London Art History Society Review 2016

affiliated to Birkbeck Art History Society

IN THIS ISSUE

Celebrating the art of Giovanni Bellini
Shakespeare in Art
Restoration of S. Maria Antiqua in Rome
Paul Nash: was he a surrealist?
Conservation at the National Gallery
Georgia O'Keeffe
London Art History Society: Programme 2016-2017

Contents

3 'Very old, but still the best in painting': celebrating the Art of Giovanni Bellini
Caroline Campbell

5 Shakespeare in Art
Robin Simon

8 Buried treasure exposed: the riches of S. Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum
Eileen Rubery

10 Paul Nash: was he a surrealist?
David Boyd Haycock

12 Conservation at the National Gallery and the Second World War
Morwenna Blewett

14 Georgia O'Keeffe
Tanya Barson

16 London Art History Society: Programme 2016-2017

From the Editor

We have marked two special celebrations this year: the five-hundredth anniversary of the death of Giovanni Bellini with an appreciation by the curator responsible for fifteenth-century Italian painting at the National Gallery, Caroline Campbell; and the four-hundredth anniversary of William Shakespeare's death with a look at how his plays inspired artists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by Robin Simon, who has written extensively on eighteenth-century art and the theatre.

Another notable event this year has been the opening of the early Christian church of S. Maria Antiqua in Rome, recounted by Eileen Rubery, who has studied its ancient frescoes. David Boyd Haycock questions whether or not Paul Nash was a surrealist in the light of this autumn's exhibition at Tate Britain. The pioneering of scientific methods of picture restoration at the National Gallery in the Second World War is described by Morwenna Blewett, a paintings conservator at the Gallery.

And finally, we mark a major retrospective of the work of American artist Georgia O'Keeffe at Tate Modern this summer.

I would like to express my appreciation to our contributors for such interesting articles, to the National Gallery, the Tate and other organisations for their help, and to my colleagues on the Editorial Panel.

Barrie MacDonald

Views expressed are not necessarily those of the editor or the editorial panel. Every effort has been made to trace and acknowledge copyright of illustrations used.

London Art History Society Review: ISSN 2059-8718
Our website, www.londonarthistorysociety.org.uk, includes our programme of activities and past issues of the *Review*

London Art History Society

affiliated to Birkbeck Art History Society, and formerly known as ULEMHAS

President: William Vaughan; Vice Presidents: Clare Ford-Wille, John McNeill

Committee

Chairman & Treasurer ..... John Dunlop
Deputy Chairman ..... Anne Scott
Secretary ..... Rosemary Clarke
Membership Secretary ..... Edward Cox
Lecture Programme Organiser ..... Sue Anstruther
Short Courses Coordinator ..... Jacqueline Leigh
Study Events Coordinator ..... Maggie Stockton
Study Tours Coordinator ..... Michael Pearson
Donations Administrator ..... Robert Gwynne
Webmaster ..... Dr Andrew Gray
Editor, *Review* ..... Barrie MacDonald
Birkbeck Liaison ..... Sue Stern
Members ..... Malcolm Armstrong
..... Lois Garnier
..... Susan Nettle
..... Daphne Taylor

The Review Editorial Panel

Editor ..... Barrie MacDonald
Deputy Editor ..... Patricia Braun
Secretary ..... Rosemary Clarke
Members ..... Jacqueline Leigh
..... Liz Newlands
..... John Peacock

Contacts

Enquiries about membership should be addressed to Edward Cox: 30 King Henry's Road, London NW3 3RP, or email: membership@londonarthistorysociety.org.uk.

General enquiries, comments and suggestions should be sent to the Chairman, John Dunlop: email: chairman@londonarthistorysociety.org.uk; or to Rosemary Clarke: 11 Granville Road, London N22 5LP, or email: secretary@londonarthistorysociety.org.uk.

Comments about the *Review* should be addressed to the Editor: email: review@londonarthistorysociety.org.uk.

FRONT COVER: *Giovanni Bellini, Doge Leonardo Loredan, 1501-2. Oil on poplar, 61.6 x 45.1 cm. © The National Gallery, London*

'Very old, but still the best in painting'[1]: celebrating the art of Giovanni Bellini

Caroline Campbell

On 29th November 1516, the Venetian diarist Marin Sanudo (1466-1536) marked the death of Giovanni Bellini, 'the great painter'.[2] Now, in the five-hundredth anniversary year of his death, Bellini's life and work still remain worthy of celebration. Bellini was, by any account, one of the greatest painters of his day. But – unlike many of his contemporaries, including his brother Gentile – his fame has not merely endured but greatly increased in the half-millennium since his death. His works are to be found in every major museum devoted to European art, where they are much admired by visitors, who revere his use of colour, and ability to convey powerful emotion in straightforwardly-visual terms. Yet who was Giovanni Bellini, and why is he an artist who continues to appeal to the art lover of the twenty-first century?

Bellini, like the diarist who recorded his death, was first and foremost a Venetian. He lived as a citizen of Venice, although exactly when he was born and to whom has for long been a subject of debate. The fact that he is not mentioned in the 1471 will of Anna Rinversi, the wife of Jacopo Bellini (Giovanni's presumed father) and that the art historian Giorgio Vasari referred to Jacopo's daughter Nicolosa (who married Andrea Mantegna) as the 'sister of Gentile', not Giovanni, has given rise to the suggestion that Giovanni was illegitimate. Most recently, the art historian Daniel Maze has argued that Giovanni was not Jacopo's son, but his younger brother, and that he was born as early as the middle years of the 1420s.[3] It is unlikely that we will ever fully know the answer: the documentary record is incomplete regarding many details of the artist's life and work. However, in many ways, Giovanni's actual parentage does not matter as much as it might when considering his artistic formation and development. What does matter – and what is incontrovertible – is that Jacopo Bellini brought him up and trained him, in conjunction with his son Gentile; that Giovanni and Gentile considered themselves as brothers; and that both saw Jacopo as their father, in artistic as well as personal terms.

Whenever and to whomever Giovanni Bellini was born, he trained in Venice, with Jacopo Bellini. Giovanni seems to have left Venice and its immediate environs very rarely – perhaps only once – and his art is fundamentally rooted in the island city and the landscape immediately visible from it. Apart from Venice itself, the other constant in Giovanni's life and art was his family: Jacopo, Gentile, his presumed brother-in-law Andrea Mantegna, and those friends and associates connected to the Bellini clan.

Giovanni Bellini's works are imbued with reverence and respect for the talents of his probable father, Jacopo. Jacopo is one of the most important yet under-appreciated artists of the fifteenth century, perhaps because very few of his paintings survive. The two books of drawings by him and his workshop, now in the British Museum and the Musée du Louvre, reveal

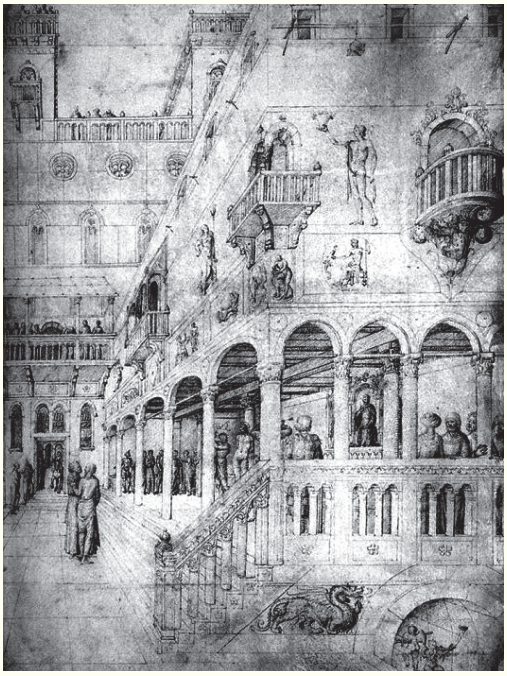

Fig. 1: Jacopo Bellini, The Flagellation, c.1450. Leadpoint on parchment, 426 x 286 mm. © Musée du Louvre, Paris

him as one of the transformative designers of the Renaissance. These volumes, which functioned as compendia of ideas for the artist and his workshop, show complicated narrative scenes, such as *The Flagellation* (Fig. 1), placed within yet more complex architectural and landscape settings. They are unlike anything else to be found in fifteenth-century art, and access to these precious works was strictly limited to the Bellini brothers and their associates. It is likely that Gentile took the book now in the Louvre with him to Constantinople, where he was sent by the Venetian Republic in response to Sultan Mehmed II's request for a good painter; the second book he bequeathed to Giovanni, his 'dearest brother' on condition that the latter completed Gentile's painting of *Saint Mark Preaching in a Square in Alexandria in Egypt* (today in the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan) for the confraternity dedicated to Mark, Venice's patron saint.

