

Seeking modernity through the Romanesque: G. G. King and E. H. Lowber behind a camera in Spain c. 1910-25

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Figure 1 Unknown, *Georgiana Goddard King*, silver gelatin print, 6 x 4 in (15 x 10 cm). New York: HSA GRF 94048, by permission

In the fall of 1965, enrolled in the doctoral program in Fine Arts at Harvard University, I audited Linda Seidel's course in Medieval Art.¹ We were about the same age but Seidel already had a reputation as an inspiring teacher and original thinker.² She began by warning the students that she would not stray far beyond the Romanesque. A devotee of Meyer Schapiro (1904-1996), whose work figured largely in the reading list and whose visual insights permeated her lectures, Seidel also insisted that we should be aware of the much earlier work done by Georgiana Goddard King (1871-1939; fig. 1). I probably did not go into the stacks to find any of

¹ I wish to thank many colleagues and friends who contributed to my research on King and Lowber: Patrick Lenaghan, Noemi Espinosa Fernandez, and Vanessa Pintado at the Hispanic Society of America in New York; Marianne Weldon, Dale Kinney, and Loretta Treese, at Bryn Mawr College; Katherine A. Bussard at the Princeton University Art Museum; also Janice Mann, Steven Nelson, Francisco Prado-Vilar, Jeremy Melius, Gabriel Quick, and Lora Webb.

² Seidel had just completed her dissertation at Harvard and it was rumored to be short and brilliant: Linda Seidel, 'Romanesque sculpture from the cathedral of Saint-Etienne, Toulouse' (1965).

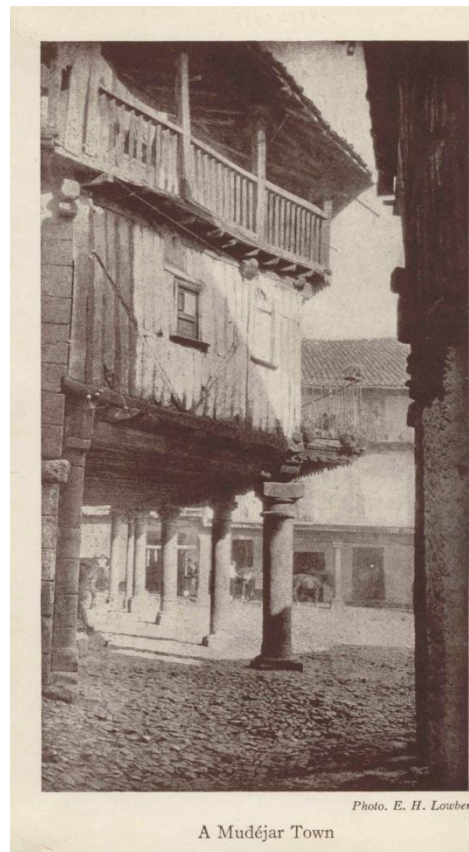


Figure 2 Frontispiece by E. H. Lowber to King, Georgiana Goddard. *Mudéjar*. *Bryn Mawr Notes and Monographs* Vol. VIII (Bryn Mawr, Pa., London, New York : Bryn Mawr College & Longmans, Green and Co.) 1927

the books and articles King produced between 1904 and 1939.³ The exquisite little books published by Bryn Mawr College, with tiny black and white illustrations from photographs taken by the author and others, might not have impressed me, nor perhaps would King's many articles in the early volumes of *Art Studies*, the *American Journal of Archaeology*, and the *Art Bulletin* (fig. 2). Previous art historical training in Paris and London had given me a typical twentieth-century thirst for the newest knowledge built on canonical foundations, and neither women's history nor historiography were yet scholarly concerns. Even Agnes Mongan (1905-1996), who then taught the famous museum course at Harvard with John Coolidge, never mentioned King, although she had been her student at Bryn Mawr College for women, and took responsibility for the posthumous publication of King's *Heart of*

³ Selected bibliographies of King's work are in Susanna Terrell Saunders, 'Georgiana Goddard King (1871-1939): Educator and Pioneer in Medieval Spanish Art', in *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 1820-1979*, ed. Claire Richter Sherman and Adele M. Holcomb, *Contributions in Women's Studies*, Westport, Connecticut and London, England: Greenwood Press, 1981, 237-38. And Janice Mann, "'Hark the Herald Angels Sing": Here's to Georgiana Goddard King (1871-1939)' in *Women medievalists and the academy*, ed. Jane Chance, Madison, Wi.: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005, 123-25.

Spain.⁴ Mongan had become a renowned connoisseur of nineteenth-century French drawings, and left other fields of art history to specialists.⁵ Yet the gulf between the two women was probably much deeper; Mongan had had to learn to think and argue 'like a man', cite male authorities, and be careful not to make the kind of intuitive judgments that might appear 'feminine.' King followed a rich and varied intellectual and personal path throughout a career that encompassed literature and creative writing as well as art history and archaeology. She used past as well as contemporary cultural production in a quest for modernity in all aspects of her life.

Unlike the stories told in this issue by Andrée Hayum and Christine Verzar, this article is not about the immediate legacy of G. G. King and the art history department she founded in 1913; it is rather about the way she and her co-photographer E. H. Lowber slipped into oblivion; this is a tale about the silencing of women.⁶ In the second and third decades of the century, King was a friend and intellectual companion to Gertrude Stein, Bernard Berenson, Alfred Stieglitz, and Arthur Kingsley Porter, a pioneer in seeking out and photographing little known medieval buildings in Spain and Portugal, and in teaching modern art in the United States. Her students testify that she was an inspiring teacher, reciting Spanish poetry while showing slides of her newest discoveries, and assigning extra-curricular readings in D. H. Lawrence, Gertrude Stein, and Robert Browning.⁷ She demanded her students pay attention to chronology and iconography, and could reel off all the different dates assigned to Cluny by her peers, yet she resisted immersion in the discipline of art history, with its unrelenting focus on period style and development.⁸ Occasional ostentatious gestures toward women's liberation could appear subversive; for instance a surprise exam question 'Was armpit hair a secondary sexual attribute?' made a mockery of the discipline of art history, while drawing attention to the feminist issue of the social suppression of body hair along with menses.⁹ It is the kind of subject one can imagine being debated in the circle of Gertrude Stein.

⁴ Georgiana Goddard King, [and Edith H. Lowber] Agnes Mongan, ed, *Heart of Spain*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941.

⁵ 'Mongan, Agnes' in Lee Sorensen, ed. *Dictionary of Art Historians*, <https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/mongana.htm> (all entries cited were last accessed October 31 2014).

⁶ Madeline H. Caviness, 'Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries' (*e-book*: <http://dca.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness>), Medford: Tufts University, 2001, chapters 1 and 2:

<http://dca.lib.tufts.edu/caviness/> ; in the context of art historians as much as artists it is unavoidable to think of Linda Nochlin, 'Why have there been no great women Artists?', in *Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays*, New York: Harper and Row, 1989 reprint, first published in 1971, 145-78.

⁷ Saunders, 'G. G. King', 217-19, gives a detailed account of King's courses and the department she built.

⁸ King's lecture notes are fragmentary but informative: Bryn Mawr College, Canaday Library, Special Collections, G. G. King files (hereafter cited as BMC King), Box 2.

⁹ Saunders, 'G. G. King', 219; see also Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, 2nd ed., London and New York: Ark Paperbacks, 1984; reprint, 1989.

It has taken a broad understanding of the art-historiography of the early twentieth century, particularly of the phenomenon I once described as a symbiosis between modern artists and medievalists, but also of women's history in relation to gender studies, to unravel King's contributions.¹⁰ Her infatuation with the landscape, material culture and early literature of a country that many thought 'primitive', now appears part of a drive toward modernity, even presaging a post-modern breaking down of disciplinary boundaries; yet those new borders were being policed as other departments formed, and ultimately kept King out of the mainstream of art history.¹¹ In the process, the art departments that continued to flourish on women's campuses - at Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley colleges as well as Bryn Mawr - were surpassed in prestige, funding, and disciplinary focus by those at all-male universities such as Harvard, Yale and Princeton, whose doctoral programs formed the art historians of the future. Porter for instance had liberal research leaves and half a dozen colleagues to share teaching, including Kenneth John Conant. And the prestige of medievalists such as Porter is perpetuated in *Festschriften*, and in their university's archives, ensuring them a place in historiography.¹² Another post-modern facet of the King-Lowber collaboration in image-making is that it was seamless, so insistence on a single author has confused rather than clarified their roles; their practices already defied the notion of authorship that was to be debated

¹⁰ I first gave this paper at a colloquium in Santiago, 'El Presente Eterno / Eternal Modern', in December 2013, organized by Francisco Prado-Vilar. My paper 'From Cluniac to Romanesque in Cambridge Mass', given at a symposium in honor of Linda Seidel in 2011, included preliminary observations on the roles of the Porters in the Harvard department of Fine Arts. For the symbiosis of medieval and modern, see Madeline H. Caviness, 'Erweiterung des "Kunst"-Begriffs: Die Rezeption mittelalterlicher Werke im Kontext nachimpressionistischer Bewegungen', *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* XL: 1986, 204-15 and Madeline H. Caviness, 'Broadening the Definitions of "Art": The Reception of Medieval Works in the Context of Post-Impressionist Movements,' in *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*, Patrick J. Gallacher and Helen Damico, eds, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1989, 259-82.

