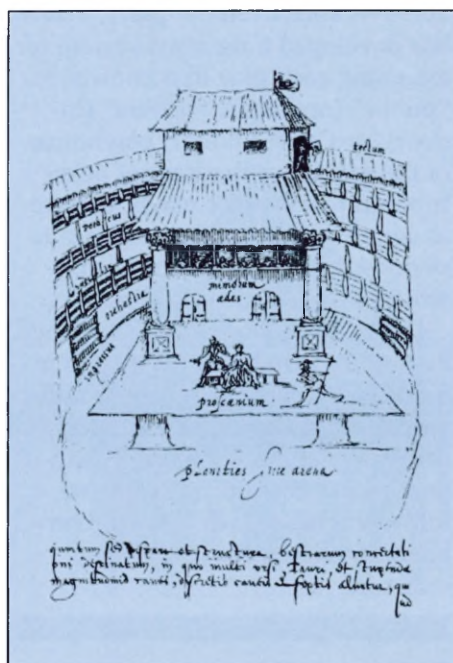
Most of the playhouses were destroyed during the Puritan Interregnum, and the two or three examples that survived into the Restoration pe-

riod were soon replaced by new and somewhat different playhouses designed to accommodate changeable scenery. As knowledge of the old playhouses and their staging techniques faded from memory shortly after 1700, no one, Hosley suggests, troubled to record that knowledge.

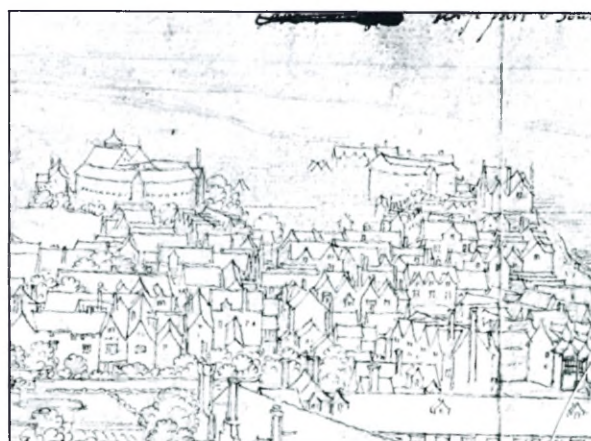
Without adequate documentation, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century investigators erroneously construed the Elizabethan stage as an earlier version of the proscenium-arch theater of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although this so-called "multiple" stage, with "inner" and "upper" stages, dominates modern notions of the Elizabethan stage, such a design never existed, says Hosley. There was only one stage, he points out, at the back of which stood not an "inner" stage but simply a tiring-house wall in which were framed two doors, as at the Swan, or three doors, as in most playhouses, providing the actors with a means of entrance to or exit from the stage.

According to Hosley, a major achievement of twentieth-century scholarship has been recovery of the lost understanding that "discoveries"—the sudden openings of curtains to reveal significant tableaux—took place in the open doorways of the tiring-house front. Examples are the sudden showing of Ferdinand and Miranda playing chess in *The Tempest* and of the statue of Hermione in *The Winter's Tale*.

Hosley adds that in the second story of the tiring house, above and behind the stage, was not an "upper" stage but simply a row of spectators' boxes, or "Lords' rooms" as the Elizabethans called them. In most playhouses one of these boxes



Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht



Yale Center for British Art

Top: The Swan Playhouse (1595) as recorded by Johannes de Witt. Below: The second Globe (1614, far left) and the Hope Playhouse (1614, far right), as depicted by Wenzell Hollar.

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was converted into a curtained music room.

Because the stagings required by the plays are of paramount importance in developing a responsible hypothesis of stage structure, Hosley has carefully studied the texts of the approximately 600 extant plays and masques datable between 1567 and 1642. His work will be the first to make use of all relevant theatrical texts of the period.

Anxious to make use of all available evidence from the plays, Hosley has developed a rigorous system for assigning each play to a known "public" (open-air), "private" (indoor), or Court (indoor) playhouse of the era. Plays that cannot be attributed to a specific playhouse are assigned by date of performance to periods that are keyed to the construction of the major playhouses.

In his book, Hosley has combined his findings from the plays with information about the design of individual playhouses given in other contemporary documents. His intention has been to pull together into a single work *all* known references to Elizabethan playhouse structure.

Two of the most important contemporary documents providing information about the structure of the public playhouses are pictorial. One is a drawing (ca. 1596) of the interior of the Swan Playhouse by the Dutch traveler Johannes de Witt. The other is a sketch (ca. 1640) of the Second Globe and Hope Playhouses made by Wenzel Hollar in preparation for etching his panoramic view of London in 1647.