Giovanni's closest relationship seems to have been with his brother, Gentile, and they often worked together, as Gentile's will suggests. Both were adept in the architectural design which dominated in Jacopo's books of drawings – essential for the sorts of narrative paintings which provided much of their income and their work. Sadly, the most important of these pictorial cycles, those in the Doge's Palace, were destroyed in a disastrous fire in 1577. We still have some sense of Giovanni and Gentile's skills in group portraiture from the monumental canvases they painted for a number of Venice's *Scuole*, or lay confraternities (bodies which played a uniquely important role in Venetian civic life), including Gentile's *Miracles of the Cross* series for the Scuola

Fig. 2: Giovanni Bellini, The Madonna of the Meadow, c.1500. Oil and egg on synthetic panel, transferred from wood, 67.3 x 86.4 cm. © The National Gallery, London

di San Giovanni Evangelista (today in the Accademia, Venice) and Giovanni's completion of Gentile's *Saint Mark Preaching in a Square in Alexandria in Egypt* for the Scuola Grande di San Marco (his earlier work for the Scuola being destroyed by fire in 1485). Although the brothers must have operated a joint workshop for these large-scale projects, they were both producing paintings in their own distinctive styles as early as the 1460s.

Soon, Giovanni was developing the talents which several commentators, including the humanist Felice Feliciano (writing in the 1470s), considered marked him as one of the greatest painters in the world. Unlike Gentile, whose artistic abilities were limited by his obsession with capturing minute details as precisely as possible, Giovanni used his close observation – whether of people or the natural world – to move beyond the mimetic to the poetic. Despite his respect for family and tradition, Giovanni was a great innovator. His landscapes, although as ordered as his father's and brother's, are naturalistic rather than mannered, and his figures are monumental, influenced by sculpture, but also human and believable. Giovanni's originality can be measured both in terms of technical skill – he was one of the first Italian painters to become really adept in the use of oil as their primary painting media – and in subject matter, whether Christian, mythological, or his own world. And few artists have surpassed his use of complementary, impactful colour.

Giovanni's relationship with Mantegna was complex: in the 1450s and 60s he worked more closely with, and in emulation of Andrea, who had trained in Padua, and whose work is more imbued with a reverence for Greek and Roman antiquity than that of any other fifteenth-century artist. Some commentators felt that Mantegna's powers of invention were later on far superior to those of his younger brother-in-law – and it seems clear that Giovanni too worried that this was the case. In a few years, visitors to the National Gallery will have the opportunity to consider this relationship afresh, and the mutual anxieties it caused both Bellini and Mantegna, as we are working on an exhibition devoted to the creative exchange between these painters.

As the curator responsible for fifteenth-century Italian painting at the National Gallery in London, I am privileged to look after one of the best groups of pictures by Giovanni Bellini to be found anywhere in the world. Our collection encompasses narrative pictures, private devotional works, and incisive portraiture. Bellini is one of the artists with whom I most appreciate spending time, and almost every morning, before the Gallery opens to the public, I can be found looking at his paintings, most regularly *The Agony in the Garden, The Madonna of the Meadow* (Fig. 2) or *Doge Leonardo Loredan* (Front Cover). What touches me most about Bellini, and makes me return to him day after day, is his ability to make the unbelievable seem real, whether in his portrayal of Venice's Head of State, the Doge, as a gaunt, failing and very human ruler; or in his depiction of Mary's contemplation of her infant son, in awareness, it seems, of his future passion and death, set in a rural landscape which recalls the plains surrounding Venice. I know that I am far from alone in my love for Giovanni Bellini's paintings. I am probably, far more than I know, influenced by the great nineteenth-century critic John Ruskin who evokes, better than any other writer, Bellini's use of the prosaic and ordinary to convey the spiritual. For Ruskin, Bellini was not long dead, but alive, and in possession of no common knowledge, being one who 'knows the earth well, paints it to the full and to the smallest fig-leaf and falling flower, – blue hill and white-walled city – glittering robe and golden hair; … and then, so far as with his poor human lips he may declare it, … proclaims "that heaven is bright"'.[4] In Giovanni Bellini's pictures we all, like Ruskin before us, may glimpse something truly inspired, whatever our faith and whatever our creed.

Caroline Campbell is the Jacob Rothschild Head of the Curatorial Department at the National Gallery, London. Educated at University College, Oxford and The Courtauld Institute of Art, she has also worked at The Courtauld Gallery and The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. She has published widely in the field of Italian Renaissance art and its reception, and curated many exhibitions, including Duccio/Caro *(2015);* Building the Picture *(2014; with Amanda Lillie);* Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence *(2009) and* Bellini and the East *(2005-06). She is currently working on an exhibition project about Andrea Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini.*

Notes

1. Albrecht Dűrer, 'Letter to Willibald Pirckheimer, Venice, 7 Feb. 1506', in *The Writings of Albrecht Dürer*, translated and edited by William Martin Conway (London: Peter Owen, 1958), p. 48.
2. Marin Sanudo, *Venice: Città Excelentíssíma: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, translated by Linda L. Carroll (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), p. 456.
3. Daniel Wallace Maze, 'Giovanni Bellini: Birth, Parentage, and Independence', in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 66, No. 3 (Fall 2013), pp. 783-823.
4. John Ruskin, *The Works of John Ruskin*, edited by E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn. Library Edition, Vol. VI; *Modern Painters*, Vol. IV (London: George Allen, 1904), p. 53.

Shakespeare in Art

Robin Simon

Fig. 1: William Hogarth, David Garrick as Richard III, 1745. Oil on canvas, 190.5 x 250.8 cm. © Walker Art Gallery, National Museums, Liverpool

There is a question to ask when looking at a painting of a Shakespearian subject: 'But is it Shakespeare?' The greatest of them all, *David Garrick as Richard III* by William Hogarth, is a case in point (Fig. 1). The picture is still referred to as illustrating Shakespeare's play *King Richard III*,[1] but it does not. Instead, it illustrates a very different text, *The Tragical History of King Richard III. Alter'd from Shakespear* by Colley Cibber. As a matter of fact, from 1699, when it was first performed, Cibber's play was the only Richard III represented upon the English stage until 1877, when Shakespeare's original was revived by Henry Irving, although it was not until the twentieth century that Shakespeare's own text came to be much used. Even now, elements of Cibber's irresistible confection remain in use, as had been the case with Irving's revival, and in 1955 the credits at the opening of Laurence Olivier's film of his own definitive performance as Richard III include 'With some interpolations by David Garrick, Colley Cibber etc.'.

Olivier's famous soliloquy opens 'Now is the winter of our discontent', which is what Shakespeare intended, but for nearly two hundred years the phrase was never heard on the stage, because Cibber cut it out. It is almost the only authentic element of Olivier's soliloquy, because he followed Cibber in vastly expanding the speech with lines lifted from the preceding history play, *Henry VI*, Part 3. Overall, two-thirds of Cibber's own adapted version is by Shakespeare, but extensively using words extracted from other plays, including *Henry V* and *Richard II*. One third is pure Cibber, and it includes some of the most famous lines associated with Richard III, such as 'Off with his head. So much for Buckingham' and 'Richard's himself again'.

