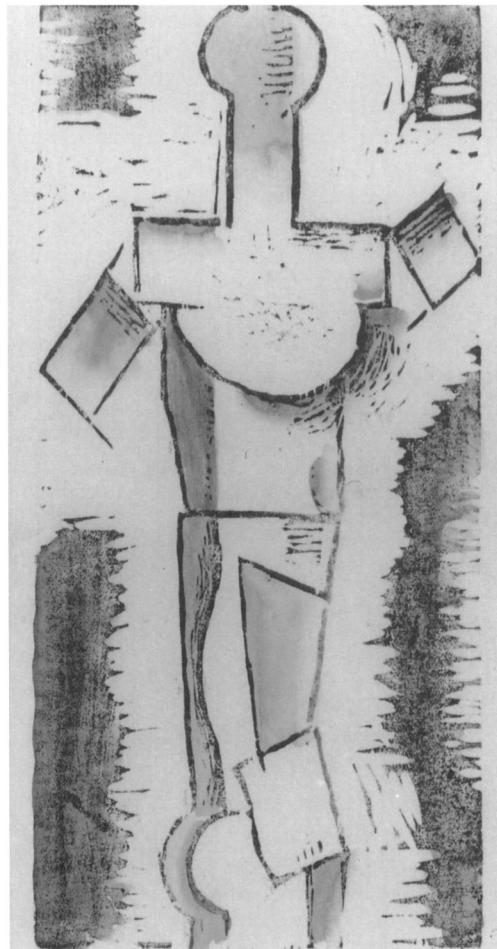


88. Josef Čapek, *Figure Called Lelio*, 1914, etching, 347 × 229 mm (Prague, National Gallery).

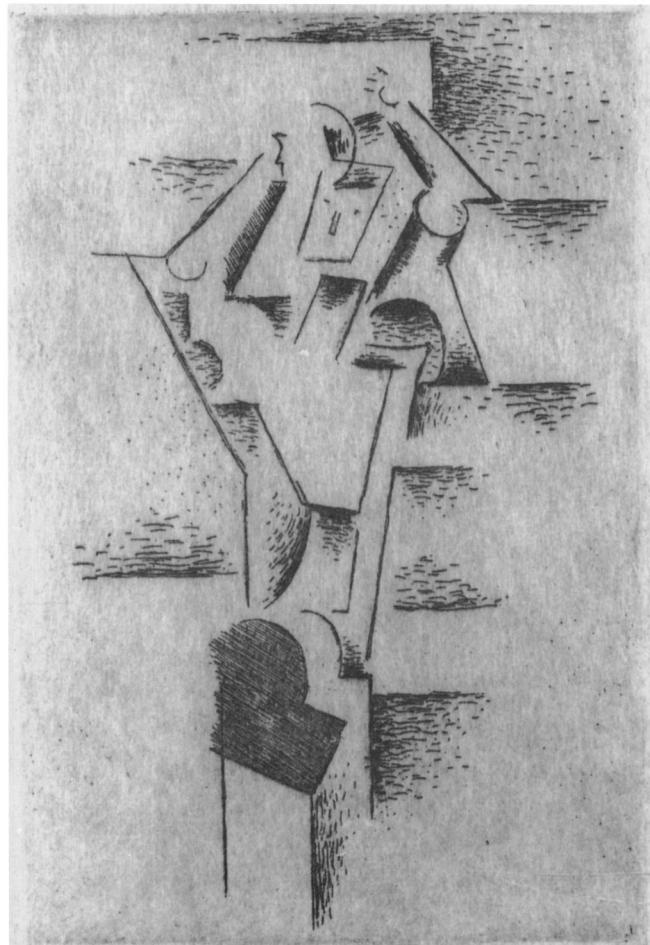


89. Josef Čapek, *Torso of a Young Man*, 1914, hand-coloured woodcut, 210 × 100 mm (Prague, National Gallery).

accurately accentuates form and modulation, inspired no doubt by Picasso's etchings from 1912. *Figure Called Lelio*, even more perhaps in the form of the print than the painting, has a flavour of exclusivity typical of Čapek, the poet: as he expressed it, 'people, even though you can smell and touch them, are always something of an apparition'. His increased sensibility in these years is clear also from his commentary to a woodcut *Torso of a Young Man* of 1914 (fig. 89): 'He is meant to represent youthful vigour; I had in mind something somewhat Apollinian and originally wanted to express it in a coloured sculpture'. Such a remark about the plastic element in his work may explain Čapek's involvement in printmaking and its sculptural element (fig. 90).

In the years from 1915 to 1916 the number and importance of Čapek's prints increased, mainly as a result of the possibilities of publishing his works in German magazines, especially *Die Aktion*.¹⁸ At this point Čapek arrived at a figural scheme, that was summary, planar, geometrically-organized and reduced to its basic elements. Figures of sailors, girls' torsos, and many variations on the subject of bathers

¹⁸ Josef Čapek published drawings, prints and prose in *Die Aktion* in the years from 1916 to 1918; a special issue (no. 24/25) was devoted to his work in 1917.



90. Josef Čapek, *Man with Raised Arms*, 1913, etching, 146 × 99 mm (Prague, National Gallery).

are visualizations of certain of Čapek's preferred images which originate in his literary work, which at that time closely overlapped with his artistic activity. The influence of German Expressionism, which Čapek in general renounced, became more significant in his printmaking, but did not, however, reveal itself directly, working rather as a catalyst in sharpening the perception of a social type and its graphic features.

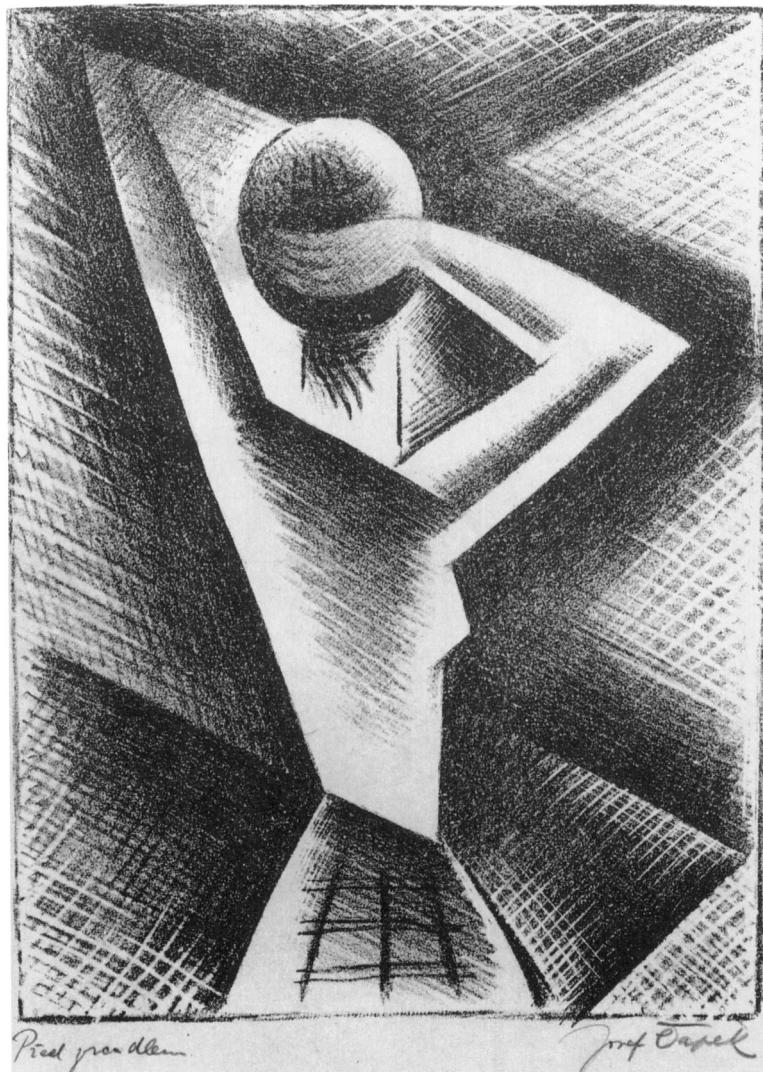
Capek's sensibility to the events of everyday life and the poetry of modern times included a liking for the grotesque fantasy of silent movies: 'Now I am painting heads with large bold eyes, reminding one of something from a cinema, where you can see robbers and detectives eyeing each other in such a strange way' (1915) (fig. 91). Visual experience of

a black and white contrast, of a staccato of movement and mime often finds a response in Čapek's printmaking, first of all in linocut. This he used most often during the second half of the 1910s, despite his reservations. 'Linocut is after all simple and suitable for bigger things, and does not lend itself to irrational enchantment'. In linocut, more than in lithography, Čapek created between 1917–1920 several further prints on social and dramatic subjects (*Beggar*, *Drunkard*, *Actor*, *Fantomas* – a well known character from a novel who appeared in an early silent film). In the Synthetic Cubist stylization of a figure, motional and physiognomical expression and poetical imagination ripens into an individual artistic achievement.

In 1918 Čapek was at last given the opportunity



91. Josef Čapek, *Face from the Movies*, c. 1916, linocut, 244 × 177 mm (Prague, National Gallery).



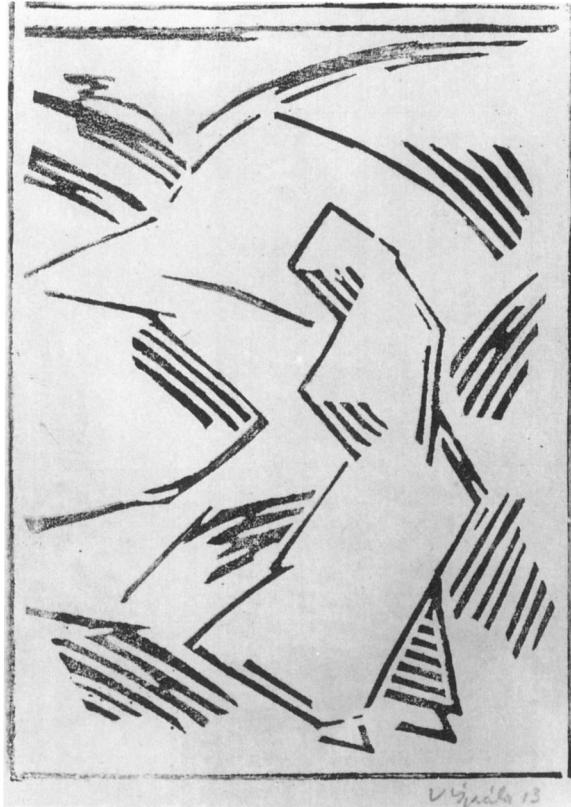
92. Josef Čapek, *In Front of a Mirror*, from the album *Ten Prints*, published by Veraikon, 1918, lithograph, 250 × 180 mm (Prague, National Gallery).

to have his prints published in his home country. The album *Ten Prints* appeared (fig. 92)¹⁹ and the magazine *Červen* published his linocuts both as illustrations accompanying the text, as well as separate sheets. *Červen* also published Čapek's first illustrations, twelve linocuts accompanying Apollinaire's *Zone* in

1919, where one motif follows another as in a film sequence thus creating an expressive parallel to the poem. Around 1920 Čapek turned away for good from printmaking to create applied graphics for books, both illustrations and cover designs. In these, Cubist elements have both a communicative and an ornamental role and thus contribute to a modern type of book design.

If we regard the creations of members of the generation of Cubists as a synthesis of artistic individuality and as a reaction to the European avant-

¹⁹. The album *Ten Prints* was published by Veraikon in Prague in 1918, with an introduction by Karel Čapek.



93. Václav Špála, *Woman in a Landscape*, 1913, linocut, 203 × 148 mm (Prague, National Gallery).



94. Václav Špála, *Laundress*, 1912–13, linocut, Červen, 1918, no. 2, 190 × 130 mm (Prague, National Gallery).



95. Vlastislav Hofman, *Pergola*, 1914, linocut, Červen, 1919, no. 23–24, 171 × 212 mm (Prague, National Gallery).

garde movement, then Václav Špála (1885–1946) is typical in the way in which he combines his deep feeling for the Bohemian landscape initially with his experience of Fauvism, and later in the 1910s with Cubist principles. Špála's point of departure, which was essentially traditional, combined with modernism, gave his work a significantly national character. It was undoubtedly Derain, both as painter and as printmaker, who attracted Špála at the beginning. Derain's woodcut illustrations for Apollinaire's *L'en-chanteur pourrissant* were first shown to Czech artists in the 1913 exhibition of French art in Prague²⁰ which has already been mentioned. Špála found Derain's graphic primitivism particularly important, for he rightly understood that it was not a new beginning, but the result of a process of formation. Špála also shared with Derain an interest in the recurring motif of a woman in a landscape. Even in his numerous drawings of this period, executed in brush and Indian ink, Špála was getting closer to a graphic mode of expression, to the stark quality of a woodcut, or to the more flexible linocut.