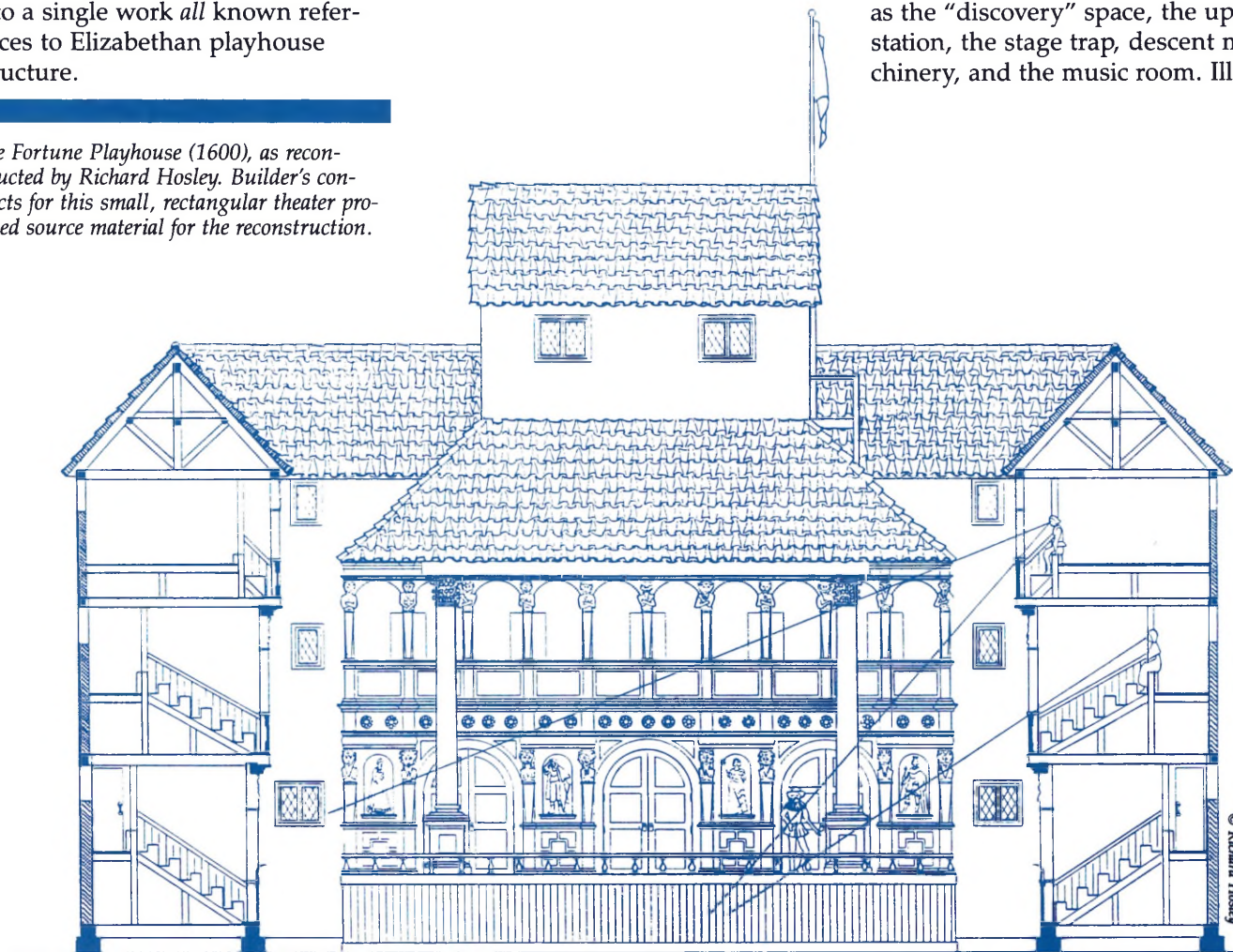
A detailed analysis of the De Witt drawing allowed Hosley in the 1960s to propose that the Swan was built to a ground plan in the shape of a 24-sided polygon measuring 96 feet in external diameter. Thus he suggested a much larger playhouse than the 16-sided, 80-foot-wide models of earlier tradition. In 1975, Hosley conjectured that the First and Second Globes measured 100 feet in diameter.

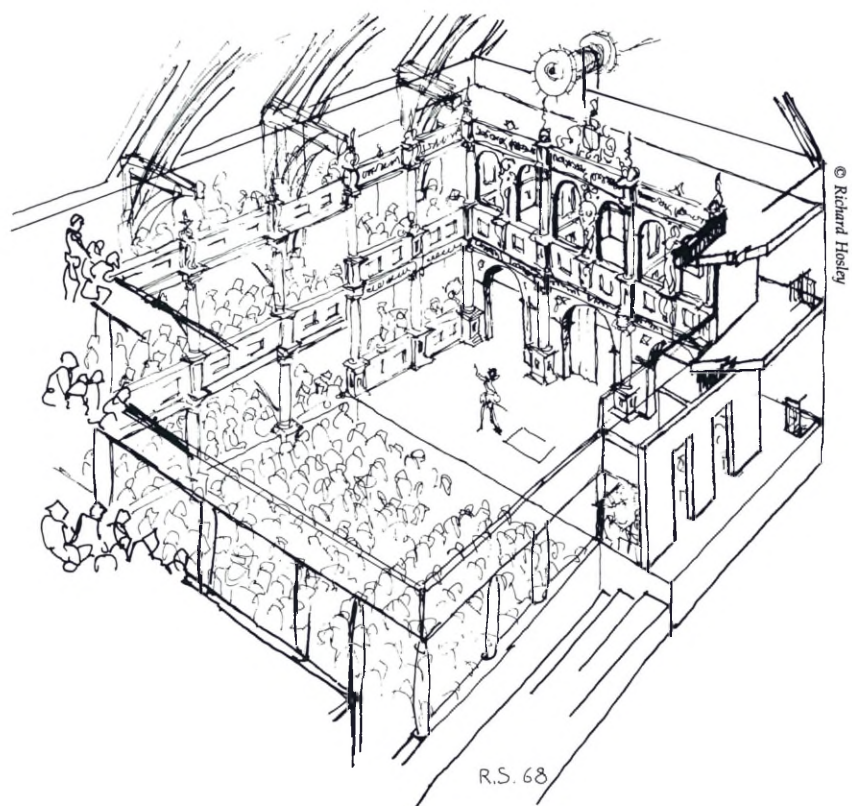
Among those who agree with Hosley about a larger size for the