¹¹ Janice Mann, 'Georgiana Goddard King and A. Kingsley Porter Discover the Art of Medieval Spain,' in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, Richard L. Kagan, ed. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002, 173, 186-87.

¹² Cambridge, Harvard University Archives, 'Papers of Arthur Kingsley Porter, 1883-1957 (inclusive, bulk), 23 cubic feet (66 document boxes, 1 flat box, 2 card boxes, 3 volumes, 9 pamphlet binders, 1 folder)': Porter's typed lecture notes are in HUG 1706.1xx; Kenneth John Conant, 'Arthur Kingsley Porter,' *Speculum*, 9: 1934, 94-96; Mrs Lucy Kingsley Porter, *The writings of A. Kingsley Porter, 1883-1933*, Cambridge (MA): The Fogg art museum, 1934; Wilhelm Reinhold Walter Koehler, ed, *Medieval studies in memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, Harvard-Radcliffe fine arts series, 2 vols, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939; Linda Seidel, 'Arthur Kingsley Porter : Life, Legend and Legacy', in *The Early years of art history in the United States : notes and essays on departments, teaching, and scholars*, ed. Craig Hugh Smyth and Peter M. Lukehart, Princeton, N.J.: Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, 1993, 97-100; Linda Seidel, 'Arthur Kingsley Porter (1883-1933)', in *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline, Vol. 3 Philosophy and the Arts*, ed. Helen Damico, New York: Garland Publishing, 2000, 273-86.

by Michel Foucault and Roland Barthes fifty years later.¹³ It must be unusual in the annals of modern art that the same corpus of work has been ascribed to one or another of two artists, despite existing documentation.

During the recent two decades, art historians in the USA have addressed historiography with new intensity. Research, by scholars such as Kathy Brush, Jane Chance, and Michael Ann Holly as well as Linda Seidel, is providing valuable insights into the intellectual formation and achievements of some of those giants who we fear may dwarf us.¹⁴ Or, to borrow another medieval figure, should we fear more that the dragon is swallowing its own tail? Inevitably, historiography has instated a canon of Founding Fathers who were born in the nineteenth century: Franz Wickhoff, Alois Riegl, Adolf Goldschmidt, Emile Mâle, Henri Focillon, Erwin Panofsky, and the occasional Desert Mother such as Sirarpie Der Nersessian, founder of modern Armenian studies. It took determination to ensure that Helen Damico include Der Nersessian among *Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline*, and I lost the argument for King.¹⁵ The on-line *Dictionary of Art Historians* blatantly constructs genealogies, reinforced by links, as if Anton Springer begat Adolf Goldschmidt, Goldschmidt begat Arthur Haseloff and Georg Swarzenski.¹⁶ The entries suggest a genealogical tree for Harvard, from the progenitor Charles Eliot Norton (1827 to 1908), to whom James Turner dedicated a monograph in 1999 and for whom a lecture series is named in the Fine Arts department, to Seidel a century later:¹⁷ Chandler Post begat Walter Cook; Arthur Kingsley Porter begat Kenneth John Conant; Post and Porter begat Frederick Deknatel; Deknatel begat Seidel. Another trap is that these purportedly formative associations were often – as in Seidel’s case – largely bureaucratic arrangements; Deknatel had little interest in medieval art by 1965, having become a modernist, and courses on medieval art were taught by others;¹⁸ Seidel’s real *Doctorvater* was Schapiro, who was in New York where she had taught for a year.

¹³ Michel Foucault, ‘What is an author,’ in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard, Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977, 113-38; Roland Barthes, “The Death of the Author,” in *The Rustle of Language*, Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1989, 49-55.

¹⁴ Kathryn Brush, ‘Adolph Goldschmidt (1863-1944),’ in *Medieval Scholarship*, vol. 3, ed. Damico, 2000, 245-58; Kathryn Brush, *The Shaping of Art History: Wilhelm Vöge, Adolph Goldschmidt, and the Study of Medieval Art*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996; Jane Chance, *Women medievalists and the academy*, Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005; Michael Ann Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984. Other contributions are cited below.

¹⁵ Nina G. Garsoïan, ‘Serarpie Der Nersessian (1896-1989),’ in *Medieval Scholarship*, vol. 3, ed. Damico, 2000, 287-305.

¹⁶ Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*: <https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/>.

¹⁷ James Turner, *The Liberal Education of Charles Eliot Norton*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

¹⁸ Deknatel’s early work was in Spain: Frederick B. Deknatel, ‘The Thirteenth century Gothic sculpture of the cathedrals of Burgos and Leon,’ *The Art Bulletin* XVII: 1935, 243-389; c.f. Frederick B. Deknatel, *Edvard Munch*, Boston: Boston Institute of Contemporary Art, 1950.

In recent decades Walter Cahn, Susanna Terell Saunders, and Janice Mann have published reliable accounts of King's life with considerable insight into her work.¹⁹ Archival sources and obituaries are available.²⁰ Yet at this remove in time it has proved impossible to construct an intellectual portrait of the woman who photographed alongside King, Edith H. Lowber (1878-1934). One photograph in the Hispanic Society of America in New York, and a large collection in the archives of Bryn Mawr College, are ascribed to her on good authority;²¹ the name E. H. Lowber appears under a few of the images in King's publications (e.g. fig. 2). Even so, many of the prints deposited by King in the Hispanic Society of America are from the same negatives as the set in Bryn Mawr that Lowber had claimed as hers, and Mongan ascribed all the illustrations in *Heart of Spain* to King. The best solution may be to designate them all as 'photos from the King-Lowber expeditions', as suggested by the curator of photography at the Society, Patrick Lenaghan.²²

The two women deserve attention as photographers in the service of art history, in part because of a feminist interest for the special circumstances in which they worked. Women of their generation could turn their gaze on the world more freely from their position behind a camera – a situation that protects from the gaze of others in the same way as might an anchorite's hut, a veil, or a duck-blind from which one can shoot; but importantly, the camera also gives agency, and King and Lowber had a purpose that legitimized them as viewers, even voyeurs, getting them the bishop's permission to enter such monastic houses for women as Las Huelgas.²³ In distinction from the protection afforded by their conservative long skirts, and broad-brimmed hats and parasols, carrying a camera was a modernist cover (fig. 3).²⁴ King and Lowber, and students from Bryn Mawr who sometimes travelled with them, must have been objects of curiosity, but they countered the stares with that far more aggressive and invasive eye, the camera (fig. 4). King occasionally makes remarks about the people they saw that show her as a voyeur, yet the published photographs most often concentrate the gaze on stones and mortar, or landscape vistas, emphasizing a kind of archaeological present (figs. 2, 12, 13, 15, 16).

He was still nominally a medievalist when I was a graduate student, but deferred to Seidel to advise me in an independent study project.

¹⁹ Saunders, 'G. G. King'; Walter Cahn, 'King, Georgiana Goddard', <https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/kingg.htm>. Mann, 'King and Porter', 171-92; Mann, 'Herald Angels', 111-25.

²⁰ In addition to the sources cited here, Mann also examined obituaries, and the Gertrude Stein correspondence in Yale University, Beineke Library, and at Syracuse University. I am grateful to her for several references.

²¹ Esther Almarcha Núñez-Herrador, Silvia García Alcázar, and Esmeralda Muñoz Sánchez, *Fotografía y memoria : I Encuentro de historia de la fotografía en Castilla-La Mancha*, Colección Almod. Fotografía Vol. 3, Ciudad Real: Centro de Estudios de Castilla-La Mancha, 2006, 79.

²² E-mail of 30 October 2014. I am grateful to him for a discussion of the vexed question of attribution.

²³ Hispanic Society of America, Georgiana Goddard King, AMH [Arthur M. Huntington] correspondence (hereafter HSA King), 2 October 1915.

²⁴ King does not seem to have dressed as a man, nor shortened her skirts in the 1920s.



Figure 3 G. G. King/ E. H. Lowber Photographic Expedition, *Avila Bullocks* (G. G. King portrait), silver gelatin print, 5.7 x 11 cm (2¼ x 4¼ in). New York: HSA GRF: 5404, by permission



Figure 4 King, G. G. King / E. H. Lowber Photographic Expedition, *Convento de San Francisco (Orphanage), Lugo. Patio from Inside Cloister*, silver gelatin print, 3 ½ x 5 ½ in (9 x 14 cm). New York: HSA GRF: 31516, by permission

It is also becoming clear that women photographers deserve special standing in the annals of the discipline of art history, when an ‘age of emulsion’ began to transform research, teaching and publishing; Norton had taught art history into the first decade of the twentieth century without any visual aids. By the next generation, photographs were regarded as scientific documents, and for the first time comparisons could be made without relying on memory or drawings. Comparative analysis was now based in the supposed objective reality of photographs, and served to document cross-cultural exchange and establish sources and influences. The projection of pairs of slides structured art historical discourse: Heinrich Wölfflin (1864-1945) and Paul Frankl (1878-1962) used that binary structure to differentiate

period styles;²⁵ connoisseurs depended on it to decide attributions. American professors depended on slides to introduce their students to European monuments as well as to structure their exams. King used photographs in all of these ways, and she was not the only woman contributing to this new form of documentation.