Špála's linocuts date from 1913 to 1920. He drew closest to Cubism between 1912 and 1913. In his print *Woman in a Landscape* of 1913 (fig. 93) the figure becomes a *statue colonne*, only to be metamorphosed further in some later prints into the form of a tree. Economy and consistency of graphic language reveals his feeling for stylistic purity of form and space and his ability in its Cubist transcription. The figure itself is a response to the topical problem concerning the relationship of Cubist theory and practice to Gothic style;²¹ its vertical and faceted character has a number of analogies in contemporary Czech painting, sculpture and the decorative arts. At the same time this small print refers to a particular feature of Czech Cubism – its relationship to Symbolism. In Špála's case this relates to the efforts advocated in the programme of the realist-landscape painters gathered in the association '*Umělecká Beseda*'. Their aim was to express the inner pathos of Czech landscape personified very often by a woman's figure (fig. 94).

Špála's printmaking developed over the subsequent years towards a minimalization of graphic

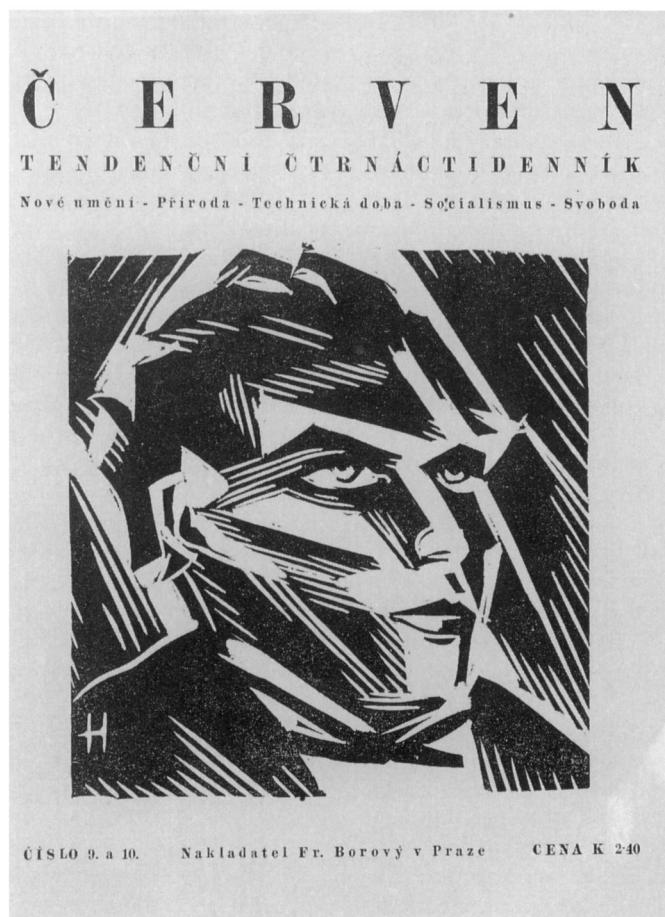
elements and towards the use of graphic symbols even more intensively than in the case of Čapek. This process is illustrated in his linocuts from 1916, which were published in the magazine *Červen* in 1918. Špála's last prints were linocuts made as replicas of his paintings and as such given additional hand-colouring. After about 1920 he abandoned printmaking.

Vlastislav Hofman (1884–1964), an architect, left the 'Group of Artists' together with Čapek and Špála after only a year's membership. His printmaking activity developed on two levels: one architectonic, the other figural. The first was no doubt influenced by the conflict between the fertility of his ideas and the lack of opportunities to materialize them, so that most of his projects remained at the stage of drawings and designs.²² Some of these were then published in the magazine *Červen* in 1918–1919 in the form of original linocuts (fig. 95). These designs for façades and monuments illustrate Hofman's theoretical efforts, based on his acceptance of a theory of multi-dimensional space and of anti-functionalism, and on the stipulation that the expression was to be achieved



96. Vlastislav Hofman, *Crying Woman*, 1917, linocut, published in *Červen*, 1918, no. 1, 200 × 150 mm (Prague, National Gallery).

- 20. There are two copies in Czechoslovakia: in the National Gallery and in a private collection in Prague.
- 21. W. Worriinger, *Formprobleme der Gotik*, review by Joseph Čapek in *Umělecký měsíčník*, 1, 1911–12.
- 22. Hofman's most important architectural work is a Cubist cemetery complex in Dáblice (a suburb of Prague) dating from 1912.



97. Vlastislav Hofman, *Self-Portrait*, c. 1918, linocut, published in *Červen*, 1918, no. 9–10, 145 × 145 mm (Prague, National Gallery).

by means of the form, which should result directly from 'the spirit and the thought of the time'.²³

In these linocuts Hofman shows a new dynamic conception of façades where Cubist composition borrows features from Expressionism and Futurism. While this group of prints still belongs to his pre-war preoccupations, his later portrait prints (or rather psycho-physiognomic studies) from the second half of the 1910s reveal his literary and theatrical orientation (fig. 96). The lasting obsession with one subject, which affected many of Hofman's generation, is illustrated by a series of thirty drawings of the main heroes in the novels of Dostoyevsky which began in

1916, and by two woodcut portraits of writers which were published in the magazine *Die Aktion* in 1917 and 1918.²⁴ The same attempt can be found in several other linocuts of both particular and anonymous faces, which concentrate in a few lines of a Cubo-Expressionistic interpretation the spiritual essence of the individual (fig. 97). At the beginning of the 1920s Hofman concluded his printmaking activity with a series of more or less fictitious portraits of personalities from Czech culture and history, and from early Christianity. Later he was involved mainly in stage designs, in which he continued to develop the theatrical side of his talent.

23. V. Hofman, 'Dutch moderní doby v architektuře' ('The Spirit of the Modern Time in Architecture'), *Umělecký měsíčník*, I,

1911–1912.
24. *Die Aktion*, VII, 1917, no. 31/32 and no. 33/34, 'Dostojewski'.

The twilight of printmaking of the Cubist generation, which set in around 1920, can be explained in two ways. Firstly, the post-war situation brought to the fore new artistic issues which were again first dealt with in painting. Secondly, a new generation of artists emerged, most of whom were Švabinský's first pupils in the printmaking department at the Prague Academy. Many of them had had their studies interrupted by their departure to the Front and returned home with experiences of the most extreme situations of life. Consequently after the war they turned to 'social' themes and to the poetry of every-day life with its modest pleasures. These young printmakers, with the support of the older genera-

tion who were gathered together in the 'Hollar Association of Czech Printmakers', also promoted the technical side of graphic work and set binding norms for printmaking. In his review of the first Hollar exhibition in 1918, S. K. Neumann, speaking on behalf of the pre-war avant-garde, criticised these attitudes.²⁵ Thus around 1920 the Cubist episode came to an end: it had been relatively short, but nevertheless vital to the development of modern Czech printmaking.

25. S. K. Neumann, 'Soudobá česká grafika (Contemporary Czech Prints)', *Cerven*, 1, 1918.

Shorter Notices

Identifying Drawings with the Help of Prints

Ilse O'Dell-Franke

In May 1799 a drawing 'by Hans Holbein' (*sic*) was sold in the London auction of Greffier François Fagel's collection of drawings (fig. 98).¹ It had previously belonged to the portrait-painter Jonathan Richardson Sen. (1665–1745) whose mark it bears (Lugt 2183) and who probably wrote the old inscription *Holbein*.² A copy of the sale catalogue of the Fagel collection in the library of the Victoria & Albert Museum, lists the price (1/17) and the purchaser (R. P. Knight). With the bequest of Richard Payne Knight the drawing came into the collection of the British Museum in 1824.³

In 1869 G. W. Reid published it with the Holbein

designs for ornament, but mentioned that 'the drawing although very beautiful is perhaps of rather a later period than Holbein's'⁴ and subsequently it was listed as 'ornamental drawing by an anonymous artist'. A pencil inscription on the mount signed 'L. F. (=Fritz Lugt?)' reads: *Jamnitzer or the Master of the Vases of 1551?*⁵ But this tentative attribution does not seem to have convinced other scholars. Neither Wenzel or Christoph Jamnitzer, nor the Master of the Vases of 1551 (usually identified as Wenzel Jamnitzer's assistant Matthias Zündt) uses the type of ornament shown in this drawing: prominent masks and bundles of fruit stand out from rather flat strapwork

1. *Catalogue of the intire Cabinet of Capital Drawings, collected by the late Greffier François Fagel . . . sold by Thomas Philipe, 20th May 1799*, lot 175: 'Mutuis (*sic*) Scaevela before Porsenna, a design for the scabbard of a dagger – fine pen with indigo'.
2. The sale catalogue of Richardson's collection (London, Cock, Jan.–Feb. 1746–47) lists drawings in lots (for example, 'one

hundred by various masters'), so this drawing cannot be identified.

3. London, British Museum, Prints and Drawings, inv. no. Oog–8, brown ink and grey-blue wash, 100 × 74 mm.
4. G. W. Reid, *Designs for Goldsmiths*, London 1869, p. 6, pl. 5, 1.

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ket for traditionalist *art vivant* developed in the 1920s, this was stimulated by Derain's enormously influential lead, and it was his countless imitators who were perhaps merely supplying the market. Derain's later works, with all their art-historical references, were conscious and quite controversial submissions into the avant-garde arena – scarcely less so than, say, the readymades of Duchamp (who remained respectful of the painter). Both were making highly context-dependent and context-conscious statements. By the early 20s, the Italian ex-Futurists Carrà and Soffici had already, in writing on Derain, fully debated the issue of whether his archaism was simply reactionary, and Carrà unequivocally referred to the post-Fauve work as in fact 'ultra modern'. That the late work is not retrogressive is immediately clear if it is compared with that of artists who genuinely abandoned Modernism, such as another former Futurist, Giacomo Balla, whose cloying 30s and 40s portraits of himself and his family put into relief the virtues of Derain's equivalents. This is the second and almost more important point: Derain's later works are nearly always more inherently interesting, individual, peculiar, unnerving or unexpected than those by any of the *bande art vivant*, be it Asselin, Puy, Gimmi, Bianchi, Laprade, Dufrenoy, Mainssieux, Alix, Coubine, Oudot, or Derain's particular friends Kisling, Lévy, Boussingault or Mondzain. One factor never commented upon, which makes him more interesting than these, is his practice almost always, after 1910, of overpainting on top of earlier images, which are allowed subliminally to qualify the final surface. The trait is too consistent and marked to be discounted as simple contingency; it affects the meaning of the works. Also, throughout his career, Derain is prepared to leave pictures or parts of pictures in radically provisional states, or he wilfully distorts or disjoins figures, eccentrically displaces features across a face, jumpily accentuates a contour or a highlight, reduces a limb to an insolent passage of dabs while rendering another in sharp focus. He continually constrains his own facility, fighting, as Clive Bell once said of him, with hands behind his back. He is always trying to push his own painting into unexpected areas of invention, areas that would be accessed through the practice of representation rather than through a wholesale departure into some abstract or Surrealist novelty.

Derain's super-intelligence is inevitably infused with irony, but too subtly to make him attractive as a predecessor to many of today's postmodernists. He is simply a supremely conscious artificer. Above all he seems to leave visible the mechanics of picture-making at the very point where there occurs the magic, not of illusionism, but of the coalescing of illusionistic devices, formal and compositional relationships, the thematic and associative elements of imagery, the psychological tenor, the mood register, and the diverse signals locating the work in (and against) tradition. This is the opposite of routine academicism or uninspired 'production'. It is rather the creation of works that seek no less than to discover, and dis-

cover for the viewer, the essence of their nature as art.

MERLIN JAMES

'André Derain'. Texts by Françoise Marquet, Philippe Dagen, Jack Flam, Judi Freeman, Pierre Daix, Jean Leymarie, Miriam Simon, Jane Lee et al. 496 pp. with numerous col. pls. and b. & w. ills., (Paris-Musées, 1994), FF 380. ISBN 2-87900-176-5.

*Fortunately the *Galerie de France, Paris*, mounted a major show of Derain's sculpture (15th December to 25th February) to coincide with the retrospective and the publication of a catalogue raisonné of his three-dimensional work: *André Derain: Scultore*. By Pieter Coray and Rudolf Koella. 159 pp. with numerous b. & w. and col. ills. (Electa, Milan, 1994), FF 250. ISBN 88-435-5001-2. A French edition is available. The Galerie de France exhibition tours later in the year to *Galerie Welz, Salzburg*, and *Galerie Wolfgang Werner, Berlin*.

*For the only review to appear, see this Magazine, CXXXVI [June 1994], pp.391–93.