round playhouses is John Orrell of the University of Alberta, who in 1979 executed a complex structural analysis of the Hollar sketch. He was able to show convincingly that the Second Globe and the Hope, as depicted by Hollar, were each 100 feet in diameter. Moreover, other evidence indicates that the Theater, the Swan, and the First Globe were buildings of the same size.

Besides pictorial sources, Hosley's book will include discussion of the contemporary builder's contracts for the Hope, the rectangular Fortune Playhouse, and the Red Lion, and of the contemporary sources of information about smaller "indoor" playhouses like the Phoenix, designed by Inigo Jones in 1616, and the Second Blackfriars, taken over by Shakespeare's company of actors as a winter playhouse in 1609. Also to be included are Hosley's theoretical reconstructions of each playhouse and discussions of Elizabethan staging practices as inferred from the plays. These encompass the nature and uses of structural stage features such as the "discovery" space, the upper station, the stage trap, descent machinery, and the music room. Illus-

The Fortune Playhouse (1600), as reconstructed by Richard Hosley. Builder's contracts for this small, rectangular theater provided source material for the reconstruction.





trated by more than 400 drawings, plans, and sketches, the book will open and close with essays on English theatrical forms before and after the 75-year period covered by the bulk of the study. Detailed appendices and an extensive bibliography will round out the volume.

Hosley expects his book to be of assistance to fellow scholars as a reference source, whether or not they agree with his conclusions.


Already, use is being made of Hosley's research. One spin-off is the just completed Tokyo Globe, a full-scale replica of Shakespeare's playhouse built to the 24-sided ground plan. Another is the 24-sided London Globe, for which ground has recently been broken on the south bank of the Thames near the original site. Hosley serves as a consultant for this project.

Directors and producers of Elizabethan drama should also find Hosley's work relevant. Anyone looking for clues about how to recreate an authentic Elizabethan pro-

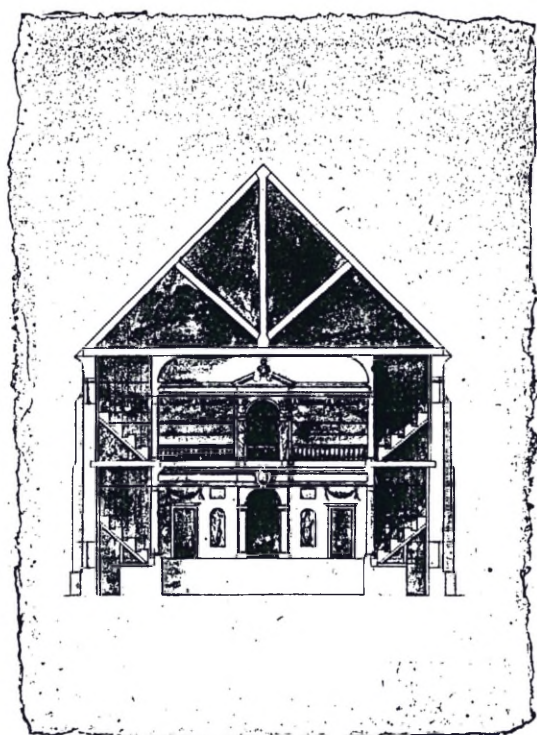
duction need only consult *Renaissance English Playhouses* to find detailed descriptions of significant staging requirements for all extant plays of the period.

Actors who wish to know more about the milieu in which their professional ancestors worked will be able to refer to the book for background.

Finally, social historians will find in Hosley's book a great deal of information about the nature of the public and private spaces designed to accommodate Elizabethan theater audiences.

For the thousands of patrons who crowded into the Globe and the Fortune, the Blackfriars and the Phoenix, the action on stage was often secondary to the real-life drama going on around them in the galleries and the yard, or pit. Reconstructions of the playhouses in which Shakespeare's contemporaries laughed and cried can help modern students of Shakespeare understand the lives and values of that vanished world. 

To complete his study of Renaissance English playhouses, Professor Richard Hosley received \$112,869 from the Interpretive Research category of the Division of Research Programs in 1984.



Left: The Blackfriars Playhouse (1596), as reconstructed by Richard Hosley. Right: The Phoenix Playhouse (1616) as designed by Inigo Jones. Archaeological and literary evidence help give an accurate picture of lost structures.

Shakespeare in Film:

THERE WAS A time when, alongside the popular hits of the day, filmed versions of Shakespeare appeared on the big screen. Few of them were blockbusters, although Zeffirelli's *Romeo and Juliet* was a popular youth film in the late 1960s. But the list of directors who made interesting versions of Shakespeare—interesting both as films and as Shakespeare—is impressive: Peter Brook, Grigori Kozintsev, Akira Kurosawa, Laurence Olivier, Roman Polanski, Orson Welles.

