Patronage I: The Western World from Ancient Greece until 1900

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Patronage--the sponsorship of artists and the commissioning of artistic projects from them--is of central importance to queer cultural history, although it has not yet received the attention it deserves. Throughout history, exceptional individuals have utilized wealth and political influence to foster artistic undertakings that in various ways challenged prevalent ideas about sexuality, gender, and other matters.

It is not possible to cover all manifestations of this phenomenon in a short essay; instead, a few case studies will be used to exemplify some of the ways that artistic patronage has been exploited from queer perspectives.

How Does Patronage Function?

Patronage involves much more than simply "paying the bills." Patrons establish the goals and essential characteristics of projects, and they almost always insist on the right to supervise (or at least approve) all the stages involved in the realization of art works.

Patrons have been motivated by a wide variety of factors. In some cases, patrons are concerned simply with the production of art works that they find to be beautiful. However, major projects also often have broader social purposes, such as the commemoration of the achievements of an individual or organization or the promotion of religious beliefs or political causes. Therefore, in analyzing the goals of patronage, one must take into account the interests and experiences of those undertaking projects, as well as their social and cultural contexts.

Although the concept may suggest benevolent support for artists, patronage seldom has been disinterested. Moreover, before the fourteenth century, patronage in the western world was conducted with little or no regard for the concerns of artists, who were considered manual workers, charged with the realization of the plans of the patrons.

Indeed, accounts of artistic undertakings in the ancient and medieval periods often describe patrons as executing works, although they had no part in the physical creation of the art.

During the Renaissance era, artists began to be considered as uniquely gifted individuals. From this point on, patronage increasingly has involved more varied and complex types of interactions and negotiations with artists; nevertheless, those paying for the works generally have had the upper hand. At its best, however, patronage since the Renaissance has involved a close and mutually productive interaction between the parties involved in creation of art works.

Four works commissioned by queer patrons (top to bottom): **1)** A sculpture of Antinous created during the reign of his lover, Hadrian, Emperor of Rome. **2)** *The Lute Player* (1596-1597) by Caravaggio commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Maria Del Monte. **3)** *Philip IV in Brown and Silver* (1623) by Diego Vel&#225zquez commissioned by King James VI and I. **4)** The Sans Souci palace complex commissioned by Friedrich the Great.

Ancient Prototypes

In certain circumstances in ancient Greece and Rome, homoerotic love could be celebrated in major public monuments. For example, the city of Athens commissioned the sculptural group executed by Kritios and Nesiotes was commissioned to replace the original monument of 510 B.C.E., which was destroyed during the Persian invasion. Showing Harmodius and Aristogeiton striding forward side by side as they prepare to attack Hipparchus, the monument not only Image of the sculpture of Antinous appears under

Hipparchus were both killed; subsequently, Aristogeiton was imprisoned, tortured, and executed. Athenians regarded the attack by Harmodius and Aristogeiton as a prelude to the successful revolt against tyranny in 510 B.C.E.; popular legend later transformed the couple into assassins of the dictator.

over life-size (up to eleven feet tall). Although the statues are in many ways idealized, they all record the pouting lips, considered to have been Antinous's most distinctive feature.

In recognition of the deification of Antinous, ordered by the emperor immediately after his death, many statues utilize the swaying pose, associated with Bacchus (god of wine and poetry), and incorporate that god's attributes, such as grape vines. Thus, the intense, sensual beauty of Antinous becomes conflated with that of his divine counterpart.

The monumental images of this beautiful androgynous youth challenged ideas about sexuality and gender pervasive in Roman society. Although "recreational" homosexual acts were tolerated and widely practiced, committed love was not ordinarily associated with them. Furthermore, great social stigma attached to passive sexual partners, who were consistently imagined to be "feminized" and younger than their partners. Hadrian's monuments to his younger, androgynous partner effectively flaunted a love that did not conform to Roman social norms.

Hadrian became actively engaged in many of the projects that he commissioned. For the statues of Antinous and other sculptural commissions, Hadrian strongly encouraged artists to utilize a style evocative of Greek art of the classical period. Some scholars have suggested that he promoted this style because he believed that classical Greek culture had provided a more receptive environment for same-sex love.

Abundant documentary evidence indicates that Hadrian personally designed the unique umbrella domes (composed of concave segments) and other architectural features of his villa, built 118-134 at Tivoli, a hillside town about 37 km. east of Rome. Exploiting the distinctive properties of concrete, the walls of the villa buildings are constructed as a series of sweeping curves. The villa complex integrated constructed and natural elements to an unprecedented extent; for instance, a dining room opens on three sides to fountains and gardens. Scattering statues of beautiful youths throughout the grounds, Hadrian created a utopian setting that celebrates same-sex eroticism.