*More detailed points arising from the catalogue are as follows: the bibliography is far from exhaustive, omitting even documents of direct concern to the catalogue's various specialist essays (e.g. Waldemar George's 'The 1933 ballets and the spirit of contemporary art' in *Formes*, 33, which reproduces cat.no.292 and several other of the *Fastes* designs). The same is true of the exhibitions list which omits, for instance, early 1930s showings at Paul Guillaume, or Daniel Caton Rich's important 1933 Chicago show of French art, or the 1937 *Origines et développement de l'art indépendant* at the Jeu de Paume. Documentation for individual exhibits looks compendious at a glance but is fairly *ad hoc*, excluding sometimes obvious references, such as those to Kellermann (in four cases), and sometimes historically significant ones, such as the reproduction in *Verve*, Spring 1939, of no.164, *Jeune fille pelant un fruit* – an illustration which led Pierre Matisse to seek to become Derain's dealer. The book's individual essays on subjects such as Derain's relations with poets, with Braque, with *l'art nègre*, vary in erudition. Jacqueline Munck, for instance, on *Derain: ses marchands et ses collectionneurs*, gives a fairly broad account, concentrating on the main dealers, Vollard, Kahnweiler and Guillaume, and the big collectors, Morozov and Stchoukine in Russia, Fukushima, John Quinn in America, Kramer in Czechoslovakia, and so forth. The subject remains open to much more research, and not only on these major players. By 1930 Derain's works were handled by a large number of Paris dealers, more than any other contemporary artist except Dufy and Utrillo. They could be seen (apart from *chez Guillaume*) at Jean Aron, Bignou, Paul Rosenberg, Georges Bernheim, Pierre Loeb, Zborowski, Van Leer, Georges Aubry, Galerie Studio, Manuel frères, Yvagot, Kleinmann, Margouliès et Schotte, Bernier, Paquereau, Zak, Blanche Guillot, Art Contemporain and Le Portique. Surely not all of these would have been dealing in the secondary market and one would like to know what relations each had with the others and with Derain himself. Similarly there was a host of collectors who had significant Derain holdings by the 20s, from familiar names like Chester Dale and Dikran Kahn Kélékian to a dozen lesser known ones like Léon Pétron, Poyanowski, Paul Westheimer and Soubies, about whose collecting it would be interesting to know more.

Meanwhile, as implied, questionable dates asserted for various works are not discussed in the catalogue, particularly with the myriad works on paper. Thus any viewer would reasonably assume that the self-portrait drawings nos 216 and 215 were close studies, respectively, for the painting *L'Artiste et sa famille* (1920–21; no. 128) and the Tate Gallery's *Le Peintre et sa famille*; however, these works on paper are here dated to 1935 and 1930. If there are real reasons to believe them to be so far in date from their related canvases, this needs to be explained. Surely no.215 is closely derived from the extant photograph of Derain assuming just this expression, probably taken by Rogi André in the mid-1930s.

Prague Expressionism and Czech Art

While in some respects falling short of the exhibition evoked in its large, well-illustrated catalogue (much of which was completed for the originally proposed opening date in the winter of 1993–94), *Expresionismus a české umění 1905–1927* at the *Castle Riding School, Prague* (closed 19th March)¹ nonetheless achieved its principal objectives. In line with recent moves to extend the period associated with German Expressionism into the early or mid-1920s, it made a convincing case for a corresponding extension in the study of Czech art. At the same time, it argued for the recognition of certain underlying forms of continuity throughout the period surveyed and for greater attention to artists conventionally viewed as 'marginal' within this period. It thereby challenged a long Czech tradition of organising accounts of art in the first quarter of the twentieth century around the formation and dissolution of a familiar sequence of artists' groups – *Osma* (1907–08), *Sursum* (1910–12), *Skupina* (1911–17) and *Tvrdošíjný* (1918–24), among others.

'Expressionism' was not a term that most of those represented in the show would readily have used of their own work, despite the wide range of meanings with which this term was initially invested. Although a Czech critic, Antonín Matějček, is now acknowledged as the first to write of 'Expressionism' and 'Expressionists' in a recognisably modern sense (in January 1910), there was no subsequent Czech appropriation of these terms to match that soon to occur in Germany. Indeed, the view was often voiced that Czech art had little in common with the 'excesses' of German Expressionism. While Alena Pomajzlová and Pavel Liška, in their introductory texts, have few reservations in admitting the importance of German influence, they also assert the existence of a distinctively Czech variant of Expressionism.

This, they argue, is notable above all for embracing such extremes of idiosyncrasy as are to be found in the work of Jan Zrzavý or Josef Váchal (both well represented in the show) and for its impact on a wide range of media: alongside painting, drawing, printmaking and sculpture, the catalogue covers book illustration, posters, architecture, stage design and film (though the last two were not represented in the exhibition). Rather more successful is the attempt to convey the character of Czech Expressionism in terms of its evolution through three successive phases: 'Expressionism and Colour' (1905–10), 'Between Expressionism and Cubism' (1911–14), and 'Varieties of Expressionism in the 1920s' (1915–27).

The starting point for this evolution is located, as has long been customary, in the impact on young Czech artists of the work of Edvard Munch (exhibited in Prague in 1905), which served as a focus for the lessons subsequently derived from the example of Gauguin, Van Gogh and the *Fauves*. Comparison with the concurrent beginnings of *Die Brücke* in Dresden points up the much more hedonistic, and less brutal, character of the paintings of Antonín Procházka or



62. *Woman above the city*, by Josef Čapek. 1919-20. 80.5 by 44.5 cm. (Oblastní galerie, Liberec; exh. Castle Riding School, Prague).



63. *Head of Don Quixote*, by Otto Gutfreund. 1911-12. Bronze, 38 cm. high. (Národní galerie, Prague; exh. Castle Riding School, Prague).

62.

63.

Václav Špála (the latter rather poorly represented in this section), as also the relatively superficial character of philosophical or political motivation in the more programmatic works of Emil Filla. In addition to the exuberant use of colour, identified as the determining feature of this phase, the early period is especially notable for self-portraits, above all those of Bohumil Kubišta.

The second, and internationally most significant, manifestation of Expressionism in Czech art, is associated with the Czech response to Cubism. This section of the show, including paintings by Kubišta, Otakar Kubín and Jan Zrzavý, was dominated by the work of the sculptor Otto Gutfreund. The combination of a dozen vigorous brush drawings, five reliefs and seven sculptures from the years 1911-12 drew particular attention to the relation between the two- and the three-dimensional that Gutfreund was to discuss in his essay of 1912-13, *Plocha a prostor* (Surface and Space). A number of works, notably the *Head of Don Quixote* (Fig. 63), pointed clearly to some of the sources informing Gutfreund's initially 'Expressionistic' approach to the possibilities opened by Cubism: the pathos of 'animated' form discussed in Wilhelm Woringer's influential *Formprobleme der Gotik* (1911), the contemporary fascination with El Greco, and the treatment of the figure in the work of Honoré Daumier.

The concluding section, covering wartime and the first post-war decade, proved exceptionally interesting in its stylistic diversity, the attention to lesser known figures such as Jiří Kroha or Vlastislav Hofman and the reference to a wider range of media. Appropriately, the strongest presence here

was that of Josef Čapek, whose painted images invariably reflect a parallel engagement in literature, theatre and film.² Especially compelling in Čapek's work of the years 1918-25 is a series of steely yet vulnerable urban types (Fig. 62). These testify to a subversive emotionalism persisting within the new commitment to a forward-looking objectivity.

While the catalogue accompanying *Expresionismus a české umění* certainly ranks among the more innovative of recent accounts of the early twentieth-century Czech avant-garde, its interest and value for scholars outside the Czech Republic may prove to be limited because of its authors' reluctance to attend to the broader context of their subject. In a volume with so many essays, it is surprising that not one is devoted to relating cultural developments to those in the social and political sphere. In the cultural realm itself, the discussion of so international a movement would surely have benefited from a more vigorous exploration of contacts between Prague and Berlin and a glance at contemporary developments elsewhere in Central Europe, in particular the variants of Expressionism found in Hungarian and Polish art of the 1910s and early 1920s.

ELIZABETH CLEGG

Expresionismus a české umění 1905-1927 was at the **Castle Riding School, Prague**, from 15th December 1994 to 19th March 1995. Catalogue edited by Alena Pomajzlová, with essays by Michal Bregant, Jarmila Doubravová, Václav Erben, Růžena Grebenčková, Iva Janáková, Vojtěch Lahoda, Pavel Liška, Zdeněk Lukeš, Alena Pomajzlová, Věra Ptáčková, Karel Srp, Rostislav Švácha, Radim Vondráček and Jindřich Vybrátil. Summaries in English. 375 pp. incl. 120 col.

pls. and 261 b. & w. illus. (Národní galerie v Praze, 1994), ČK 450. ISBN 80-7035-81-4. Of the 264 exhibits listed in the catalogue, around a fifth could not eventually be lent for the show. There was, however, a commendable range of lenders both within and outside Prague (of the latter, notably the public collections of Brno, Zlín, Liberec and Ostrava), and a significant proportion of loans from private collectors.

²Čapek's equally important career as a book illustrator was addressed in the exhibition *Josef Čapek: knižní grafika a obálky* at the **Klementinum, Prague** (23rd February to 19th March).

Moscow The State Tretyakov Gallery

After eight years of painstaking renovation and reconstruction, the State Tretyakov Gallery, by any other name the national gallery of Russia, is once more open and set to become a major international cultural attraction. Under the leadership of its new Director, Valentin Rodinov, and financed by a combination of major state sponsorship and private donations, the radically re-hung museum now shows the full variety of the indigenous arts of Russia selected from a store of over 90,000 works in all media. The long wait appears to have been worthwhile. The immaculate nineteenth-century gallery, built in the Neo-Slavic style with façade designs by Viktor Vasnetsov, remains the collection's nucleus, but is now flanked and enlarged by two massive new galleries, sympathetically integrated with the old building and extended behind the scenes to provide a large range of storage and conservation facilities.

Pavel Mikhailovich Tretyakov (1832-98), who came from an old Muscovite family of textile merchants, inherited his

Jan Preisler. Prague

Author(s): Elizabeth Clegg

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67. Photograph from the performance *Requiem for an unknown citizen*, by Mark Boyle and Joan Hills. 1971. Masked actors and back projection. De Lantaren Theatre, Rotterdam. (Exh. Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh).

encounter with ploughed land everywhere. The drama also lies in the mystery surrounding the making. 'How are they done?' is a question the Boyles are constantly asked and which they politely but firmly evade (their most recent work, a two-foot-square patch of green grass – not illustrated in the catalogue – risks exacerbating the public's curiosity to fever pitch). They respect the distance between the picture and viewer as firmly as theatre respects the distance between the stage and the audience.

This opportunity to see the Boyle Family's work in depth should not be missed by anyone interested in British art since the 1960s, especially as the artists have been so well served and their contribution to the art of their time finally given the recognition it deserves. The selection and presentation of the work are both finely judged, and the exhibition – unlike so many retrospectives – is exactly the right size. The catalogue deserves to be read from cover to cover.

¹ Catalogue: *Boyle Family*. By Patrick Elliott, Bill Hare and Andrew Wilson. 128 pp. incl. 85 col. pls. + 64 b. & w. ills. (National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 2003), £17.95. ISBN 1-903278-43-0.

Jan Preisler Prague

by ELIZABETH CLEGG

IN THE EARLY MONTHS of 1918, as the projected dismantling of the military, political and social order in Central Europe gathered momentum, the relatively sudden deaths of two of the region's most highly regarded artists – each acclaimed as draughtsman, *décorateur* and painter – were viewed by their respective obituarists as already marking the definitive end of an era. A full decade was to pass in the new, diminished, republican Austria before Gustav Klimt was granted his own memorial retrospective in Vienna; but the memory of Jan Preisler was honoured in the first substantial art exhibition to open in Prague during the proud dawn of Czechoslovakia. The vagaries of

the first four decades of Klimt's posthumous critical fortune were such that his work required the domestic and international 'rediscovery' that has been underway since the mid-1950s; but Preisler's place in Czech affections and his hold on the Czech art-critical and art-historical imagination have never been seriously shaken. Although there has not been a Prague retrospective to rival that of 1919 since the exhaustive account of 1964, there has been a steady succession of Preisler exhibitions throughout the Czech lands since the late 1920s, and a consistently strong Preisler component within the principal Czech survey shows sent abroad since the mid-1980s.¹

Assembling an approximately chronological and instructively arranged sequence of around 250 drawings (Fig.68), decorative schemes (Fig.69) and paintings (Fig.70) spanning a career of twenty-five years, with a further seventy or so varied items of documentation, the organisers of *Jan Preisler 1872–1918*, at the *Obecní Dům*, Prague (closed 5th October), eloquently reaffirmed the high Czech regard for the achievement of this pioneering Modernist within the context of a 'national' culture.² It remains to be seen how far they have also succeeded in reasserting Preisler's significance within the broader European arena where he made his mark between 1900 and 1914. It is unfortunate, in this respect, that they were unable to secure an additional showing for this exhibition outside the Czech Republic, and that its catalogue, although available in both Czech and English editions, has no non-Czech contributors.³ Nonetheless, the exhibition venue, with its superbly central site and recent painstaking restoration, was guaranteed to attract numerous foreign visitors. It could also claim a triumph of scheduling: its previous show (closed 24th March) had surveyed the work and influence of the 'founder of modern Czech architecture', Jan Kotěra, with whom Preisler often collaborated (Fig.69).⁴

Most immediately alluring for an international public, and supported by the most intellectually accessible of the catalogue essays, by Lenka Bydžovská, was the first

of the show's three chronological divisions, which covered the years 1895 (when Preisler graduated from the Prague School of Decorative Arts) to 1901. Outstanding here, among several exquisite examples of allegorical painting as clearly informed by European models (Puvis de Chavannes, Burne-Jones) as by Czech tradition and training (Vojtěch Hynais, František Zeníšek), were the lively and varied brushwork, the shimmering palette of lilac, coral and ochre, and the emotional ambiguity of *Spring* (1900), a triptych commissioned by Kotěra for the interior of his first Modernist building in Prague. Yet, as a whole, this first section was at its strongest as an account of Preisler the draughtsman. The display embraced preparatory figure and detail studies, illustrations to accompany texts by leading literary figures, and striking autonomous works such as the charmingly idiosyncratic allegorical triptych *The breeze and the wind* (Fig.68). First shown at the Prague Rudolfinum, home of the city's artistic 'establishment', this large charcoal drawing rapidly became an emblem of the separatist Czech artists' association Mánes. It served in November 1896 as the first reproduction to appear in its journal *Volné Směry* (Free Currents), and resurfaced in December 1900, in Vienna, in the touring version of the third show it mounted as an insistently Secessionist exhibiting society. Comparing very favourably with Klimt's contemporary work as an allegorical draughtsman – both Klimt and Preisler served an 'apprenticeship' on the Viennese publication *Allegorien und Embleme* – this juxtaposition of Naturalist precision and Neo-romantic effervescence heralds an exuberant headlong advance into Modernism.