Since 1972, things have changed. Few Shakespeare films have been made—none of any real interest. Instead, we have witnessed a migration of Shakespeare to the small screen, which ill suits his rhetoric and his large-scaled Renaissance vision.

Shakespeare films can be measured in two eras: before and after Olivier. Before Olivier were mute, dumb shows by the dozens, trying to mime Shakespeare, and oddities like Asta Neilson's *Hamlet* (1920) where Horatio is shocked to learn in the end that Hamlet was a woman. There were extravaganzas like *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1935), directed by Max Reinhardt and William Dieterle, featuring James Cagney as Bottom, Mickey Rooney as Puck, Joe E. Brown as Flute, Olivia DeHaviland as Hermia, Dick Powell as Lysander, and innumerable ballerinas, moon-drenched trees, frogs, deer, and dwarfs. And there were respectful pale renderings like *Romeo and Juliet* (1936) with Leslie Howard and Norma Shearer and Paul Czinner's *As You Like It* (1936), which surgically removed most of Touchstone's earthy humor and Jacques' cynical poses, leaving nothing behind but cute cottages, pas-

toral landscapes, and sheep who were considerably more interesting than the two-legged actors.

Then came Olivier's *Henry V* (1944) and *Hamlet* (1948), and everything changed. The bright colors and glorious high spirits of *Henry V*, made to cheer on a besieged and beleaguered Britain, suited Shakespeare's play well. In his Oscar-winning *Hamlet*, Olivier turned inward, finding in a labyrinthine castle a metaphor for the prince's moral confusion and madness. From this moment, the way was paved for serious directors to tackle Shakespeare on the big screen.

The first American to take up the challenge was Orson Welles, whose *Macbeth* (1948) and *Othello* (1952) stirred controversy with radical cuts in the text, strong interpretive emphases, and the spotlight squarely on Welles in the middle of each film. *Macbeth* is the weaker of the two. Welles himself called it a "rough charcoal sketch," rather than a finished work. *Othello* is much better, full of striking images and focusing not so much on the marriage of Othello and Desdemona but the perverse marriage of Othello and Iago.

The visual style of the film mirrors the war between the heroic, grand Othello style and the dark, twisted Iago style. The saga of the making of *Othello* stirred German television in the 1970s to make a documentary by that name. Underfunded from the beginning, shot over a period of three years in several different countries, made with absent actors, found locations, and borrowed costumes and props, Welles's *Othello* is a triumph of artistic imagination over limited means.

Julius Caesar (1953), directed by Joseph Mankiewicz and starring James Mason as Brutus, Marlon Brando as Antony, and John Gielgud as Cassius, is at the opposite extreme from Welles: strong on acting but weak on imagery—as if "Roman"



James Cagney as Bottom and Anita Louise as Titania in the 1935 version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* directed by Max Reinhardt and William Dieterle.

Museum of Modern Art, Film Stills Archive

Jack J. Jorgens is associate professor of literature and director of cinema studies at American University.

In Memoriam

BY JACK J. JORGENS

had to be bland and visually boring. Brutus's honesty and innocence, Antony's power and cunning, and Cassius's weakness, envy, and hot temper are wonderfully captured.

Olivier's *Richard III* (1955), although shot on film, was shown on television, probably to more people in one evening than had seen the play in the three and a half centuries since Shakespeare wrote it. What sticks in the memory is Olivier's Richard, cynical, with a wicked sense of humor—a Renaissance wolf preying on Medieval sheep.

Akira Kurosawa's *Throne of Blood* (1957) plays on the similarity of feudal Japan and feudal Scotland, but the radical differences between film and play reflect the differences between East and West. Where Shakespeare is psychological, Kurosawa is social. Where Shakespeare admires the rebel, Kurosawa saturates his story in irony. The remarkable thing about Kurosawa is his ability to conjure up film images as powerful and potent as Shakespeare's poetic images.

Other foreign directors made their

attempts: Renato Castellani's *Romeo and Juliet* (1954) with Laurence Harvey and Susan Shentall, Sergei Yutkevitch's operatic *Othello* (1955), Jakow Freid's *Twelfth Night* (1955), and Franz Peter Worth's *Hamlet* (1960) with Maximilian Schell in the lead role. Although all of these have their moments, none is particularly memorable.

A brilliant effort came in the next decade, surprisingly from the Soviet Union. Grigori Kozintsev's *Hamlet* (1964) offers the expected wide-screen epic view of Shakespeare's tale of a kingdom in decay. Notable in this film were Kozintsev's sensitivity to the nuances of Shakespeare, the wonderful performances of secondary characters like Ophelia, and the director's fidelity to Shakespeare's portrait of Claudius's tyranny, which reminded the Russians all too clearly of the tyrannies of the Czars and Stalin.

Orson Welles returned to Shakespeare in his flawed masterpiece *Chimes at Midnight* (1966). Although Welles had intended to make a roaring comedy, as he worked on the



Left: Orson Welles as Macbeth and Jeanette Nolan as Lady Macbeth in the 1948 film. Right: Louis Calhern as Caesar in *Julius Caesar* (1953), directed by Joseph Mankiewicz.



film the story grew sadder and sadder. Perhaps the tale of the exiled, aging, fat entertainer struck too close to home. Weighed down by the usual financial problems, the film is brilliant in John Gielgud's haunting scenes as the sleepless, guilty Henry IV, in the battle scene where all begins in chivalric banners and glory and ends in mud and death, and in the wonderful rejection of Falstaff where the lean Prince Hal banishes

Zeffirelli's teenagers love and fight like the ones in *West Side Story* and do not stand like poetry-uttering statues as they do in so many "faithful" renderings of the play on the stage.