Before King, another woman had set out from the USA with a camera to document medieval churches (fig. 5). Vida Hunt Francis (1870-1957), a Philadelphia native, graduated from Smith College and studied photography and platinum printing with Charles Pancoast and John C. Bullock.²⁶ She provided lavish photographic illustrations for Elise Whitlock Rose's books on medieval French monuments; they published two volumes on the south of France 1906, and the two on central France followed in 1907.²⁷ The books are in the Bryn Mawr library and seem very likely to have inspired King to seek similar adventures. Perhaps it was she who ensured that Bryn Mawr acquire the set of prints marked up for publication, to be used for art historical study.²⁸



Figure 5 Vida Hunt Francis, 'View of the Choir, the Cathedral of Beauvais', c. 1906-1914, silver gelatin print, 11.75 cm x 8.89 cm. Bryn Mawr, PA: BMC Art Collection, 2009.29.313, by permission

²⁵ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History. The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art*, trans. M. D. Hottinger, seventh ed., New York: Dover Publications, Inc, 1956, 18-225; Paul Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, first ed., Harmondsworth and Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962, 10-13.

²⁶ Nathalie T. Andrews et al., *Your loving Vida : an introduction to the photographic work of Vida Hunt Francis in the collections of the University of Louisville Photographic Archives ; published on the occasion of an exhibition of her photographs at the J.B. Speed Museum, May 6-June 6, 1976*, Louisville, Ky.: The Museum, 1976.

²⁷ Elise Whitlock Rose and Vida Hunt Francis, *Cathedrals and cloisters of the south of France*, New York and London: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1906; Elise Whitlock Rose and Vida Hunt Francis, *Cathedrals and cloisters of midland France*, New York and London: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1907.

²⁸ The collection is on-line at [www. http://triarthe.brynmawr.edu/](http://triarthe.brynmawr.edu/)

In the foreword to the volumes on Northern France published in 1914, Rose mentions having access to the flying buttresses and clerestory sills of the French Gothic cathedrals.²⁹ One account describes Francis gaining access to the clock in the west end of Beauvais Cathedral in order to get an award-winning shot into the choir without perspective distortion. Having enquired when the clock would be wound she prepared that morning by donning all her black underwear to thwart the gaze (knowing a man would insist she go up a ladder first), and pleaded with the man who showed up that he let her go up to the loft. It is not clear whether Rose and Francis travelled together, but Rose maintained a less personal voice in her text than that of King, by constructing an un-named traveller as 'he.' More consistently than the work of King-Lowber, photographs published by Francis and Rose show un-peopled monuments that refuse to admit modernity, except of course in the very nature of the medium that recorded them.

Certainly inspired by King and Lowber, if not also by Rose and Francis, another female presence on the pilgrim roads emerges in the volumes on Romanesque sculpture published by Porter in 1923.³⁰ Porter's photographic campaigns are well-known: Unlimited resources were at his disposal, including the finest camera equipment and a car to travel in, and he also benefited from knowing Richard Hamann who founded Photo Marburg.³¹ Mounted prints of the Porters' photographs are being carefully archived at Harvard, but the next step must be to recognize the major role played by his wife, the New Yorker, Lucy Bryant Wallace, as other than mere cataloguer of his photographic material.³² In fact she seems to have controlled the large-format camera that produced the most extraordinary results. She even had scaffolds to work from – the ends of the poles appear in one of her photographs of the tympanum at Cahors (fig. 6). Scrutiny of the mounted photographs in the archives, and the ones published in the great *Pilgrimage Roads* tomes, reveals that the best pictures are by Lucy. It seems likely that Arthur took a few 4 ½in x 3 ½in exploratory photos of a site first, and then Lucy studied the light and picked the time of day to get the most information and luminescence in the shadows. There is a great difference between his pictures at Moissac, with too much contrast and sometimes light flare in the film, and the soft light and great detail in the illustrations captioned LWP.³³ Most unfortunately, the photographer is seldom indicated on the mounted prints.

²⁹ Elise Whitlock Rose, and Vida Hunt Francis, *Cathedrals and cloisters of northern France*, New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914.

³⁰ Porter, A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, 1 ed., 10 vols, Boston: Marshall Jones, 1923.

³¹ For Marburg, see chapter 4 in Kathryn Brush, *Vastly more than brick & mortar : reinventing the Fogg Art Museum in the 1920s*, Cambridge and New Haven: Harvard University Art Museums: Yale University Press, 2003, 149-84.

³² As in Lee ed. *Dictionary*; also Seidel, 'Life, Legend and Legacy', 100.

³³ Porter, *Pilgrimage Roads*, figs. 274, 277-80.

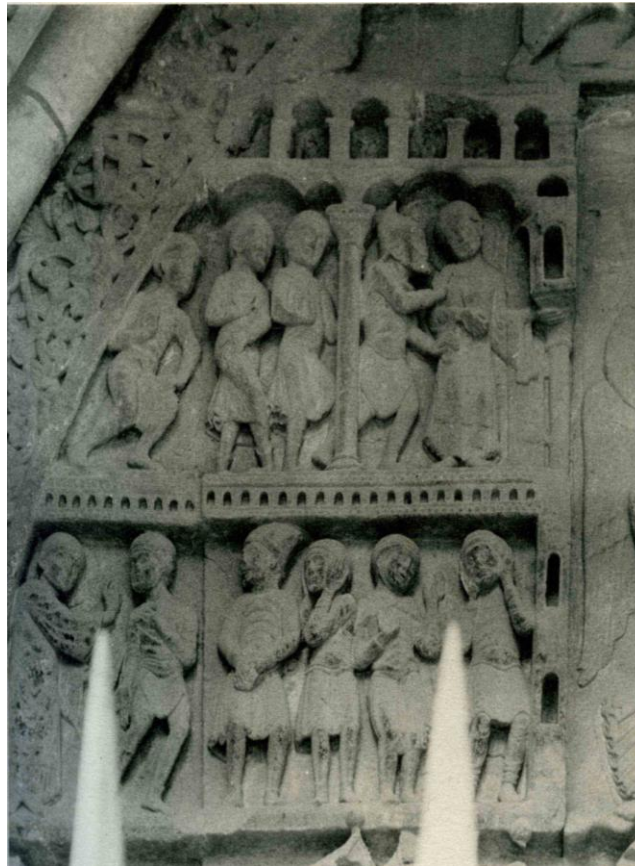


Figure 6 Lucy Warren Porter, *Cahors Cathedral north portal* (detail of the tympanum photographed from a scaffold), c. 1912-23. After Porter, *Pilgrimage roads* 423

The photographs acquired early in the century by the Hispanic Society are now being studied by Lenaghan and Noemi Espinosa Fernandez.³⁴ They include the work of Anna Christian, who was active c. 1915, but about whom little is known. Those who were employed by the Society during the 1914-18 war included Arthur Byne and his wife Mildred Stapley Byne, who went on photographic campaigns together in Spain in 1915, 1917, and 1918, focusing on monuments and buildings; both served as curators of Architecture and Allied Art in 1916-18. King had occasion to meet them in Spain.³⁵ They were prolific in publishing the material they collected, authoring nearly ten books each.

All these photographers left the dynamic realm of social activity and interaction in the Spanish towns to Ruth Matilda Anderson (1893-1983) who graduated from the Clarence H. White School of Photography in 1919 and was hired by the Hispanic Society in 1921.³⁶ Lenaghan has signalled the importance of

³⁴ Some of the results can be seen in Patrick Lenaghan and Luis Miguel Mata Pérez, *Salamanca en los fondos fotográficos de la Hispanic Society of America*, Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 2003.

³⁵ Lenaghan and Pérez, *Salamanca*, 118, 200. HSA King, 19 November 1919.

³⁶ Patrick Lenaghan, *In the Lands of Extremadura: Ruth Matilda Anderson's Photographs of Western Spain for the Hispanic Society*, New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 2004, 21; see also Lenaghan and Pérez, *Salamanca*, 26-32.

Clarence White in New York for the training of a generation of women photographers; White regarded it as a good career for women.³⁷ Anderson was far more prolific and technically advanced than King and Lowber; in 1924-25 her photographer father even devised a system for developing her film as she travelled, whereas King had to wait to visit opportune places.³⁸ The pictorialism of her work, in which she documented rituals and street parades, local costumes and customs, pleased the Hispanic Society more than the static archaeological shots of the previous decade. Her work pointed toward the photo-journalism of later times, capturing an intensely inhabited, but ephemeral, world.

Yet King had also sought modernity, through travels that seemed to take her back in time even as they advanced her project to experience modern art, and a modern way of life. Her pilgrimages to Spain set out from Gertrude Stein's Paris, and returned there.

King's personal investment in modernity

King was broadly educated with a BA and MA from Bryn Mawr having studied ancient Greek and English literature, philosophy and political sciences. She spent a year in Europe in 1898-99, mainly in Paris. Subsequently, she lived in New York and taught at a girls' high school (1899-1906) while writing plays, some of which are still in the high school repertory in the US.³⁹ She was also translating late medieval Spanish poetry, such as the *Ecologues* of Juan del Encima, about a shepherd and the god of love, and writing very personal pieces in a similar style. Her play *The Way of Perfect Love* is a strangely convoluted story about a duke's daughter and a shepherd. King became a close friend of Gertrude Stein (1874-1946), who attended Johns Hopkins Medical School not far from Bryn Mawr prior to 1901, and had a circle of friends from the college when she lived in New York.⁴⁰ In 1903-1904 Stein wrote fiction based on love affairs between Bryn Mawr women: *Q.E.D.* was published right away but she delayed the appearance of *Fernhurst*, her first novel, because it was about Martha Carey Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr from 1894 to 1922, and 'Mamie' Gwinn, the partner who left her in 1904 to marry.⁴¹ Carey Thomas fore-

³⁷ Noemí Espinosa Fernández guided me to: Clarence H. White, 'Photography as a Profession for Women,' *News-Bulletin of the Bureau of Vocational Information* 2, no. 7, 1 April 1924., and Bonnie Yochelson and Kathleen A. Erwin, *Pictorialism into Modernism: The Clarence H. White School of Photography*, ed. Marianne Fulton, New York: Rizzoli and George Eastman House in association with the Detroit Institute of Arts, 1996.