Visualizing Queer Love and Desire in Early Modern Europe

In later centuries, due to increasing prohibitions on expressions of same-sex love and desire, even powerful rulers were unable to celebrate same-sex love in public monuments of the sort that Hadrian erected. However, the memory of his achievements directly inspired such leaders as Frederick II, King of Prussia, called the Great (1712-1786).

When he was eighteen years old, Frederick's father compelled him to witness the beheading of his companion and probable lover, Hans van Katte, an army officer. After this experience, Frederick understandably sought to shield his love for other men from scrutiny by others. He commissioned the Sans Souci palace complex at Potsdam (1745-47) as a refuge from the pressures of public life, where he could relax with his closest friends.

In planning Sans Souci, which consists of several imaginatively designed structures, dispersed throughout an immense garden in the suburbs of Potsdam, Frederick referred to the extensive drawings that Hadrian made of Tivoli. An avid collector of ancient art, Frederick decorated both the interior spaces and the gardens with Greek and Roman statues of beautiful youths, including several of Antinous. Many of these pieces were obtained through archaeological excavations, which he personally sponsored. Both the interior and exterior of the "Friendship Temple" were decorated with images of various mythological figures (for instance, Orestes and Pylades) associated with same-sex love. The complex at Sans Souci reflects the image of the ancient world as a queer utopia, which inspired queer patrons in later centuries.

James (1566-1625), King of Scotland (as James VI, from 1567) and of England (as James I, from 1603), commissioned portraits to commemorate his deeply felt, romantic attachments to other men. After 1606, James lived apart from his wife, Anne of Denmark (1574-1619; married 1586), but he continued to enjoy a

close friendship with her. James's relationships with his favorites were an "open secret" at court, and he provoked comment by kissing and embracing them in public. His longest affair was with George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628), whom he addressed as "sweet child and wife."

In his passionate and prolific correspondence with Buckingham, James repeatedly discusses the intense pleasure he derived from gazing at portraits of his beloved. James mentions both life-size images, displayed in his private rooms, and miniatures, which he wore on his person. Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify which of his many portraits of Buckingham were most inspiring to James. William Larkin's portrait of Buckingham (1616, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London; formerly in the royal collection) reveals the "angelic beauty," elegance, and sweet temperament, which James praised so eloquently in his letters. James's affair with Buckingham was celebrated in several court masques, but, perhaps wary of public scandal, he did not commemorate their love in a major public monument.

Challenging Gender Conventions

Nothing is known with certainty about the possible personal attachments of James's predecessor as ruler of England, Elizabeth I (1533-1603; reigned 1558-1603), though it is likely that she conducted several romantic affairs with men, most notably the Earl of Essex. Although there were rumors that love for women caused her to reject proposals of marriage, she probably refused to marry simply because she did not want to share her power with a husband. Whatever her personal life, Elizabeth I deserves a place in any consideration of queer patronage because of her promotion of portrait imagery that explicitly synthesized gender conventions of the Renaissance era.

Aware that purchases of works of art might be regarded as frivolous by taxpayers, Elizabeth encouraged courtiers and others seeking her favor to commission portraits of her and to present them to her as gifts. Although not technically the patron, she supervised the activities of both artists and their paying clients to make sure that the portraits fulfilled her requirements.

The *Armada Portrait of Elizabeth I* (1588, attributed to George Gower; Woburn Abbey Collection) exemplifies the fusion of genders that she encouraged in her imagery. Characteristic of Renaissance depictions of women are the smooth, glowing, and still youthful skin of her face and hands; the lavish and minutely detailed costume and jewelry; and decorative accessories, such as the feathered fan. However, her upright posture and broad shoulders help to endow her with the sort of forceful presence, usually reserved for male figures in Renaissance art. Her "masculine" power is further emphasized by the sword, which she holds in her left hand; the globe, on which she rests her right hand; and the naval battle scenes, taking place in the background. As Elizabeth repeatedly stated in her public pronouncements, she is both queen and king.

Gioanna Piacenza (d. 1524), Abbess of the Benedictine convent of San Paolo in Parma (Italy), also utilized art to celebrate her challenges to male authority. Referring to privileges granted by the papacy in the thirteenth century, she asserted her right to supervise the convent without recourse to bishops or other men. She revoked rules mandating cloistered lifestyles and silence and permitted nuns to entertain visitors in their cells. With her forceful personality and substantial family wealth, she successfully defended her policies. However, immediately after her death, the convent was put under strict ecclesiastical control; the rooms that she decorated were sealed up (and not opened again until the late eighteenth century).

In 1519, Abbess Gioanna commissioned Correggio (1489-1534) to execute the innovative decoration of *Camera di San Paolo,* which served as the salon of the convent. Scholars still debate the appropriate interpretation of all the details, but the *Diana on Her Chariot*--the largest painting, located on the chimney-piece--establishes the protofeminist intention of the project. The twelve lunettes, painted on the upper parts of the walls, feature mythological and allegorical figures, which symbolize various heroic deeds of women.