Also interesting is Peter Hall's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1969), featuring David Warner, Diana Rigg, Helen Mirren, Ian Richardson, Ian Holm, and Paul Rogers; and Tony Richardson's *Hamlet* (1969), starring

know himself. Brook's *Lear*, which aroused the wrath of Pauline Kael and many other critics, is at the opposite extreme: stark, cruel, and primitive. The narrative is jagged, the violence unmotivated, the evil unredeemed. Polanski's *Macbeth*, starring Jon Finch, gave a dark, East European look at Shakespeare's story of perverted love, assassination, and paranoia.

Then after 1972—on big screen at least—silence and darkness. Except for Akira Kurosawa's *Ran*, which transformed the King Lear story by making the quarrel between sons instead of daughters—a slow, beautiful elegy for the Samurai period—the golden age of Shakespeare on film was over.

The reasons are several. Some are economic: skyrocketing costs with the resulting need for huge popular audiences to allow a film to recover its costs. Some can be attributed to the changing interests and backgrounds of feature filmmakers. For years, Joseph Papp has pointed out that young American actors are not getting the training necessary to play Shakespeare.

The powerful growth and relative cheapness of television has to be taken into account. Some of the widely shown PBS/Time Life/BBC Shakespeare series were quite good, including *Measure for Measure*, *Richard II*, and the *Henry* series. But many confirmed ordinary viewers' impressions that Shakespeare is a bore, and his works are a stick for experts to beat them with—something not to be enjoyed but endured. However noble its aims, this economy model series (\$400,000 to \$600,000 per episode) had a suffocating effect on feature film versions of Shakespeare. Why should people pay \$5 at the box office when the same work is available free?

From my own teaching of Shakespeare, I have learned one thing. Shakespeare may in certain periods be down, but you can never count him out. The humanity of his characters, the power of his scenes, the sharpness of his images, and the depth of his thought continue to strike young readers despite all the pressures of our culture to dribble away our attention on beer ads and watery mini-series. Like the Phoenix, Shakespeare on the big screen will rise again. ♀



Orson Welles as Falstaff and Keith Baxter as Hal in *Chimes at Midnight*, based on the *Henry IV* plays.

his friend, his foster father, and the symbol of festive living and accepts the mirthless, brutal role of king and politician.

Even though Laurence Olivier as a powerful, deep-voiced African general in the *Othello* (1966) directed by Stuart Burge is wonderful opposite Frank Finlay's bluff soldier Iago, the film proves once again that one cannot Xerox great theater and have it retain its power. Curiously, the stunning photographs taken by Angus McBean for the National Theater production show what a great film might have been made if the time and the talent had been available.

Franco Zeffirelli's *Taming of the Shrew* (1966) and *Romeo and Juliet* (1968) are rollicking, popular, colorful, and embarrassing in their excesses, but much closer to the exuberance and energy of Shakespeare's early work than any dozen "respectful" and "literal" renderings one might care to name. Richard Burton and Elizabeth Taylor renew the battle of the sexes with festive gusto, and

Nicol Williamson. The *Dream*, shot in a glistening green, wet forest, offers humor that is often too muted, but the confusions of the lovers and the clumsy theatrical attempts of the workmen are fine. *Hamlet* is another example of filmed theater, visually lifeless, but capturing the ferocity of Williamson's performance as a distinctly unheroic, snarling, bitter prince.

Mercifully forgotten are two American attempts from this period: *Julius Caesar* (1970) with Charlton Heston as Antony and Jason Robards spectacularly miscast as Brutus; and *Antony and Cleopatra* (1973) with Heston as Antony.

The high point in this strange eventful history is 1970–71, which gave us not only Grigori Kozintsev's *King Lear*, but Peter Brook's *King Lear* and Roman Polanski's *Macbeth*. Kozintsev's grand *Lear* is the traditional humanist's *Lear*, a tale of ignorance in the head of a family and a nation, who brings massive suffering on his realms because he does not

THE Humanities GUIDE

for those who are thinking
of applying for an NEH grant

ART IN CONTEXT: Preparing Proposals

BY MARSHA SEMMEL

MANY POTENTIAL APPLICANTS do not realize that NEH funds art exhibitions. In fact, the history, criticism, and theory of the arts are recognized as legitimate areas of study in the humanities, and art exhibitions constitute a significant proportion of funded museum projects—approximately one-third of all museum awards each year.

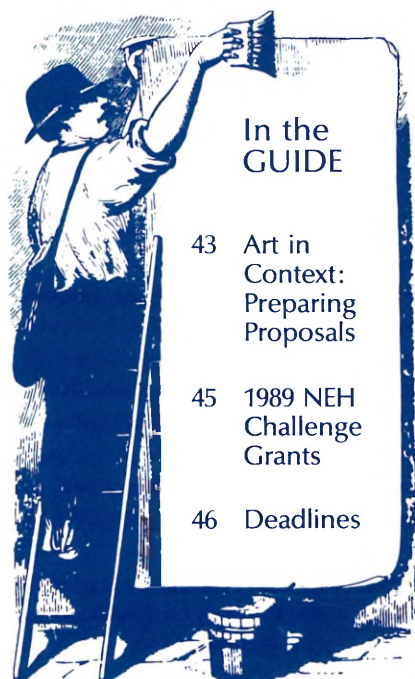
The best NEH-funded art exhibitions teach the visitor something about the works of art themselves: What is their significance? Why are they important? These exhibitions may consider aesthetic or stylistic dimensions of the works, but most often this is done in conjunction with an examination of larger cultural issues.

