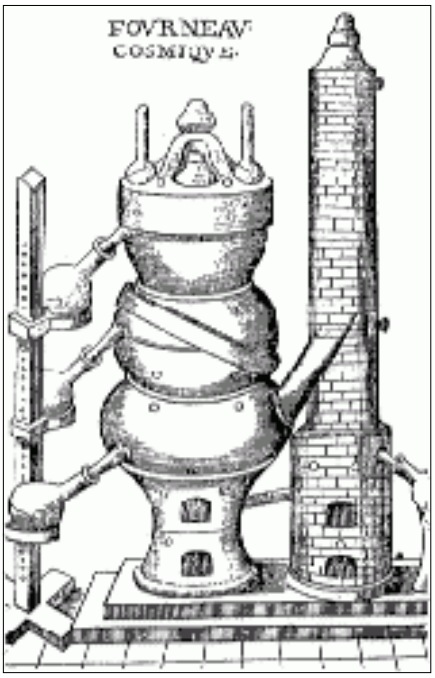
ATHANOR XXX

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF ART HISTORY



Cosmic oven or *Athanor* from Annibal Barlet,
Le Vray Cours de Physique,
Paris, 1653.

Front Cover: **Strawberry Hill**.

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The next Art History Graduate Symposium will be held in Fall 2012; symposium paper sessions cover a wide variety of topics. Students from universities nation-wide make presentations which frequently become published essays in ATHANOR. The format of the symposium includes a keynote address by major scholars. Since 1993 keynote speakers have been: Fred Licht, Boston University and the Peggy Guggenheim Collection, Venice (1993); Gerald Ackerman, Pomona College (1994); Marcel Roethlisberger, University of Geneva (1995); Robert Farris Thompson, Yale University (1996); Oleg Grabar, Institute for Advanced Study (1997); Phyllis Bober, Bryn Mawr College (1998); Carol Duncan, Ramapo College (1999); Bogomila Welsh-Ovcharov, University of Toronto at Mississauga (2000); Neil Stratford, ret. Keeper of Mediaeval Antiquities, British Museum (2001); Debra Pincus, Professor Emerita, University of British Columbia (2002); Jonathan Brown, Institute of Fine Arts, NYU (2003); David Summers, University of Virginia (2004); Thomas B.F. Cummins, Harvard University (2005), W.J.T. Mitchell, University of Chicago (2006); Michael Leja, University of Pennsylvania (2007); Pamela Sheingorn, City University of New York (2008); Alexander Nemerov, Yale University (2009); Richard Shiff, University of Texas at Austin (2010); and John T. Paoletti; Wesleyan University (2011). For details of date and for précis submission, please contact <arh@fsu.edu>. Department of Art History, Florida State University, 1019 William Johnston Building, 143 Honors Way, Tallahassee, FL 32306-1151.

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Athanor and the Museum Press

In 1980 Professor François Bucher (University of Bern, *Medieval Art*) asked Allys Palladino-Craig (formerly of the variorum editions of *The Collected Works of Stephen Crane*, 10 vols., Fredson Bowers, Editor, University of Virginia Press) to take on the responsibility of general editor and publisher of the first volume of *Athanor* (1981). Professor Bucher served as faculty advisor until his retirement. During that time, Palladino-Craig won several grants for the publication, and in 1994 established the Museum Press of the Florida State University Museum of Fine Arts with Julienne T. Mason as principal editorial assistant and graphic designer. From 1998-2002, Patricia Rose served as faculty advisor to this annual journal, which is a project of the Museum Press. From volume 26 to 27, Richard K. Emmerson, the Editor of *Speculum* from 1999 to 2006, served as co-editor of *Athanor.*

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Saskia Beranek was awarded the Günther Stamm Prize for Excellence at the 2011 Art History Graduate Student Symposium.

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The Limburg Staurotheke: A Reassessment

Brad Hostetler

Dedicatory inscriptions on Middle Byzantine reliquaries have been analyzed for their documentary information, including prosopography, provenance, and date.[1] Relying solely on this data limits our understanding of these objects. The methodology in this paper recontextualizes Byzantine reliquaries and their dedicatory inscriptions by reassessing the meaning and function of the Greek text through its relationship with the form of the object and its relics.