The vault of the salon was painted to resemble the trellises of a garden arbor, filled with playful putti. Among these is a pair who hold up the head of a deer. This group probably refers to Actaeon, who was transformed into a deer and hunted down by Diana when she caught him spying on her maids. The female nudes, featured throughout the program, are painted with notable sensuality.

Most scholars insist that the sensuality of these figures simply accords with Renaissance conventions and has no relevance to the analysis of the program. Yet, the intense eroticism of the decoration suggests that widely spread rumors about the "unnatural vices" of the nuns may have referred to their actual love for one another. Indeed, it seems possible that Abbess Gioanna selected Corregio for this project precisely because of the notable sensual appeal of his figures, male and female alike. Furthermore, she may have felt that the same-sex eroticism, apparent in his work, indicated that he could create paintings celebrating the friendship of her community.

Queer Subjects and Styles in the Service of Religion

As the case of Abbess Gioanna demonstrates, religious life can provide a supportive context for the visualization of love that transgresses conventional social norms. This might seem surprising because organized religions in the western world often have instituted prohibitions against homosexuality and other types of sexual and gender "deviance." Yet, the cohesive same-sex communities in convents and monasteries created environments inherently supportive of the development of same-sex love.

Furthermore, because religion encourages people to fulfill their inner spiritual impulses, it (perhaps unintentionally) fosters awareness of core aspects of individual identities, including qualities that contradict official teachings. Thus, for example, Saint John of the Cross (1541-1592) eloquently described mystical rapture in transgender terms, as he described himself as the feminine partner in marital union.

While ironic, it is not surprising that a picture which has become in the modern era one of the most widely recognized icons of homoerotic desire, the *Creation of Adam* by Michelangelo (1475-1564), is on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, the personal chapel of the head of the Roman Catholic Church, which has emphatically condemned homosexual acts. The painting of the Sistine Ceiling (1508-12) was one of the many artistic projects undertaken by Pope Julius II (Giuliano Della Rovere, 1443-1513; reigned 1503-13) in an effort to revitalize the cultural, as well as the spiritual, authority of Rome.

As is the case with many historical figures, evidence about Julius's possible homosexuality depends primarily upon negative sources. Rumors that Julius was involved as a passive partner in numerous homosexual liaisons are reported in Protestant polemical tracts and official reports submitted by ambassadors from friendly Catholic powers.

However, even if these "accusations" were valid, it is important to keep in mind that it is extremely unlikely that Julius would have discussed his sexual escapades with the artists in his employ. Nevertheless, a sexual attraction to other men certainly would have enhanced his appreciation of Michelangelo's powerful and profoundly beautiful statues and paintings of nude male figures. Moreover, it seems probable that Michelangelo sublimated his homosexual desires, which he found troubling, into the creation of spiritually elevating imagery, which could be utilized to convey the power and dignity of the Roman Catholic Church in the face of Protestant assault.

Through his patronage of various artistic projects, Julius hoped that Catholic Rome would regain and even surpass the splendor of the city at the height of the Roman Empire. He sponsored archaeological excavations in the city which uncovered many major sculptural works in the Hellenistic style. The superheroic scale and emphatic musculature of Hellenistic statues directly inspired many of Michelangelo's works. In fact, the torso of Adam in the *Creation* scene was based on the *Laocöon* (Roman copy of Hellenistic original of 2nd or 1st century B.C.E.), which was discovered in 1506 in an excavation near Saint Peter's.

As part of his renovation of the fabric of the city, Julius ordered in 1506 that the Early Christian Basilica of Saint Peter's be demolished and replaced by a new structure, designed by Donato Bramante (1444-1516), who infused architecture with the same sort of muscular energy that Michelangelo visualized in his paintings and statues. For Saint Peter's, Bramante envisioned an immense centralized structure with a Greek cross plan. Among the elements based on ancient prototypes was the saucer dome, inspired by the Pantheon, Rome (118-25).

When he undertook the construction of the New Saint Peter's, Julius resolved that his tomb would be placed directly underneath the central dome. The previous year, he had commissioned Michelangelo to create a monumental funerary structure with three stories, decorated with forty-seven life-size statues. Constant changes in plans, required first by Julius and subsequently by his heirs as well as by successive Popes who did not want his monument to detract from theirs, were among the many factors that inhibited the realization of the original plans. A much truncated version of the monument was assembled in San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome, in 1545. However, Michelangelo had begun by 1513 the seated figure of *Moses*, which utilizes the heroic musculature of Hellenistic sculpture. Of uncertain meaning, sensuous nude figures, the *Rebellious Captive* and *Dying Captive* (1513-19, both Louvre, Paris), also were created for the tomb.