³⁸ Lenaghan and Pérez, *Salamanca*, 30.

³⁹ Georgiana Goddard King, *Comedies and legends for marionettes; a theatre for boys and girls*, New York and London: Macmillan Co., 1904; Georgiana Goddard King, *The way of perfect love*, New York and London: Macmillan Co., 1908.

⁴⁰ Saunders, 'G. G. King', 223-24.

⁴¹ Saunders, 'G. G. King', 214; Leon Katz, 'Introduction' in Gertrude Stein, *Fernhurst, Q.E.D., and other early writings*, New York: Liveright, 1971. Carey Thomas had relationships with live-in female partners that may have been veiled as Boston marriages: Mary Elizabeth

swore male company when a teenager, earned a doctorate from Zurich, and insisted her girls learn economics and physics as well as languages and the arts.⁴² They could do all the things men could do, even if they did dress differently. As emancipated women, both Gertrude Stein and Carey Thomas were powerful models for King. She shared Stein's fascination with the new art of the early twentieth century, and understood her struggle for comparable written expression.⁴³ After Gertrude Stein and her brother Leo moved to Paris in 1903, King watched their collection of modern art grow, helped Stein publish her writing, and reviewed her books.⁴⁴ She saw the work of Picasso and Juan Gris and Picabia, there and in the galleries;⁴⁵ and she lectured on modern European art at Bryn Mawr before the famous New York Armory show that introduced the European avant-garde to the American public in 1913.⁴⁶ That same year, she taught the first graduate course given in the US on Spanish art, and also gave a course on Chinese and Japanese art.⁴⁷ In New York she would have seen modern art in Alfred Stieglitz's gallery 291, and in 1915, as she prepared the modern course again, she consulted with him about obtaining slides of contemporary works.⁴⁸

For King's circle, modernity was about life-style as much as about contemporary cultural production. Many Bryn Mawr women took Carey Thomas's advice to forge a life without men, and Stein and Alice B. Toklas set an example that King personally aspired to.⁴⁹ King's companion Lowber remains a mystery; book reviews and correspondence spell her name indifferently Lober, Loder, and Lowder. Yet painstaking examination of all the available documentary sources has begun to yield results. King met Lowber at some time before 1908; for Christmas that year she gave her an exquisite little Florentine book filled with hand-written poems that

Garrett (1854-1915), a wealthy heiress who founded Bryn Mawr College and the Johns Hopkins Medical School, followed Mary Gwinn.

⁴² Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr*, New York: Harper, 1947; see also Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma mater : design and experience in the women's colleges from their nineteenth-century beginnings to the 1930s*, New York: Knopf :Distributed by Random House, 1984, 105-33.

⁴³ Towards the end of her career, in 1934, King proudly invited Stein to give a lecture at Bryn Mawr: Saunders, 'G. G. King', 225.

⁴⁴ Saunders, 'G. G. King', 224-25.

⁴⁵ Janet C. Bishop et al., *The Steins collect : Matisse, Picasso, and the Parisian avant-garde*, San Francisco, Calif. and New Haven, Conn.: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, in association with Yale University Press, 2011, 52; the reproduction of interior views of the collection is invaluable.

⁴⁶ Charles Mitchell, 'Mr. Cooper and Miss King', *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Bulletin* 41, no. 3, Spring 1961, 5-7.

⁴⁷ Saunders, 'G. G. King', 232. Spanish art was taught at undergraduate level in Chicago from 1911/12.

⁴⁸ Mann, 'Herald Angels', 120 and n. 60, cites correspondence at Yale.

⁴⁹ BMC King, Box3 H folder 2, 'G-G-King (GG) 1870-1939,' an unpaginated print-out signed by Cella and Dydo [probably Ulla E. Dydo], 20 May 1986, cites King's letter to Stein of 8 May 1927 written from Château d'Oex after a visit to Stein and Toklas in Paris, referring to 'the friend /whose life with you /your life with whom / I well could envy'.



Figure 7 Unknown, *Edith H. Lowber*, passport photo 1916. Artwork in the public domain

emulate *pasturelle*; the title, 'Quemadmodum disederat cervus ad fontes aquarum ; A First Book of Desire by Georgiana Goddard King', is from Psalm 41 (42).1: 'As the hart panteth after the water brooks, [so panteth my soul after thee]'.⁵⁰ Little is known of Edith Hunn Lowber's origins or early life: According to her 1916 passport, she was born in Camden, Delaware, in 1878, thus seven years younger than King (fig.7);⁵¹ she is described as: '5' 9 with a square forehead, brown eyes, a long nose, a large mouth, pointed chin, brown/gray hair and a long face with a brown and freckled complexion.' In a later application, with no photograph, she has a 'dark (freckled) complexion,' suggesting she may have been a person of colour, though she and her family passed as white in the US census of 1880 and 1900.⁵² After the death of her father, Jonathan H. Lowber, a farmer (c. 1854-1894) she went to live with her married sister Bessie Jones; her brother-in-law, George M. Jones, was a lawyer. No notes or letters from Lowber are in the Bryn Mawr or Hispanic Society archives, but she was photographed about 1925 when travelling in Egypt and India with Carey Thomas (figs. 8, 9). These images and the passport picture help to identify the younger woman carrying a camera, photographed by King in the doorway of the church in Castillal, as Lowber (fig. 10); seen in enlarged details, she has the same tall, narrow figure and stiff body language (figs. 9a, 10a). The title given to that photo in the Bryn Mawr Lowber collection, 'Out of God's Grace into

⁵⁰ BMC King, Box 3 H folder 3. A letter dated 1978 in the folder indicates that the book stayed in King's family long after her other papers went to the college. Whether Lowber had returned it to her, or whether Carey Thomas did so as Lowber's executor, cannot be known.

⁵¹ Through ancestry.com Lowber also shows up in public records on the passenger lists of the steamers traveling to and from Europe, for instance in 1910, 1913, 1914, 1916, 1917 and 1919, sometimes with King; and again in 1922 and 1924 with a Bryn Mawr student Mary Newcomb, both listed as performing 'home duties'; in 1927, 1929, 1930, 1932, and 1933 Lowber is also often with Carey Thomas. In 1935 King traveled with Newcomb: 'Class Notes', *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Bulletin* 1935 15/1, 20.

⁵² Ancestry.com also revealed dozens of Lowbers in Delaware who were classified as black, including one Quaker family.

the Warm Sun', seems like a metaphor for coming out. Her station in life is quite ambiguous: There is no record of Lowber as student or faculty at Bryn Mawr.

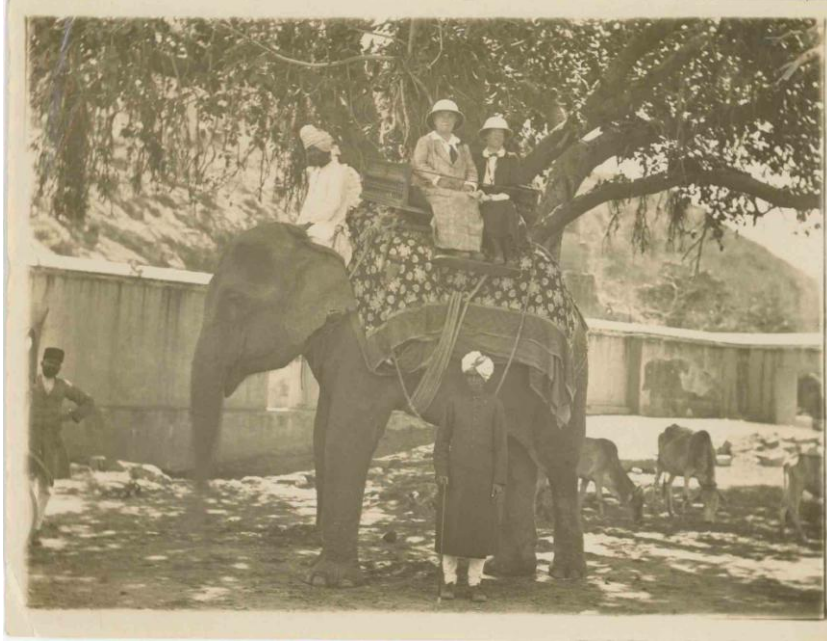


Figure 8 Unknown, *M. Carey Thomas and Edith H. Lowber with guides* (sight-seeing in India) c 1925, photograph, 16.5 cm x 21.5 cm. Bryn Mawr, PA: BMC Canaday Library, Special Collections, PA_MCT_096, by permission



Figure 9 Unknown, *M. Carey Thomas and Edith Lowber with guide* (sight-seeing in Egypt) c 1925, photograph, 9 cm x 14 cm, Bryn Mawr, PA: BMC Canaday Library, Special Collections, PA_MCT_045, by permission



Figure 10 G. G. King/ E. H. Lowber Photographic Expedition, attributed to Edith H. Lowber, *Out of God's Grace into the Warm Sun* (Castilla, with Lowber in the doorway), silver gelatin print, 24.77 cm x 14.29 cm. BMC Art Collection, 2009.23.65. Bequest of M. Carey Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr College, 1894-1922. BMC by permission



Figure 9a. Detail of fig. 9: Lowber (left) and Carey Thomas.