The fruits of this rapid progress were to be found throughout the second, central segment of the exhibition, which covered the years 1902–07 and took as its starting point Preisler's shift from literary to vitalist inspiration hastened by a trip to Italy in the company of the landscape painter Antonín Hudeček.⁵ This phase saw the effective eclipse of drawing by painting: Preisler extended the principle of serial variation



68. *The breeze*, left panel of triptych *The breeze and the wind*, by Jan Preisler. 1896. Charcoal on paper, 40 by 53 cm. (Národní Galerie, Prague; exh. Obecní Dům, Prague).

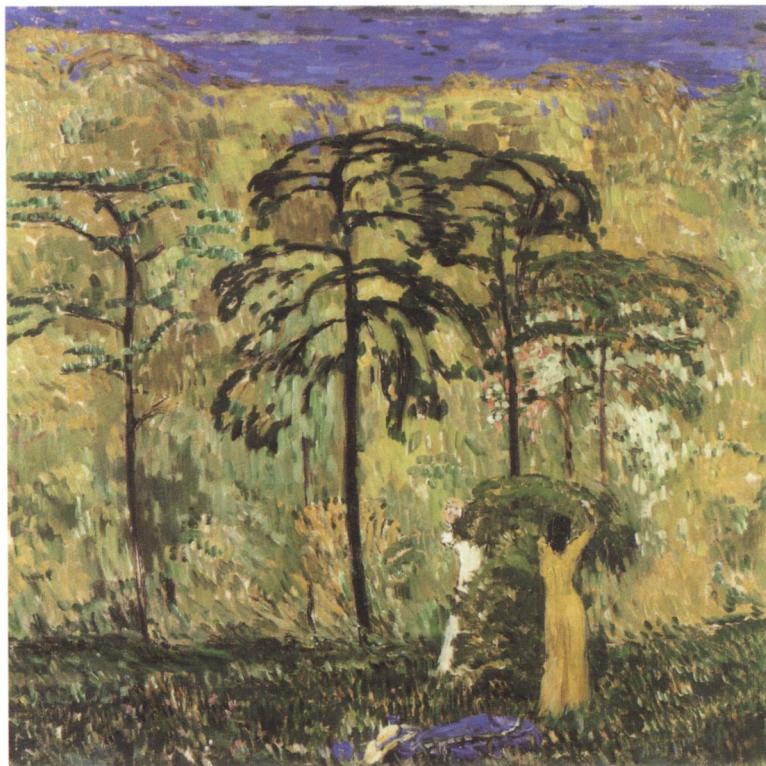


69. Design for a mural for the restaurant of the Grand Hotel, Hradec Králové, by Jan Preisler. 1903. 40 by 65 cm. (Oblastní Galerie, Liberec; exh. Obecní Dům, Prague).

to include much bolder experiments with colour, as testified by the chromatic extremes and subtle intervening floral/vegetal accents employed to render the spiritual archetypes of the extensive 'Black Lake' cycle of 1903–05.⁶ Specificity of narrative and subject were eschewed, and titles could be defiantly opaque: a major figural composition of 1902, echoing Hodler and Munch in its treatment of a country youth's first apprehension of erotic desire, was exhibited as *Painting from a larger cycle*. (Acquired by Kotéra, it was loaned to many later shows, among them the first in London to include Preisler's work.)⁷ A more insistent decorativism and idealism reflected Preisler's new interests (in, for example, the Nabis and the incipient vogue for Hans von Marées), but also his evolving collaboration with Kotéra and the latter's own ambitions

for architecture. The lunette mural commissioned for the restaurant of a combined hotel and administrative building in the north-eastern Bohemian city of Hradec Králové (Fig.69) was appreciated for its part in establishing the requisite mood of calm 'festivity'.⁸ While Petr Wittlich's account of this crucial period is persuasive, it reveals a disconcerting indifference to one important aspect of these years: the assessment of Preisler offered by commentators based outside a predominantly Czech cultural environment. The most prolific early twentieth-century francophone observer of Slavic artists in Central Europe, William Ritter, is quoted here only once, at second hand, and in a somewhat misleading extract; and the views of far more prominent foreign critics, such as Ludwig Hevesi in Vienna, receive no mention at all.⁹

70. Yellow landscape, by Jan Preisler. 1908. 94 by 95 cm. (Národní Galerie, Prague; exh. Obecní Dům, Prague).



The third and final phase of Preisler's life as an artist calls into question the conventional notion of an artistic 'career'. While it was at this period that Preisler received his most significant commission for decorative painting (in 1910–11 he supplied two large 'Elysian' murals for the Palacký Hall of the Obecní Dům) and proved himself an inspired and inspiring teacher (in particular, from 1913, at the Academy of Fine Art), he simultaneously 'disappeared' from the Prague art world upon resolving, in 1909, to refrain from showing further new work in the city – another parallel with Klimt, whose participation in that year's 'Internationales Kunstschau' marked an end to his exhibiting in Vienna. The last of Preisler's paintings to be unveiled in Prague during his lifetime exemplify the new Central European ardour for French Post-Impressionism, above all the work of Gauguin (and more might usefully have been said, in Karel Srp's essay, on the wider, regional dimension of this phenomenon). In the square-format green and yellow landscapes of 1908 (Fig.70) the hard-won idyll of the Hradec Králové mural has become a luxuriant Arcadia, unabashedly hedonistic in its vibrant colouring. These features were to persist in the private pursuit of an increasingly generic Neo-classicism, with variations on *Diana* or *Leda and the swan* overtaken, in the 1910s, by anonymous *Riders* and *Bathers* deriving from the male and female protagonists of the earlier 'Black Lake' cycle, by way of a nod to Cézanne. Preisler's notional commitment to exploration at the expense of resolution, encouraged by his new friends among the embryonic Czech avant-garde, above all the uncompromisingly analytical Bohumil Kubišta, was to prove of less significance for his work as a painter than for his continued influence within Mánes. In urging that artists such as Kubišta be admitted to this association, Preisler assured the Prague Secession of a continued allegiance with progressivism such as had long been relinquished by its Viennese counterpart.

¹ The catalogue for the 1919 Prague exhibition *Jan Preisler*, shown at the Rudolfinum, lists 287 exhibits. 375 items are included in the catalogue of *Díla Jana Preislera. 1872–1918*, held at the Czech Národní Galerie at the Jízdárna Pražského Hradu, Prague, in 1964. Twenty-nine works by Preisler were included in *Tschechische Kunst 1878–1914: Auf dem Weg in die Moderne*, at the Mathildenhöhe, Darmstadt, 1984–85; sixteen in *Prague Art Nouveau. Métamorphoses d'un style*, at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1998–99, and twenty-one in *Prag 1900: Poëzie en extase*, at the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam, and later at the Museum für Kunsthandschwerk, Frankfurt am Main, in 1999–2000.

² Most of the exhibits were loaned by Czech public collections, well over a third coming from the Národní Galerie, which acted as co-organiser with the Obecní Dům, under the leadership of Vanda Skálová.

³ Catalogue: *Jan Preisler 1872–1918*. Edited by Petr Wittlich, with essays by Petr Wittlich, Lenka Bydžovská and Karel Srp, and a chronology and

bibliography by Polana Bregantová. 360 pp. incl. 305 col. pls. + 64 b. & w. ills. (Obecní Dům, Prague, 2003), Kč1450. ISBN 80-86339-19-X (HB; Czech version); Kč1750. ISBN 80-86339-20-3 (HB; English version).

⁴ Jan Kotěra 1871–1923. *Zakladatel moderní české architektury*. Subsequently presented, as *Jan Kotěra 1871–1923. Aufbruch in die tschechische Moderne*, at the Architekturzentrum, Vienna (closed 7th July).

⁵ Hudeček's landscapes of 1895–1915 were concurrently to be seen in the exhibition *Krajinou duše Antonína Hudečka*, at the Moravská Galerie, Brno (closed 14th September).

⁶ Paintings from Preisler's 'Black Lake' cycle have been illustrated and briefly discussed in exhibition reviews in earlier issues of this Magazine: 135 (December 1993), pp.847–48, and 142 (June 2000), pp.388–89.

⁷ See exh. cat. *Imperial Royal Austrian Exhibition*, London (Earl's Court) 1906, 'Fine Arts III: Mánes', no.34. Kotěra organised, designed and installed this part of the display, grouping Czech artists from the Austrian Crownlands of Bohemia and Moravia.

⁸ See Z. Wirth: 'Okresní Dům v Hradci Králové', *Volné Směry* 10 (1906), pp.297–99, esp. p.298.

⁹ For the full original French text, see W. Ritter: 'L'Art Moderne à Prague', *L'Art et les Artistes* 2/1 (October 1905), pp.11–16, esp. pp.14–15; the excerpt quoted in the catalogue is from a Czech translation published in 1906. See also L. Hevesi: 'Aus dem Wiener Kunstleben: Künstlerbund "Mánes"', *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk* 5/2 (November 1902), pp.556–57; and *idem*: 'Aus dem Wiener Kunstleben: Hagenbund', *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk* 11/4 (April 1908), pp.226–28.

Titian Madrid

by CHARLES HOPE, Warburg Institute, London

WITH THE LARGEST SURVIVING group of Titian's paintings to draw on, the version of the recent Titian exhibition at the National Gallery, London (reviewed in these pages in May by Peter Humfrey), at the **Museo del Prado, Madrid** (closed 7th September), was inevitably very different. It was about one-third larger, and had the huge advantage of having the pictures displayed in the long gallery of the museum, with far better lighting conditions than in the basement of the Sainsbury Wing. Of the works on loan, relatively few had been seen in London. But the number of paintings by Titian that can be borrowed is limited, so the same ones inevitably appear at exhibition after exhibition. *St John the Baptist* from Venice, for example, figured in *The Genius of Venice* in London (1983), in *Titian* in Venice and Washington (1990), in *Le siècle de Titien* in Paris (1993), and in the exhibition under review, as well as at the National Gallery earlier this year. This might suggest that the chances of a Titian exhibition providing significant new insights into his career are rather slim. Fortunately, there was much to be learned in the Prado.

Thus, probably for the first time ever, the *Gipsy Madonna* from Vienna (cat. no.1) and the *Madonna with St Anthony and St*



71. *Salome*, by Titian. ?c.1565. 87 by 80 cm. (Museo del Prado, Madrid).



73. *Young woman with a fan*, by Titian. c.1561. 103 by 88 cm. (Gemäldegalerie alte Meister, Dresden).

Roch from the Prado itself (no.3) were hung next to each other. The two pictures have very often been compared, and it was on the strength of a supposed resemblance between them, based on photographs, that in 1904 Schmidt first proposed the attribution to Titian of the Prado *Madonna*. Yet, side by side the two pictures did not look like the work of the same artist, let alone at about the same date, nor did the Prado picture look like the other early Titians hanging nearby. This is in a way reassuring, because it seems rather unlikely that this painting should have remained unrecognised for more than two centuries in the greatest collection of works by Titian ever assembled.