By the end of 1506, Julius compelled Michelangelo to cease his work on the tomb in order to undertake the Sistine Ceiling. Over the next two years, the final program for the ceiling was developed through often heated negotiations between the Pope and the artist. The nine narrative scenes down the center of the ceiling narrate the history of creation, the fall of the human race through original sin, and the establishment of a Covenant between God and the Chosen People, led by Noah. Michelangelo began with the chronologically later scenes, involving Noah, and worked towards the initial stages of creation, which marked the culmination of his work on the ceiling. His figures became increasingly large in size, heroic in musculature, and dynamic in movement as his work progressed.

In the joint scene of the *Temptation and Fall*, Michelangelo endowed Adam and Eve with powerful forms that eloquently convey their spiritual weakness. His conception of the *Temptation* was innovative because he depicted Adam as an eager and willful participant in sin, rather than as a dupe of Eve's duplicity. Although the precise dates of the various components of the ceiling are debated, it is generally agreed that the *Creation of Adam* marked the midway point in the completion of the ceiling. This scene has the simplest construction of any of the narrative panels, and Michelangelo expressed here a balance of human potential and divine power.

In the remaining panels, he developed increasingly dynamic compositions that directly anticipate the Baroque style which emerged one hundred years later. In the *Separation of Light from Dark*, God seems to be defining his own being through the process of creation. At the corners of the five smaller narrative panels are seated youthful figures, referred to as *ignudi*. Since the unveiling of the ceiling, commentators have debated their iconographic significance, but their homoerotic qualities are evident to even a casual observer. The program is completed by heroic figures of Prophets and Sibyls, seated on thrones to the sides of the narrative panels. As is the case with the figures in the narrative scenes, these images became increasingly large and powerful as work progressed on the ceiling.

The interaction of Cardinal Francesco Maria Del Monte (1549-1627) with Caravaggio (1571-1610) constitutes the earliest known example of the fruitful collaboration of a queer patron and queer artist with the explicit goal of producing art that would celebrate their shared same-sex sexual desires. The ground-breaking religious works that Caravaggio executed for Del Monte evolved logically out of the Cardinal's earlier patronage of his explicitly homoerotic genre scenes.

Del Monte was a prominent figure in the cultural life of Rome in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and he was on friendly terms with many leading intellectuals, including Galileo. Cardinal-Protector of the Accademia di San Luca, the painters' organization in Rome, Del Monte had a strong interest

in the arts and assembled an impressive collection of modern and ancient works.

Around 1595, Del Monte purchased from a Roman art dealer one of Caravaggio's early half-length genre scenes, *The Cardsharps* (1594, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth). Impressed with this work, Del Monte invited the artist to live in his Roman palace, and Caravaggio continued to reside there until the end of the decade.

Del Monte's first commission to Caravaggio was the *Musicians* (around 1595, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), which retains the compositional formula of the *Cardsharps* but infuses it with homoerotic meaning. The depiction of beautiful youths, dressed in vaguely antique costume, evokes accounts of parties held by Del Monte, who is supposed to have encouraged street boys to participate in his musical soirees. Two of the figures look out solicitously towards the viewer, and a figure of Cupid and other motifs emphasize the erotic intention of the work. For Del Monte, Caravaggio executed several other homoerotic images of youths, including the *Luteplayer* (about 1596, Hermitage, Saint Petersburg) and *Bacchus* (about 1596/7, Uffizi, Florence).

In the genre pieces, Caravaggio formulated several of the distinctive features of his style, which he would develop further in the religious pictures that dominated his later production. Del Monte was responsible for encouraging Caravaggio to undertake religious subjects, including the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* (about 1596; Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford).

The Cardinal commissioned the *Stigmatization* as a pendant to the previously cited *Musicians.* Inventories indicate that the two paintings originally were displayed next to one another. Both paintings have exactly the same dimensions, and the figure of the angel in the *Stigmatization* very closely resembles the Cupid in the *Musicians*. Caravaggio has radically transformed the iconography of the *Stigmatization*. Artists traditionally showed Francis in the process of receiving the stigmata. Instead, Caravaggio shows Francis immediately after that event, being consoled by an angel. Showing the angel tenderly embracing and leaning down toward the recumbent saint, Caravaggio envisions the scene in explicitly homoerotic terms.

Del Monte subsequently used his influence to help Caravaggio obtain commissions for large scale altarpieces, in which he interpreted basic Christian themes from the perspective of an outsider. Caravaggio's first major public commission was a series of paintings of the life of Saint Matthew for the Contarelli chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi, directly across the street from the Del Monte palace where he was living. Del Monte was closely associated throughout his career with San Luigi, and his funeral was held there in 1626.

As the executor of the Contarelli and a prominent member of the board of Works of Saint Peter's (in charge of all religious projects in Rome), Del Monte in 1599 awarded Caravaggio the contract for the paintings on the two side walls in the chapel (completed by July 4, 1600). The *Calling of Saint Matthew* depicts the tax collector, seated in a darkened tavern with several youths who recall figures in Caravaggio's genre scenes. The figures of Christ and Peter are virtually lost in the darkness.

