

Franz Wickhoff à la fin du siècle¹⁾

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要 旨

近代の美術史学は1764年、ヨーゼフ・ヴィンケルマンの『古代芸術史』をもって始まるとされるが、彼の学は、古代ギリシャ古典期の芸術にこそ芸術の本質がもっともよく実現されているとするもので、ギリシャ美術に続く古代ローマ美術は、ギリシャ芸術の退廃、あるいは付録と見られがちであった。ウィーンの学者フランツ・ヴィクホフは、1895年、ウィーン国立図書館蔵の旧約聖書写本のファクシミルを刊行するにあたって、その写本挿絵に古代ローマ美術の固有性が色濃く残されていると考え、序文の中でこれを詳説した。これが近代におけるローマ美術史の始まりである。それは、まもなく様式史の名で呼ばれるようになった近代美術史学の方法を樹立するとともに、古典期ギリシャ美術になかった新たな芸術性の誕生と発展を論じることとなった。彼は古代ローマ美術の発明として、イリュージョニズム、および風景を背景として切れ目なく連続して展開する物語表現形式を挙げ、西暦第一世紀末にその達成を見た。

ところでヴィクホフのローマ美術史論の発表は、いわゆる「世紀末」に当たっている。この頃ヨーロッパの文化は、一方ではジャポニスムの大流行があり、他方ではクロード・モネを中心とする印象派芸術が最高潮に達した時代であった。この二つが密接に関連していることはよく知られているが、このような事情はヴィクホフのローマ美術史論形成にも濃い影を落としている。彼はその著の中で、印象派絵画を古代絵画と積極的に比較するとともに、彼のいうイリュージョニズムは、西洋にはるかに先駆け東洋美術において実現されており、とりわけ日本美術にその極致を見ると主張した。

本論は、もともとシドニーで開かれた展覧会「日本の四季」に合わせ、2003年8月メルボルン大学の求めに応じ行った一般公開講演に、多少を加え訂正したものである。したがって、上記の問題に対し新たな知見を提供するよりは、むしろあらためて世紀末ウィーンにおいて近代美術史学を確立した学者の思考をたどり、その錯綜した視点を解きほぐして見ることを目指した。今や百年以前のものとなったヴィクホフのローマ美術史

論は、今日の学的基準からは到底そのまま受け入れることはできないが、本論は最近の視点からの批判に触れつつも、むしろ彼の論が、今昔、洋の東西を越えた、視覚芸術における時間性的問題に対する深い洞察を蔵していたことを重視し、その視点から東西両洋の芸術、とくにパンクテュエイションを伴わない連続した時間表現の諸例を観察する。

キーワード : Franz Wickhoff, *Japonisme*, Roman art, the time in the visual arts.

The objective of my presentation today is not so much to offer a brief outline of the familiar story of the impact of Japanese art on the European art. It is true that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, Japanese art contributed a great deal for the formation of modern art in Europe. Ukiyo-e woodcut prints and Japanese minor arts were welcomed by a number of revolutionary artists and connoisseurs at that time, as we find imported Japanese prints and craftworks painted in the works of Edouard Manet or Vincent van Gogh.

This so-called *Japonisme* has been turned into a subject of art historical study and extensively dealt with by a number of scholars. *Fin du siècle* was indeed permeated by the Japanesque in every aspect of life, beyond the circle of art lovers. Even the classiest salons in Paris, where Marcel Proust frequented, there was often served a bowl of *Salade Japonaise*, which the sophisticated member of the high-society like Marcel regarded intolerably *banale*.

Instead of such a popular topic of *Japonisme à la mode*, I would like to invite our audience today to the shady corner of the study room of a Viennese art historian at that time. His contribution, together with that of another great Viennese scholar, Alois Riegl, eventually led the course of art historical study of the following century into new direction.

It was indeed the very beginning of what was soon to be called the 'history of style', which dominated the modern scholarship until the emergence of iconology in the middle of last century. The name of the Viennese scholar is Franz Wickhoff. In 1895 he published a voluminous facsimile of the famous illuminated manuscript of the Old Testament, which is still deposited in the Austrian National Library in Vienna.

Today, we all agree that the manuscript dates from the sixth century, but at the time of Wickhoff's publication, it was dated much earlier, around the year 400.

Soon, his book as well as the manuscript came to be called the *Vienna Genesis*.²⁾ In addition to the elaborate commentary on the numerous miniature paintings in the manuscript, Wickhoff wrote a lengthy introduction to the history of Roman art. It was for the reason that the author believed that the miniature paintings in the early Byzantine manuscript retained essential characteristics of ancient Roman art. Then, however, the author had to face a dicey task to interpret the history of the ancient Roman art from a viewpoint that was completely different from the standard of his time. To understand this point, we must scrutinize into the state of art historical research at that time.

As is well known, the history of the modern scholarship of art history began with Johan Joachim Winckelmann's book, *History of the Ancient Art*, published in 1764.³⁾ The author regarded the Greek Classical art as the quintessence of the art through ages, and in his view, one must appreciate the ancient Roman art as long as it takes over the legacy of the ancient Greek.

Incidentally, it may be worthwhile to remember that Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's famous book, *Laokoön; or, the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, was published in 1766, that is, only two years after Winckelmann's book. This is by no means accidental but significant enough to understand the modern notion of the visual arts that governed the entire nineteenth century. We shall come back to discuss this point in detail.

Since Winckelmann's philhellenism, — doting love for anything Greek — prevailed the scholarship of the nineteenth century, indigenous characteristics of Roman art were almost ignored, and the art of Rome at large was thought merely as a decadent form of the Greek Classical. Only some aspects of Roman art that obviously reflected the Greek tradition, such as the art under Emperor Hadrian, were admired and thought to be worthy of study. Franz Wickhoff had been quite unsatisfied with such a traditional approach to the history of Roman art, and he boldly attempted at emancipating the study of Roman art from the century long veneration of the Greek Classical. Thus, in his long introduction to the commentary on the style of the miniature paintings, he proposed a set of what he believed to be specifically Roman in Roman art.