Figure 10a G. G. King/ E. H. Lowber Photographic Expedition, *Castilla la vieja Soria San Pedro*, [detail figure of Lowber], silver gelatin print, 4 x 2 ¼ in (10 x 5.5 cm). New York: HSA GRF: 5728, by permission

King's correspondence with Huntington sometimes mentions her coming down to Bryn Mawr, as if from New York, or to her working on the photographs at the college with one of the other assistants, Miss [Mary] Newcomb, 'out of her goodness and for the Society'.⁵³ By 1916 she was living at Yarrow East on the campus. The records in the Hispanic Society allocate to Lowber less than a third of the allowance given to King in 1919, to take photographs. They were probably joined by Carey Thomas in Spain.⁵⁴ Lowber, among other Bryn Mawr women, travelled extensively with Carey Thomas from 1927 on.⁵⁵ By 1930 Carey Thomas was convinced Lowber had radium poisoning ('radium inflammation'), with which she was familiar since she knew Marie Curie; she had invited her to speak at the college in 1920 when she was already sick.⁵⁶ The problem was also well-known by then to Johns Hopkins Medical School, and to the women's voluntary New Jersey Consumers' League.⁵⁷ Carey Thomas arranged for Lowber to go to spas or sanitarium in New Jersey,

⁵³ HSA King, 25 April 1919.

⁵⁴ Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 270-72.

⁵⁵ Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 310, 15-16.

⁵⁶ Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 282.

⁵⁷ Claudia Clark, *Radium Girls, women and industrial health reform*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, c 1997, 56, 66-68.

Arizona, and Colorado, and to her villa in the south of France, where Lowber died in 1934.⁵⁸

King's art historical career and the King-Lowber expeditions

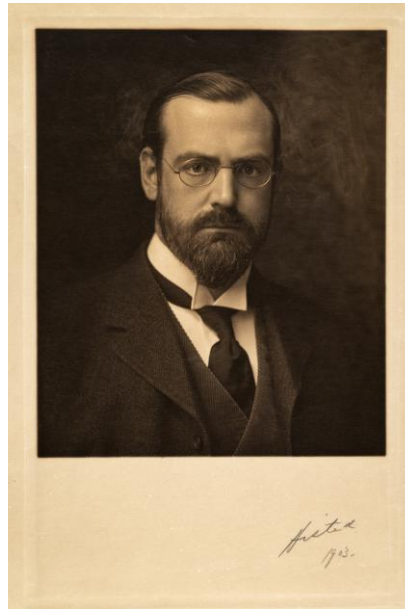


Figure 11 Ernest Walter Histed, *Archer Milton Huntington*, photogravure, 1903, 15¼ x 9½ in (39 x 24 cm). New York: HSA GRF: 92673, by permission

Patronage was essential to support King's ambitious photography and publishing program that concentrated on Spanish art. In 1912 she went to New York to see Archer Milton Huntington (1870-1955), director of the Hispanic Society of America from 1904 to his death (fig. 11). For years she corresponded with him in a sort of girlish, anecdotal style that hovers between stream of consciousness and school girl gushing, written in a hand to match. Perhaps she took her cue from one of the librarians who sent her a note after their first meeting, to say she allowed her to see him without an appointment because of 'a certain birdlike note in your voice, especially cheerful in the winter season'.⁵⁹ She wrote him some amusing personal details included in her preparations to go back to Spain in May 1915: 'I have a new wonderful camera, the size of the old but twice as good & more than thrice as costly. I have the riding clothes cut to meet the conflicting demands of a mule's contours & the Spanish eye for propriety'.⁶⁰ King relied on Huntington to get her admission to buildings, and secure passports; she asked his advice and permission to publish articles, and what to work on next. It seems possible she influenced him in the choice of her favourite literary hero, El Cid, for one of the bronze sculptures his

⁵⁸ Bryn Mawr College, Canaday Library, Special Collections, Carey Thomas letter-books (hereafter referred to as BMC Carey Thomas), reel 34, nos. 305, 310.

⁵⁹ HSA King, 7 January 1912.

⁶⁰ HSA King, 11 May 1915.

second wife, Anna Hyatt Huntington, supplied for the forecourt of the Hispanic Society in 1927.⁶¹

Huntington appreciated her enthusiasm for Spanish culture, and sponsored several photographic expeditions and publications up to about 1925. King took lessons in photography in 1911.⁶² She was accompanied overseas by Lowber in 1911-12 if not before; in 1915 she first asked Huntington to recognize the presence of an unnamed female companion, declaring vehemently 'for I will never travel again in Spain alone'.⁶³ It was only proper that a respectable woman did not travel without a chaperone, but the custom legitimized her loving relationship with Lowber, a double-blind to ward off the curious gaze. King, known as G. G., and her 'dear friend' E. H. Lowber, set out in 1911 with their folding Kodak cameras by steamer, train, ox cart and donkey, to follow the pilgrim routes from Toulouse to Compostela. They collected stories about the sites, and revelled in remote locations. In a letter to Huntington, King describes how they 'had dropped out of the world for three weeks, upon the elegiac (?sic) Pyrenees, diligencing along doing churches'; she seems amused to have missed a messenger and three telegrams in Barcelona inviting her to speak in Cambridge, England, but clearly proud to have been sought out.⁶⁴ She had become the pre-eminent scholar of medieval Spanish art, having built her reputation early in her career with carefully argued and well-illustrated articles in the *American Journal of Archeology*.

In the long run the King-Lowber photos could not compete with better equipped professional outfits, but between 1911 and 1925 their efforts in the field had an immediate impact on the discipline. In 1914 Berenson commented to Carey Thomas that King was 'in his opinion, the best equipped student of Italian art (sic) in the United States or in England, and that the photographs and slides of Bryn Mawr College had been better catalogued and classified (by Miss King) than any other collection that he knew of'.⁶⁵ Fortunately, on the basis of this praise, Carey Thomas secured a tenured appointment for King, not a librarianship.⁶⁶ King stayed at Bryn Mawr as chair of the department until her retirement in 1937, and continued to publish. Administrative duties might have slowed writing and publication, yet work on her book *The Way of St James* was approved by the Society in 1915 and the text was delivered in 1917, despite the difficulty of travelling during the 1914-18 war. King clung devotedly to preparing this three-volume study, eventually correcting the proofs and composing the index in 1919 while travelling in Spain to

⁶¹ Mitchell Coddling, 'Archer Milton Huntington, Champion of Spain in the United States,' in *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, ed, Richard L. Kagan, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002, 167.

⁶² Saunders, 'G. G. King', 212. Neither King nor Lowber is on any of the lists of graduates from the Clarence White School that are preserved in the Princeton University Museum.

⁶³ HSA King, 2 October 1915.

⁶⁴ HSA King, undated letter to Huntington.

⁶⁵ Cited by Saunders, 'G. G. King', 209. King was in fact well informed about Italian painting, which she taught, and published some papers on Sieneese-style paintings in Spain.

⁶⁶ She had been negotiating over a short-term staff position at the Hispanic Society.

take more photographs. Putnam's did not get the book out until 1920.⁶⁷ Before then, a younger rival, Arthur Kingsley Porter (1883-1933), had been pleading (with the support of her friend Berenson) to see her negatives, because he regrets the poor quality of reproductions in print, and furthermore:⁶⁸

marvels flashed by all too fleetingly on a screen some eight years ago [1911] is all I have to lean upon. All the world is becoming hysterically excited over XII century Spain, and you are the only person who really knows anything about it. Do come to our rescue. You must be preparing an important book, and how eagerly we await it!⁶⁹

When the book came out he wrote immediately: 'I have read with great interest, and congratulate you on the reputation which you have justly built up'.⁷⁰ In fact, whether for reasons of cost or quality, few of the illustrations in the *Way of Saint James* are from the King-Lowber photographs (they are the ones without a by-line). Some had to be purchased from the companies using the old large-format rising-front plate cameras, and some were engraved after earlier publications.⁷¹ King no doubt inspired Porter to 're-do' the pilgrimage routes and to go into Spain with Lucy Porter and better cameras.

Not all were as generous as Porter in their reception of *The Way*, but Huntington reassured King that he put little store in such opinions.⁷² An anonymous reviewer in *The Times Literary Supplement* was very critical of her for including legendary material about the early cult of St. James: 'For the devout this, though of considerable interest, seems to be a work of supererogation, since the evidence was reviewed and the facts were found in 1898 by the Archbishop of Santiago'. S/he ends by saying Miss King confuses romantic travel sketches with serious work of research, even though she is 'an authority on the Church architecture of Northern Spain' and 'the illustrations could hardly be better'.⁷³ The review by Thomas Walsh in the *New York Times Book Review and Magazine*, is largely descriptive, but very critical at the end. Oddly at variance with his colleague on the *Literary Supplement*, he finds that King is 'little patient with the legendary beliefs of others', ending: 'It is a real pity that a subject so magically ecclesiastical should have been developed in so rationalistic a manner'. In fact, drawing on her considerable literary talent, King had not restricted herself to the kind of *écriture masculine* that

⁶⁷ Mann, 'King and Porter,' 173-74, gives a useful synopsis of *The Way*.