One of the enduring changes wrought by Cibber is the 'tent scene' in which Hogarth painted Garrick. Here, Cibber substituted one tent for the two at either side of the stage that Shakespeare stipulated. One was for Richard, one for Richmond, the adversaries who are to meet in battle in the morning. Nowadays *Richard III* is still usually played with one tent and Richard alone, the original reason for which was the acute discomfort felt by Cibber and his contemporaries at Shakespeare's flouting of the unities of time, place and action. According to European theory, reaching back to Aristotle, a play and each individual scene within it should show one action, in one place, at one particular time. Shakespeare cheerfully ignored the unities, but painting, which was widely understood to have a close interdependent relationship with the theatre, was also supposed to observe them.

These theories had been refined at the French Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture from the 1660s onwards and Hogarth's composition is, in addition to being a portrait of an individual actor in a particular role, an academic exercise in what the French academy had defined as the highest form of art, a 'history'. The term simply means the depiction of an action that took place in the past. Crucially, however, such a painting had to interpret a few, very specific, lines of a text, the accepted stature of which would lend the whole operation the desired air of authenticity. In practice, this meant taking inspiration from the Bible and classical epics, although certain revered authors of the modern age, such as Torquato Tasso (*Gerusalemme Liberata*), came to be acknowledged as providing suitable sources. Hogarth was aggressively concerned all his life to assert the values of British culture, and so he turned to Shakespeare, more or less strictly defined.

Fig. 2: William Hogarth, Falstaff Examining his Recruits, 1730. Oil on canvas, 49.5 x 58.5 cm. Private collection

Fig. 3: Johan Zoffany, David Garrick and Mrs Pritchard in Macbeth, 1768. Oil on canvas, 102 x 127.5 cm.
© Garrick Club, London

David Garrick as Richard III was not Hogarth's first exercise in Shakespearian art, which was to become one of the major genres not only in Britain but, especially during the Romantic period, throughout continental Europe and America. Hogarth initiated this new genre in 1730, the date he signed *Falstaff Examining his Recruits* (Fig. 2), a painting that subsequently belonged to Garrick. The picture is still referred to as showing Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Part 2, Act III, Scene ii,[2] but (again) it does not. When Hogarth went to the theatre, where he sketched this scene directly from the live performance (the drawing is in the Royal Collection), almost certainly on the night of 30 December 1728, he was recording Act III of Thomas Betterton's very different version of the play,[3] *The Sequel of Henry the Fourth. With the Humours of Sir John Falstaffe, And Justice Shallow* (1704, published posthumously in 1721): the original was not revived until 1736. The lines illustrated show Falstaff releasing two of his recruits while, behind his back, Bardolph is handing him a three-pound bribe to do so.[4]

Hogarth accurately portrayed individual actors in both these paintings,[5] making a decisive break with academic convention, which had dictated that contemporary individual likenesses would not be identifiable in a history picture: art, it was generally agreed, was supposed to rise from the particular to the general – to the ideal. The double nature of Hogarth's paintings – portraits of actors in action but also history paintings – is a measure of Hogarth's originality. His innovation was to be perfected by Johan Zoffany, who was often commissioned by David Garrick to record his performances, including that for Mrs Pritchard's farewell in *Macbeth* in 1768 (Fig. 3). Since Zoffany had a continental academic training, he was scrupulous in referring to specific lines of a scene in all his theatre paintings. Here, he shows Lady Macbeth rebuking her husband, immediately after she has said the words 'Infirm of purpose!':

Give me the daggers…
I'll gild the faces of the grooms withal,
For it must seem their guilt.

But in another version of the painting, Zoffany showed the action a few moments before this, as Lady Macbeth begins, 'Why did you bring the daggers from the place?' Zoffany made minute changes in the gestures and expressions of the actors in order to make it quite clear.[6]

As we can see, Garrick played Macbeth not in any approximation of Scottish costume but in contemporary Georgian court dress. The next generation, and notably John Philip Kemble at Drury Lane Theatre, began to explore historical authenticity on the stage in terms both of costume and settings. But that authenticity did not extend to the use of Shakespeare's own texts. In *Coriolanus*, for example, even while Kemble was employing the antiquarian John Carter in 1788–9 to design historically accurate sets of ancient Rome (Fig. 4)[7], the play he was putting on was drastically adapted from Shakespeare's. In Kemble's version, the first three acts were heavily cut and the last two put together by drawing extensively upon the earlier adaptation of James Thomson of 1749, not least to enhance the role of Volumnia for his sister Mrs Siddons – hence Kemble's title, *Coriolanus or, The Roman Matron*. Kemble himself was famously immortalised in the role in Thomas Lawrence's portrait (Guildhall Art Gallery), and there too he is portrayed in a scene of his own, not Shakespeare's. Kemble's version was the *Coriolanus* known to audiences for most of the 19th century.

In the Romantic period, any doubts about the supremacy of Shakespeare vanished. The 'naturalism' of his construction and the emotionalism of his drama were embraced throughout Europe. At the same time, adherence to the rules governing academic history painting was loosened or abandoned. Instead, artists became historically minded but in a completely different sense, encouraged by the apparently authentic historical novels of Sir Walter Scott, who was Shakespeare's only rival in Europe-wide popularity. This new approach is exemplified in the extraordinary fascination with two of the victims of Richard III, the princes murdered in the Tower. The unnervingly popular paintings of them on, or in, a bed, awaiting murder or being murdered, include that of Paul Delaroche of 1830 (Fig. 5), the creepiest

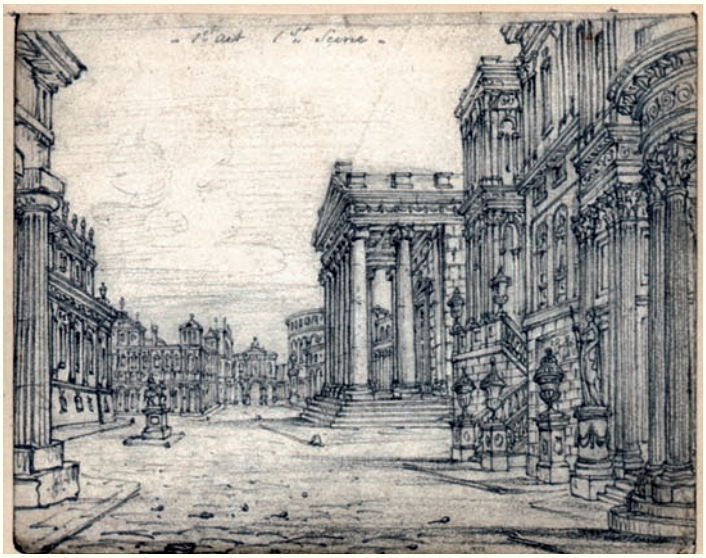

Fig. 4: John Carter, Design for Coriolanus or, The Roman Matron, Act 1, Scene i, 'A Street in Rome', 1788-9. Graphite on paper, 9.5 x 12.2 cm. Private collection

Fig. 5: Paul Delaroche, Les Enfants d'Eduoard, 1830. Oil on canvas, 181 x 215 cm. © Musée du Louvre, Paris

detail of which is the light and shadow under the door detected by the little dog.[8] It does not show a scene in Shakespeare, where the princes are murdered off stage between Scenes ii and iii of Act IV, an event described in the most poetical manner by the murderers.[9] Delaroche's painting influenced Sir John Everett Millais in his picture (in the Royal Holloway College),[10] both in the figures of the princes and in showing a murderous shadow cast upon the wall of the staircase.