According to Wickhoff, the first of the original characteristics of ancient Roman art is the illusionism that is observable in Roman relief sculpture and painting. I do not know when and by whom this art historical term of illusionism was coined for the first time in the history of modern scholarship. Whoever it may be, the concept 'illusionism' still remains familiar with us, and Franz Wickhoff was no doubt the one who forcefully advanced it.

According to Wickhoff, illusionism develops from naturalism, and the progress of the naturalism in the Classical art should be ascribed to the Greeks before the Roman domination of the Mediterranean world. He further insists that, though the ancient Greek artists succeeded in the faithful representation of objects, above all human body, their works had to remain, so-to-speak, in '*getrockne* (dry)' naturalism. Wickhoff points out a lack of the sense of three-dimensional space in the Hellenistic relief works. To the contrary, he continues, the Roman illusionism goes so far as to produce a strong impression upon the viewer's mind with the representation of the depth of space, the massiveness of body, and eventually the vivid reality.

The Viennese scholar believed that the best historical parallel instance of such development from naturalism toward illusionism is found in the art of *Quattrocento*. Leonardo da Vinci attained its goal, beginning with meticulous study of objects and then developing it into new reality by means of *chiaroscuro*, the effect of light and shadow.

With regard to Roman art, it was in the late Republican and Julio-Claudian art that Wickhoff found the transition from the Greek naturalism into the new Roman illusionism. Namely, the specifically Roman evolution of style begins with Augustus and finally reaches its perfection in the Flavian art in the second half of the first century.

More than a century after the publication of the *Vienna Genesis*, we can no longer be uncritical of his theory. A number of newly discovered facts and fresh observations have made it rather difficult to support it entirely. However, some of his tenets are still vital for us, and, at least, it does deserve a careful analysis, clarifying how his theory was formulated, and, more importantly, what was the historical background that enabled him to embark on the bold theorization.

Among the major visual evidence on which Wickhoff fostered his idea, there were

a pair of relief panels that decorate the lateral walls of the passage through the triumphal arch for Emperor Titus. It was built and dedicated to the emperor by the Roman Senates in the year A. D. 81 to commemorate his victorious return from his campaign in Jerusalem. One of the panels on the south wall represents the triumphant procession entering into the city gate (fig. 1). Although the panel has been considerably mutilated through the centuries after it was carved, the vivid representation of the scene still appears to us so realistic as if it were a live scene broadcast by present-day newsreel on TV.

Particularly it must be noted that the figures and objects in the relief are arranged in such a unique manner that they form, so-to-speak, a number of overlapping 'screens' parallel to the relief surface. (The French may call such a row of screens *passages*.) These screens gradually recede from the foreground into the background. The figures and objects, which are placed closer to the viewer, are fully modeled like independent statues, but, the further they draw back into the background, the more they lose their three-dimensional quality. Finally, in the deepest background, the relief becomes extremely shallow, like the famous *schacciato* technique applied by Donatello, and it is more than likely that they were painted with colors in the original state.

Further, we should not overlook the lively *chiaroscuro* effect produced by this intricate passage technique. Especially, the rounded figures in the foreground are dynamically overlapped, bringing forth deep contrast of light and shadow. As the relief screens draw back into the background, the contrast is gradually subdued. The effect is not unlike that of atmospheric perspective.

No wonder that Wickhoff recognized the same development of illusionism in the coeval Roman painting. However, Wickhoff's argument on the evolution from naturalism into illusionism in Roman painting is not as straightforward as what he propounded on Roman sculpture. The *aporia* is as following: he states that the naturalism of the Greek Classical painting began to be replaced by the illusionism primarily in the Second Pompeian Style, which flourished in the late Republican and Augustan period. For example, he quotes the famous garden painting discovered in the House of Empress Livia near Prima Porta of the city of Rome (fig. 2).

This is a marvelous work, a jewel of the Classical painting. What we see is an ideal garden with rich foliage. Some of the trees, grasses and their flowers are

delicately depicted with fondling brushworks. Birds are perching here and there, picking the fruits and gaily chirping.

Nevertheless, what surprises us most is the exquisite illusionism of the painting. The pine tree in the center of the foreground is depicted in detail and fully modeled with fine *chiaroscuro* work, and so are the roses and the other flowers in the foreground. Then, as our attention moves away further into the depth of the picture, trees and their leaves gradually turn into silhouettes that are gently rustling against the blue sky. Thus there is no doubt that here the illusionism of Roman painting already attained its zenith.

However, Wickhoff seems rather reluctant to admit that the Roman illusionism reached their goal as early as in the Augustan period. We must remember that, according to Wickhoff's theory, we must wait one hundred years until the indigenous Roman sculpture reaches its full maturity in the Flavian period. As for the painting, Wickhoff finds the zenith of the Roman achievement in the Fourth Pompeian style under Emperor Nero.

Therefore, in his *Vienna Genesis*, he had to emphasize not so much the wonderful illusionism of the garden painting as the realistic depiction of the trees and birds in the painting. Wickhoff insisted that the picture should reflect the early Roman naturalism rather than mature illusionism. As long as painting is concerned, his interpretation often deviates deliberately from the real course of the stylistic evolution. We shall soon witness a more obvious instance of his fabrication as such.

Whatever Wickhoff's historical interpretation may be, I will not mince my admiration of this wonderful accomplishment of the ancient Roman artist. If any part of the painting were set in a modern picture frame, none of you might believe that such a beautiful combination of naturalism and illusionism could be a product of an artist more than two millennia ago. In fact, an ancient painting often looks so modern. Let us look at a famous portrait of a Roman lady from the second century A. D. (fig. 3). It was found in Fayum in Egypt, and when discovered, it had been placed on the face of her mummy, according to the ancient Egyptian custom. I do not know how old the portrayed was at her death. Nevertheless, it does not matter, because it was also customary at that time that a portrait was prepared in lifetime, and in the case of a woman, probably at the prime time of her life.