⁶⁸ Georgiana Goddard King, 'Three Unknown Churches in Spain', *American Journal of Archaeology* 22, no. 2, 1918, 154-165, must be the article referred to.

⁶⁹ HSA King, 30 December 1919, written from New York.

⁷⁰ HSA King, 24 February 1920.

⁷¹ She is quite ambivalent about the preliminary list of illustrations, asking for advice as to which images would be best in photogravure or half-tone: HSA King, 25 April 19XX (presumably 1919).

⁷² HSA King, 25 January 1921.

⁷³ *Times Literary Supplement*, Dec 30 1920, 890. Clippings of both reviews are in BMC King, Box 1, folder 6.

defined scholarship in the modern period, and which she had indulged in articles. She wrote *The Way* in the first person plural, inventing a companion called Jehane; it is both a travelogue of her and Lowber's modern experience and a presentation of local folk-lore and historical flash-backs appropriate to each *lieu de mémoire*. The work had some popularity as a kind of guide book - Edith Wharton for instance travelled to Santiago with it in the late 1920s.⁷⁴ The writing appears at times quaint, yet several experimental traits, such as the self-awareness and historical layering, the lack of inhibition about sharing personal experiences and judgments, and the disregard for disciplinary boundaries, belong to a style more like the *écriture féminine* of post-modern consciousness. King and Lowber frequently visited Berenson in Florence, and likely met Vernon Lee (1856-1935) and her partner Kit Anstruther-Thomson through him; the investment by these writers in the experiential aspect of aesthetic response may have influenced King's writing.⁷⁵ In 1919 King had organized a publishing partnership between Bryn Mawr College and the Hispanic Society to produce a series of volumes on Spanish art.⁷⁶ The small size stipulated suited the prints that she and Lowber could make from their negatives, in contrast to the large and imposing volumes of Porter's photographic survey of pilgrim route sculpture.⁷⁷ Held in one hand they are like the tiny books of hours that aristocratic medieval women used in the middle ages. The plates in *The Pre-Romanesque churches of Spain* (1924) have by-lines that differentiate the photos of King (30) from those of Lowber (18), and a smaller number from professionals such as Lacoste, Alonso, and Gomez-Moreno. *Mudéjar* (1927), a path-breaking book on Mozarabic Spain, was also well-illustrated with a frontispiece by Lowber and numerous small photos, many of decorative details, arranged on 94 plates (fig. 1). King's interest in the topic was already evident in an article of 1916, and in her *Brief account of the military orders in Spain* (1921). Having exhausted the sources for Romanesque in Spain, King left the 'Spain or Toulouse' debate over primacy to the men and daringly branched out into a wide-ranging hunt for eastern sources, including in Tibet (fig. 12). Carried away by imagined connections between northern Spanish medieval art and the middle east and Asia, in the vein of Josef Strzygowski (1862-1941), whose work she admired, King insisted on going to Greece and Turkey and beyond.⁷⁸ She wrote to Huntington quite incoherently in

⁷⁴ Patricia Fra López, *Back to Compostela : the woman, the writer, the way : Edith Wharton and the way to St. James*, Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Servizo de Publicacións e Intercambo Científico : Xunta de Galicia, Secretaría Xeral da Igualdade, 2011, 25.

⁷⁵ Vernon Lee and Kit Anstruther-Thomson Vernon Lee owed much to discussions with William James, with whom Stein had studied at Radcliffe.

⁷⁶ HSA King, 22 March 1919.

⁷⁷ Porter, *Pilgrimage Roads*.

⁷⁸ King, who read German easily, must have known Josef Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom : Beiträge zur Geschichte der Spätantiken und Frühchristlichen Kunst*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1901, and his later publications; in the late 1920s she tried to persuade him to teach at Bryn Mawr: Saunders, 'G. G. King,' 217.

1919 concerning the sculpture in the Puerta de las Platerias of Santiago cathedral
(fig. 13):⁷⁹

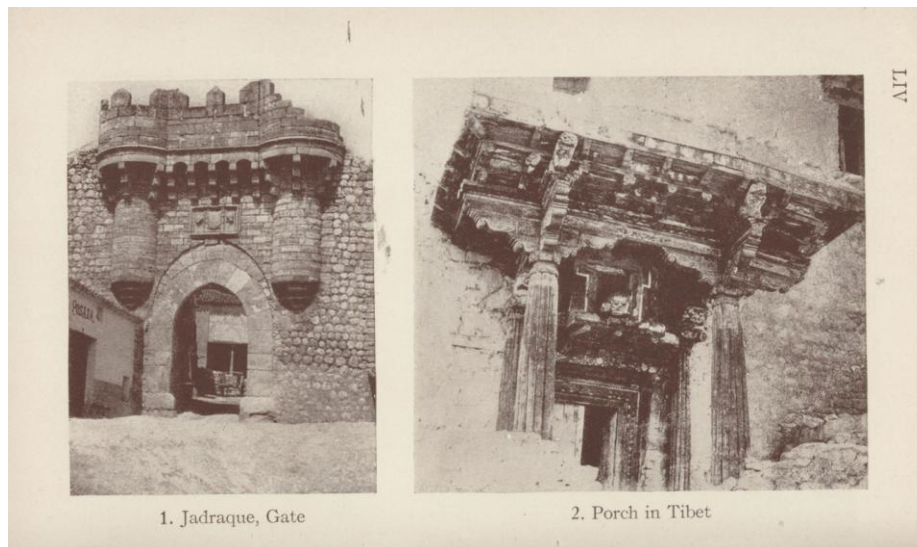


Figure 11 G. G. King/ E. H. Lowber Photographic Expedition, *Jadraque Gate* and *Porch in Tibet* (without bylines).
After King, *Mudéjar* Pl. LIV

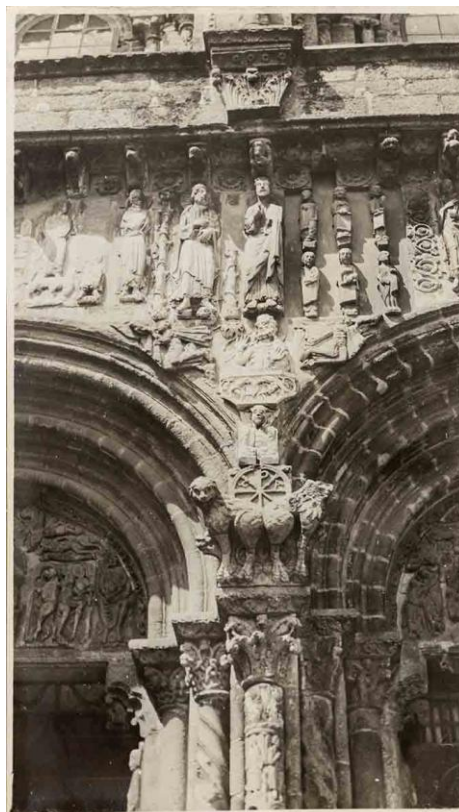


Figure 13 G. G. King/ E. H. Lowber Photographic Expedition, *Cathedral of Santiago, South transept portal. Tympanum figures of upper range, centre*, silver gelatin print, 5 ½ x 3 ½ in (14 x 9 cm). New York: HSA GRF: 5684, by permission

⁷⁹ I observed on the site that a rare moment was selected for this angle of light, which clarifies the sculpture.

I don't know whether I ever told you of my long quest after the cypress trees that flank the figure of S. James [...]. Well, on Sunday night I found my cypress trees in the temple of Heliopolis, and with a click, as a cog slipped into place, the whole machine began to move. It was the latest and greatest of the manifestations of the Great S. James, it was fairly a theophany. Seriously, I have cleared up, since then, & with the help of a great deal that I knew already, the whole situation of S. James [...] from the mythological. It is really a jolly big piece of work, & my one regret is that I can't launch it in the A.J.A. or something Continental, before it is swallowed up in the book [*The Way of Saint James*].⁸⁰

Over and over she stresses to him, almost obsequiously, that she wants only to serve Spain and the Society, and that going to Italy and further is 'Hispanic work'. By 1925 King postulated Indian Buddhist (Ghandaran) influence in some Spanish sculpture.⁸¹ Her academic reputation had begun to decline, and the patronage of the Hispanic Society had come to an end. Its board and the editorial committee were exasperated by the tumult of ideas and projects that King brought to them for support. Even in 1919 the formal letter that amounted to a contract for her and Miss Lowber to spend a year in Spain and Sardinia to work on a series of articles on the towns of Spain, had what must be a most unusual clause: 'I understand that you will undertake to do no further work on the proposed "Biographies of Sculpture"'. Furthermore it is spelled out that: 'Regarding the photographs to be obtained by your companion, it is understood that they are for use by the Society as the Trustees may direct and no copies shall be sold, nor shall any distribution of these photographs be made without the written consent of the proper official of the Society'.⁸²

In an undated document c. 1920 the Society announced a formal decision not to publish a book on Romanesque and Renaissance churches in Spain, prevaricating about the Bryn Mawr series being a better fit - despite the fact that the series had been a joint enterprise with the Society - and bluntly stating that King was 'extraordinarily prolific, a fact which makes it difficult, perhaps, to maintain high standards of scholarly accuracy'. The news was conveyed to King very gently by Huntington.⁸³ The critics had finally hit home, and art history had evolved a discourse that did not admit other kinds of writing. Her article for the two-volume

⁸⁰ HSA King, 13 March 1919 (among copies from the Syracuse University archive).