Coordinated with the actual illumination of the chapel, a beam of light, entering the scene at a sharp diagonal, represents Christ's call to Matthew. The startling impact of this event is conveyed by the way that one of the youths, dressed as a page, leans backward into the space of the worshipper. The naturalistic depiction of both Matthew and his associates vividly emphasizes that Christ sought his followers among ordinary individuals, not the social elite.

Deeply concerned about the impact it would make, Caravaggio revised the *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew*, on the opposite wall, three times. The scene is organized as a sort of pin-wheel, centered upon the figures of Matthew and his executioner. The muscular, nude executioner leans down over Matthew, whose recumbent, foreshortened figure seems to extend out into the space of the chapel. Also leaning out into the worshipper's space are nude men whom the disciple was about to baptize. Among the fleeing figures in the

background is a self portrait of the artist. The only note of consolation is provided by an angel who extends a palm branch down to Matthew; this celestial being closely resembles the youths in Caravaggio's homoerotic genre scenes.

As a result of the success of the paintings on the side walls, Caravaggio's reputation as the leading artist in the city was established, and he quickly received many further religious commissions, including the main altarpiece of the Contarelli chapel, which was to depict the *Inspiration of Saint Matthew by the Angel*. Despite Del Monte's intervention, the initial version of this painting (completed 1602, now destroyed) was rejected by the governing committee, which condemned it as sacrilegious. In this version, a sensual, youthful angel leaned against the seated disciple and placed his hand over his, as he wrote the Gospel. In the revised altarpiece (1602-03, still *in situ*), Caravaggio showed the angel extending down to the seated figure from the heavens. However, he retained the ruggedness of the saint and the contrasting sensual beauty of the angel.

Cardinal Scipione Caffarelli Borghese (1576/9-1633) was another queer ecclesiastic who was deeply moved by Caravaggio's paintings. In 1605, the Cardinal helped Caravaggio obtain the commission for *Madonna and Child with St. Anne,* a large altarpiece for Saint Peter's Borghese. However, recent archival investigations have indicated that Borghese also encouraged the College of Cardinals to reject the painting as indecorous, so that he could appropriate it for his collection.

Borghese also acquired the *Saint John the Baptist* (1605/06) from the artist's estate shortly after his death in 1610. This brooding nude figure has the provocative, insolent aura of some of Caravaggio's early paintings of youths. By 1613, Borghese also had obtained the intense *David with the Head of Goliath* (1609/10), which represents the Biblical hero extending outwards a decapitated head with the features of the artist.

As Cardinal, Borghese undertook several projects for the decoration of the churches in Rome. Particularly after the death in 1621 of Pope Paul V, his uncle and protector, Borghese found the embellishment of church buildings a means to demonstrate his piety and thus to rehabilitate his reputation, which was damaged by rumors about his homosexual liaisons.

The reconstruction of San Crisogono, Rome (1618-28) was probably the most costly project of redecoration undertaken in any church in the city during the early seventeenth century. Gold covers the ceiling and many other surfaces. With the Borghese arms and inscriptions glorifying the patron displayed throughout, San Crisogono seems almost a personal monument rather than a place of worship.

Borghese also made lavish provisions for music to enrich the services in the churches under his supervision. According to musicologists who have studied this patronage, his musical tastes seem to have been quite conventional for the era, except in one notable respect. Borghese's obsession with castrati--male singers who had been castrated so that they could sing in the higher ranges, usually reserved for women--was considered exceptional, even for an age in which their voices were highly esteemed.

The Cardinal's fascination with castrati correlates with his general interest in the synthesis of genders, revealed by the pride he took in the *Hermaphrodite* (now in the Louvre, Paris, Roman copy after Greek original of 2nd century B.C.E.). Borghese's numerous provisions for castrati to sing at Roman church services helped to foster their increased popularity in the mid-seventeenth century. Thus, his patronage of church music helped to give a queer inflection both to the experience of worship and to prevailing musical taste.

The prominent Victorian ecclesiastic John Henry Newman (1801-1890) commissioned innovative church buildings that visualized his distinctive interpretation of the Catholic faith. Ordained as a priest in the Church of England in 1825, he was appointed vicar of the University Church of Saint Mary the Virgin, Oxford. Beginning in 1833, he was one of the leaders of the Oxford Movement, which sought to promote the High Church or Catholic aspects of Anglicism. In his writings, he vehemently opposed the current Gothic Revival style in architecture, which he felt did not sufficiently serve to convey the importance of the

sacraments.

In the writings from this period, he also began to discuss other themes that would occupy him for the rest of his career. Although he emphasized the supremacy of celibacy over marriage, he also glorified same-sex friendships in homoerotic terms. For instance, he wrote about Jesus and the disciple John constantly holding hands and embracing as signs of the love which they shared, and envisioned them living together in Paradise for eternity. Newman's emphasis on the value of male "friendships" continued to influence students at Oxford, including Oscar Wilde, throughout the nineteenth century.