First, let us look at the elaborate hairdo of her jet-black hair. This is certainly

the hairstyle *à la mode* in the Antonine dynasty of the second century, A. D. Her crescent eyebrows are equally dark and impressive, and her passionate eyes underneath are wide open, but faintly melancholic so that they increase her feminine charm. Her small but slightly protruded lips seem almost seductive. And the glittering accessories, probably pearls and precious stones like lapis lazuli! After all, however, what amaze us most are the exquisite light and shadow effect and the fluent, vivacious brushstrokes, that literally animate, enliven the image.

Again, if you were shown this portrait well set within a modern picture frame, to whom would you attribute it? I do not hesitate to say that this can be best compared with a work by Edouard Manet. By the same token, we may perhaps draw on Claude Monet to describe the beautiful garden picture we have already seen.

Therefore, it is no longer surprising that Franz Wickhoff had a deep admiration of his contemporary works of the French Impressionists. The Impressionism had reached its full development by the time Wickhoff proposed his reappraisal of Roman art in 1895. Monet already began his serial works in 1890, first that of *Haystack*, then the glorious series of *Rouen Cathedral* in 1892/3. The *Water Lily* series started in 1899 after the publication of the *Vienna Genesis*, and the monumental Orangery painting comes on the horizon to be started in 1916. We can hardly confirm if the Viennese scholar could actually see some of Monet's revolutionary works, but we can corroborate his sincere appreciation of his contemporary art through his reappraisal of the ancient Roman art. Let us examine his lengthy explanation on the 'fundamental' distinction of illusionism from naturalism. There, he repeatedly emphasizes that the art of illusionism is based on impression. I will summarize just one paragraph from the *Vienna Genesis*:

"The attainment of illusionism is more easily observable in painting than in relief sculpture. The unique quality of the illusionism in painting can be defined more explicitly, because there exists only one intention to represent a momentous impression. . . . For a genius talented in painting there comes a decisive moment when he realizes that a pictorial phenomenon has nothing to do with his artfully elaborate studies and preparations at the initial stage. Now he understands that a human body, when found in its color and accidental light effects, does not show any well planned, coordinated combi-

nation of parts, but a configuration of juxtaposed elements, in which very different levels of light and its physical effects appeal to our eyes. The image, which an object presents to our eyes, is not a smoothly modeled relief but consists of a juxtaposition of stains and dots with different colors and different degrees of light effect.⁴⁾”

Thus, it is no surprise that, later in 1911, Werner Weissbach, a prominent art historian of the age, published a book titled *Impressionism in Ancient and Modern Painting*.

Here, I would like to supplement Wickhoff’s appreciation of the Impressionist paintings on the basis of my comparison of color technique between the ancient and modern impressionism: there is one very special characteristic in the coloring technique of ancient painting, that is, the use of the so-called *couleurs changeants*, i. e., changing colors. Since the Italian Renaissance, most of the oil paintings were done in such a way that the artist first prepared the ground and then painted figures and objects in dark brown color. Only after this preparatory stage was finished, the artist applied transparent color paints on it. Thus, the underlying modeling of the figures and objects in monochrome were visible through the top layer of paint, endowing the painting with strong plastic quality.

In contrast, the ancient painters, especially the fresco painters, seldom used darkening colors such as dark brown or black for modeling and shading. Instead, they applied various colors with different color values for the purpose. Namely, the artists applied violet, blue, green, etc. for shady parts. The result is a marvelous harmony of color and luminosity. It is impossible to reproduce, even with the most advanced electronic technique, the subtlety of this extremely delicate contrast between changing colors.

In my opinion, it may not have been through a study of ancient painting that the French Impressionists discovered the same color system. I would suggest that their experience of outdoor performance led them to the ultimate technique to obtain the similar luminosity and magnificent color scheme. Anyway, the result is surprisingly alike, and it is for this very reason that we are seldom satisfied by any reproduction of Cézanne’s painting, because his space and mass construction totally depends on his application of infinitely delicate color values.

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However, what is more significant for us is that Wickhoff's admiration of his coeval Impressionism as a 'new painting' was very closely related to his admiration of Japanese art. Actually, it seems that he was more audacious and explicit in appreciating the historical role of Japanese art, though his approach to the Japanese art is often odd at our present day view.

We are almost stunned by the high keynotes in his praise of Japanese art. I may quote just a few lines from the *Vienna Genesis*:

“Far Eastern art achieved its highest creation in Japanese painting, and began to exert its influence upon the European art of our time. Here, the two great tributaries of art, the European and the Far Eastern, have been united after two millennia of separation. The development of the modern painting in last three decades cannot be understood without considering Japanese art. In the so-called ‘*plein-air*’ (outdoor performance) and the Impressionism, there is the legacy of the Far Eastern art just as much as our recent artistic creation. Sensitive artists and art lovers, among them the English, too, immediately discovered that these Japanese had invented a system of ornament, a purely illusionistic system, . . .”⁵⁾

It must be pointed out that there was his grand, almost fantastic historical scheme behind Wickhoff's high evaluation of Far Eastern and Japanese art. According to his view, art originated in the remote antiquity in both Egypt and the Far East. Although Egyptian art was accepted by the Greeks, and then was succeeded by the Romans and the Europeans, they could scarcely recover the keen illusionistic sensitivity that was found at the very beginning of the evolution. To the contrary, Asian art, and above all Japanese art, continued the pure and immediate appreciation of nature until the day of Wickhoff.

It is true that the European notion of the Orient and its culture in the late nineteenth century was, on the one hand, full of prejudice, and groundless insistence on the superiority of European civilization over heterogeneous cultures. On the other hand, in this regard, the Europeans showed their Janus' faces. Many believed

that they found an ultimate paradise in an alien culture. We have a long list of those devotees to the idealized non-European cultures, beginning with Paul Gauguin and Vincent van Gogh.

Further, such a trend produced a number of scholars and amateurs who never lost their high regards of alien cultures. There are names of prominent scholars among them such as Joseph Strzygowski, who was adamant on his theory of the Oriental origin of Byzantine art, and Henri Focillon, whose career actually started as a student of Japanese art. Even Rudolf Hitler, who is so notorious up today for his cruel suppression of non-Arian civilization, organized a large exhibition of Japanese art in 1937 in Berlin. The dictator, who appeared there on the first opening day, did not reserve his sincere admiration of Sesson's *Sailboat in the Storm*, and proudly commented on it for his entourages.