These two paintings show that the once all-important relationship between text and artistic interpretation had been broken, to be replaced, as in both these haunting images, by a new genre: not history, but historical, painting – the imaginative reconstruction of a scene that might, in the light of historical research, have taken place. We are, it must be said, some way from Shakespeare, but that is the point. Once his plays swept Europe in the Romantic period it was often episodes or characters that Shakespeare had created that became important rather than the plays themselves; just as Scott's novels gave rise to a host of paintings about Mary, Queen of Scots, that came to have little relation to the texts he had written. And indeed, when we look back at the eighteenth century, it had been rare indeed that paintings depicted the unadapted work of Shakespeare.

There is another point to make. Delaroche's characteristically hyperrealistic presentation is not, as has anachronistically been said, 'photorealistic'. Rather, his compositions are conceived in the manner of a *tableau vivant* or moment of heightened drama upon the stage. In a further twist, given the fact that Shakespearian painting had begun with recording performances in the theatre, Delaroche's painting in turn gave rise to a new play, in a complete reversal of the traditional academic process. In the final, terrifying scene of Casimir Delavigne's *Les Enfants d'Edouard* of 1833,[11] the door that we see in the painting is flung open. According to the stage direction, 'The door suddenly opens as they are embracing each other.' Enter Richard III, who orders the princes to be killed: 'Achevez' ('Do it'). 'The two assassins rush with a horrible cry towards the children, who are cowering on the bed.' Curtain.

Robin Simon FSA, DLitt, MA is Editor of The British Art Journal *and Honorary Professor of English, University College London. His books include* Hogarth, France and British Art: The rise of the arts in eighteenth-century Britain *(2007) and (with Martin Postle),* Richard Wilson and the Transformation of European Landscape Painting *(2014). Contributions to books and catalogues include chapters in* Johan Zoffany RA: Society Observed *(2011) and* The Stage's Glory: John Rich 1692–1761 *(2011). He was Paul Mellon Lecturer in British Art 2013 (Yale and London) on the theme 'Painters and Players from Hogarth to Olivier'. His new history of the Royal Academy of Arts is to be published in 2017.*

Notes

1. For example, M. Hallett & C. Riding, *Hogarth*, exh. cat. (London: Tate, 2007), cat. nos. 105, 106; Jane Martineau, et al., *Shakespeare in Art*, exh. cat. (London: Merrell, 2003), p. 12, fig. 3. For the identification of Cibber's play as the relevant text and performance see Robin Simon, 'Hogarth's Shakespeare', in *Apollo*, CIX (March 1979), pp. 213–20, and, for an extended discussion, Robin Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art: The rise of the arts in eighteenth-century Britain* (London: Holberton, 2007), ch. 6.
2. Hallet & Riding, cat. 37, p. 68; Martineau et al., cat. 1, p. 52.
3. Not numbered in scenes, but the opening scene.
4. Two remaining recruits, Feeble and Shadow, are stage left; Mouldy and Bulcalfe are about to leave, stage right. Shallow, played by none other than Colley Cibber, in buff jerkin and holding a quill pen, shows that he is taken aback by their dismissal.
5. In addition to Cibber, John Harper is seen as Falstaff, for example. As if to prove he could do it if he tried, in the late 1730s Hogarth painted *The Tempest* (Nostell Priory, Winn Collection) not from any stage performance (at the time, the play was only seen in the form of a vastly adapted musical) but by reference to Shakespeare's original text. Nor did he portray individual actors, but instead developed, in the best academic manner, characterisations created from his study of the text, choosing specifically Shakespeare's Act I, scene ii, lines 424–6. See Simon, 2007, pp. 74ff.
6. See Robin Simon, '"Strong Impressions of their art": Zoffany & the Theatre', in M. Postle, ed., *Johan Zoffany RA: Society Observed*, exh. cat. (New Haven and London: Yale Center for British Art, Royal Academy of Arts, 2011), pp. 50-73, and cat. 28.
7. Not, strictly speaking, ancient enough, as the sets showed Augustan Rome rather than the city that Coriolanus might have known in the 5th century BC.
8. It is a fact that Cibber's version of *Richard III* published in 1700 includes this scene and detail, although it was subsequently cut:

   EDWARD: Hark! What noise is that?
   I thought I heard someone upon the stairs! …
   Bless me! A light too thro' the door! Look there!
9. The actual murder had originally been inserted by Cibber but was cut after 1701, which did not prevent its being advertised as an attraction in later playbills.
10. By this date, a small version of Delaroche's painting had entered the Wallace Collection in London.
11. The published text is dedicated 'A Mon Ami, Paul Delaroche' and his play uses the correct title of Delaroche's painting.

Buried treasure exposed: the riches of S. Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum

Eileen Rubery

Fig. 1: The procession of the icon of Mary along the Via Sacra. Photograph © the author

At about five o'clock on the evening of Tuesday 15 March 2016, in a historic, medieval-style procession (Fig. 1), an ancient miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary, known variously as the 'Madonna di San Luca' or the 'Madonna of Compassion' was translated along the Via Sacra from the church of S. Francesca Romana at the edge of the Roman Forum, to its probable original sixth-century home in the church of S. Maria Antiqua at the foot of the Palatine Hill, just beyond the three remaining columns of the Temple of Castor. This event, preceded at S. Francesca Romana by a service attended by a packed congregation, anticipated by two days the opening of a unique exhibition in the ancient buildings of the S. Maria Antiqua complex nestling in the shadow of the Palatine Hill.

The church of S. Maria Antiqua is a unique survivor from the sixth century. Established in Domitianic buildings and probably originally functioning as the gatehouse to the Palatine and its imperial palaces, it remains linked to the Palatine Hill by a substantial ramp that snakes its way up the left side of the nave to the top of the Palatine Hill where the original imperial palaces were situated. Probably originally owned by the Byzantine Empire, by the eighth century it functioned as a deaconry under papal control, while records in the *Liber Pontificalis* suggest that by the mid-ninth century the functional responsibilities of this ancient church were transferred to a new church, S. Maria Nova (the church now known as S. Francesca Romana).[1] But when, by the second millennium, the floor of the Forum had risen, the church became so completely buried that its existence was more or less completely forgotten, so much so that, during the Renaissance, another church, S. Maria Liberatrice, was constructed on top of part of the original site.[2]

However, in 1702, workmen digging nearby unexpectedly fell down a hole and found themselves inside what was clearly the nave of an ancient church. As a contemporary watercolour (Fig. 2) shows and a record in the diary of the antiquarian, Francesco Velasio, reports, within this space the workmen could see numerous frescoes, sometimes with several layers of images superimposed one on top of another.[3] Above the apsidal conch was a large fresco of the Crucifixion, depicted as an Adoration of the Cross. The apsidal conch itself contained an imposing image of Christ, flanked on his right by a figure with a square halo being presented to Christ by the Virgin Mary and identified in an inscription as Pope Paul.[4]

Notwithstanding the considerable interest generated by the discovery, after about three months the site was refilled and closed. Interest, however, revived at the end of the nineteenth century when the site of the church of S. Maria Antiqua, known to exist somewhere close to the Forum from references in pilgrim itineraries and in the *Liber Pontificalis*, became the subject of heated discussion. Permission to pull down S. Maria Liberatrice and excavate beneath it was obtained.[5]

So in 1900, the entire site of the ancient church of S. Maria Antiqua was exposed, including the original apse and conch.[6] Many of the walls were still covered with frescoes. In some places several layers survived, one on top of another, and fractional fresco loss, almost miraculously, often enabled the iconography of the images at several levels to be deduced. Most famously, on the right side of the apsidal arch the iconography of at least four different layers could be seen – forming the famous 'palimpsest wall' (Fig. 3).[7] Although the roof had, not unexpectedly, been almost entirely lost, the architectural structure of the rest of the church had survived to such an extent that it was possible to more or less reconstruct the entire building, thus permitting us to rediscover the way a church of the ninth century was organised. Crucially, in the small chapel to the left of the main sanctuary, a fresco from the eighth century identified the space as part of the church of S. Maria Antiqua, thus confirming the suspected name of the church (Fig. 4).