It was equally interesting to see Giovanni Bellini's *Feast of the gods* between the *Andrians* and the *Worship of Venus* (nos.11–13). According to documents, this was how the pictures had been arranged in Ferrara, even



72. *Knight with a clock*, by Titian. ?c.1540. 122 by 101 cm. (Museo del Prado, Madrid).

if they must have hung closer together than they did in Madrid. In London, by contrast, it had been suggested that a painting by Dosso, now lost, had originally hung to the right of the Bellini. The attraction of this latter arrangement lay in the fact that the figures in the *Worship of Venus* are disturbingly different in scale from those in the *Feast of the gods*. The same is true of the *Andrians*, but here the transition between the two pictures is less troubling, because Titian did at least make his skyline match that of the *Feast*, even if the sky in the two pictures is entirely different, and both include rivers which, next to one another, look very curious indeed. When painting the *Worship of Venus*, Titian evidently took no account of the Bellini. There is no evidence, in fact, that he was aware that it was to hang next to his own painting; he clearly did not take the same precaution as Perugino had done a few years earlier, when working for Isabella d'Este, of asking for a piece of string indicating the height of the principal figures in the other pictures in the room.

The presence of a large number of very fine Titian portraits in the exhibition, including the *Man with a glove* from the Louvre (no.10), did nothing to strengthen the claims of the Prado's *Charles V with a dog* (no.18). In the catalogue, a much expanded version of the one in London, edited and largely written by Miguel Falomir,¹ it was accepted that this portrait was copied from one by Seisenegger now in Vienna, but it was also implied that Titian was summoned from Venice for the purpose of making the copy, even though Seisenegger and Charles were both present in Bologna. It is hard to see why such a thing should have happened, especially if Titian had painted Charles from life in 1530, as Falomir suggested in the relevant entry. Style and circumstances both suggest that the Prado portrait is not by Titian.



Montmartre: The History of a Hill

Author(s): Bailey K. Young

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Engraving showing the ruins of the Saint Pierre Church during the first half of the nineteenth century. A telegraph tower built in 1794 is seen atop the apse; it was destroyed in 1844.



Montmartre

The History of a Hill

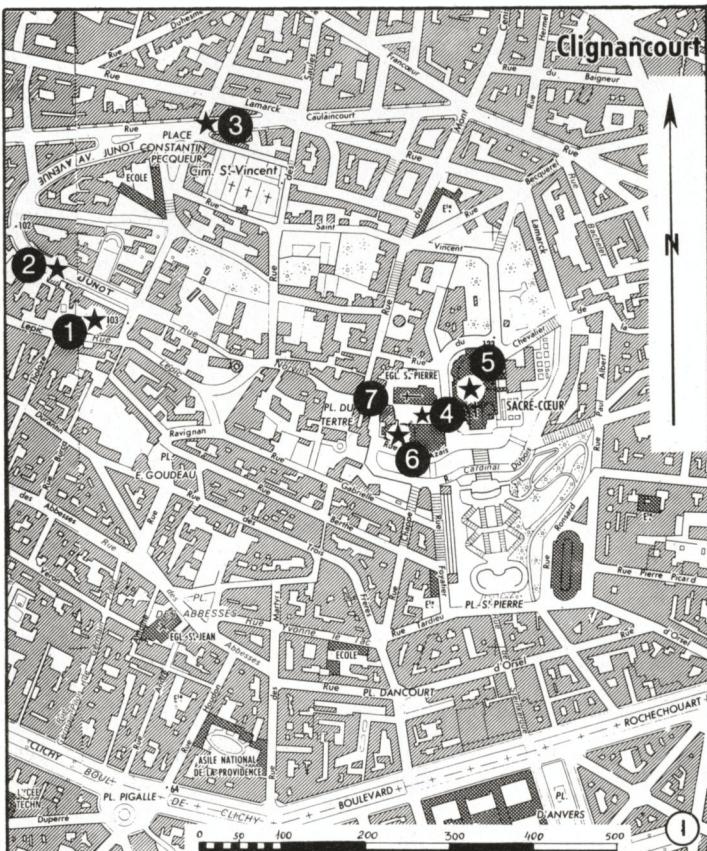
by BAILEY K. YOUNG

Towering above the red clay roofs of northwestern Paris rises the bluff of Montmartre—the most visible and highest point in the entire city. The lofty perch of Montmartre has always enjoyed a predominantly religious role that dates back to Roman times and continues even today with the Sacré Coeur Basilica, erected after the humiliating 1871 defeat during the Franco-Prussian war and the bloody repression of the Commune. As early as the ninth century after Christ, Abbot Hilduin of the powerful Abbey of Saint Denis, located a few miles to the north, identified Montmartre as the site of the third-century martyrdom of Saint Denis. Hilduin relates how the Apostle of Paris, later known as Saint Denis, and his two companions Rusticus and Eluthere were arrested and condemned during the Roman persecutions of the Christians in A.D. 250. The three martyrs were led out of the city halfway up the southern slope of the hill and were beheaded. Miraculously, the saint gathered his

head under his arm and walked over the hill until he reached the site where the Abbey bearing his name would one day stand. There he fell at the feet of a pious Christian widow who buried him.

However apocryphal this legend may be, it vividly reflects the impact of an important pilgrimage already popular in Hilduin's time. It retraced the saint's path from Paris over the hill to what was to become the church of Saint Denis. Pilgrims stopped at the little Chapel-of-the-Holy-Martyr built on the alleged site of execution and then continued to the hilltop, where the church was dedicated to the saint. By the ninth century after Christ, the martyr's glory had become so great, Hilduin triumphantly asserts, that the old pagan name of the hill—the Mount of Mercury—was transformed to Montmartre or the "Mount of the Martyrs" in his honor. Not all modern scholars accept this ingenious derivation, however, arguing that the name Montmartre represents a linguistic transformation

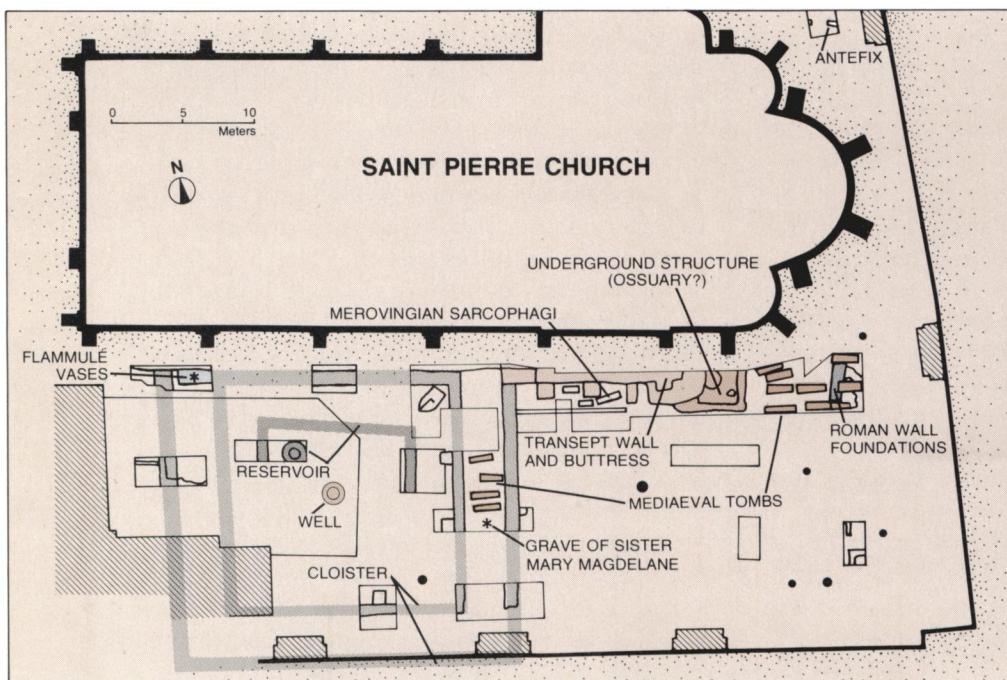
Montmartre: 1) Moulin de la Galette, the site of the western temple of Mercury; 2) Avenue Junot, with antique wall foundations uncovered in 1914; 3) ancient villa of the Fontaine du But, excavated in 1737-8 and also around 1840; 4) presumed site of the Temple of Mars; 5) Gallo-Roman substructures and objects discovered in 1875 during construction of the Sacré Coeur Basilica; 6) ancient and Mediaeval remains found during construction of the reservoir of Montmartre in 1887-9; 7) extension of the Merovingian cemetery around the early Mediaeval church dedicated to Saint Denis.



of the Late Latin *Mons Mercore* or Mount Mercury. Hilduin's remarks are still highly significant, however, because they represent one of the earliest references to a pagan temple on Montmartre.

Montmartre became so important to the monks of Saint Denis that in A.D. 1095 they authorized the display of the saint's precious relics in the hilltop church. But it was not until the mid-seventeenth century that more substantial evidence of Montmartre's little known early pagan history began to emerge. When the scholar Henri Sauval attended the investiture of the new Abbess Françoise Renée de Lorraine in 1657, he made two surprising discoveries. In the priory, he found "vestiges of a temple said to have been dedicated to Mars." Parts of this Temple of Mars had supposedly remained until the sixteenth century, according to local accounts, especially "a terrace so wide and so solid that Henry IV mounted his cannon there when he besieged Paris." Sauval also heard local stories describing the ruins of a second ancient temple—the Temple of Mercury referred to by Hilduin. This structure was so impressive that the nearby fields were known as "the lands of the Mount of Mercury." A large section of one of the temple walls had, in fact, endured until October 20, 1618 when the entire wall, including a niche holding a figure "two or three feet tall," was destroyed by a violent storm.

Two Roman temples must have stood atop ancient Montmartre: the Temple of Mercury on the west bluff near the present site of the Moulin de la Galette, and the Temple of Mars on the south



Plan of the excavation showing Saint Pierre Church and the location of major finds in the Jardin du Calvaire: Merovingian antefix (A.D. 500-750); Mediaeval underground structure; Roman wall foundations; Mediaeval tombs; grave of Sister Mary Magdalene (seventeenth century); reservoir (seventeenth-eighteenth centuries); well; thirteenth-century cloister, rebuilt in the sixteenth century after Christ; flammule vases (late thirteenth or fourteenth century after Christ) discovered under cloister wall; Merovingian sarcophagi (sixth-ninth centuries after Christ); and transept wall and buttress (late twelfth century after Christ).

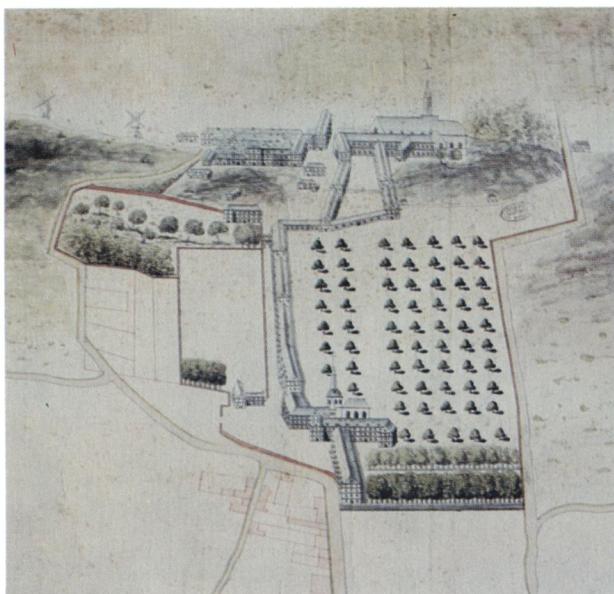
A damaged sarcophagus found without its cover. The subject (f) is clearly not the original occupant. The flammulé vases, lying around the grave, date this tomb to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century after Christ.

bluff on the ground of the ancient Abbey itself. By the time the Abbot Lebeuf wrote his history of Paris in 1739, however, the Temple of Mars had utterly vanished. Apparently its scanty remains had been carted downhill to make a garden terrace for the new "Abbaye d'en Bas" where the nuns moved in 1686. The fate of the Temple of Mercury was even worse and nothing seemed to have survived. When Felix de Guilhèrmy wrote his memoir on the history of Montmartre a century later in the 1840's, he reported that the vestiges of both old pagan temples had been entirely removed. Fortunately, evidence of other Roman structures on Montmartre survived until the eighteenth century. Two large pillars made of small stones and bound with a hard cement stood among the thriving vineyards on the northern Montmartre slopes near a large fountain known as the Fontaine du But. Like forlorn vestiges of the past, they stood until 1737. As news of the rich ancient finds at Pompeii spread rapidly through Europe's cultivated circles, excavations were begun near the Fontaine du But, perhaps partially prompted by the site's very name—"but" or "butin" means treasure in Old French. Rumors that treasures were surfacing there led to a raid by tax officers who, to their great dismay, discovered only the foundations of a Roman building.