As has been mentioned before, Wickhoff's approach toward Japanese art is strangely biased, and often difficult for us to understand. For instance, he was very much convinced that the style of the Augustan relief sculpture was well comparable with Japanese lacquer works, because they share in common the same sensitivity toward nature. More recently, attempts have been made to demonstrate that the human vision is essentially relative, differentiated between individuals. In other words, human vision is always so vulnerable to, and conditioned by, its ethnic, cultural, and political context, or by gender. Therefore, it is easy to imagine that Wickhoff's vision of Oriental art concurred with his contemporaneous view of the Orient.

Yet, this is not the place to discuss what was really tendentious in his vision. Instead, I would like to show that, despite the insufficient knowledge of and experience in Japanese art, Wickhoff had certainly a big hunch, or I would even say, an important insight into the future of the scholarship and its relevance with Japanese art. For demonstrating this point, we will return to the *Vienna Genesis*, and see where Wickhoff's historical scheme found its destination.

As has been discussed at length, according to Wickhoff, illusionism is the primary characteristic of the ancient Roman art that distinguishes it from the Greek Classical. Now, he puts forward the second characteristic of the ancient Roman art, and again, he harks back to the ancient Greek art to clarify the formative process of the

Roman originality.

What Wickhoff proposes is continuous narrative representation in frieze form. To explain his theory, he first sets forth three different methods of visualizing narrative sequence in antiquity. First, the ancient Greeks often applied what he called 'complementing' method, where the main figure and pivotal scene is placed in the focal point of the composition, while the other figures and objects relevant to the narrative surround or stand by the central image, thus visually complementing the story. Wickhoff assumes that, having its origin in the ancient Orient, examples of this method are mostly found in the black-figure vase painting.

The second method of narrative representation is called 'distinguishing'. Here, only a group of figures or a single scene at the climax of the narrative is selected and occupies the entire composition. Wickhoff interprets that this method is essentially in accordance with the principle of the unity of time and place in the Greek Classical dramas. Therefore, examples to illustrate this method are taken more often than not from the late Archaic and early Classical red-figure vase paintings.

It happens quite naturally that, if the artist wanted to narrate the entire story by this method, he had to create a number of independent scenes and link them in sequence. Therefore, a long text such as a Homeric epic did actually need hundreds of scenes, as actually seen in the famous manuscript of *Ilias Ambrosiana*, or in the so-called *Iliac Tablets*. (fig. 4)

The third method is called 'continuing method' of narrative representation. This emerges at the final stage of the evolution of the indigenous elements of the ancient Roman art. Namely, it appeared only after the Roman illusionism reached its peak of development. There, a number of scenes are lined up against a common background (mostly landscape), often in the form of a long frieze. Naturally, the landscape recedes into the background so that the actual scenes develop mostly in the fore- and middle ground. It may be said that the continuous landscape background represents an uninterrupted flow of time, while individual scenes punctually correspond to the different moments of time in narrative sequence.

As is expected, Wickhoff finds the best example of such a continuous narrative frieze the post-Flavian period, more specifically, from the reign of Emperor Trajan. His triumphal column in Forum Trajani was erected after the year 106 A. D., commemorating his victory over the Dacians on the Danube frontier. (fig. 5) A

long spiral band of relief decorates the entire surface of the column, depicting in detail the deeds of the emperor and his army in the two Dacian wars. Due to the unusual shape and size of the relief, art historians had been contending since the nineteenth century, especially on its origin. Many suggested that the frieze might have been created on the basis of an illustrated scroll. Actually Roman army would take artists during their campaign and let them depict the development of the war on a roll, which was made of various materials. Some of these visual documents were brought back from the battlefield to the capital, and displayed at a popular place. Or, we know that a victorious procession, like the one already seen on the arch of Emperor Titus, is ushered by such a triumphant picture partly unrolled and exhibited to the populace.

Now, the ancient Roman art has another famous example of visual narrative in painting composed by the continuing method, that is, the *Odyssey Landscape* found in 1843 near Via Graziosa on the Esquiline hill in Rome. Let us begin our observation with the second section of the pictorial frieze, which is actually the first of the surviving parts of the frieze. (fig. 6) At the upper left corner there are a few winged figures. We can hardly recognize them since they are not only much effaced but also done in the same colors and hues as the sky in the background. Still, we can see them represented in different postures, and some of them blowing horns. Most likely they represent the winds in different directions which Aeolus, the wind god, gave Odysseus as gifts, only to be carelessly released from the container by his crews (*Odyssey*, X, 34ff).

The presence of the personifications of winds would naturally assume the representation of raging sea underneath. However, the water below, is calm and clear, quite against the narrative of *Odyssey*, X, 47-48. We, therefore, ought to identify the lower scene as Odysseus' arrival at the land of the carnivorous giants, the Laestrygonians (X, 87-96). The fleet anchored in the bay with folded sails and an oarsman aboard correspond to the Homeric text.

This arrival scene is clearly distanced from the next by a huge promontory rising from the earth in the foreground. It separates the two successive scenes not only spatially — sea and land — but also chronologically. The strong *chiaroscuro* work — see the brilliantly lit left side as against the dark shaded right side — also reinforces the impression of the spatio-temporal distance.

Another huge rock in the slightly receded middle ground is also modeled in the same fashion. Here the dark side contains a deep cave from which a fountain flows into a small stream in the foreground. The tall figure of the daughter of the giants' king appears from the left, carrying a water jar in her hand. The three Greek surveyors turn toward her in front of the dark cave, as if lit in a spotlight from above.⁶⁾

The clear stream in the foreground leads the viewer's eye to the right of the composition. The huge rock we have just seen at the left throws a long and dark shadow on the middle ground, which is extended further beyond the painted pilaster into the third section, which contains cattle led by a herdsman (Most part of his figure is overlaid by the pilaster.) and a standing guard or a shepherd at the right end. The scene corresponds to the Homeric description of the unusual pastoral life of the Laestrygonians in Book X, 82ff. It is no longer necessary to emphasize the beautiful illusionism technique applied here.