The extent to which Newman may have acted upon the sexual desires implied in his writings has been debated, but his commitment to same-sex relationships cannot be denied. Beginning in 1843, Newman lived with his disciple Ambrose St. John. Deeply distressed by the death of his companion in 1875, Newman insisted on spending the night with his corpse, and, for the rest of his life, he cried profusely any time his name was mentioned. Upon his death, he was buried alongside his friend.

Increasingly discontent with the secularism that he perceived in the Church of England, Newman converted to Catholicism in 1845. Ordained a Catholic priest in Rome in 1847, he was commissioned to found the Oratorian movement in Great Britain and Ireland. In recognition of his inspiring pastoral service, he was made a Cardinal in May, 1879.

As first rector of the new Catholic University of Dublin (appointed in 1851), Newman commissioned the University Church at Saint Stephen's Green, Dublin (1854-56) from John Hungerford Pollen (1820-1902). In many cases, Newman's plans for church buildings were restricted by limited financial resources and other factors. However, the Church of Saint Stephen's is considered a full expression of his distinctive ideas about ecclesiastical architecture.

The lavish church was designed largely in a Byzantine style, which had been overlooked in the earlier nineteenth century as a source of architectural design in Britain and Ireland, However, it also incorporates decorative motifs, inspired by Celtic manuscripts and other sources. The interior is decorated lavishly with an arcaded gallery with screens; panels of multicolored Irish marbles; and painted canvases, based on Raphael's depictions of the Acts of the Apostles. The raised sanctuary (that is, the area around the high altar) has a semicircular apse, decorated with mosaics in the Byzantine style, and the altar is marked by an ornate baldachino.

It is widely recognized that the opulent interior space provides a physical expression of the sanctity of the Sacraments of the Catholic faith, in accord with Newman's ideas. In addition, however, the splendor of the distinctive structure might be correlated with Newman's impassioned evocations of the delights and rewards of same-sex friendships. In his writings, he frequently explained that the full richness of these relationships could be realized only in Paradise. As a space that spiritually elevated one above the realm of ordinary life and that literally constituted heaven on earth, the University Church may have provided a special realm that subliminally accorded Newman a premonition of the same-sex relationships in Paradise.

Art Collecting and the Creation of Queer Spaces

Through the collection and display of art, queer secular patrons also were able to create spaces that served to define their identities. Christina (1626-1689), Queen of Sweden (reigned 1644-1654), was one of the most significant art collectors of seventeenth-century Europe. Both her acquisitions and the display of her holdings attest to her unconventional lifestyle. Educated as a male prince, she occasionally appeared in masculine clothing, but, throughout her life and recorded in numerous paintings, she most often chose to wear idiosyncratic combinations of male and female clothing. In a portrait of 1660 (Statens Porträttsamling, Gripsholm), for example, the Danish artist Wolfgang Heimbach showed her clad in a male jacket and shirt; a short, but distinctly feminine, skirt; and male stockings and shoes.

As queen, Christina was a progressive and effective leader, but her refusal to marry (and produce an heir) eventually alienated her from many of her subjects. On June 6, 1654, she renounced the throne; on October 20, she converted to Catholicism in Brussels.

Moving to Rome in 1655, she immediately was hailed by Pope Alexander VII as an inspirational model of pious faith, but her indecorous behavior inhibited attempts to exploit her conversion for propaganda.

In Rome, Christina took up residence in the Palazzo Riario, which quickly became a lively center of intellectual discussion. She closely supervised the decoration of the palace--selecting paintings for this purpose from the Swedish royal collection and supplementing these with new acquisitions. Her collection was considered notorious because it included so many sensual paintings of female nudes, for example, Correggio's *Leda and the Swan* (now in Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) and Veronese's *Venus Mourning the Death of Adonis* (now in Nationalmuseum, Stockholm).

After her abdication, Christina's acquisitions of works by contemporary artists were limited by policies set by the Swedish government, which funded most of her expenditures. (Generally, it was felt that paintings by dead artists with established reputations constituted a better investment than works by living individuals.) However, Christina did manage to acquire several paintings by Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Battista, 1591-1666), who probably shared her commitment to same-sex relationships.

On her way to Rome in 1655, Christina paid homage to Guercino by making a special trip to Bologna in order to visit his studio. Paintings by Guercino in her collection included the *Cimmerian Sibyl* (now Nationalmuseum, Stockholm). This heroic depiction of a prophetess certainly would have appealed to Christina, who considered herself an advanced thinker.