⁸¹ Georgiana Goddard King, 'The problem of the Duero' *Art Studies, Medieval Renaissance and Modern*, 1925, 2-11.

⁸² HSA King, 16 April 1919. Another book resulted from the trip: Georgiana Goddard King, *Sardinian painting*, Bryn Mawr notes and monographs V, Bryn Mawr, Pa. London, New York etc.: Bryn Mawr College; Longmans, Green and Co. 1923. Six plates have the G. G. King byline.

⁸³ HSA King, undated carbon copy signed by Catherine M. Allyn, Curator of Publications; and 3 February 1920.

Festschrift for Porter in 1939 stands out for its lack of foot-notes.⁸⁴ This was her only chance to present these 'Little Romanesque churches in Portugal' that she had explored for her next book, having characteristically set out to learn the language. In his review, Georg Swarzenski lists hers among articles that present unknown works 'with perfect erudition', and while applauding the rapid development of the field, concedes that 'many may deplore the passing of its pioneer stage, when the

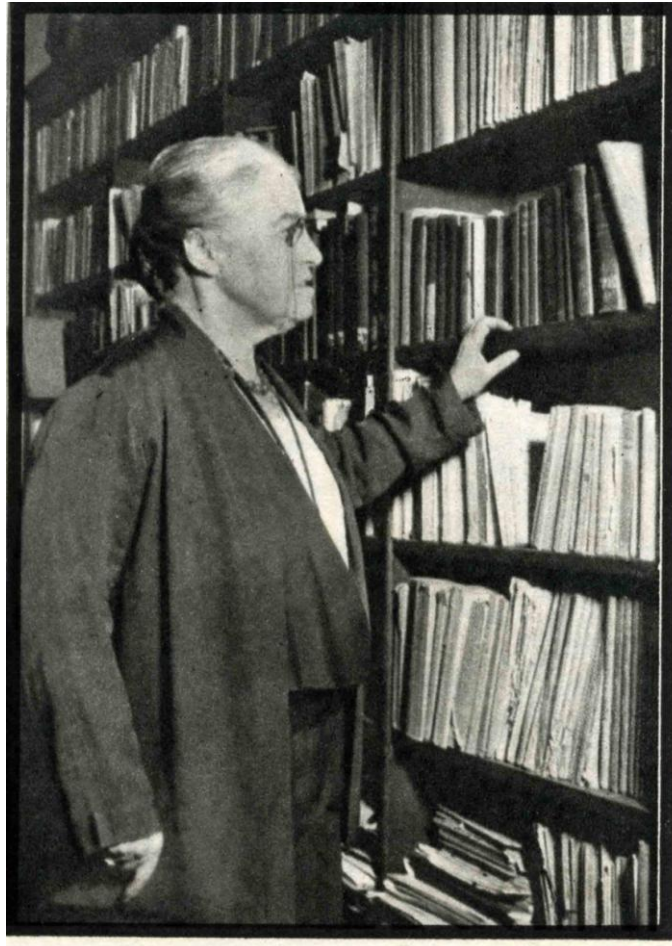


Figure 14 Georgiana Goddard King, contemplating the Bryn Mawr *Notes and Monographs*, 1935. After *Fortune Magazine*.

explorer's spirit was keen, when increase in material was a pleasure and troubles in discriminating between knowledge and connoisseurship were more a personal matter than a problem of sophisticated discussion'.⁸⁵ Medieval Spanish art had become a crowded field in King's last years, and there was little room for an old lady who was not one of the boys (fig. 14). As the history of art history began to be written, it was even forgotten that King had gone to Spain first; Erwin Panofsky and

⁸⁴ Wilhelm Reinhold Walter Koehler, ed, *Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, 273-292.

⁸⁵ Georg Swarzenski, 'review', *Speculum*17: 1941, 299, 302.

James Ackerman put King with Chandler Post and Porter and all the others, forgetting she was the their forerunner.⁸⁶ Mann recounted a sad anecdote from Meyer Schapiro: he and his wife happened to arrive at Silos at the same time as King, to request entry to the cloister. He managed to get permission for his wife who was a physician, but King, the only woman elected to two Spanish academies, was turned away.⁸⁷

There were other disappointments. During the study-trips taken for *The Way*, King and Lowber had begun to work on a book they called *The Heart of Spain*, an exploration of Spanish literature and art, legends and history. They began in 1912 and completed the work in 1926. The manuscript was discovered after the death of both, when none of their associates remembered any mention of it. In a letter to Gertrude Stein, King had poured out her sadness at having 'never succeeded in selling the one thing I really cared for to any publisher - Edith's and my Heart of Spain'.⁸⁸ As eventually edited by Mongan for publication by the Harvard University Press in 1941, it is larger than King's usual formats, and perhaps for that reason Mongan could not find more than eleven among the small King-Lowber photos that she considered publishable; she borrowed more than a hundred negatives from Bryn Mawr to have prints made at Harvard. When she recommended their deposit in the Archive of Hispanic Culture at the Library of Congress, she was quite dismissive: 'I do not know just how valuable you may find these negatives, or whether you understand their nature? They are amateur snap-shots of no technical skill or pretension. Many of them have been done far better professionally since Miss King made hers', but she adds that some may be of little-known spots and the size might make good lantern slides or prints could be enlarged.⁸⁹ It is odd that Mongan attributes them to King, whereas the photo credit in the book mentions Edith H. Lowber as well as the Hispanic Society of America. Presumably Mongan did not have access to the set of prints titled to go with the text that had been left with Carey Thomas, and are now in the Bryn Mawr Photographic Collection; to the few that she chose from the same negatives she gives quite different titles. The Author's Preface, signed by King on Candlemas Day, 1926, begins: 'For the photographs the credit belongs to E. H. Lowber; for the text, as for translations, the responsibility must lie with the undersigned. The entire book, as it stands is, however, the outcome of close collaboration and mutual criticism and assistance'; it also explains that they were 'writing to please rather than to instruct'.

In reading the book in conjunction with the large soft photographic prints that stayed at Bryn Mawr, it is apparent that text and image evolved together, with minds, eyes and hearts working in unity. A photograph captioned Segovia Citadel

⁸⁶ James S. Ackerman, *Art and archaeology*, ed., Rhys Carpenter, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963, 19; Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, Doubleday Anchor Books ed., Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955, 324-26, mentions only 'founding fathers', and attributes to Cook the creation of Spanish art as a field.

⁸⁷ BMC King, 3 H folder 3, letter from Mann, July 1992.

⁸⁸ Saunders, 'G. G. King', 231.

⁸⁹ BMC King, 3 H folder 12, correspondence between Mongan and the Art Department about the negatives, 1940-48.

in the book was titled 'Like the Prow of a ship in the sea' to resonate with the verbal description (fig. 15): 'About the base of Segovia lisp fresh trees, and grass springs green beside cool running water; in the high, cold blue, full clouds sail; and, like the prow of a ship, the city juts into the plain' (51-2). The text supplies colour and music to complement the silent grey-toned pictures. The Bryn Mawr photo titled: 'All Night the Poplars Talk' is 'Cuenca, the approach up the Gorge' in *Heart of Spain*, whereas the text intones in iambic pentameter: 'all night long the trees talk together in the mountain airs, and the stream is loud in the dark' (29). A very



Figure 15 G. G. King/ E. H. Lowber Photographic Expedition, attributed to Edith H. Lowber, *Like the Prow of a Ship in the Sea*, silver gelatin print, 24.13 cm x 15.24 cm. Bryn Mawr: BMC Art Collection 2009.23.56. Bequest of M. Carey Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr College, 1894-1922. BMC by permission

competent interior shot with remarkably even lighting and depth of focus, titled in Bryn Mawr 'In Ample Loveliness', becomes 'Burgos, Cathedral interior' in *Heart of Spain*, where it is characterized in the text (5) by: 'The amplest forms of Gothic . . . the grand vistas of the aisles . . . largeness and richness, that serene and ample splendor' (fig. 16).