For example, a temporary art exhibition could explore the life, work, and impact of an individual artist. Currently, "Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment," organized by Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, examines the Spanish artist from the perspective of his relationship to eighteenth-century intellectual and philosophical currents in Europe. "J. Pierpont Morgan, Collector," organized by Hartford's Wadsworth Atheneum, focuses on artistic patronage and taste in a particular historical ep-

och. "The Harlem Renaissance: Art of Black America," organized by Harlem's Studio Museum, addresses the formation, achievements, and influence of a significant group of artists. And "Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life," organized by Baltimore's Walters Gallery, explores the history and meaning of an important artistic genre, a particularly beautiful yet little understood prayer-book that was a medieval "best seller" for more than 250 years.

The Endowment will also support a permanent installation of an art collection, when the applicant demonstrates the significance of the collection and articulates the humanities themes to be presented in the installation itself and through related materials. For example, a recent grant to the Seattle Art Museum supports the reinstallation of the museum's Asian collections in a new facility in downtown Seattle. The grant also supports certain conservation treatment costs, written materials, such as gallery guides for visitors and families; a gallery education room for formal and informal learning programs; and a range of educational activities, including lectures, demonstrations, teacher training programs, and curriculum resource packets.

Art from all cultures and eras, considered from any number of intellectual perspectives, can, and does, form the basis of exhibitions receiving NEH support. The burden of proof as to the



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PROPOSALS

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intellectual and educational significance of the material, however, rests with the applicant.

Successful art exhibition proposals are strong in two key areas: intellectual rationale and interpretation.

Intellectual Rationale

For art exhibitions to receive NEH support, the rationale cannot be that the works of art speak for themselves. They are indicators of a particular historical period or culture, or of an individual artist's larger oeuvre, and their connection to that period or culture or the artist's other works must be made.

Successful applications for art exhibitions demonstrate a relationship among art, ideas, and interpretation. These projects articulate their underlying intellectual rationale and educational goals. The applicant has selected the appropriate works of art and indicated how their arrangement and display will further enhance the educational value of the exhibition.

A competitive art exhibition proposal specifies the exhibition's purpose, intellectual premises, themes, and ideas. It explains how the exhibition is analytical and how it will contribute to the visitor's knowledge of the humanities. Its ideas are articulated in a lucid, coherent manner and the appropriate scholar-consultants are identified.

Interpretation

A good interpretive art exhibition manifests a carefully developed structure, clearly outlined educational goals, and appropriately placed, well-labeled works of art. The Endowment considers exhibitions to be a unique genre, a collaborative enterprise more closely resembling a theatrical production than a scholarly publication. An exhibition cannot, and should not, be a "book on the wall." Accordingly, in addition to explaining the relationship between the artworks and the exhibition's guiding intellectual themes, the applicant must clearly state the method of transmitting those ideas to the public. Reviewers ask: What will people learn from the exhibition? How well will the display convey the humanities scholarship at the project's core?

The competitive proposal specifically addresses several questions regarding presentation: What artworks will comprise the display? How and why

are they appropriate to convey the chosen themes? How will they be grouped? What is the overall design concept, and how will it enhance the exhibition's intellectual and aesthetic aspects? What specific interpretive devices—maps, text panels, interactive videodiscs, introductory audiovisual presentations, catalogues—are planned, and how will they convey the project's ideas? The applicant must present sample text panels, object labels, audiovisual elements, and the proposed essay topics for and outline of the catalogue. The applicant must

also define the relation of each of these components to the overall project goals.

PROGRAM STAFF WILL gladly work with prospective applicants on proposals. Preliminary drafts may be sent to the program from four to six weeks before the June and December deadlines.

For guidelines and further information, write or call the Division of General Programs, Room 420, National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C. 20506, 202/786-0284.

~ In Memoriam ~ Barbara Tuchman 1912–1989

Author Barbara W. Tuchman, the Endowment's 1980 Jefferson Lecturer, died last month at 77. She had won the Pulitzer Prize for two histories, *The Guns of August* and *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911–1945*. Here is a passage from that 1980 speech.

"For a change from prevailing pessimism, I should like to recall some of the positive and even admirable capacities of the human race. We hear very little of them lately. Ours is not a time of self-esteem or self-confidence—as was, for instance, the nineteenth century, when self-esteem may be seen oozing from its portraits. Victorians, especially the men, pictured themselves as erect, noble, and splendidly handsome. Our self-image looks more like Woody Allen or a character from Samuel Beckett. Amid a mass of worldwide troubles and a poor record for the twentieth century, we see our species—with cause—as functioning very badly, as blunderers when not knaves, as violent, ignoble, corrupt, inept, incapable of mastering the forces that threaten us, weakly subject to our worst instincts: in short, decadent.

"The catalogue is familiar and valid, but it is growing tiresome.