The focus of this essay is on one case study—the Limburg Staurotheke, a reliquary of the True Cross now in the cathedral treasury of Limburg an der Lahn, Germany (Figures 1-3).[2] Three levels of analysis will be applied to the staurotheke and its inscription. First, the dedication functions as a record of patronage—the identification of names, titles, and gifts. Second, it is a typological comparison of the patrons and Christ as expressed in the precise terminology chosen for the dedication. Third, the placement of specific words is significant when viewed in relation to the form of the object and the precious stones and pearls that embellish it. These approaches together reveal the multivalent messages conveyed through the reliquary's complex interrelationship of text, form, and relic.

The Limburg Staurotheke was constructed in two phases during the tenth century. The double-arm cross was made first (Figure 1). The front displays its relics—seven rectangular strips of wood of the True Cross supported by a wooden core.[3] It is embellished with gems at the crossings and ends. The pearls that once adorned the intersections of the cross arms are now replaced by gold beads.[4] The back of the reliquary is wrapped in gold and has a dedicatory inscription executed in repoussé. The inscription identifies the patrons as the Emperors Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos and his son Romanos II, dating it to 945-59, the period of their co-regency.

The *thēkē* (case) was produced a few years after the cross, between 968 and 985 (Figures 2-3).[5] It is an enamel and silver-gilt shallow rectangular box with a sliding lid (Figure 2). The cross of Constantine and Romanos is displayed inside the *thēkē* and is surrounded by ten compartments that contain relics either of, or associated with, Christ, the Theotokos, and

This paper originates from my dissertation and has undergone numerous revisions thanks to the guidance and support of my advisor, Professor Lynn Jones, and Robert Professor Romanchuk. I would also like to thank Professor John Paoletti and the FSU art history faculty and graduate students for their suggestions and comments. All translations are the author's, unless stated otherwise.

1 The corpus of these reliquary inscriptions are catalogued in Anatole Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix: Recherches sur le Développement d'un Culte*, Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 7 (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1961); and Andreas Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst*, vol. 2 of *Byzantinische Epigramme in Inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, ed. Wolfram Hörandner, Andreas Rhoby, and Anneliese Paul (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010).

2 Diözesanmuseum Inv. Nr. D 1/1-3 (48 x 35 x 6 cm), see Frolow, *La Relique*, 233-37; and Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Ikonen*, 163-69. For a detailed discussion of the reliquary's contents and history, see Holger A. Klein, *Byzanz, der Westen und das 'wahre' Kreuz: Die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 105-12.

3 Each strip is 17 mm wide and between 2 and 4 mm thick. Their lengths vary so that they form the cross; see Johann Michael Wilm, "Die Wiederherstellung der Limburger Staurothek," *Das Münster* 8 (1955): 238.

4 Some of the gems are also modern replacements, but the restoration preserves what is thought to be the original appearance; see Wilm, "Die Wiederherstellung," 240.

5 A dedicatory inscription wraps all four sides of the *thēkē*. There is a great deal of scholarly debate concerning the precise date of the *thēkē* and the sequence in which the inscription as arranged on the reliquary should be read; see Enrica Follieri, "L'ordine dei versi in alcuni epigrammi bizantini," *Byzantion* 34 (1964): 447-467; Johannes Koder, "Zu den Versinschriften der Limburger Staurothek," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 37 (1985): 11-31; and Bissera Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 160-70. I present the eight verses of the inscription according to the order accepted by Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Ikonen*, 166 (top, right, left, bottom):
† ΟΥ ΚΑΛΛΟΣ ΕΙΧΕΝ Ο ΚΡΕΜΑΣΘΕΙΣ ΕΝ ΞΥΛΩ
ΑΛΛ ΗΝ ΩΡΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΛΛΕΙ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΝΗΣΚΩΝ
ΟΥΚ ΕΙΔΟΣ ΕΙΧΕΝ ΑΛΛ ΕΚΑΛΛΩΠΙΖΕ ΜΟΥ
ΤΗΝ ΔΥΣΘΕΑΤΟΝ ΕΞ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ ΘΕΑΝ
ΘΕΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΩΝ ΕΠΑ[Σ]ΧΕΝ ΕΝ ΒΡΟΤΩΝ ΦΥΣΕΙ
ΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΣ [Ο] ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ ΕΞΟΧΩΣ
ΣΕΒΟΝ ΕΚΑΛΛΩΠ[Ι]ΣΕ ΤΗΝ ΘΗΚΗΝ ΞΥΛΟΥ
ΕΝ Ω ΤΑΝΥΣΘΕΙΣ ΕΙΛΚΥΣΕΝ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΚΤΙΣΙΝ
In translation, it reads:
† He did not have beauty, the one suspended on wood, yet Christ was complete with beauty; and in dying he did not have form, but he beautified my appearance deformed by sin. Although being God, he suffered in mortal nature; eminently venerating, Basileios the *proedros* beautified the *thēkē* of wood, on which having been stretched, he (Christ) rescued all creation.