Fig. 2: S. Maria Antiqua when re-discovered in 1702. Watercolour. Archivo storico communale di Roma, Rome

Fig. 3: The 'Palimpsest wall' of frescoes in S. Maria Antiqua. Photograph © the author

But why do we think the icon that was processed back to S. Maria Antiqua originally came from this church? There are two reasons. First of all, the name of the church. Although called Antiqua, we know that it is not the most ancient Marian church in Rome. That honour unequivocally goes to the church of S. Maria Maggiore, established to mark the outcome of the Council of Chalcedon of 451 which declared Mary to be the 'Mother of God' (Theotokos in Greek) not simply the 'Mother of Christ' (or Christotokos). It was Richard Krautheimer who had the clever idea that here the term 'antiqua' did not refer to the church but to an ancient icon of Mary, worshipped in the church as a cult object.[8] He went on to propose that the icon now held at S. Francesca Romana was the most probable candidate. This icon had only been discovered in the 1950s, when the medieval image of Mary above the altar in that church was undergoing restoration. Secreted behind the panel painting, two fragments, the heads of earlier images of a woman and a child, were found.[9] So it is important to realise that, in the icon processed, only the heads of Mary and the Christ-child (Fig. 6) are from the sixth century; the rest is a contemporary reconstruction that includes the haloes, body, hands and clothes of the two figures. But the head of the woman, with its narrow jaw, small mouth and large eyes with prominent dark pupils and pale hue, clearly places these fragments in the sixth century and from the east. Furthermore, church records of a fire at S. Francesca Romana around the time of Pope Honorius III (1216-1227) and the pilgrim's guide *Mirabilis Urbis Romae* of 1375 describes how, in a miracle, the faces of the Mother and Christ 'painted by S. Luke' had survived a fire and could still be seen in the church.[10] This leads to the reasonable suggestion that the fragments are all that survived that fire and that the present icon over the altar was commissioned to replace the earlier one. Presumably the remaining two fragments of the heads of the two cult figures were placed behind the new icon to symbolise the transfer of the miraculous properties that the original icon was believed to possess.

Fig. 4: Fresco showing that the church is named as SCE DI GENE (tric)I(s) BIRGO MARIA QUI APPELLATUR ANTIQA. Photograph © the author

Fig 5: The icon of Mary and the Christ-child being installed in S. Maria Antiqua, 15 March 2016. Photograph © the author

The fragments are painted in encaustic, a wax-based type of paint frequently used from the first century before Christ up until the first century after the birth of Christ, in the Fayyum area in Egypt, to paint the famous funerary heads for the mummies produced in this area.[11] Encaustic images are also found amongst the early icons (up to around the sixth century) at S. Catherine's monastery in Sinai.[12] Since the records are quite clear that S. Francesca Romana was established as S. Maria Nova in the mid-ninth century, possibly to take over the responsibilities of S. Maria Antiqua following damage from the earthquake of 849, it seems likely that with the transfer of responsibilities between the two churches came also the transfer of the original 'antique' icon.

So the procession of the icon back to its original home as part of the exhibition in the church was indeed a fitting culmination of the restoration work carried out on S. Maria Antiqua over the last twelve years, a large proportion of which was funded by the World Monuments Fund. The completion of this work has already been marked by an international conference, held at the British School at Rome in December, 2013, the proceedings of which are being prepared for publication. The site was opened to the general public during the period of the exhibition held in the spring and summer of 2016. It included ingenious video reconstructions of the complex to give some idea of how the church probably originally looked and also brought together the mosaic fragments from the chapel of Pope John VII (705-707) usually distributed across several churches in Rome. It provided a rare opportunity for the public, students and academics to spend time examining a rich store of late antique and early medieval art and architecture within the S. Maria Antiqua complex.

Exhibition in S. Maria Antiqua, Roman Forum, Rome, 17 March-11 September 2016.

Dr Eileen Rubery has worked in such diverse fields as medical research (at one time Senior Medical Officer at the Department of Health), business and management studies, before becoming an art historian. She completed an MA in Byzantine and Medieval Art at The Courtauld Institute of Art, and has a special interest in the foundations of Christianity and Roman art. She is a Tutor in Art History at the Institute of Continuing Education at the University of Cambridge.

Notes

1. Raymond Davis, 'Benedict III (855-858)', para 22, in *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes* (*Liber Pontificalis*) (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), p. 178 and notes 50 and 51.
2. Wladimir de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique* (Rome: Max Bretschneider, 1911), p. 43.
3. de Grüneisen, (1911) p. 34; Francesco Velasio, *Diario di Roma 1700-1742* (Rome: 1745; reprinted Milan: Longanesi & C, 1977).
4. This must be Pope Paul I (757-767) since Pope Paul II (1464-1471) is well after the closure of the church.
5. S. Maria Liberatrice was re-established in Testaccio, where it can now be visited.
6. For a concise description (in English) of these events and of the site, *see* Gordon Rushforth, 'Saint Mary Antiqua', in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 1 (1902), pp. 1-123.
7. The layers of fresco visible in Fig. 3, starting at the bottom: the two haloed saints against a blue background (S. Basil of Caesarea and S. John Chrysostom) can be dated to the time of Pope Martin I (649-654/5); the enthroned figure of Mary holding the Christ-child and dressed as a Byzantine Empress (on the left of Figure 3) has generally been dated to the mid-sixth century, and the angel on the right offering a crown to the holy couple is part of the same scene. The two haloed saints' heads visible to the right of the head of the crowned Mary are from the time of Pope John VII (705-707). The earliest layer is an annunciation – the body and head of the angel being situated above the halo of the John VII saint on the left, and the head of Mary being situated above the halo of the John VII saint on the right.
8. Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980; reprinted with new foreword, 2000), p. 100.
9. P. Cellini, 'Una Madonna molto antica', in *Proportioni*, III, (1950), 1-6 and Figures I-IX; Eileen Rubery, 'Pope John VII's Devotion to Mary', in *The Origins of the Cult of the Virgin Mary*, ed. Chris Maunder (London: Burns and Oates, 2008) pp. 155-199, esp. pp. 168-70.
10. Hans Belting, *Likeness and presence: a history of the image before the era of art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 537, Text 35.
11. Susan Walker and Morris Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces, Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1997).
12. Kurt Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons. Volume One: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

Paul Nash: was he a surrealist?

TATE BRITAIN: 26 OCTOBER 2016 – 5 MARCH 2017

David Boyd Haycock

At first it seems that the answer is surely, 'Yes'. Nash was on the committee of the first International Surrealist Exhibition, held at the New Burlington Galleries in London in 1936; the great Belgian surrealist René Magritte called him the 'Master of the Object'; and according to Nash's wife the movement's founding light, André Breton, 'claimed him as an original contributor to the Surrealist movement'. [1] What can be seen as Nash's surrealist works from the mid-1930s included photographs, collages, watercolours and found objects, as well as oil paintings such as *Landscape from a Dream* (1936-8, Tate) (Fig. 1), which Breton picked out for particular praise.[2] The entry on Nash in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* certainly sees him in this period as a surrealist – albeit an idiosyncratic one:

> For him, surrealism was less an international movement than a licence to paint as he chose within the terms of modern practice. Because he was neither mordant nor rebellious his work had none of the shock tactics of continental surrealism but retained the sweetness of the English landscape, the uncertainties of the English weather, and the whimsicalities of a cultivated English mind.[3]

But Margaret Nash, who was married to the artist for over thirty years, would write emphatically in her hitherto unpublished memoir that despite his close connection to the movement, Paul was 'not a surrealist himself'; that 'he had no affection for its psychoanalytical point of view which was repugnant to his poetic mind'; and that he preferred to call his 'experiments' of this period his 'imaginative' rather than 'surrealist' paintings.[4] Margaret Nash went on to add that he:

> was deeply interested in the imaginative side rather than in the psychological side of their work. He did not care for the doctrinaire ideas of the movement, with which he had no sympathy, but he did find great imaginative and poetic inspiration through their theories and Breton recognized his unique contribution to the poetic expression he brought