Most of the photographs at Bryn Mawr resonate with the text of the book, and it would have had a very different appearance had they all been included - a

single page of text might have five or six 'illustrations'. In fact it would have been a book of pictorial essays, privileging visual images except in the chapters on

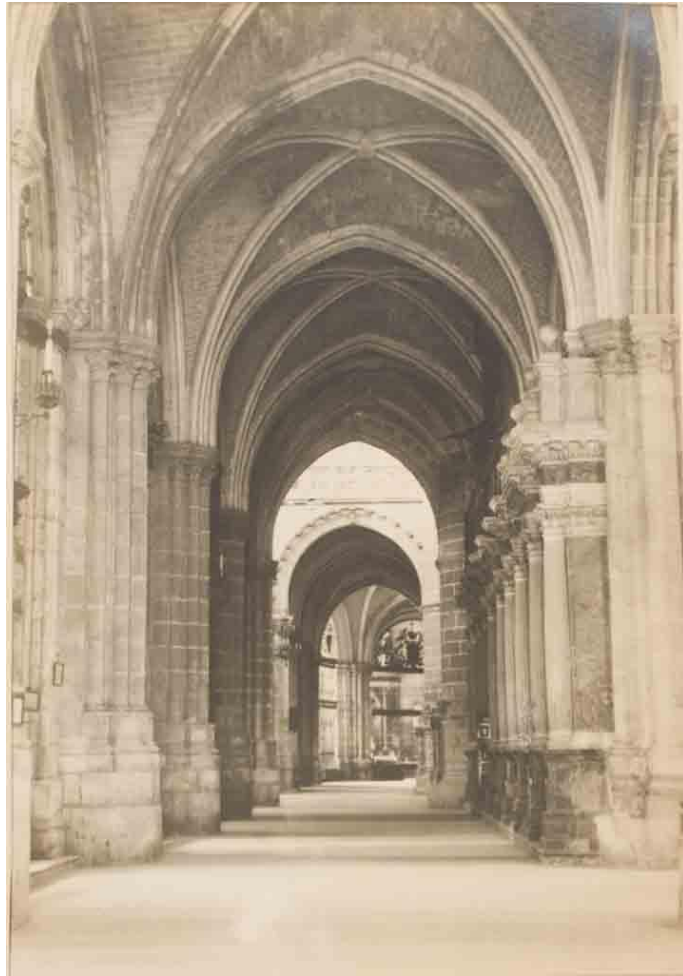


Figure 16 G. G. King/ E. H. Lowber Photographic Expedition, attributed to Edith H. Lowber, *In Ample Loveliness* (Burgos, Cathedral interior), silver gelatin print, 20.96 cm x 14.22 cm. Bryn Mawr: BMC Art Collection 2009.23.18, Bequest of M. Carey Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr College, 1894-1922. BMC by permission

literature. King seems to have been in the habit of writing on her journeys, and in the process probably picked sites to photograph; but how much of Lowber's voice is in the photographs she took and printed? A print in Bryn Mawr titled 'The Palace of the Sleeping Beauty' corresponds to the text in *Heart of Spain* concerning the palace-nunnery in Madrigal, Avila (fig. 17): 'It looked like the Sleeping Beauty's castle, embowered in tree-tops, with window lattices of tiles' (26). A print from the same negative in the Hispanic Society is accompanied by a slightly different view in larger format, suggesting two cameras were next to each other (fig. 18).⁹⁰ The romantic shot selected for *Hearts* concentrates on architectural detail and is indifferent to the out-of-focus foliage in the foreground; the other leaves open space in the foreground to enhance the spatial depth. Probably Lowber was more skilled technically, and used a tripod (King is carrying one in fig. 3).

⁹⁰ HSA King, 18 November 1917, mentions two Kodak cameras.

The King-Lowber body of work varies between archaeological, pictorialist, and modernist modes, much as did King's writing. In recent times the more picturesque of the King-Lowber photographs have been selected for publication, including some with prominent figures.⁹¹ The river bank at Cuenca with women washing clothes in the river, by Lowber, with poplar trees and light and shadow recalls Corot, or an Impressionist painting.⁹² More interesting are the photographs

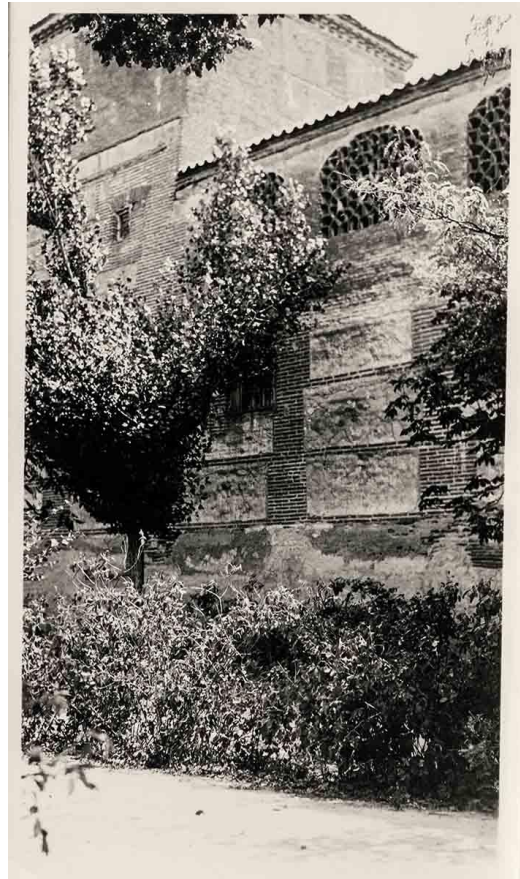


Figure 17 G. G. King/ E. H. Lowber Photographic Expedition, attributed to Edith H. Lowber, *The Palace of the Sleeping Beauty*, silver gelatin print, 22.86 cm x 13.02 cm. Bryn Mawr: BMC 2009.23.43. Bequest of M. Carey Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr College, 1894-1922. BMC by permission

Figure 18 G. G. King/ E. H. Lowber Photographic Expedition, *Tower and wall of Cantalapedra. Close up view, Madrigal de las Altas Torres*, silver gelatin print, 5 ½ x 3 ½ in (14 x 9 cm). New York: HSA GRF: 31525, by permission

that are pristine images of the built environment rendered almost cubist by sharp flat shadows that deform its verticals and horizontals, or contrast with rounded forms (fig. 19). Tiny figures approach the city gate of Cuenca, where the vertical masses are framed by sharp shadows at pristine forty-five degree angles flattening the forms, and a stony roadway insists on the long lonely pilgrim's way (fig. 20).

⁹¹ Almarcha Núñez-Herrador, *Fotografía y memoria*, 74, 79, 223 ; Lenaghan and Pérez, *Salamanca*, 24-25, 117, 118 (lower), 120.

⁹² HSA GRF 35517; published as 'Ribera del Júcar con el puente de San Antón. Cuenca', Almarcha Núñez-Herrador, *Fotografía y memoria*, 69 and 79; the image is also on-line at http://www.uclm.es/ceclm/fotografia_hispanic/fotografos/edith_lowber.htm.

King likely saw the work of Giorgio de Chirico (1888-1978) who exhibited in Paris in 1911-13 and also knew Picasso. Is this King's eye behind the camera, seeking the modernism she had discussed with the Steins in Paris, and also taught? Still, one cannot rule out that it was Lowber who positioned the camera – and certainly the way she printed from the negatives could enhance or down-play some of these modernist effects.⁹³



Figure 19 G. G. King/ E. H. Lowber Photographic Expedition, *Tower and wall of Cantalapedra. Close up view, Madrigal de las Altas Torres*, silver gelatin print, 5 ½ x 3 ½ in (14 x 9 cm). New York: HSA GRF: 31525, by permission

Figure 20 G. G. King/ E. H. Lowber Photographic Expedition, *Cuenca. Old gateway*, silver gelatin print, 5 ½ x 3 ½ in (14 x 9 cm). New York: HSA GRF: 31414. HSA by permission

Another comparison is especially illuminating. A photo of distant Cuenca, titled in Bryn Mawr 'The Long English Silhouette of the Cathedral', invites comparison with one of Picasso's studies of Horta de Ebro in Catalunya that the Steins bought about 1909 (figs. 21, 22).⁹⁴ King had sat in front of the paintings and discussed the equivalency for their cubism in verbal structures (fig. 23). She might well have sought intervisuality with her own photographs. The push-pull created by the geometries in these images is analogous. Furthermore, when this pictorial abstraction was debated, Gertrude Stein was able to point out the similarity to

⁹³ In 1930 Carey Thomas reported to King that Lowber had enjoyed an exhibition of modern art in New York with her: BMC Carey Thomas, reel 27 no.10, 11 February 1930.

⁹⁴ Bishop et al., *The Steins collect : Matisse, Picasso, and the Parisian avant-garde*, 280, no. pl.30.

photographs of the site taken by Picasso, while asserting that this was the beginning of cubism. Like Picasso, who reached back into what he termed the 'primitive' in early medieval Catalunya over and over again in order to find new directions,⁹⁵ Georgiana Goddard King constructed her own modernity through a confrontation with ancient Iberian sites and monuments. And the pursuit of them was enabled by her life-style as a 'modern woman'.



Figure 21 G. G. King/ E. H. Lowber Photographic Expedition, attributed to Edith H. Lowber, *The Long English Silhouette of the Cathedral* [Cuenca], gelatin silver print, 5 in. x 8 7/8 in (12.7 cm x 22.61 cm). Bryn Mawr: BMC 2009 Art Collection 2009.23.19. Bequest of M. Carey Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr College, 1894-1922. BMC by permission

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⁹⁵ Caviness, Madeline H., 'The Politics of Taste: An Historiography of "Romanesque" in the twentieth century', in *Romanesque. Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century. Occasional Papers from the Index of Christian Art in Honor of Walter Cahn*, ed. Colum P. Hourihane, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007, 63-68 figs. 5-8.



Figure 22 Pablo Picasso, *Houses on Hill, Horta de Ebro*, 1909, Oil on Canvas, 65 x 81 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Museum Berggruen (formerly Stein collection, Paris). © 2014 Estate of Pablo Picasso / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Reproduction, including downloading of Picasso works is prohibited by copyright laws and international conventions without express written permission of Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Figure 23 Unknown, *Gertrude Stein's studio at 27 rue de Fleurus, Paris*, winter 1914-15 (with Picasso's *Houses on Hill, Horta de Ebro*), silver gelatin print, 9x12cm, New Haven, Yale Collection of American Literature, Beineke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas Papers, Object ID: 9998197, by permission.