In this regard, Wickhoff had to silently admit that the illusionism had already attained its maturity far earlier than the Julio-Claudian period, because he himself accepted the late Republican date of this magnificent fresco frieze, c. 40, B. C. However, it is only after the Second World War that scholars at large came to recognize the origin of the ancient illusionism as early as in the Hellenistic period. The discovery of the royal graves of the Macedonian Dynasty and their decoration in Vergina near Thessaloniki in 1970s has finally given us the convincing proof for this.

The next picture shows Section 6 of the Odyssey Landscape, which once formed the center of the long fresco frieze. (fig. 7) The huge mansion of the sorceress Circe dominates the entire picture space. To the left of the composition there is an elaborate entrance to the courtyard. Apparently, there is water at the lower left corner of the foreground: it by no means resembles a *pulvium* often found in a Roman courtyard. With the surrounding bushes and earth mounds, it seems rather a small inlet of a river or sea. Lastly, there is a huge exedra at right with double colonnades and a sumptuous *aedicula*. They seem more appropriate for a palatial building than for a private house.

In the center of the composition, Odysseus manaces the sorceress with a sword in his hand. The gorgeous utensils on a round table in front of the *aedicula* seem to be

a kind of *prolepsis*, that is, the visual anticipation of the luxurious objects, which Homer describes in detail only in the later part of the epic. After the hero and the heroin reached compromise, Circe's four maids brought out these utensils for their banquet (vv. 349-359).

In his explanation of the continuing method, Wickhoff rightly pointed out that, in a long narrative frieze thus composed, the main characters of the narrative, not to say the protagonist, are repeated again and again as the story is unfolded. In the Trajan's column, the emperor appears no less than 300 times. Here, in Section 6 of the Odyssey Landscape, all the figures — Odysseus, Circe, and the maid — appear twice in one and the same composition.

The last example of the continuous narrative in frieze quoted by Wickhoff is another famous work of the so-called Joshua Roll. (fig. 8) This is a long parchment roll illustrating the story of the conquest of Canaan, the land of promise for the Israelites, by the Biblical hero Joshua. There is little doubt that the illustration is inspired by a Roman triumphal monument, perhaps Trajan's column itself, because not only the figure of the protagonist Joshua but also all the soldiers are dressed like a Roman emperor and his army. The rich pictorial frieze further shows a number of artistic devices applied in the Odyssey Landscape, not to mention the rich landscape background. The scenes are again separated by a number of promontories, trees, etc., just as in the Odyssey frieze in Rome. More than once, the personages are repeated. The illustrated roll also shares with the fresco frieze a set of secondary elements in common, such as the personifications of specific locales and the scattered architectural motifs.

At Wickhoff's time, the Joshua Roll was believed to date from the period around the year 400. Today, the majority of scholars supports that the roll was a product of the tenth century Imperial workshop. It has been said that this rare instance of illustrated scroll was created probably under the direction of the humanist emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos during his reign from 913 to 959. Or, more recently, it is ascribed to a later Byzantine Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969~976), whose campaign in the Holy Land may have instigated the creation of such a traditional Roman imperial monument.

Whatever the motivation may have been, the Joshua Rotulus is deliberately assimilated to an ancient Imperial monument to demonstrate that the throne of the Byzantine emperor is nothing but that of the legitimate heir of those rulers of the

Roman Empire.

This unusual work has long been the focus of dispute among the specialists of the history of Roman and Byzantine art. The issue at stake is whether or not this roll is, if not a direct copy of an earlier model, a reminiscence of the basic form of illustration in the Classical antiquity. Generations of scholars, including Wickhoff himself, regarded the Joshua Roll as an immediate copy of a Roman original. Their notion was further developed to the extent that an illustrated roll from the Classical period should serve as the model for those monumental narrative friezes like Trajan's column or the *Odyssey Landscape*. During 1950s and '60s, prominent scholars, including Karl Schefold, et al. were involved in a series of lively discussion as to whether the *Odyssey Landscape* was based on a picture roll from the Hellenistic period.

Aside from this hot debate on the existence of a picture roll in the ancient period, I would like to introduce the theory proposed by my teacher, the late Kurt Weitzmann. In his two books published soon after the end of the last World War, the *Joshua Roll* and *Roll and Codex*, he tried to prove that the immediate iconographical source of the Joshua Roll was not a Classical illustrated scroll but the illustration in a Greek Old Testament codex, the so-called Octateuch⁷⁾ (fig. 9). What is all the more important for my presentation is that the illustrations in the all existing Octateuch manuscripts are not in frieze form but in the form of an extensive series of numerous independent scenes, most of which are done either in the distinguishing, or, at best, complementing method of Wickhoff. According to Weitzmann, the Byzantine artist of the tenth century picked up the pictures scene by scene from the Octateuch illustration, and made up a long pictorial frieze with uninterrupted landscape background.

I am not going to take the audience further into the complicated state of research on the issue how the Vatican picture roll was created. However, in my view, Weitzmann's observation still holds on that there is a conspicuous iconographical resemblance between the Octateuch illustration and the illustration in the Joshua Roll. His interpretation accepted, it is all the more intriguing that such transformation of a series of independent picture into a long frieze could be done in the Byzantine Empire in the second half of the tenth century. Namely, if there had never been any preceding instance of such transformation, how could it suddenly

occur specifically at this historical moment, when the Empire enjoyed its last prosperity as the sole world power ?

While talking about the Byzantine court in the tenth century, we have come too far from Vienna at the end of the nineteenth century. However, interestingly enough, we may still ask the same question to Claude Monet busily working in the garden of Giverny in 1890: why and how he started with a series of independent *tableaux* of *Water Lilies*, and then, displayed them ensemble in his one man show in Paris. Finally, had Franz Wickhoff been lucky enough to survive and seen the Orangerie in Paris in 1916 (To our regret, he died in 1909.) (fig. 10), he could have been exalted and never saved his admiration to the Impressionism, because there he could find a perfect proof for his theory of the evolution of style from illusionism to continuous frieze.