In commenting on her collection, most historians have insisted that it did not reflect her own sexual inclinations, and they have devised convoluted and unconvincing theories to account for her choices. Thus, it has been suggested that she was simply imitating male patterns and that the erotic nudes by Correggio, Veronese, and other artists represented temptations, over which she, as a virtuous woman, easily triumphed. (Of course, the latter theory would only make sense if she were tempted by the images.) Like Christina herself, her collection defied restrictive conventions and articulated alternative constructions of gender and sexuality.

Several influential queer male patrons also exploited art collection and interior decoration as forms of personal expression; in doing so, they also transgressed gender boundaries, for the adornment of living spaces generally was considered a feminine concern. By surrounding themselves with beautiful and unusual objects, these patrons indicated their commitment to sensual pleasures and rejection of moralistic restrictions.

Their exceptional refinement of taste can be correlated with their patterns of behavior. By employing gestures that were considered extravagant and "effeminate," they flaunted conventions and contributed to the formation of a distinct, socially recognizable identity. Historians (including gay historians) often have dismissed these patrons as weak individuals who withdrew from active engagement in their societies. However, their bold rejection of social standards and their creation of queer environments deserve to be evaluated in a more favorable light. Two prominent examples of this type of patron will be discussed here.

Philippe Bourbon, Duc d'Orleans (1640-1701), the younger brother of Louis XIV, is among the trend setters in this regard. Numerous scholars have suggested that Louis allowed Philippe to indulge his sexual tastes freely in order to prevent him from marshalling support against royal policies. Lending credibility to this theory is the fact that Philippe's exploits as a naval commander in the Franco-Dutch wars during the 1670s had secured such popular acclaim that Louis prohibited him from participating in any further military actions.

Prevented from exercising any political influence, Philippe devoted himself to a life of pleasure in Paris. In 1692, he was granted the Palais Royal as his residence in Paris. He had it decorated by a team of artists, under the supervision of Pierre Mignard (1612-1695), with paintings of various themes, including *Ganymede* and other homoerotic subjects.

Unfortunately, the palace interior was destroyed in 1781, and it has been difficult to reconstruct his holdings of paintings, sculptures, and jewels, which were not fully catalogued before they were dispersed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, the *Bacchus and Ariadne* (1693, Philadelphia Museum of Art), which he commissioned from Antoine Coypel (1661-1721), can serve to exemplify the light-hearted, sensual, and elegant paintings that he is known to have favored.

One of the wealthiest men in Europe, William Beckford (1760-1844) utilized his immense wealth to fund his extravagant artistic patronage. He was brought up in a severe, puritanical atmosphere, but he received an exceptionally comprehensive education, which enabled him to gain fluency in several languages (including Portuguese, Arabic, and Chinese) and which provided him with thorough understanding of such diverse fields as literature, physics, and law. His drawing teacher was the prominent artist Alexander Cozens (1717-1786).

At the age of 19, Beckford fell in love with his cousin, William Courtenay (1769-1835). To silence rumors about their relationship, Beckford's family compelled him to marry Lady Margaret Gordon in 1783. Accounts of the continuing affair of Courtenay and Beckford were reported in newspapers in 1784, and he was compelled to resign his seat in Parliament and to withdraw his petition for knighthood.

For the next ten years, Beckford lived abroad (mainly in Portugal), and even when he returned to England he was not received by polite society. Nevertheless, he established a distinguished literary reputation through the publication in 1786 of his Gothic romance, *Vathek*, which may have been inspired in part by *Careceri d'invenzione* ("Fantastic prisons," 1745-63), an extended series of etchings by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-78), in his collection.

Returning to England in 1794, Beckford had his estate at Fonthill Gifford, Hampshire, enclosed in a twelve-foot high, six-mile long wall to ensure his privacy, and perhaps to emphasize his withdrawal from English conventions. He ordered his father's Palladian mansion demolished, and, collaborating with the architect James Wyatt (1746-1813), Beckford constructed an immense Gothic mansion, which he named Fonthill Abbey.

Although Wyatt may have been largely responsible for the design of Fonthill Abbey, Beckford certainly contributed many of the details, based on various Portuguese models, and he also determined the grandiose, theatrical character of the interior. This immense structure--with a central tower measuring 84 meters tall--was a realization of the sublime dreamscapes that had appeared in *Vathek.* In 1825, the tower collapsed because of insufficient support, but, until that point, Fonthill Abbey provided a sublime stage on which Beckford could act out his life on his own terms.

To decorate the immense structure, Beckford purchased an eclectic variety of objects, including silver and furniture with Gothic motifs, as well as elaborately decorated Chinese porcelain, Japanese lacquer furniture, and Venetian glass. He hired landscape artist Joseph William Mallord Turner (1775-1851) to record Fonthill Abbey in watercolor (now at Brodick Castle, Strathclyde, Scotland) and commissioned several other works from this dramatic, Romantic artist.