Fig. 1: Paul Nash, Landscape from a Dream, 1936-8. Oil on canvas, 67.9 x 101.6 cm. © Tate

to surrealism. This point of view brought him back to his own early approach to art which had been strongly infused with his poetic imagination and his interest in mystical symbols.[5]

Without doubt Nash was intrigued by surrealism, though he was uncertain what exactly the expression meant. In his 1936 photographic essay for *The Architectural Review*, 'Swanage, or Seaside Surrealism', he called it 'that much-worried word'. When required to define it, he offered the explanation given by Breton, who, as Nash explained:

> has attempted to convey an idea of surrealism by suggesting that a statue in a street or some place where it would be normally found is just a statue, as it were, in its right mind; but a statue in a ditch or in the middle of a ploughed field is then an object in a state of surrealism … . It has, in fact, the quality of a dream image, when things are so often incongruous and slightly frightening in their relation to time or place.[6]

This, effectively, was a more roundabout reiteration of the Comte de Lautréamont's famous metaphor from *The Songs of Maldoror*, 'as beautiful as the chance meeting on a dissecting-table of a sewing-machine and an umbrella'. As an image of immense incongruity it inspired the early surrealists, and curious or improbable juxtapositions certainly inspired Nash – as did the work of the Italian painter and 'proto-surrealist' Giorgio de Chirico, an interest in whose work Nash had developed prior to his actual involvement with the surrealist movement.

Through the interwar period Nash was a regular visitor to France, and during a visit to Paris in 1929 with Margaret and their friend, the artist Edward Burra, he met a number of figures who had been or still were associated with the surrealist movement – a movement which had originated in Paris in the early 1920s. They included Picasso, André Masson, Max Ernst and Jean Arp. 'Paul, for the first time, wrote Margaret, 'became really interested in an aspect of Surrealist painting, namely, the release of the dream'.[7] From Paris the Nashes travelled with Burra to Toulon, staying in early 1930 at the Hôtel du Port; it was there that Nash painted one of his earliest consciously-surrealist paintings, *Harbour and Room* (Fig. 2). Their room, with its view over the harbour and in the distance the French fleet, inspired what was in Margaret's opinion, 'a very beautiful picture, depicting a French Man o' War sailing into our bedroom; the idea resulting from the reflection of one of the ships in the very large mirror which hung in front of our bed'.[8] Over the following years Nash completed a number of further 'surreal' paintings, among them *Landscape from a Dream*.

In examining Nash's relationship with surrealism, it essential to see how the movement was perceived in Britain at the time. To many critics in the 1930s, it was considered deeply radical and dangerous. In his article 'Surrealism and Revolution,' published in *The New Statesman and Nation* in 1933, the young writer Peter Quennell attempted to answer what he called the 'horrid question' of what surrealism was all about. In particular, he reacted against what he considered its revolutionary or 'anti-bourgeois' demands:

> Through its production, its manifestoes, its essays, in criticism, runs that almost pathological worship of violence which seems to dominate so many modern French writers. Violence for its own sake, violence as a psychological need … . The question arises whether or not it is symptomatic of a large movement, of which the spread has begun to be felt all over the world.[9]

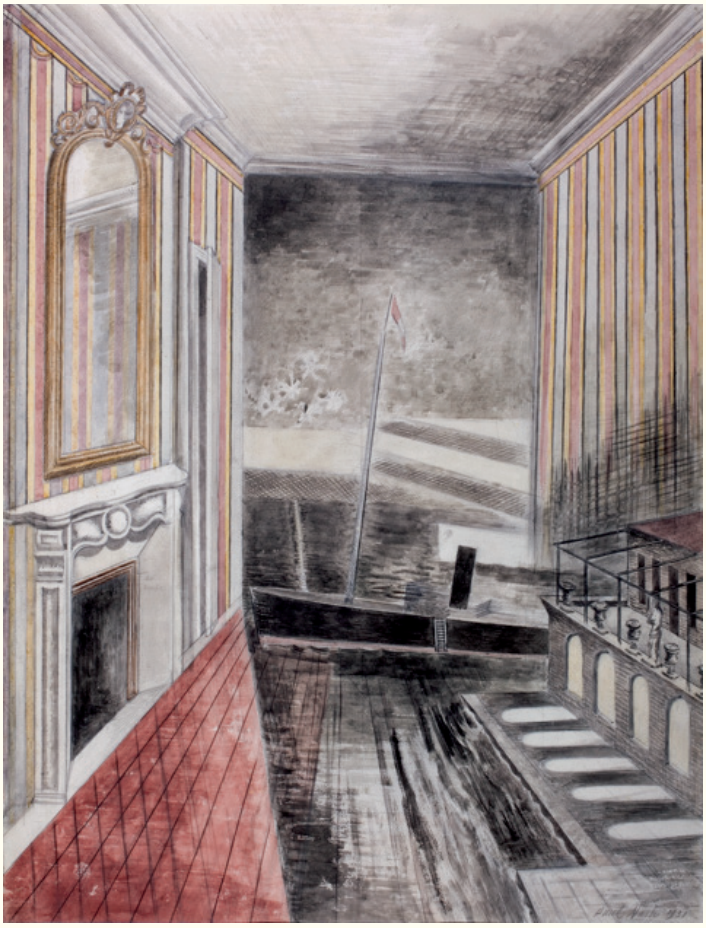

Fig. 2: Paul Nash, Harbour and Room, 1931. Watercolour and pencil on paper, 51.5 x 39 cm. Private collection, reproduced by kind permission of Piano Nobile Gallery, London

We have to remember that the 1930s were a period of deep cultural and political turmoil, and the end of the first International Surrealist Exhibition actually coincided almost exactly with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Civilisation seemed on the brink of another World War. Surrealism, as Quennell warned, had its 'militant political side' as well as its 'risible aspect'.[10] Breton certainly aligned his movement with revolution and the far left. This might have been partly why, as Margaret Nash noted, Edward Burra 'was most indignant at all times at being called a Surrealist'.[11] Burra's politics edged to the right, Nash's to the left, though neither was especially vocal in their beliefs.

The critic Herbert Read, who became the most prominent intellectual supporter of surrealism in Britain, effectively sought to water down surrealism's revolutionary elements altogether. In his introduction to the 1936 volume of essays *Surrealism*, he identified it as 'in general … the romantic principle in art'. Even the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood could be co-opted by Read into a wide field of British 'proto-surrealists'.[12] This would have suited Nash, whose earliest artistic idol had been Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Indeed, as I have often argued, Nash's earliest drawings – those made before the outbreak of the First World War – are in fact his

most successfully 'surreal' works. *Angel and Devil* (Victoria and Albert Museum, 1910), *The Cliff to the North* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1912) and *Pyramids in the Sea* (Tate, 1912), to name only the best known, are odd, unsettling, disturbing, uncanny. In comparison, *Landscape from a Dream* is laboured and obvious.

Paul Nash told Herbert Read in 1942, 'I did not find Surrealism. Surrealism found me'.[13] This was true, but he was more than ready for it. And as his wife acknowledged, even if Paul was *not* a surrealist, surrealism gave him the inspiration for his final great flourishing, at the very close of his life: works such as *Totes Meer* (Tate, 1940-41) and *Landscape of the Summer Solstice* (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 1941), where once again his strange, mystical, dream-like vision shines forth, free from any overtly surrealist baggage.