Then, what would Wickhoff have said, if he had had a chance to look at and study a Japanese illustrated scroll, such as the vita cycle of Buddha in one of the earliest extant Japanese painted scrolls from the eighth century ? It seems unlikely again that he had such an opportunity. Or, if not an illustrated narrative, what would he have said, if he had joined Monet in appreciating a typical Japanese folding screen with the representation of four seasons, like a large scale work attributed to Shubun from the fifteenth century, now in the Kosetsu Museum in Kobe ? (fig. 11a, b)

This last instance is most interesting, and I would like to conclude my presentation today with a brief analysis of the picture.

The subject matter of this painting unfolded on the pair of folding screen is the Eight Scenes of Xiaoxiang. The creation of this new subject matter is often attributed to an eleventh century Chinese painter, Song Di, from Northern Sung Dynasty. His work is no longer extant, but obviously it consisted of eight different scenes chosen from the sceneries of the province of Xiaoxiang near the Lake. The earliest existing example is a set of eight pictures attributed to Wang Hong, now in Princeton University. Each piece develops in a horizontally long stretched format, almost like a short frieze. This particular format was much favored, and repeated in the well-known eight piece set attributed to Muxi from the second half of the

thirteenth century, now scattered in various Japanese collections.

We may pay our attention to a couple of matters regarding early Xiaoxiang paintings. First, it must be noted that, although horizontally long stretched in a frieze, each piece of these early Chinese examples of the Eight Scenes of Xiaoxiang contains only a single scene, which represents a single, ephemeral moment of transient time. This form of the set of eight pieces continued even after the subject matter was imported from China and greatly favored by the Japanese in the early fourteenth century. Shokei, who was active in late fifteenth century, left an example now in Hakutsuru Museum in Kobe. This work still consists of eight separate hanging scrolls. (fig. 12)

Now, while Japanese painters like Shokei still practiced this format of a series of eight independent scenes, the new format of Xiaoxiang paintings suddenly became so popular and favored by the Japanese clients from the late fifteenth century on through the next century. Japanese artists boldly combined the eight scenes in a large, but a single picture in frieze form.⁸⁾ Most of them consisted of a pair of folding screens, each of which had four to six wings. What attracts the viewer most is the subtle and skilful representation of the transience of the seasons in a large continuous frieze. While wandering from the right lower corner of the right screen, the viewer's eye is automatically led from Spring to Winter, passing through the Autumn sceneries with the moon shining on the Lake, and finally reaching the sober snow landscape at the left end of the left screen.

In terms of the temporal structure of the visual art, the viewer's time experience with these Japanese *Eight Scenes of Xiaoxiang* is very much the same as the great frieze by Monet in the Orangerie. There is no punctuation: the viewer is carried, as if quietly drifting away on gentle stream, from the present into the eternity, and certainly, this experience of the transient time was anticipated by the ancient Roman, as Vitruvius explicitly states with regard to the landscape with the scenes from the *Odysseia*. In his *De architettura*, Book VII, 5, 1-3, he enumerates various motifs derived from specific localities to decorate a long corridor of a Roman house: they are 'harbors, promontories, cliffs, streams, fountains, straits, sanctuaries, groves, hills, cattle and shepherds.

“ambulationibus vero propter spatia longitudinis varietatibus
topiorum ornarent a certis locorum proprietatibus imagines

experimentes ; pinguntur enim portus, promunturia, litora, flumina,
fontes, euripi, fana, luci, montes, pecora, pastores.”⁹⁾

Today, we no longer give a full credit to Franz Wickhoff's theory of the essential characteristics of the ancient Roman art, though it was certainly revolutionary at that time and gave an immeasurable impetus to the study of art history at large of the subsequent generations. However, it is undeniable that he contemplated, from the shady corner of his study in Vienna *à la fin du siècle*, a fundamental vision, the image of the transient world, Ukiyo, of which we mankind are certainly a part.

notes

- 1) I am much obliged to Dr. Gary Hickey and the other faculty members of the School of Fine Arts, the Classical Studies and Archaeology of Melbourne University for their kind invitation to present some of my recent thoughts on the role of Japanese art in the formation of modern European art. I am also grateful to Dr. and Mrs. Eiichi Tosaki of the university for their thoughtfulness for me.
- 2) F. Wickhoff and W. Ritter von Hartel, *Die Wiener Genesis* (Vienna, 1895). Our subsequent quotations from the book are to be made from its introduction published by M. Dvorák in 1912 as an independent volume under the title: *Römische Kunst (Die Wiener Genesis)*. (Reprinted in Soest, 1974)
- 3) J. J. Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (Dresden, 1764)
- 4) Wickhoff, *Römische Kunst*, 132-136.
- 5) *Ibid*, 63-64
- 6) One must consult the elaborate investigation into the results of the restoration of the fresco cycle done in the nineteenth century: R. Biering, *Die Odysseefresken von Esquilin*, (1995), esp. 32ff.
- 7) K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll, a Work of the Macedonian Renaissance*, (Princeton, 1948); *Ibid*. Roll and Codex, (Princeton, 1949).
- 8) The transformation of the Chinese format with a series of eight independent painting into the Japanese format as a continuous representation of the transience of Four Seasons is extensively discussed by: P. R. Stanley-Baker, *Mid-Muromachi Paintings of the Eight Views of Hsiao and Hsiang* (Ph. D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1979; Printed as UMI 3592), (Ann Arbor, 1984), esp. 72ff.
- 9) I have thoroughly discussed the temporal aspects of the visual arts in *Polyphonia Visibilis, I: the Study of Narrative Landscape (=Proceedings of the Faculty of Letters, Osaka University, 29)*, (Osaka 1989)