© 1978 Miriam Caravella

A study of history reminds one that mankind has its ups and downs and during the ups has accomplished many brave and beautiful things, exerted stupendous endeavors, explored and conquered oceans and wilderness, achieved marvels of beauty in the creative arts and marvels of science and social progress; has loved liberty with a passion that throughout history has led men to fight and die for it over and over again; has pursued knowledge, exercised reason, enjoyed laughter and pleasures, played games with zest, shown courage, heroism, altruism, honor, and decency. . . ."

1989 NEH

CHALLENGE GRANTS

Capital letters following each grant description show the type of organization to which the award was made.

- CA Museums
- CC Four-year colleges
- CH Historical societies and houses
- CK Research libraries and archives
- CO Professional organizations and societies
- CU Universities
- CX Other nonprofit organizations and societies

History—U.S.

Baltimore Museum of Industry, MD; Jane Valery-Davis: \$525,000. To restore and expand the museum building and endow three staff positions: curator, librarian, and education coordinator. **CA**

Chemung County Historical Society, Elmira, NY; Constance Barone: \$150,000. To renovate the museum building, particularly areas designated for humanities programming. **CH**

Latah County Historical Society, Moscow, ID; Mary Reed: \$40,000. To rehabilitate and remodel a recently donated building that will double the square-footage presently available to the society. **CH**

Middle Oregon Historical Society, Warm Springs; Duane King: \$500,000. To support the construction of a museum that will house collections that reflect the rich heritage of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs and provide educational programming for tribal members and the general public. **CH**

Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul; Tim O'Donnell: \$1,000,000. To construct a new Minnesota History Center that will offer greatly enlarged museum galleries, increased accessibility to the society's collections, and expanded educational programs. **CH**

Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, NC; Thomas Haupt: \$25,000. To endow a permanent, part-time position for a translator of documents. **CK**

Outagamie County Historical Society, Inc., Appleton, WI; Donald Hoke: \$250,000. To endow four new humanities positions. **CH**

Plimoth Plantation, Inc., Plymouth, MA; Sarah Mann: \$500,000. To construct a visitor and education center. **CX**

Winterthur Museum, DE; Janice Roosevelt: \$1,000,000. To construct an exhibition facility so that significant humanities scholarship can reach a broader public audience. **CA**

Interdisciplinary

Augustana College, Rock Island, IL; Judith Clayton: \$500,000. To construct a new library building and establish an endowment to maintain library services and increase acquisitions. **CC**

Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA; Patricia Delaney: \$700,000. To endow library acquisitions to strengthen collections in the humanities. **CC**

Brandeis University, Waltham, MA; Bessie Hahn: \$800,000. To support an endowment for library acquisitions in the humanities. **CU**

Center for the Study of Southern Culture, University, MS; William Ferris: \$600,000. To renovate Barnard Observatory to provide improved and expanded facilities for the center's humanities programs. **CX**

Dallas Institute of Humanities and Culture, TX; Gail Thomas: \$500,000. To renovate the facility and create an endowment for the institute's programs. **CX**

Los Angeles Public Library, CA; Thomas A. Alford: 1,000,000. To enrich humanities collections through immediate acquisitions and to establish an endowment fund. **CK**

Milwaukee Public Library, WI; Jerry Peters: \$137,500. To renovate the humanities department and improve access to catalogs, indices, and bibliographies. **CK**

Montshire Museum of Science, Hanover, NH; David Goudy: \$75,000. To construct new facilities for humanities programs. **CA**

Ohio University, Athens; Gary Hunt: \$750,000. To support the development of the library's humanities collections, the cataloging of important but unprocessed humanities books, and the preservation of the most threatened humanities materials. **CU**

Portland Museum, Louisville, KY; Caroline Aiken: \$200,000. To support the endowment of humanities programs. **CA**

Potsdam College of the State University of New York, NY; Helen Chapple: \$210,000. To endow a visiting professorship in the humanities and a humanities seminar. **CC**

Prairie View A&M University, TX; Benjamin Berry: \$182,500. To support an endowment for library development in the humanities. **CU**

Saint Leo College, FL; Bernard S. Parker: \$133,333. To develop humanities collections in the library and an endowment fund to increase acquisitions. **CC**

Saint Louis Science Center, MO; Judy Jasper: \$1,000,000. To construct a new museum complex in which the study of the humanities will be promoted. **CX**

University of Missouri, Columbia; Thomas Shaughnessy: \$500,000. To support an endowment for library acquisitions in the humanities and for the preservation of significant humanities materials. **CU**

University of Oregon, Eugene; Gaye Vandermy: \$1,000,000. To support the endowment of Humanities Center activities and library acquisitions and the costs of expanding the library building. **CU**

University of South Carolina, Spartanburg; Jan Yost: \$100,000. To improve library humanities resources. **CU**

University of Texas Medical Branch, Galveston; Vicki Saito: \$500,000. To endow the activities and programs of the Institute for the Medical Humanities. **CU**

University of Washington Press, Seattle; Patricia Smith: \$250,000. To support an endowment fund and a revolving capital fund for the support of humanities projects. **CU**

University Press of Mississippi, Jackson; Richard M. Abel: \$75,000. To establish a revolving fund and an endowment for increased activity in the publication of humanities books. **CU**

Vermont Folklife Center, Middlebury; Jane Beck: \$175,000. To expand educational programming capabilities in the humanities and build an endowment. **CX**