Dr David Boyd Haycock is a freelance art historian, based in Oxford; he received his PhD from Birkbeck College in 1998. He is the author of a number of books on or involving Paul Nash, including Paul Nash *(Tate Publishing, 2002, revised edition 2016),* A Crisis of Brilliance: Five Young British Artists and the Great War *(Old Street Publishing, 2009), and* Paul Nash Watercolours, 1910-1946: Another Life, Another World *(Piano Nobile, 2014). He has recently edited a new edition of Paul Nash's autobiography,* Outline, together with Margaret Nash's 'Memoirs of Paul Nash, 1913-1946' *(Lund Humphries, 2016).*

Notes

1. Margaret Nash, 'Memoirs of Paul Nash, 1913-1946', (unpublished typescript, 1951), Tate Gallery Archive MS 769.2.6, f. 86
2. Andrew Causey, *Paul Nash: Landscape and the Life of Objects* (London: Lund Humphries, 2013), p. 133.
3. 'Paul Nash', by Myfanwy Piper, edited and revised by Andrew Causey, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
4. M. Nash (1951), chronology, f.32, f. 86.
5. ibid, ff. 86-7.
6. Paul Nash, 'Swanage, or Seaside Surrealism', in *The Architectural Review* (April, 1936), in Paul Nash, *Outline: An Autobiography and Other Writings* (London: Faber and Faber, 1949), pp. 232-3.
7. M. Nash (1951), f. 41.
8. ibid.
9. Peter Quennell, 'Surrealism and Revolution', in *The New Statesman and Nation* (26 August 1933), p. 238.
10. ibid.
11. M. Nash (1951), f. 42.
12. Herbert Read (ed.), *Surrealism* (London: Faber and Faber, 1936), pp. 21-22, 59-60.
13. Andrew Causey, *Paul Nash* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 262-3.

Conservation at the National Gallery and the Second World War

Morwenna Blewett

The American Professor of Art and Art History, Walter Cook, once jovially remarked 'Hitler is my best friend. He shakes the trees and I gather the apples'.[1] At the time, Cook was the director of the new graduate centre at New York University and his sardonic quip described the handsome intellectual profit he was garnering in recruiting refugee art historians fleeing Nazi-dominated Europe.[2] It was even reported that Cook was so keen to secure the expertise of these individuals that he physically intercepted potential faculty members arriving at the docks; literally as they descended the gangplanks.

Fig. 1: Helmut Ruhemann, before 1934. Photograph. Reproduced by kind permission of the Hamilton Kerr Institute, University of Cambridge

By 1939, after the Nazi purges of cultural institutions, around three thousand scholars had left Germany.[3] These expulsions were to be repeated later in occupied Austria, Poland and other regions. It is well known that, as was the case with the United States, numerous museums and universities in the United Kingdom also came to accommodate those displaced people whose expertise would prove to be valuable. More often than not, their activities were groundbreaking.

Although it is not yet documented in many published secondary sources, archives at the National Gallery, Tate and those of several private associations and individuals show that a high number of picture restorers were also represented as one of the professions that sought sanctuary from persecution.[4] Also, further knowledge of these individuals and their contribution to conservation has been secured in no small part by the work of the Foundation for the American Institute for Conservation (FAIC) Oral History Project.[5]

The National Gallery, through its then director Sir Kenneth Clark as conduit, helped a number of restorers and their families to find safety, work, or both, with a few working directly for the

Fig. 2: Antonello da Messina, Portrait of a Man, c.1475-6. Oil on poplar, 35.6 x 25.4 cm. © The National Gallery London

Gallery. In return, some of these skilled refugees transformed conservation practice and awareness at the Gallery, not to mention the presentation of the collection.

Some refugee restorers, once engaged in work in the UK, were embroiled in very public controversies. Their new approaches to the treatment of Old Master paintings were a considerable departure from the aesthetic that had traditionally greeted the museum visitor in the early thirties. This new approach – to cleaning particularly – placed greater value on seeing the artists' intentions without having to negotiate optically the effects of dirty and/or tinted gallery varnish applied by nineteenth-century restorers, and the effects of successive build-ups of varnish applied in previous restoration campaigns; a practically impossible task for the untutored eye of the general public, and even a highly challenging one for the educated museum professional or the seasoned art historian.

The best known of these refugee restorers was Helmut Ruhemann, a German of Jewish lineage who had his career at the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (KFM) in Berlin (now the Bode Museum) cut short due to legislation enacted in 1933 which banned Jews from civil service positions (Fig. 1). Having already formed social and professional connections with London dealers and the museum elite because of his reputation for having special skills in restoring early Italian paintings, and with refugee organisations, Ruhemann came to the UK in 1934, greatly assisted by Sir Philip Hendy in particular.[7] Ruhemann worked for private clients in his own London studio and for the National Gallery part-time as Consultant Restorer. The influence of his approach to cleaning resounds to this day. Essentially he advocated a complete as feasible, safe removal of non-original material in order to return a work as nearly as possible to the artist's intention.

This approach is still evident in Ruhemann's 1939 extant cleaning and restoration of Antonello da Messina's *Portrait of a Man* (Fig. 2). Although the retouching is a little discoloured seventy-seven years on, it embodies a careful and sensitive approach, where a unified reading of the painting has been achieved post-cleaning combined with allowing aspects of the painting's condition history to testify to its age and exhibit the effects of its original material technology, such as the drying cracks visible in the area of the sitter's hat that formed shortly after the artist made the work. Prior to the 1939 treatment they were covered up by a previous restoration. A narrow strip of non-original, dirty varnish has been left on the bottom edge of the panel which indicates something of the picture's appearance prior to cleaning (in addition, the state of the panel is well-documented before the 1939 cleaning in conservation records).

A controversy arose regarding William Holder's cleaning of Velázquez's *Philip IV in Silver and Brown* in 1936, and after the works were evacuated to Wales for the duration of the war, the return of cleaned paintings to public display along with uncleaned works led to continued shock and energetic public debate. An exhibition of these works followed, including among others *The Agony in the Garden* by Andrea Mantegna and *The Adoration of the Kings* by Sandro Botticelli and Filippino Lippi, which were both cleaned by Ruhemann. The post-war cleaning controversy was finally settled in 1947 by the Weaver Committee Report's findings that that no damage had resulted from the cleaning methods at the National Gallery.

This was to be a brief lull, however, before a further period of public debate about partial cleaning and the status of 'patina' took hold in the late 1940s and continued until the 1960s, in *The Burlington Magazine*. The National Gallery's approach to restoration once again was discussed and criticised, frequently misunderstood and also celebrated.

Before leaving Germany, Ruhemann had already worked to modernise conservation practice at the KFM alongside Max Friedländer, its Curator and Director, banning tinted varnishes that had been applied to newly-cleaned works in the past to emulate a build-up of dirt and discoloured varnish, halting damaging consolidation practices (the laying of flaking and raised paint) by inventing new, less invasive methods, working more closely with curators, and retouching in a more stable medium instead of oil, which darkened and became difficult to remove.[7]

Once in the UK, it is clear from the sentiment and tone of contemporary correspondence that Ruhemann and some of his fellow refugee restorers were perceived to occupy a different professional and social sphere from that of most British restorers. They are frequently referred to as men of international repute, distinction and skill. Ruhemann is described frequently as 'brilliant' and 'scientific'. [8]

The restoration skills of émigrés were regularly and flatteringly compared to those of British restorers. When Clark writes to Ruhemann in 1943 about carrying out work for the Lonsdale Trustees he says, 'in fact what they need is the services of someone like Morrill and not a highly skilled restorer like yourself'. Here, Clark refers to William John Morrill, a third-generation Soho-based picture restorer. In a 1941 letter, Clark describes the firm of William Drown as 'the best ordinary, workmanlike restorers in the country. There are more artistic and scientific restorers whom I use for special jobs', [9] clearly making a distinction between his perceptions of the skills held by each group.