Beckford also collected over 550 paintings by such earlier artists as Titian, Rembrandt, and Claude Lorraine. He was one of the first British collectors to be interested in the work of the Spanish artist Diego Velázquez (1599-1660). Velázquez's *Philip IV in Brown and Silver* (1623, now National Gallery, London; purchased by Beckford about 1811) served as model for portraits of dandies in the later part of the nineteenth century.

Dandies as Art Patrons

Philippe Bourbon and Beckford can be regarded as forerunners of the dandies who gained prominence at the end of the nineteenth century. Count Robert Montesquiou (1855-1921) well exemplifies these elegant and stylish men, who cultivated rarefied aesthetic sensibilities and effete, decadent public images.

Descended from a wealthy, aristocratic family, Montesquiou began to devote himself to art collecting in the mid-1870s with extensive purchases of Arabian and Japanese decorative objects, which he used to convert his quarters into what he described as a fairy palace. Because of his distinguished social position and widely recognized sense of style, Montesquiou helped to influence several trends in artistic taste in late nineteenth-century Europe. *Arrangement in Black and Gold, Comte Robert de Montesquiou* (1892, The Frick Collection, New York), a portrait that he commissioned from James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), is the quintessential image of the dandy.

Montesquiou was an early patron and supporter of Art Nouveau decorative artists, such as Emil Gallé (1846-1904), and Symbolist painters, such as Gustave Moureau (1826-1898), who became a close personal friend. Among the works that Moreau created for Montesquiou, the *Salome Contemplating the Head of the Baptist* (undated, now in Musée Gustave Moreau, Paris) well exemplifies the decadent sensuality that also permeates Montesquiou's poetry. As a writer, he was mentored from a young age by Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-98), and he shared many of his goals as a writer.

In 1885, Montesquiou met Gabriel Yturii (1864-1905), a dashing and handsome Argentinean, shortly after he arrived in Paris. The two became lovers and remained attached to one another until Yturri's untimely death from diabetes. In a note to Montesquiou in 1886, Yturri wrote "I am devoted to you, body and soul, for all my life." Montesquiou and Yturri were commonly referred to as spouses in Parisian society.

Montesquiou also served as the model for Baron Charlus in Marcel Proust's great novel, *Remembrance of Things Past* (1913-27, recently translated as *In Search of Lost Time*). Because of his example, elegant Art Nouveau decoration and "decadent" Symbolist art and poetry came to be linked to homosexuality.

Although the dandy is usually defined as a male, Isabella Stewart ("Jack") Gardner (1840-1924) deserves to be ranked as one of the leading examples of this phenomenon. Gardner was patron, muse, and romantic advisor to a dynamic group of homosexual men in late nineteenth-century Boston. Included in her circle were such diverse individuals as the writer Henry James, the philosopher George Santayana, and the explorer Arthur Jephson. Her enormous wealth assured Gardner's position in elite society, but her friendships with homosexual men and with African-American women, as well as other manifestations of her bohemian lifestyle, positioned her as an outsider.

She began collecting Old Master paintings avidly in 1888, and she intended Fenway Court (built 1899-1903, with some later additions, now the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston) to serve as both her residence and a museum for her collection. Fenway Court, designed by Willard T. Sears (1837-1920), incorporated antique and Renaissance architectural fragments imported from Italy to create the appearance of a Venetian palazzo. In Boston at the turn of the century, the Venetian Gothic style, favored by Gardner, was considered to be both "exotic" and rarefied, and it thus can be classified as a characteristic example of dandy taste.

Another one of her major public undertakings, the High Altar Reredos at the Church of the Advent, Boston (1896) was designed by gay architect Ralph Henry Cram (1863-1942) in an ornate Flemish Gothic style. As Shand-Tucci has demonstrated, the imagery of this immense altar structure has intense homoerotic connotations--featuring such saints as Sebastian, John the Evangelist, and George.

Among contemporary painters, Gardner strongly favored the work of John Singer Sargent (1838-1917), who was also a close friend and participant in her gay circle. In his stylish portraits of her, including *Isabella*

Stewart Gardner in Black (1888) and *Mrs. Gardner in White* (1922, both in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum), he captured her forceful personality and distinctive beauty. Gardner also used her influence to secure for Sargent the mural commissions in the Boston Public Library, which occupied him from 1899 until 1925.

Conclusions

Throughout western history, queer patrons have commissioned significant works of art and architecture, which celebrated their loves and otherwise visualized their experiences and insights. The Sistine Ceiling, painted by Michelangelo for Pope Julius; the commission for scenes of Saint Matthew, which Del Monte secured for Caravaggio; and Montesquiou's encouragement of Symbolist and Art Nouveau artists are among the many instances of queer patronage that have significantly impacted the development of mainstream art.

Scholars have acknowledged the aesthetic contributions made by the art works commissioned by the individuals discussed here, but they have overlooked the motivations of their patronage. It is time for art historians to consider ways that patronage was "queered" by men and women who embraced same-sex love or who otherwise deviated from gender and sexual norms.

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