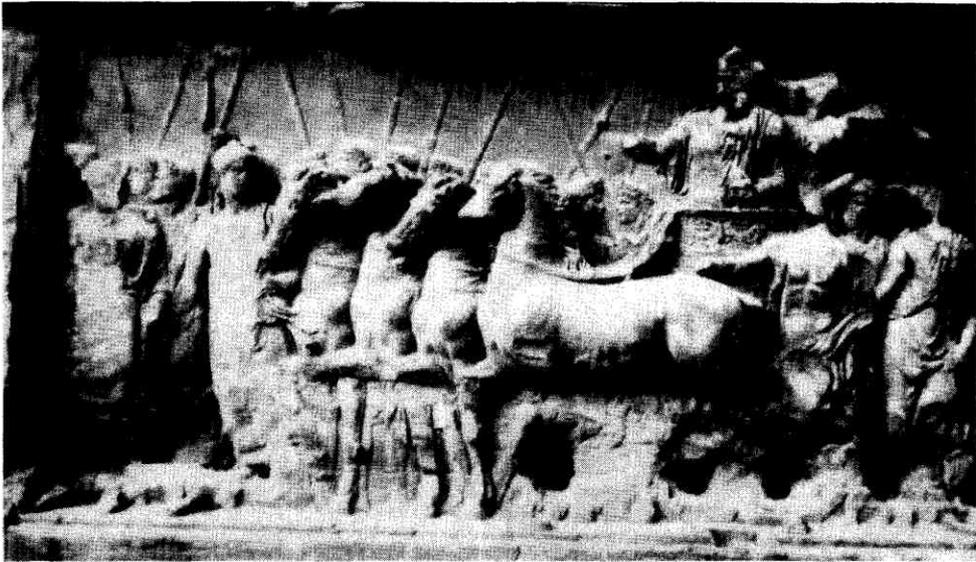


fig. 1 Relief Panel
Arch of Titus, Rome
(*Propylän Kunstgeschichte*)

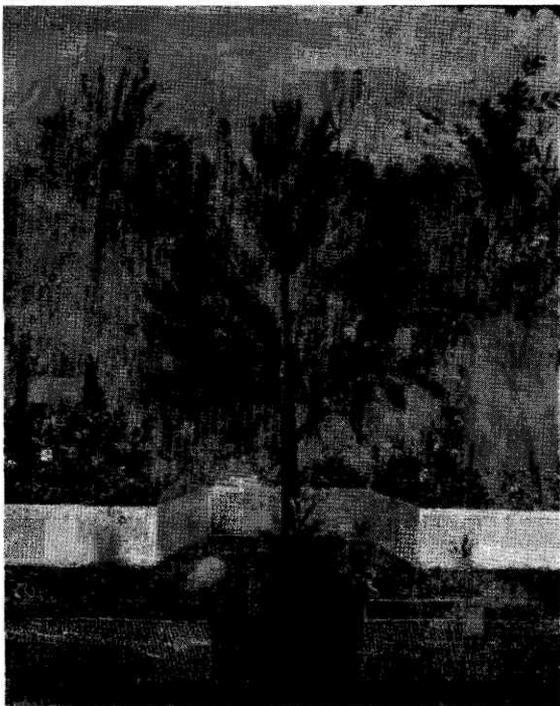


fig. 2 Wall Painting
House of Livia, Rome
(*Propylän Kunstgeschichte*)



fig. 3 Wooden Panel
Portrait, Fayum
(*Propylän Kunstgeschichte*)

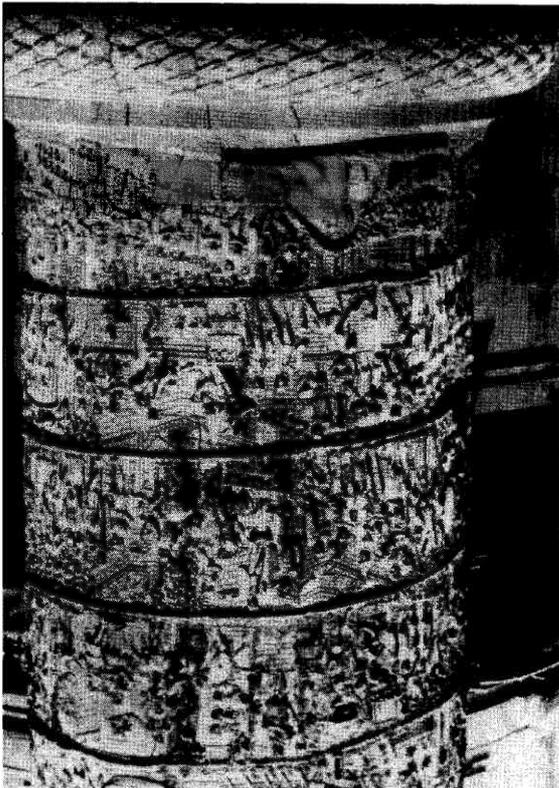


fig. 4 Relief
Column of Trajan
(*Propylän Kunstgeschichte*)

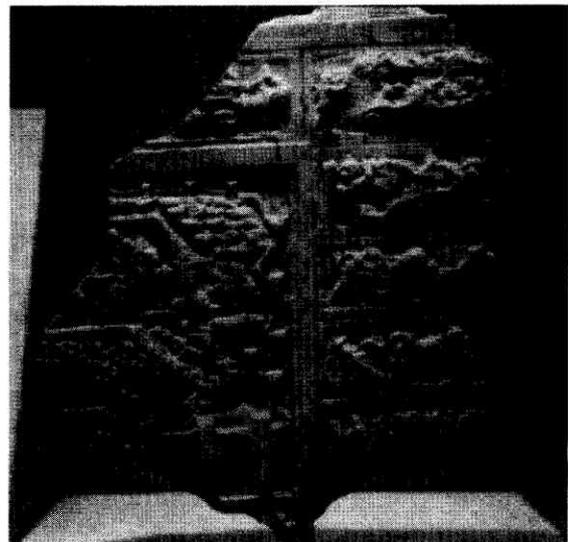


fig. 5 Stone Relief
Tabula Iliaca, New York
(Author)



fig. 6 Wall Painting
The Odyssey Landscape
(I. Baldassare, 2002)



fig. 7 Wall Painting
The Odyssey Landscape
(Author)



fig. 8 Parchment Scroll
The Joshua Roll, Vatican
(Author)



fig. 9 Parchment Codex
Vat. 767, Octateuch
(Diapositive, Vatican)