John the Baptist (Figure 3).[6] Originally, the cross was removed and carried in procession during the liturgy.[7]

While the *thēkē* has been the focus of numerous studies, the dedication on the cross of Constantine and Romanos has received limited scholarly attention. The focus of this paper is the interrelationship between the cross reliquary and its dedicatory inscription, relics, and embellishments.

The Inscription as a Record of Patronage

The inscription, written in continuous script in majuscule letters, reads from top to bottom and from left to right. A cross marks the beginning. In translation the nine-verse inscription reads:

> † On the one hand, God stretched out his hands upon
> the wood gushing forth through it the energies of life.
> On the other hand, Constantine and Romanos the
> despots with the synthesis of radiant stones and pearls
> 5 displayed this same thing full of wonder.
> And on the one hand, Christ with this formerly
> smashed the gates of Hades giving new life to the dead.
> On the other hand, the crown-wearers having now
> adorned this crush with it the temerities of the barbarians.[8]

The Limburg dedication functions as a record of patronage. It identifies the patrons, the Emperors Constantine and Romanos, and the contents, the wood of the True Cross. It specifies "radiant stones and pearls" as their material contribution. The inscription states that the Emperors have "now adorned this," indicating that this is not a commemoration of a past event, but rather a commission of the present day. The dedication also asserts that Constantine and Romanos defeat their enemies through the power of the True Cross.

The Inscription as Comparison

While the Limburg dedication is a record, it is not strictly a list of patrons and their contributions. Its form is typical for Middle Byzantine inscriptions, a twelve-syllable epigram.[9] In content, it is a typological comparison of the Emperors and Christ.[10] This is evident in the overall structure of the epigram, the pairing of specific actions, the indication of time, and the specific choice of names. This paper argues that the composition is deliberate, mimetically linking Constantine and Romanos with Christ in order to affirm their ability to wield the power of the relic.

The comparison of the Emperors and Christ is evident in the overall structure of the dedication composed using two *men…de* constructions. The Greek words *men* and *de* are used in correlative clauses to compare or contrast two different ideas or situations; the word *men* always prefaces the first clause and *de* the second. No previous translation of this inscription has taken these words into consideration; their meaning has been, one might say, lost in translation. Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* render these words into the English phrases "on the one hand" and "on the other hand."[11] The Limburg *men…de* constructions are fundamental to the epigram's organization and message.

The first *men…de* construction is lines 1-5. The word *men* prefaces the actions of God in line 1, and the word *de* prefaces those of the Emperors in line 3. These words establish the correlation between the two clauses, God on one hand and the despots on the other. The second *men…de* construction is lines 6-9. As with the first comparison, the word *men* prefaces the actions of Christ, and *de* prefaces that of the crown-wearers. In sum, the words *men* and *de* structure the epigram so that the subjects of the inscription are related to one another.

ΕΔΕΙΞΑΝ ΑΥΤΟ ΘΑΥΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΕΠΛΗΣΜΕΝΟΝ
Κ[ΑΙ] ΠΡΙΝ ΜΕΝ Α[Ι]ΔΟΥ Χ[ΡΙΣΤΟ]Σ ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΠΥΛΑΣ
ΘΡΑΥΣΑΣ ΑΝΕΖΩΩΣΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΕΘΝΗΚΟΤΑΣ
ΚΟΣΜΗΤΟΡΕΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΥΝ ΣΤΕΦΗΦΟΡΟΙ
ΘΡΑΣΗ ΔΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΣΥΝΤΡΙΒΟΥΣΙ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΩΝ

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6 These compartments are covered by gold and enamel hinged doors that have inscriptions and images of cherubim and seraphim. The inscriptions, read from left to right and from top to bottom, identify the relics as the swaddling clothes of Christ, the towel used to wash the Apostles' feet, the crown of thorns, Christ's purple robe, the burial shroud, the sponge, the maphorion of the Theotokos, the girdle from the Chalkoprateia, the girdle from Zela, and hair of the Prodromos. These relics are discussed in Klein, *'wahre' Kreuz*, 106-07.