The villa of the Fontaine du But, as the site soon came to be known, must have been the luxurious dwelling of a wealthy local magnate who lived during the days of the Early Roman Empire (27 B.C. - A.D. 280). It was not until over a century later, however, that the date of the villa could be confirmed, when excavators led by Abbot Jollois unearthed gold coins dating to the second century after Christ. The villa, built of carefully laid stone courses alternating with a course of bricks, measured an imposing 26 by 23.5 meters. One entered



A Roman occupation level is represented by the foundations of a north-south wall, which is made up largely of broken brick and tile. During a later period grave pits were cut into this wall; the foot end of a plaster-built sarcophagus is visible in the baulk. Iron fragments, small animal bones and fragments of common ware which appear to be Roman were also found in the hearth pit.



Early eighteenth-century water color showing the old Abbey with the church and cloister atop the hill, and the new Abbey which replaced it in 1685 at the bottom of the hill. The two were linked by a covered gallery built in the mid-seventeenth century.



View of the Church of Saint Pierre taken from the top of the Sacré Coeur Basilica. The main excavation area is to the left of the apse.

through a monumental doorway flanked by two massive pillars set 5.5 meters apart. Two large formal rooms, whose floors had cement footings, concealed a series of small, rather narrow compartments on the south side of the building. Some rooms were heated by warm air which circulated in pipes, and an aqueduct brought water from the fountain. Fragmentary plaques of marble indicate once sumptuous decorations; a bronze head found in the villa has been identified as the Consul C. Caelius Caldus, a noble of Late Republican Rome. Further down the hill at the foot of the southwest slope, workers digging a well in the early eighteenth century struck several low relief sculptures which must have decorated the façade of a temple or sumptuous private residence. These reliefs depict winged geniuses riding through the sky in chariots.

But the most remarkable find came from the western slope. Here during construction of a new road in 1789, the crew found a marble head with two sockets for wings. This characteristic winged portrait can be unquestionably associated with the Roman god Mercury and strongly confirms that a temple actually existed on Montmartre hill in his honor. Slender as these indications may be, they sketch a fairly reliable picture of ancient Montmartre—a hill crowned by the two renowned temples of Mercury and Mars with luxurious villas scattered below. Did the first wave of destructive Barbarian invasions from Germany during the

third century after Christ put an end to this prosperity? When and how did the transition to Christianity occur? The scanty archaeological gleanings so far provided no answer.

When construction began on the Sacré Coeur Basilica in the 1870's, however, the fate of ancient Montmartre changed dramatically. The extensive excavations necessitated by the clearing operations led to many surprises. At that time Theodore Vacquer, Paris' first municipal archaeologist (1844-1894), compiled voluminous notes on what were clearly the remains of a Roman temple. Preserved today in the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, they include a sketch of the foundations of a temple identified as the Temple of Mercury. The central *cella* or sanctuary, measuring 13 by 16 meters, was surrounded by a buttressed enclosing wall, measuring 28 by 47 meters. Unfortunately Vacquer failed to indicate exactly where he saw these ancient ruins at Montmartre.

The Sacré Coeur excavations also led to discoveries dating to the later Merovingian period (A.D. 500-750). In 1883 the historian Rouault de



View of excavation trenches from the east; the plaster-built sarcophagi lie at the same depth as the flimsy structure (M-14) attached to the massive transept corner buttress.

Fleury noted an extensive series of burials south and east of the Church of Saint Pierre, which stands on the bluff above the south slope of Montmartre. Dozens of sarcophagi were discovered here. All were trapezoidal in shape and were made of molded plaster. The head and foot panels were often decorated with molded reliefs using geometric and cruciform motifs. This type of tomb is characteristic of the Merovingian period, a date further confirmed by the clothing accessories found in some burials. The colorful bead necklaces and bronze or iron plate-buckles (so called because a decorative plate is joined to the belt buckle itself), reflect the widespread Merovingian custom of dressed burials common during the sixth and seventh centuries after Christ. The plate-buckle decoration is in the Germanic animal style which depicts highly abstract monsters often interwoven in stylized patterns. At this time, cemeteries in or near the urban centers of Gaul, as France was still known, were always located beside churches so that the dead could share the protection of the local area's patron saint. Al-



Unique ornaments found in the mid-seventeenth-century grave of Sister Mary Magdalene, (clockwise from top, center): cross of Lorraine in gilded bronze, height, 3.7 centimeters; openwork bronze medal with IHS surmounted by a cross, height, 2.8 centimeters; silver religious ring inscribed with the subject's religious name, diameter, 1.5 centimeters; medal from the Abbey of Notre-Dame de Benoistevaulx in Lorraine, a popular pilgrimage place at the end of the Thirty Years' War, showing the Virgin holding an apple, height, 2.5 centimeters; and an openwork bronze medal with MA surmounted by a crown, height, 2.8 centimeters.

though the actual objects uncovered around 1875 have now disappeared, Fleury's photograph of small, one-piece bronze belt buckles dating to the sixth century after Christ and larger seventh-century iron damascene buckles leave no doubt that a Christian church existed on the site at least three centuries before Hilduin's manuscript.

In 1975 a team of archaeologists under Patrick Périn of the Carnavalet Museum and the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (IV^e section) in Paris and I began a series of excavations on the southern slope of Montmartre in the Jardin du Calvaire, just south of the present day parish church of Saint Pierre. The Jardin du Calvaire or Calvary is named for the mound topped with three crucifixes which stood there until it was moved to its present location north of the church. All that remains today is a 50 by ten meter terrace planted with a few trees. At the southernmost limit of the garden is a reservoir which was built around 1889. We wondered if the temple foundations sketched by Vacquer still existed under the garden. Had the Merovingian tombs remained

intact? Various repair and restoration work in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries had uncovered several tombs; in fact, the parish curate salvaged a Merovingian plaster panel from a group of tombs discovered when a water pipeline was laid in the garden in 1947. This relief depicts an equal-armed cross inscribed in a circle.

Vacquer's sketch suggested that part of the temple foundations themselves were still in place just south of the church as late as 1875. Just before excavations began, Périn and Laurent Renou, a draftsman associated with the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, discovered a second pencil-drawn plan among Vacquer's papers. This drawing shows the foundations of a temple with slightly larger dimensions than the one Vacquer originally described in his notes. It measures 14 by 21 meters and is enclosed by walls measuring 35 by 58 meters in length. These foundations would have covered part of the area currently occupied by the Sacré Coeur Basilica as well as part of the Church of Saint Pierre and the Jardin du Calvaire. Yet these same substructures or building supports are marked "Mars" in another note where they are compared to a sketch labeled "Temple of Mercury." Whatever the temple name, trial trenches dug in the garden have not yet uncovered wall footings where the penciled sketch would place them. A Gallo-Roman occupation level dating from the first to fourth centuries can be found everywhere else, however, where later tombs or buildings have not destroyed it. This dark gray sandy soil level contained a thick, orange variant

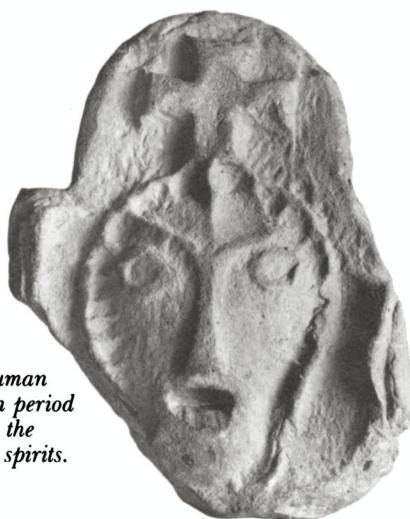
of *sigillata* or Samian ware, a Roman pottery type known for its hard, glossy slip.

At the end of the May 1978 season, the foundations of a razed wall, oriented north-south, were discovered beneath a series of Mediaeval tombs just southeast of the apse. Irregular, uncut stones lay among pieces of Roman tiles in a mass of yellow-beige mortar. These and the few potsherds, iron nails and chips from a painted wall clearly identify the structure as Roman. Its irregular shape averages 70 centimeters in width. At the same depth and a little to the east, an oval hearth measuring 60 by 50 centimeters was excavated. Here the previously undisturbed gray sand contained bird and animal bones mixed with iron nails and Roman pottery. Although future excavations will undoubtedly uncover the rest of this structure and other Roman remains, Vacquer certainly never saw this wall, for it was covered by undisturbed Mediaeval tombs. No doubt the structures he noticed may still lie buried elsewhere or they may have been subsequently destroyed. The reliability of his observations has been confirmed elsewhere: in 1972, for example, the construction of an underground parking lot near the Pantheon uncovered a wall within centimeters of the spot noted by him. But in the case of the so-called Roman temple, did he fallaciously reconstruct the "Temple of Mars" from vestiges of later walls seen near Saint Pierre? This mystery still remains unsolved.

Defenders of the Saint Denis martyrdom tradition who insist that the execution occurred atop



Foundations of the rebuilt cloister gallery wall where numerous earlier structural elements were reincorporated, including this quatrefoil pillar base, dating to approximately the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century after Christ.



Terracotta antefix mask of a human head dating to the Merovingian period (A.D. 500-750). The cross above the face supposedly warded off evil spirits. Height, 14 centimeters.

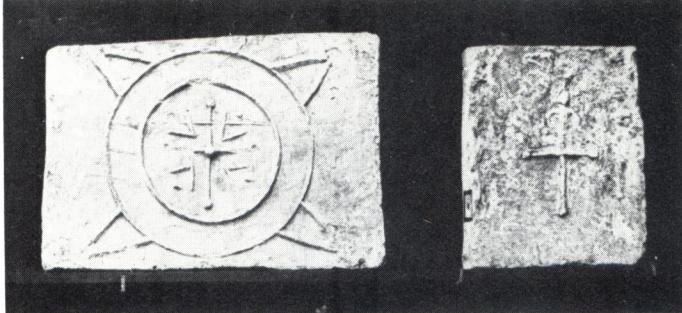


Flammulé vase from a late thirteenth or early fourteenth-century grave. This type of pottery gets its name from the painted red stripes on the surface called "flammulé" in French. According to a Mediaeval funerary custom, the vase was pierced with holes so that charcoal and incense could be placed inside and burned to ward off demons. Height, 15 centimeters.

Montmartre argue that a memorial chapel replaced the pagan temple as early as the fourth or fifth century after Christ. Four marble columns and five marble capitals were, in fact, employed in the Mediaeval church of Saint Pierre which still stands today. They must have come from the old church dedicated to Saint Denis described by Hildegard. These capitals are among the few surviving examples of Merovingian sculpture. Unlike the naturalistic floral motifs of Late Roman sculpture dating to the fourth to sixth centuries, they are decorated with leaf motifs, spirals, ovals and chevrons.

The most striking find, discovered near the apse, is a terracotta antefix, an ornament which was placed at the roof eaves to conceal the joints. It depicts a face whose stare has such intensity that undoubtedly it served an apotropaic function: the cross above the face is a visible sign of the saint's protective power which was supposed to ward off the evil forces that might menace the sacred enclosure. Some authors have argued that antefix masks of this type were placed over tombs, but the most recent study of the nearly 50 examples known in France does not support this conclusion. It is more likely that they adorned the eaves of the church, as similar antefix masks had adorned the temples in pagan days. The reconstructed Roman temple façade on display in the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, for example, shows this kind of antefix. The use of an antefix mask surely represents a link between the decoration of ancient religious monuments and the sculpted stone faces found outside many Romanesque churches, such as the Saint Guillaume-le-Desert Church in southern France, dating to the eleventh to twelfth centuries after Christ.

Nowhere in the Saint Pierre excavation has a Merovingian tomb been found intact, although fragments of sarcophagi litter disturbed levels throughout the site. The bottom of a razed Merovingian plaster sarcophagus with its unmistakable trapezoidal shape was unearthed, but one corner had been destroyed by a later Mediaeval wall buttress. This sarcophagus lay only 50 centimeters under the present flat terrace, built by the Benedictines for their cloister. The Benedictine terracing work probably destroyed all of the tombs close to the church on the south, while further downhill the ground would have been built up, thus burying the earlier tombs even deeper. The 1975 excavations uncovered other Merovingian burials four or five meters deep and east of the apse, but Mediaeval remains have obliterated any earlier tombs in the zone accessible to excavation today.



Merovingian plaster panels used to decorate sarcophagi found in 1875 and photographed about 1880. Width of larger panel, 70 centimeters.

On A.D. April 21, 1147, a solemn Easter ceremony inaugurated the era of the "Dames of Montmartre"—the Benedictine nuns who were destined to reign over the hill until 1789. Pope Eugenius III dedicated the high altar in the Abbey choir to Notre Dame and Saint Denis. He was assisted by two of the greatest churchmen in France, Peter the Venerable, head of the rich and powerful Cluniac Order, and the Cistercian Abbot Bernard, whose austere life and eloquent hymns would make him one of the best known Mediaeval saints. Even the King and Queen of France, patrons of the new order of Benedictine nuns, were present. In the light of such pomp and ceremony, art historians have concluded that the transept and the first span of the nave must have been finished by then, making these the oldest positively dated Romanesque vaults in the Ile de France, the region around Paris. The north and south apsidioles as well as the front part of the choir were also completed at that time, but the apse as it now stands was rebuilt during a second construction campaign. The architectural style of the apse dates it to the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries after Christ.