Xavier University of Louisiana, New Orleans; John Pecoul: \$450,000. To build a new library and endow humanities programs. **CU**

Language and Linguistics

Kalamazoo College, MI; Timothy Light: \$600,000. To support the endowment of a chair in Japanese language and literature and library acquisitions in that field. **CC**

Philosophy

Saint John's College, Annapolis, MD; Nancy Osius: \$500,000. To endow two faculty chairs, one in ancient and the other in modern thought. **CC**

Religion

State University of New York, Purchase; Laura Evans: \$275,000. To support the endowment of Hebrew and Jewish studies programs. **CU**

Social Science

Williams College, Williamstown, MA; Mark Taylor: \$250,000. To support the endowment of programs and activities at the recently established Center for the Humanities and Social Sciences. **CC**

Note: Challenge grants enable institutions to develop new sources of long-term support for educational, scholarly, and public programs in the humanities. Grantees are challenged to raise three or four dollars in new or increased funds for every federal dollar offered.

DEADBLINES DEADLINES

Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.

Deadline

For projects
beginning

Division of Education Programs—*Jerry L. Martin, Director 786-0373*

Higher Education in the Humanities— <i>Lyn Maxwell White 786-0380</i>	April 1, 1989	October 1989
Elementary and Secondary Education in the Humanities— <i>Linda Spoerl 786-0377</i>	May 15, 1989	January 1990
Teacher-Scholar Program for Elementary and Secondary School Teachers— <i>Linda Spoerl 786-0377</i>	May 1, 1989	December 1989

Division of Fellowships and Seminars—*Guinevere L. Griest, Director 786-0458*

Fellowships for University Teachers— <i>Maben D. Herring 786-0466</i>	June 1, 1989	January 1, 1990
Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars— <i>Karen Fuglie 786-0466</i>	June 1, 1989	January 1, 1990
Fellowships on the Foundations of American Society— <i>Maben D. Herring, 786-0466</i>	June 1, 1989	January 1, 1990
Summer Stipends— <i>Joseph B. Neville 786-0466</i>	October 1, 1989	May 1, 1990
Travel to Collections— <i>Kathleen Mitchell 786-0463</i>	July 15, 1989	December 1, 1989
Faculty Graduate Study Program for Historically Black Colleges and Universities— <i>Maben D. Herring 786-0466</i>	March 15, 1990	September 1, 1991
Younger Scholars— <i>Leon Bramson 786-0463</i>	November 1, 1989	June 1, 1990
Summer Seminars for College Teachers— <i>Stephen Ross 786-0463</i>		
Participants	March 1, 1990	Summer 1990
Directors	March 1, 1990	Summer 1991
Summer Seminars for School Teachers— <i>Michael Hall 786-0463</i>		
Participants	March 1, 1990	Summer 1990
Directors	April 1, 1989	Summer 1990

Division of General Programs—*Donald Gibson, Director 786-0267*

Humanities Projects in Media— <i>James Dougherty 786-0278</i>	September 15, 1989	April 1, 1990
Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations— <i>Marsha Semmel 786-0284</i>	June 9, 1989	January 1, 1990
Public Humanities Projects— <i>Wilsonia Cherry 786-0271</i>	September 15, 1989	April 1, 1990
Humanities Projects in Libraries— <i>Thomas Phelps 786-0271</i>		
Planning	May 5, 1989	October 1, 1989
Implementation	September 15, 1989	April 1, 1990

DEADBLINES DEADLINES

Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.

	Deadline	For projects beginning
Division of Research Programs —Richard Ekman, Director 786-0200		
Texts —Margot Backas 786-0207		
Editions—David Nichols 786-0207	June 1, 1989	April 1, 1990
Translations—Martha Chomiak 786-0207	June 1, 1989	April 1, 1990
Publication Subvention—Margot Backas 786-0207	April 1, 1989	October 1, 1989
Reference Materials —Charles Meyers 786-0358		
Tools—Helen Aguera 786-0358	September 1, 1989	July 1, 1990
Access—Jane Rosenberg 786-0358	September 1, 1989	July 1, 1990
Interpretive Research —Daniel Jones 786-0210		
Projects—David Wise 786-0210	October 15, 1989	July 1, 1990
Humanities, Science and Technology—Daniel Jones 786-0210	October 15, 1989	July 1, 1990
Regrants —Christine Kalke 786-0204		
Conferences—Christine Kalke 786-0204	July 1, 1989	April 1, 1990
Centers for Advanced Study—David Coder 786-0204	December 1, 1989	July 1, 1990
Regrants for International Research—David Coder 786-0204	March 15, 1990	January 1, 1991

Division of State Programs—Marjorie A. Berlincourt, Director 786-0254
Each state humanities council establishes its own grant guidelines and application deadlines. Addresses and telephone numbers of these state programs may be obtained from the division.

Office of Challenge Grants —Harold Cannon, Director 786-0361	May 1, 1989	December 1, 1989
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Office of Preservation —George F. Farr, Jr., Director 786-0570		
Preservation—George F. Farr, Jr. 786-0570	June 1, 1989	January 1, 1990
U.S. Newspaper Program—Jeffrey Field 786-0570	June 1, 1989	January 1, 1990

Guidelines are available from the Office of Publications and Public Affairs two months in advance of the application deadlines.
Telecommunications device for the deaf: 786-0282.

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