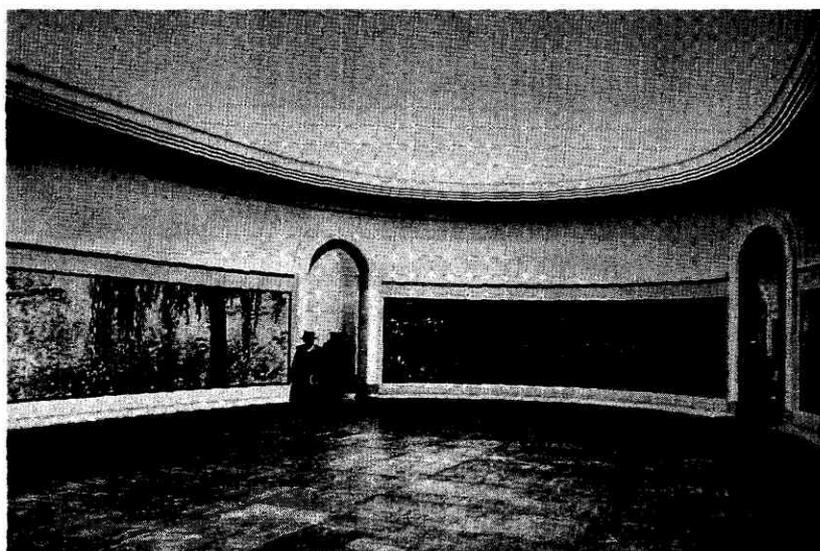


fig. 10 Wall Painting
Monet, Orangerie, Paris
(J. Isaacs, 1978)

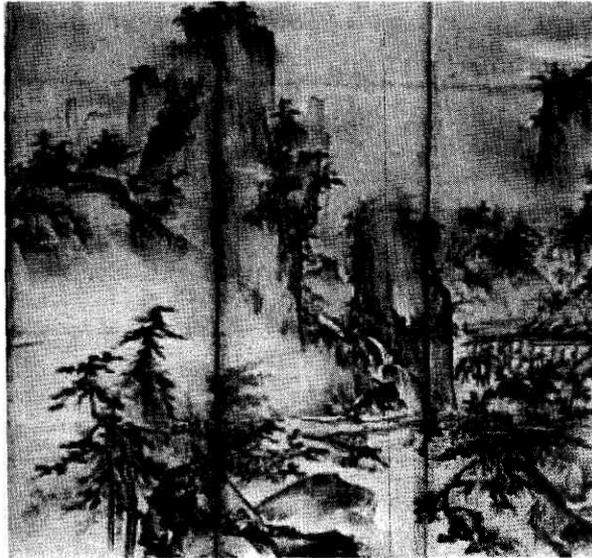


fig. 11a Folding Screen
Attr. to Shubun, Eight Scenes of Xiao Xiang
(Details) (Kosetsu Museum, Kobe)

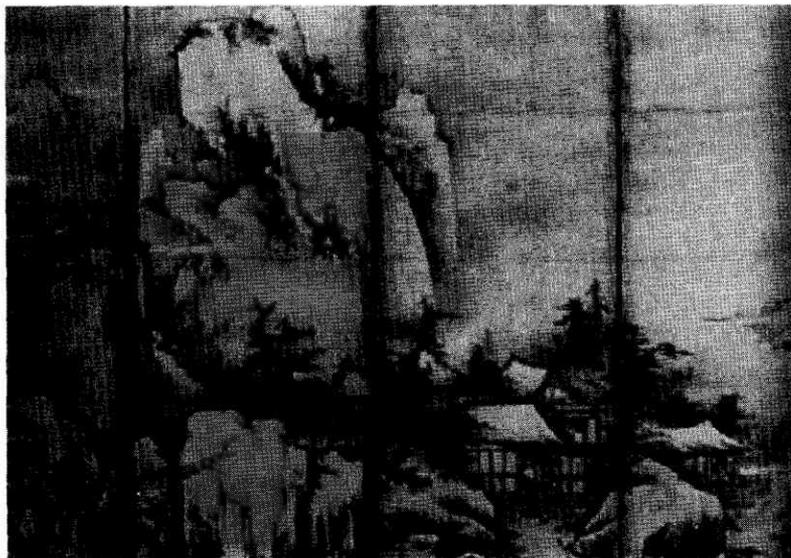


fig. 11b Folding Screen
Attr. to Shubun, Eight Scenes of Xiao Xiang
(Details) (Kosetsu Museum, Kobe)

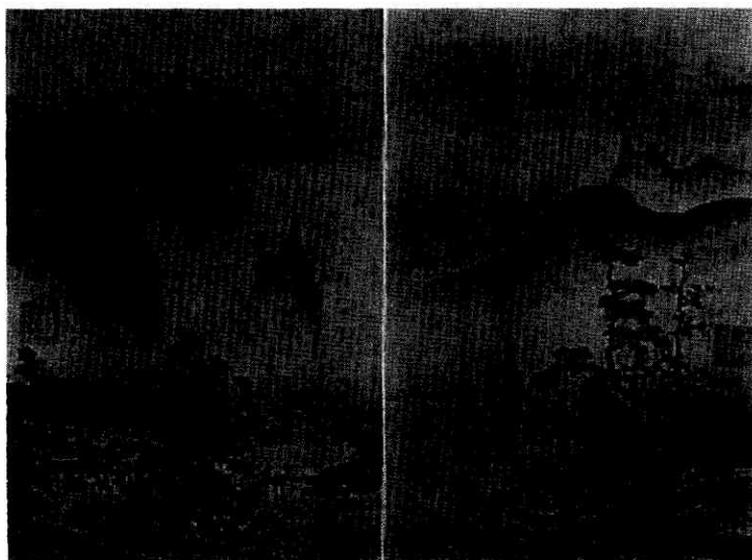


fig. 12 Hanging Scrolls
Shokei to Shubun, Eight Scenes of Xiao Xiang
(Hakutsuru Museum, Kobe)