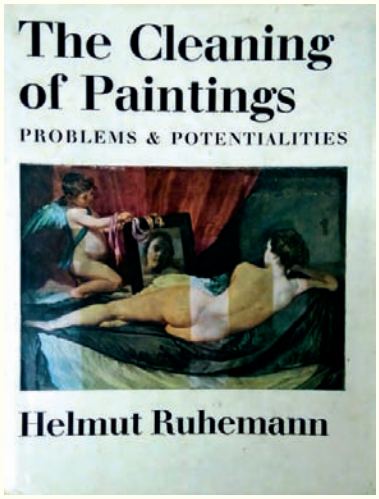

Fig.3: Helmut Ruhemann, The Cleaning of Paintings, 1968. Reproduced by kind permission of Faber and Faber

Ruhemann's influence also went further in terms of early public outreach. He was distinct in his openness when restorers of his generation were usually highly secretive. He wrote books about the techniques of the artist for the general reader and his experience of negotiating two cleaning controversies led him to write his 1968 publication *The Cleaning of Paintings*, a volume often cited as the starting point for many future restorers (Fig. 3). In 1956, as part of a UNESCO initiative, Ruhemann travelled to Guatemala to teach young restorers conservation techniques. At a time when restorers generally only taught their techniques to family apprentices, back in London Ruhemann regularly took on international apprentices, men and women from all walks of life. In doing so he created a diaspora of skill which has benefited conservation practice world-wide.

Morwenna Blewett is a paintings conservator at the National Gallery. She has worked in museums and in private practice in Scotland, the USA and Sweden. She has held a fellowship at the Straus Center for Conservation at Harvard University and an Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship at Worcester Art Museum, Mass. She was educated at The Courtauld Institute of Art, and is currently a PhD student in the Department of History, Classics and Archaeology at Birkbeck.

Notes

1. Dictionary of Art Historians https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/cookw.htm (accessed March 15, 2016).
2. Figures like art historian Adolph Goldschmidt, for example. See 'The Heritage of Adolph Goldschmidt and Johannes Hell in the History of Twentieth-Century Conservation' in Joyce Hill Stoner and Michael von der Goltz, *Studies in Conservation*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (2005), pp. 275-283.
3. Martin Kitchen, *The Third Reich: Charisma and Community* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 136.
4. Some scholars of conservation history such as Jacob Simon, Ulrik Runeberg and Joyce Hill Stoner, have examined some of these figures in their publications. See for example Jacob Simon's online directory: British Picture Restorers www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers.php (accessed March 3, 2016).
5. See the Foundation for the American Institute for Conservation (FAIC) Oral History Project, http://www.conservation-us.org/foundation/initiatives/oral-history-project#.VvufO_krLIU (accessed March 7, 2015).
6. Morwenna Blewett, A Safe Haven: Refugee Restorers and the National Gallery, London. In *ICOM-CC 17th Triennial Meeting*, Melbourne 2015. p.2.
7. Helmut Ruhemann, *The Cleaning of Paintings: Problems and Potentialities* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), p. 72.
8. Blewett, p.2.
9. ibid.

Georgia O'Keeffe

TATE MODERN, 6 JULY – 30 OCTOBER 2016

Tanya Barson

This article, an extract from the catalogue for the Georgia O'Keeffe exhibition at Tate Modern, cannot be made available online due to copyright restrictions.

The catalogue, *Georgia O'Keeffe*, edited by Tanya Barson, is published by Tate Publishing, and is available for purchase from the Tate shop, or online at www.tate.org.uk.

PROGRAMME 2016-2017

LECTURES

Thursday 13 October 2016
Between life and death: Giovanni Bellini's Madonna of the Meadow
Caroline Campbell, the Curator of Italian Paintings Before 1500 at the National Gallery, discusses Bellini's masterpiece

Saturday 26 November 2016
(The Maria Shirley Lecture after the AGM which begins at 14.00)
The power of Pygmalion: secular stories on medieval caskets of ivory and bone
Glyn Davies, Curator of Late Medieval Art at the V&A, explores how artists in both France and Italy brought to life the chivalric literature of the period
NB: To be held at Friends House

Tuesday 24 January 2017
The vaults of heaven: Roman ceilings of the Baroque
Joachim Strupp, art historian and director of Art Pursuits Abroad, traces the development of painted ceilings in Baroque Rome, from Annibale Carracci's in the Palazzo Farnese to Andrea Pozzo's *Triumph of Sant' Ignazio*

Wednesday 22 February 2017
Social realism and Victorian art
Peter Bryden, an independent art historian, explores how poverty and social inequality were depicted in Victorian art

Monday 13 March 2017
Hans Memling and Italy
Paula Nuttall, Director of the V&A Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Year Course, discusses Memling's career in Bruges, his work for Italian patrons and his far-reaching influence on Italian painting

Tuesday 11 April 2017
On the scent of Art Deco
Tag Gronberg, Reader in History of Art and Design at Birkbeck, looks at the spectacle and glitter of Art Deco, focusing on some of the most famous French perfume brands and the cultural significance of *parfumerie*

Wednesday 17 May 2017
Juan de Pareja: slave painter at the Spanish court in the seventeenth century
Carmen Fracchia, Senior Lecturer in Early Modern Spanish Visual Studies at Birkbeck, explores the depiction of enslaved and liberated Afro-Hispanic people in Spanish art, in particular the Velázquez portrait of Juan de Pareja

Monday 5 June 2017
What is 'Queer British Art'?
Clare Barlow, curator of the exhibition 'Queer British Art' at Tate Britain, answers questions such as does the sexuality of artists matter? Is the queerness of an object in the eye of the beholder?

Lectures are free to members, and are held at the Art Workers' Guild, 6 Queen Square, London WC1N 3AT, starting at 18.00, except for the AGM and Maria Shirley Lecture on 26 November, which will be held at the Friends House, 173-77 Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ

SHORT COURSES

28 September-26 October 2016
Wednesdays 11:00-13:00
Art of Spain and Portugal: from the Romans to the Early Middle Ages
Leader: **Rose Walker**
Venue: Bloomsbury Central Baptist Church

2-30 November 2016
Wednesdays 10:45-12:45
Giovanni Bellini: father of Venetian painting
Leader: **Siân Walters**
Venue: Conway Hall

10 November-8 December 2016
Thursdays 11:00-13:00
Ottoman art and architecture: from its origins to its Golden Age
Leader: **Antonia Gatward Cevizli**
Venue: Bloomsbury Central Baptist Church

11 January-15 March 2017
Wednesdays 11:00-13:00 (10 weeks)
The rise of the Gothic: from its origins to c.1300
Leader: **John McNeill**
Venue: Bloomsbury Central Baptist Church

20 January-17 February 2017
Fridays 10:45-12:45
Italian villas: Hadrian to the Medici
Leader: **Joachim Strupp**
Venue: Conway Hall

21 April-19 May 2017
Fridays 10:45-12:45
Italian villas: the Veneto to the Roman Campagna
Leader: **Joachim Strupp**
Venue: Conway Hall

These two courses are linked but can be booked separately

STUDY DAYS, VISITS AND WALKS

Monday 12 September 2016
13:30-16:00
Walk: *Clerkenwell and Smithfield*
Guide: **Andrew Davies**

Saturday 24 September 2016
11:00-16:30
Study Day: *The City and the City: architecture and memory in the Square Mile*
Leader: **Chris Rogers**
Venue: Conway Hall

Tuesday 11 October 2016
11:00-16:40
Study Day: *Masterpieces in clay: from ancient China to contemporary Britain*
Leader: **Victoria Avery**
Venue: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

Saturday 15 October 2016
11:00-16:30
Study Day: *The Arts and Crafts Movement: beauty, utility, revolution*
Leader: **Ayla Lepine**
Venue: Friends House

Friday 18 November 2016
14:00-15:00
Study Visit: *The UK Supreme Court*
Leader: **Private Guide**

Additional study events will be announced during the year

STUDY TOURS

14-18 September 2016
Study Tour: *Cities and artists of the seventeenth-century Dutch Golden Age*
Leader: **Clare Ford-Wille**

26 April-5 May 2017
Study Tour: *Munich and Franconia*
Leader: **Tom Abbott**

14-16 June 2017
Study Tour: *Stained glass in Gloucestershire*
Leader: **Adrian Barlow**

12-17 September 2017
Study Tour: *Palladio's villas*
Leader: **Joachim Strupp**

11-14 October 2017
Study Tour: *Strasbourg*
Leader: **Alexandra Gajewski**