During the 1976 field season, a continuous series of trenches running parallel to the south wall of the church exposed the foundations of the original closing wall of the transept. The original transept arm, built around A.D. 1147, still jutted out a good two meters from the closing wall, giving the church the visible shape of a cross from the outside. A mid-nineteenth century reconstruction, however, had eliminated this arm. The transept wall evidently was not set firmly enough—the sandy subsoil of Montmartre is still notoriously unstable—and a massive semicircular corner buttress had been added to the southeast corner. A coin and potsherds dating to about the end of the twelfth century were uncovered in the foundation trench of this buttress. At intervals along the closing wall going west, smaller buttresses had noticeably been added during this same period. A new stretch of wall continued west from the point where the original transept closing wall turned

north to rejoin the nave. The eastern gallery of the cloister began from this new wall extension rather than from the transept itself. In 1977 two intact vases which date to the mid or late twelfth century after Christ were discovered underneath the northwest corner of the cloister gallery. A fragment of an oak leaf capital from the gallery dates to the thirteenth century after Christ. Clearly the original cloister could not have been built before the campaign to consolidate its foundations, placing the date of construction around the thirteenth century after Christ—more than 50 years after the Benedictine sisters took up residence at the Abbey.

The Mediaeval cloister was completely rebuilt during the Early Modern period (1500-1700). In the foundations of a later wall—largely made up of fragments from earlier constructions—we found a handsome quatrefoil pillar base from the Gothic cloister. A disastrous fire which swept the area in A.D. 1559 may have necessitated this rebuilding. The abundant harvest of green and yellow glazed potsherds uncovered in the foundation ditch also support this date. Although no authentic plan of the cloister has been discovered in the archives, the original dimensions now appear to be approximately 24 by 20 meters.

Attached to the massive semicircular corner buttress was a small and flimsy structure measuring about three by three meters. The floor of this construction lay almost two meters below the ground surface. Its foundations, made mostly of broken hunks of plaster sarcophagi, were set into the sandy subsoil without mortar; the floor footings, which also consisted largely of tomb debris, included a fragment with geometric decoration. The floor itself was partly broken by a bone pit. Could this unprepossessing underground chamber have served as an ossuary—a temporary repository for bones like those known today at Greek monasteries such as Mt. Athos—as one Mediaeval archaeologist has suggested? The bone pit was clearly dug to get rid of the mixed-up debris of old burials. The structure was evidently destroyed fairly soon by a fire, a fact confirmed by the Mediaeval tomb types found in its destruction debris.

Local accounts chronicle various periods of rebuilding for the Jardin du Calvaire. During the late fifteenth century the disintegrating roof in the nave was replaced by late Gothic vaulting, but only after the Abbess was threatened with excommunication if she didn't have it repaired. The A.D. 1559 fire, only one of the ravages of the Early Modern period, was closely followed by decades of religious civil warfare, which sometimes caused the nuns to flee. In A.D. 1590 when the armies of the Protestant Prince Henry IV oc-

cupied the Abbey, scandalous rumors circulated that the younger nuns were courted by officers while the older nuns looked after the cows. The seventeen-year-old Abbess herself, Claude de Beauvilliers, is even said to have become the Prince's lover. When peace was finally restored during the seventeenth century, an energetic series of abbesses set about reforming the physically and morally dilapidated convent. They began building more comfortable quarters in a new priory at the bottom of the hill. In fact, the metro station located at the foot of Montmartre is still called "Abbesses" today. The new priory was linked to the old Abbey by a covered gallery 400 meters long, so that the nuns could travel back and forth even in bad weather.

The accidental discovery in A.D. 1611 of a crypt with an altar, hidden in an abandoned gypsum gallery, resulted in a financial windfall for the Abbey. Hundreds of pilgrims flocked to visit this spot where the early Christians were said to have prayed. But in December 1686, the nuns abandoned the old hilltop Abbey and turned the church transept over for parish use. Yet they reserved for themselves the choir containing the precious tombs of the earlier abbesses, which the Bishop had forbidden them to move. They also kept the old bell tower as a symbol of their ancient authority, forcing the parish church to build its own tower further west. What became of the cloister area after the departure of the Sisters? The buildings were partly dismantled to make way for the new Abbey and were allowed to decay. The tombs were kept up and burials may have continued there. A reservoir was dug into the old cloister itself to supply water to the new Abbey below. Parts of this structure were excavated in 1976 and 1978. Its now dry well measures 75 centimeters in diameter and two meters deep; the inside face is built of carefully cut and fitted stones. The cistern is coated on the inside with water-repellent clay, and was filled with pure yellow sand that contained no archaeological material.

The turmoil of the French Revolution swept the Benedictines into oblivion. In 1790 a decree of the National Assembly abolished all religious orders—the Abbey was pillaged, the nuns expelled, the furnishings dispersed and many tombstones broken. In 1974 even the name of the hill was changed to Montmarat in honor of the Revolutionary leader who once hid in its quarries, and the Abbess Louise de Montmorency-Laval, then aged 71, was guillotined for conspiracy. The Abbey itself was sold at auction and demolished. Only the



Articles of dress found with Merovingian burials during the excavations of 1875 and subsequently lost.

old Saint Pierre church survived, partly because of the early telegraph tower built atop the apse in 1794. By 1806 parish services were restored in the church; in 1814 the building was occupied briefly by Russian troops who built a bread oven in the north apsidole. Saint Pierre was in such ruinous state by 1848 that its demolition was almost a certainty. Fortunately, the Historical Monuments Commission decided to restore it and commissioned the architect Louis Sauvageot to do the job between 1899 and 1905.

Despite the numerous structural changes in the old Abbey church, use of its interior as a sacred burial place seems to have remained unchanged from the Merovingian period through the seventeenth century after Christ. A stone sarcophagus dating to the sixth to eighth centuries after Christ was discovered in the church during the 1900 restoration and is preserved in the garden today. According to accounts of the 1875 excavations, most Merovingian tombs contain burials dressed in their everyday clothing, accompanied by a simple ceramic vase. Over a century later, during the 1976 to 1978 excavations, sherds of this same type of pottery were unearthed. Two partially destroyed sarcophagi bottoms indicate that the dead were buried with the head facing east, a typical position for the majority of Merovingian tombs. One Mediaeval writer explains the positioning of Christian dead towards the east because Christ is believed to appear on

the eastern horizon at His Second Coming.

During the days of the Benedictine Abbey, the interior of the church was reserved for the abbesses—as late as 1682 the Abbess Françoise of Lorraine was interred under the choir—as well as high ranking dignitaries such as Queen Adelaide of Savoy, who was buried there in A.D. 1154. Although her splendid tomb was destroyed during the Revolution, the damaged tombstone has been recovered and is now displayed in the church. A number of Benedictine graves were excavated in 1976 and 1978 under the cloister gallery and east of the cloister. Unlike the trapezoidal sarcophagi of the Merovingian period, which were made up of smoothly molded plaster panels, these rectangular tombs were built by assembling stones, plaster chunks and even old bones. These eclectic materials were thrown into a coffer built up with wooden planks, plaster was poured on top, and only the interior surfaces were smoothed. Tombs were clearly used over and over again, for few had covers in place and the bones of several people were often mixed together. This type of tomb can be dated by the large number of vases accompanying the burials. Most of these vessels were painted with red stripes, called *flammulés* in French. J. Nicourt of the Arts and Popular Traditions Museum, an expert on Mediaeval Parisian ceramics, dated the flammulé pots found at Montmartre to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century after Christ. Since ceramics are often found with reburials, this type of tomb must have come into use earlier. They probably do not date much before the cloister construction, however, because the foot end of one of them extended several centimeters to the east under the already existing gallery wall.

Why were these clay vessels placed beside the tomb and why were almost all of them pierced with irregular holes after they were made? A low relief sculpted panel now in the Carnavalet Museum depicts similar pierced pottery vessels giving off smoke during the funeral procession of Prince Louis, son of Saint Louis, who died in A.D. 1261. Jean Beleth, a thirteenth-century liturgist, offers a key to this custom, explaining that holy water, charcoal and incense were placed in tombs to prevent demons from approaching the dead. Flammulé pots were pierced, filled with hot coals and incense was sprinkled over them. At Saint Pierre these vases are usually discovered in groups of three. In one group found at the head of a tomb, traces of charcoal are still plainly visible.

More recent burials at Montmartre consist of simple pits dug into the earth. Sometimes traces of a wooden coffin are still visible. All of these burials were carefully laid out—either with their

arms folded over the middle or upper chest or, as in one grave, with the hands clasped in prayer. The feet always appear closely joined, suggesting that a winding sheet must have wrapped the body very tightly. In one unusual grave, the subject was buried with her religious ring on her finger clasping two openwork medals, a bronze medal and the double-armed cross of Lorraine made of gilded bronze. The silver ring is inscribed with the religious name Mary Magdalene. But the medals are even more informative. One openwork medal bears the monograms "I H S" surmounted by a cross and the other has "M A" surmounted by a crown. The third bronze medal depicts the Virgin holding the Child in her left arm and offering an apple with her right. The inscription "N(otre) D(ame) DE BENOISTEVAULX" identifies the medal with a shrine in Lorraine, which became a popular pilgrimage place toward the middle of the seventeenth century after Christ when the terrible Thirty Years' War was nearing its end.

Among the pilgrims who came to seek aid at Montmartre Abbey around 1641 was Sister Catherine de Bar, whose convent had been destroyed by the war. She was at first refused admission, but after she made a pilgrimage to the Virgin with the apple, the Abbess of Montmartre had a dream which made her change her mind and welcome the refugee nuns. Yet the tomb with the medals cannot belong to Sister Catherine herself—after only a few years she left Montmartre to found the Benedictines of the Holy Sacrament and the Perpetual Adoration in Paris, where she became celebrated under the name Mother

Metchilde. Does this grave perhaps belong to one of the refugee nuns who was granted the unusual privilege of burial with her religious medals? No other similar medals have yet been found in any undisturbed religious tombs and only one has been discovered in a disturbed context. Perhaps the Cross of Lorraine, the secular emblem of the great ducal house of Lorraine, hints that the woman buried here had particularly noble connections. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries aristocratic women often withdrew from society to join a nunnery. In fact, two of the greatest seventeenth-century abbesses of Montmartre came from the House of Lorraine.

In the seventeenth century, Montmartre was still a small village huddled around the venerable old Abbey separated from Paris by fields dotted with windmills. Monumental vestiges recalled its antique glory from afar while the Montmartre soil hid marble and bronze statues, coins and the foundations of at least one sumptuously decorated villa. In the 1840's Guilhèrmy was already lamenting that nothing remained in the wake of the city's rapid urbanization following the Abbey's collapse, but the construction of Sacré Coeur proved that there were still ancient ruins left to destroy. Today the archaeological remains on Montmartre seem slender, limited to the fragments that survive under the Jardin du Calvaire and the areas underlying the Saint Pierre church itself. But by preserving what little evidence has survived, archaeologists may one day complete the rich historical and religious picture of ancient Montmartre.

FOR FURTHER READING on the archaeology of ancient Paris: Paul-Marie Duval, *Paris antique, des origines aux III^e siècle* (Hermann, Paris 1961), provides the authoritative modern synthesis on the Early Roman Empire, but the classic study of Félix de Pachteré, *Paris à l'Epoque Gallo-Romaine* (Histoire Générale de Paris—Collection de documents [Collection verte], Imprimerie nationale, Paris 1920), which is based on an intensive study of the notes of the municipal archaeologist Theodore Vacquer, is still indispensable.

On Montmartre: Paul Lesourd, *La Butte Sacrée: Montmartre des origines au XX^e siècle* (S.P.E.S., Paris 1937), offers a colorful and partial but not inaccurate account while Ferdinand de Guilhèrmy, "Les antiquités, l'abbaye et les églises de Montmartre," *Antiquités de la France* (Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres, 2^e série 1843):178-205, provides the first serious study, as yet unreplaced, of the whole group of ancient monuments; Bailey K. Young, "Archaeology in an Urban Setting: Excavations at Saint-Pierre-de-

Montmartre, Paris, 1975-1977," *Journal of Field Archaeology* (1978):319-329.

On Saint Pierre: François Deshoulières, "L'église Saint-Pierre de Montmartre," *Bulletin Monumental* (Caen 1913):5-30, discusses the architectural history of the church, and Denise Fossard, "Les chapiteaux de marbre du VII^e siècle en Gaule," *Cahiers archéologiques* II (1947):69-85, treats the Merovingian capitals. Fossard has also provided a general notice on the church in May Viillard-Troiekouroff, Denise Fossard, Elisabeth Chatel and Colette Lamy-Lassalle, "Les anciennes églises suburbaines de Paris (IV^e-X^e siècles)," *Paris et Ile de France. Mémoires* (1960):208-221.