7 Koder ("Versinschriften," 16) suggests that the cross of Constantine and Romanos is the processional cross identified in the tenth-century Book of Ceremonies and housed in the Pharos chapel in the Great Palace: "the newly-made great cross of Constantine the Christ-loving and purple-born Emperor" (Ὁ νεοκατασκεύαστος μέγας σταυρὸς Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶπορφυρογεννήτου Βασιλέως); see Johann Jacob Reiske, ed., *Constantini Porphyrogeniti De Ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*, Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1830), 2:640. Nancy Ševčenko, "The Limburg Staurothek and its Relics," in Θυμίαμα στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα (Athens: Benaki Museum, 1994), 289-95 suggests that the Limburg Staurotheke was taken on military campaigns to protect the Emperor and aid him in battle.

8 †Θ[ΕΟ]Σ ΜΕΝ ΕΞΕΤΕΙΝΕ ΧΕΙΡΑΣ ΕΝ ΞΥΛΩ
ΖΩΗΣ ΔΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΑΣ ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΒΡΥΩΝ
ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΔΕ Κ[ΑΙ] ΡΩΜΑΝΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΑΙ
ΛΙΘΩΝ ΔΙΑΥΓΩΝ ΣΥΝΘΕΣΕΙ Κ[ΑΙ] ΜΑΡΓΑΡΩΝ

9 *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), s.v. "Dodecasyllable," by Michael J. Jeffreys, 1:643-44.

10 Synkrisis, the art of comparing, was a preliminary exercise in Byzantine rhetorical training. For more information on the Progymnasmata used in the Late Antique and Byzantine periods, see George Alexander Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*, Writings from the Greco-Roman World 10 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003). The late fourth-century Progymnasmata of Aphthonios was a popular textbook in the Middle Byzantine period; see Henry Maguire, Art and Eloquence in Byzantium (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 13-15. For the relationship between synkrisis and Middle Byzantine art, see Henry Maguire, "The Art of Comparing in Byzantium," *Art Bulletin 70* (1988): 88-103; and Henry Maguire, "The Mosaics of Nea Moni: An Imperial Reading," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992): 205-14.

11 *Greek-English Lexicon* hereafter cited as *LSJ*, 9th rev. ed., eds. Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), s.v. "μέν."

Within this structure, the specific deeds of the Emperors and Christ are compared. Lines 1-5 describe two physical actions that are each followed by a metaphysical effect. The first action is stated in line 1: "God stretched out his hands upon the wood," referring to Christ's crucifixion.[12] The focus is on God's hands, and thus emphasizes the human nature of this act. Line 2 describes the outcome of the crucifixion: "gushing forth through it the energies of life." The faithful believe that through Christ's death and resurrection, he offers eternal life. The True Cross is an embodiment of this belief; the blood of Christ infused the wood and transformed this earthly substance into sacred matter.[13]

This cause and effect relationship is also found in the description of the Emperors' deeds. Line 4 states that Constantine and Romanos displayed these relics "with the synthesis (*synthesei*) of radiant stones and pearls." The word *synthesei*, which means "putting together" or "composition," refers to their role as patrons who caused the material creation and fashioning of the Limburg reliquary and the embellishment of the relics.[14] This physical action brings about the metaphysical effect—the cross is "full of wonder (*thaumatos*)." The word *thaumatos* is used in multiple contexts. While it references physical and visual splendor, it can also refer to something that is miracle-working.[15] Just as the blood of Christ transformed the wood, the Emperors visually transform their relic with the *synthesei* of red jewels and white pearls, suggesting the blood and water gushing forth from Christ's body.[16] These embellishments are a testament to Constantine and Romanos's ability to harness the wonder-working power of the relic.

The comparison of deeds is continued in lines 6-9. This portion of the inscription compares Christ's victory over Hades with the topos of imperial victory over the enemy.[17] The paronomasia (pun) on the words *thrausas* (smashed) and *thrasē* (temerities) further connects the actions of the crown-wearers and Christ.[18] Just as Christ "*smashed* the gates of Hades," the crown-wearers "*crush*…the temerities of the barbarians." The Emperors defeat their earthly enemies because they have the True Cross and because they do it in imitation of Christ.

The subjects are also typologically linked through time. In line 6, the deeds of Christ are described as a past event: "Christ with this formerly *smashed* the gates of Hades." This is paired with the present actions of the Emperors in line 8: "the crown-wearers having *now* adorned this crush with it the temerities of the barbarians."[19] Their actions in battle—spiritual and earthly, past and present—are linked through their wielding of the power of the True Cross.