On the background of the excavations: Patrick Pépin, "Les fouilles du Jardin du Calvaire à Saint Pierre de Montmartre," *Archeologia* 107 (1977):6-15; "Note sur les temples antiques de Montmartre," *Actes du 100^e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes* (Paris 1975):139-155, which includes an extensive bibliography on all aspects of the excavation, compiled by Jean Le Roy.



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Picasso behind the Iron Curtain: From the History of the Postwar Reception of Pablo Picasso in East-Central Europe

PIOTR BERNATOWICZ

In postliberation Paris, Picasso became the symbol of regained freedom. The artist owed much of his popularity among the Parisians to the fact that he refused to emigrate when many French modernists had fled to America.¹ Picasso's relationship with France reached its high point in the special exhibition accompanying the Salon d'Automne in 1944, known as the Liberation Salon, which was usually reserved for French artists.² Last but not least, he joined the French Communist Party—this was announced the day before the opening of the salon and attracted the attention of the world's media.³

In the Eastern European countries, liberated by the Red Army from Nazi occupation, a great deal of attention was paid by the communist ideologists—the builders of the new social order—to Comrade Picasso. As an effect of the Yalta Conference, these countries were incorporated after the war into the Soviet area of influence. After the liberation, the Western Allies demanded

¹ M. Cone, *Artists under Vichy: A Case of Prejudice and Persecution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 137.

² Gertje R. Utley, *Picasso: The Communist Years* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 39.

³ Pablo Picasso, interview by Paul Gaillard, *New Masses*, 24 October 1944.

that the rules of democracy be maintained and that free elections be organized. To anyone familiar with Stalin's methods, such a demand may sound like entrusting a lamb to a hungry wolf. However, Stalin was keen to be perceived as a solicitous protector, from an external point of view at least.

On the one hand, the operation of winding up the political and military opposition held by the army, militia, and security service controlled by Moscow was in progress. On the other hand, an appearance of liberalism was upheld as well as the gentle prosocialist method of persuasion, using a carrot rather than a stick. The artistic society—especially that connected with modernist trends—did not declare its resistance. A great number of artists were either left-wing or involved in the communist movement before the war. Their anxiety was caused by socialist realism as the “compulsory” trend in the USSR. It was perceived by the East-Central European modernists as the contradiction of freedom and progress in art.

That is why any political gesture by a famous artist such as Pablo Picasso was a tremendously valuable element in the propaganda machine. Pablo Picasso became the authority for the communists and as such he helped the new system and the new power to be accepted by the elite, or at least to neutralize the resistance. For that reason, the first months after the liberation were the time of propaganda focused on the political gestures of the artist. “The notorious Spanish painter, Pablo Picasso, made the following confession about his reasons for joining the Communist Party of France: ‘I became a communist, because the communists are the bravest people in the Soviet Union and in France and in my own fatherland,’” as it was put in the first issue of the Polish periodical *Kuźnica*, which was intended to shape the new Polish intelligentsia. It was a clear message to Polish artists about where to place their political allegiances. The message was supported by other expressions, such as the text by a friend of Picasso, the Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg, published in the Soviet *Literaturnaja Gazieta* and then reprinted in the periodicals of East-Central Europe, such as *Przekrój* and *Bildende Kunst*. “Among the communists and the friends of the USSR, there are scientists from France, such as Joliot-Curie, the most prominent artists such as Picasso and Matisse, and the most significant poets, such as Aragon and Eluard. They are not great artists because they joined us, but they joined us because they are great artists.”

The Czechoslovak periodical *Zivot* published a text by French critic and member of the Communist Party Roger Garaudy, which was entitled “Artists without Uniform.” As Garaudy puts it: “It’s every painter’s right to paint like Picasso. It is also his right to paint another way. It’s the communist’s right to like Picasso’s work; it’s also his right to admire the work of any anti-Picasso. Picasso’s painting is not the aesthetic of communism, neither is the art of Taslitsky. There is no compulsory style. Does this mean that Marxism excludes the aesthetic by Picasso or anyone else? Not at all. Marxism is not a prison, but a point of view.”⁴ The above quotations give the impression of communism as a system in which social and political engagement was followed by freedom in the field of aesthetics. For this reason, the modernists might feel comfortable in the new regime, especially as Picasso was the guarantee of their freedom.

The East-Central European artists and critics seemed to perceive Picasso as the guarantee of freedom; they were aware of the necessity of social metamorphoses in the context of the tragedy of war and wanted to take part in the process. They also wanted to stay in touch with the modernist tradition born in Paris. These dilemmas were expressed by Jindřich Chalupecký, a Czech critic and editor of the periodical *Letters*. Czechoslovakia faced—as Chalupecký put it—the civilizational choice between Eastern socialism and Western modernism. Nevertheless, as he argued, none must be rejected, because it is possible to combine both directions.⁵ The art of Picasso and the poetry of Paul Eluard were examples of accepting socialism in art. Neither involved abandoning the achievement of modernism. Socialism as the only way of extricating humanity from a deep crisis should not exclude human heritage; rather it should make use of it. In Poland, a similar point of view was presented by the artists associated with the Group of Young Artists and the critics accompanying them. Tadeusz Kantor and Mieczysław Porębski, the most important Polish artist and art critic of the time, wrote in a text, which was also the manifesto of the Group of Young Artists: “For those of us who, in the darkest times of the occupation, stood by the writers and poets of the cultural resistance movement, Picasso’s *Guernica* became the most amazing human

⁴ R. Garaudy, “Umělci bez uniformy,” *Zivot* 7–8 (1946).

⁵ J. Chalupecký, “Kultura a politika,” *Listy* 3 (1946).

manifestation.”⁶ These artists perceived Picasso as the new model of art postulated by the communist ideologists. They perceived the Spaniard’s avant-garde style, which was born with cubism as the announcement of the new realism, which was to be more obvious and more simple than the realism of the time. Mieczysław Porębski wrote as much with reference to nineteenth-century realism. He added that a new realism was being created, one that was a synthesis of all the ravings of surrealism and used all the means of expressionism in order to follow the coming reality.

So, the art of Picasso, with *Guernica* as its most important masterpiece, is a synthesis of all the trends of modern art and may be the reflection of the real demand of the new era. The notion of a new era was understood as the comprehensive reality born after the horror of the war. In the shadow of catastrophe, humanity and its environment could no longer be described in academic language. It was only modernism with its expressionist means and deformations of superficial viewpoints that was able to touch the core of reality. This was the point of what Porębski described as intensified realism.

German surrealist and critic Heinz Trökes described Picasso’s art in a similar way, calling it spiritual realism. Referring to *Guernica* and the war pictures by Picasso, he wrote: “At a time when everyone is deprived of humanity and humanist convictions, Picasso does not create the portraits of individuals, but pictures of disintegrated women with their faces broken by tears, resting on armchairs, with their faces showing eyes on their foreheads broken by fear, eyes that would call for help from somewhere on another planet. These are the pictures of our time.”⁷ Trökes’s article is one of the points of view expressed in the discussion held in the East German periodical *Bildende Kunst*. The debate touched the problem of modernist art and abstract art. Heinz Trökes’s point of view was not a dominant one in the discussion. The main opinion expressed was that of Heinz Lüdecke, who summed up the discussion.⁸ The author described Picasso as a decadent artist, but he underlined that this was not an insulting definition; his art was simply connected to the decadent phase of the bourgeoisie, following the Marxist thesis that consciousness is defined by existence.

6 T. Kantor and M. Porębski, “Grupa Młodych Plastyków po raz drugi,” *Twórczość* 9 (1946).

7 H. Trökes, “Moderne Kunst und Zeitbewusstsein,” *Bildende Kunst* 3 (1948).

8 H. Lüdecke, “Die Entwickelung der bürgerlichen Kunst,” *Bildende Kunst* 5 (1948).

The discussion on the place of modernist and abstract art in the new socialist world was also held in the art periodicals in Hungary. Here, too, the name Picasso often appeared in various arguments. On the one hand, his art was described as the product of the decadent order of bourgeois society. In this spirit, János Kurta András wrote his text “Abstract Art in the People’s Democracy.”⁹ On the other hand, other critics, such as Porębski and Trókes, focused on the expression of new realism. Such a point of view was presented by the critic connected with the Hungarian European School, Ernő Kállai, in his response to András’s text: “Attention! The show!”¹⁰ In his opinion, *Guernica* and the war pictures announced the “splendid return of realism.”

The critics, close to the modernist movement in the four Middle European countries, perceived Picasso as an exceptional person—a proleftist artist able to express his engagement in the nontraditional form, the synthesis of several avant-garde trends. They described the form as a new realism, which refers perfectly to the condition of humanity after the catastrophe of war. *Guernica* and the other war pictures proved that there was no space for “art for art’s sake” in Picasso’s work, but the reference to the horrific realities of war and people’s lives was achieved in a sensitive manner.

Before we analyze the response of artists to the above critical expressions, let us ask what were the sources of knowledge about Picasso and his art at the time? The main sources were reproductions in magazines and newspapers. Art periodicals such as *Blok*, *Zivot*, *Bildende Kunst*, *Szabad Művészet*, and *Głos Plastyków* printed pictures by Picasso. There were only two exhibitions with Picasso’s paintings organized in East-Central Europe at the time. In spring 1947, a French-Hungarian exhibition took place in Budapest. Six works by Picasso were presented there alongside the works of other French painters, such as Matisse and Pignon. The most interesting show was “The Art of Republican Spain,” which took place in Prague and Brno in 1946. Even though the exhibition in Czechoslovakia was not a solo show of Picasso’s work, it was a unique opportunity to see the recent pieces by the Spaniard at that time and in that region. Nine oil paintings dating from between 1939 and 1945, as well as seven graphic works, dominated and overshadowed the works of others participants—young Spanish artists. The ideological con-

⁹ J. K. András, “Abstract Art in People’s Democracy?” *Szabad Szó*, 16 June 1946.

¹⁰ E. Kállai, “Attention! The Show!” *Szabad Szó*, 23 June 1946.

text of the exhibition needs to be emphasized.¹¹ In the catalog, as well as in official speeches, the anti-Nazi character of the Spaniards' art, especially of the author of *Guernica*, was firmly stressed. The government was represented by the communist minister, the head of propaganda, Vaclav Kopecky.¹² The exhibition took place ahead of the general election, in which the Communist Party emerged as the most powerful group.

In Poland, there was no way of coming into direct contact with Picasso's work, except one occasion, in 1948, when Picasso came to Poland. Although Pablo Picasso was one of the most important guests of the Peace Congress in Wrocław in 1948, initially inspired by Stalin,¹³ there was an attempt to avoid showing his paintings. It is true that a small exhibition of his work was organized, though it only showed ceramics, presenting the artist as a craftsman whose incomprehensible paintings had changed into the products of a pottery workshop.¹⁴ Picasso's ceramics were not what his Polish admirers had expected to see. At that time, a retrospective exhibition of his work could have become an unforgettable artistic event, according to Helen Syrkusowa, an architect associated with modernism, who took care of Picasso during his visit to Poland. "But there was no attempt to organize an exhibition of his work, nor even a lecture or meeting with students of architecture, sculpture or painting."¹⁵ The artist was honored by the state with high distinctions presented by the president, but at the same time he was isolated from the environment of contemporary artists.¹⁶ Apt is the story, quoted by Francoise Gilot, about how during the official congressional dinner, a Russian accused Picasso of cultivating decadence in art in his "impressionist-surrealist" style.¹⁷ Such opinions marked the starting point of an increas-

¹¹ Pavel Štěpánek wrote about what went on backstage of the show: P. Štěpánek, "Španělští umělci pařížské školy v Praze i Brně 1946," *Bulletin Moravské Galerie v Brně* (1994).

¹² Španělští umělci Pařížské školy v Praze 1946 (Národní galerie v Praze, 1994).

¹³ Unpublished note by Jerzy Borejsza Jr., quoted by Dorota Folga-Januszewska in D. Folga-Januszewska, *Picasso. Przemiany/Changes* (Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 2002), 12; about the roots of the Peace Congress in Wrocław, see also Z. Woźniczka, "Wrocławski Kongres Intelektualistów w obronie pokoju," *Kwartalnik historyczny* 2 (1987): 131–57.

¹⁴ Pablo Picasso about his stay in Poland in *Głos Ludu. Pismo Polskiej Partii Robotniczej*, 29 August 1948; *Ceramika. Pablo Picasso we Wrocławiu* (Wrocław: 1948).

¹⁵ M. Biborowski, ed., *Picasso w Polsce* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1979): 92.

¹⁶ Pablo Picasso spent fourteen days in Poland, apart from his presence on the Peace Congress, he also visited Warsaw, Cracow, and Auschwitz-Birkenau. For a detailed schedule of Picasso's stay in Poland, see *Picasso w Polsce*, 21–22.

¹⁷ F. Gilot, *Life with Picasso* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), 207.