The comparison of the Emperors and Christ is also suggested by the parallel taxonomy of names. The first comparison, lines 1-5, pairs *theos* (God) with the Emperors who are called *despotai* (despots). This term, meaning "absolute ruler" is also applied to God in Byzantine texts.[20] The Emperors' mimesis of the heavenly court conforms to Byzantine imperial ideology. The earthly court, with the Emperor as its absolute ruler, was a reflection of the court in heaven, centered on God.[21]

The second comparison, lines 6-9, applies a different set of terms to the subjects. The word *christos* (Christ) replaces "God" and the imperial epithet *stephēphoroi* (crown-wearers)

12 Walter Michel suggests that the author of the epigram used the word God in reference to the crucifixion to convey the theology of Christ's divine and human nature; see "Die Inschriften der Limburger Staurothek," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 28 (1976): 34-35.

13 John of Damascus, *Expositio fidei* 4.11.

14 *LSJ*, s.v. "σύνθεσις." Bissera Pentcheva also associates this word with the manmade act of construction; see "Containers of Power: Eunuchs and Reliquaries in Byzantium," *Res* 51 (2007): 113.

15 *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), s.v. "θαῦμα."

16 Pentcheva suggests that the red jewels evoke the blood of Christ; see "Containers," 110. The image of Christ dead on the cross with blood and water flowing from his side becomes standard Byzantine iconography after Iconoclasm; see John R. Martin, "The Dead Christ on the Cross in Byzantine Art," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955), 189-96.

17 For a discussion of this topos and its relationship to the cross, see Wolfram Hörandner, "Das byzantinische Epigramm und das heilige Kreuz: einige Beobachtungen zu Motiven und Typen," in *La Croce: Iconografia e interpretazione (secoli I - inizio XVI); Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Napoli, 6-11 dicembre 1999)*, ed. Boris Ulianich (Naples-Rome: Elio de Rosa editore, 2007), 3:107-25.

18 Rhoby notes the homonymy of these words; *Epigramme auf Ikonen*, 169.

19 A similar use of the past and present as well as the topos of imperial victory is found in the inscription on the Cortona Staurotheke, a reliquary of the True Cross produced approximately a decade after the Limburg during the reign of Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963-69); see Frolow, *La Relique*, 239-41; and Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Ikonen*, 331-34. The four verses of the cross-shaped inscription on the reverse reads:
Κ[ΑΙ] ΠΡΙΝ ΚΡΑΤΑΙΩ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΩ
Χ[ΡΙΣΤΟ]Σ ΔΕΔΩΚΕ ΣΤ[ΑΥ]ΡΟΝ ΕΙ[Σ] ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝ
Κ[ΑΙ] ΝΥΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΕΝ Θ[Ε]Ω ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ
ΑΝΑΞ ΤΡΟΠΟΥΤΑΙ ΦΥΛΑ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΩΝ ΕΧΩΝ
In translation, it reads:
And formerly to the powerful despot Constantine, Christ gave the cross for salvation; and now having this (the cross), the Emperor in God Nikephoros puts to flight the tribes of barbarians.

20 *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. "δεσπότης."

21 Henry Maguire, "The Heavenly Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), 247-58. Imperial mimesis of the heavenly court is given visual expression in the coronation image of Emperor Basil I (r. 867-86), Constantine VII's grandfather and founder of the Macedonian dynasty, on folio of Cv of Paris.gr.510, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, M.S. gr. 510; f. Cv; see Henry Maguire, "A Murderer Among the Angels: The Frontispiece Miniatures of Paris. Gr. 510 and the Iconography of the Archangels in Byzantine Art," in *The Sacred Image East and West*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and Robert Ousterhout (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1995),

substitutes "despots." The word *christos* is defined as the "the Anointed One" and refers to he who is chosen and anointed by God.[22] The term "crown-wearer" is a title given to rulers, but here its context renders it significant.[23] It is a term associated with the Byzantine ceremony of coronation, the moment when the Emperor is crowned by the Patriarch and is symbolically anointed by God.[24]

This nuanced pairing of names and personalization of an inscription is also found in other Middle Byzantine reliquary inscriptions. An example is the staurotheke once at Troyes Cathedral.[25] The reliquary's inscription was recorded prior to its destruction during the French Revolution.[26] It identifies the Troyes Staurotheke patron as Constantine the *protoproedros*, a title designating the most important court officials and high-ranking senators.[27] Through his dedicatory inscription, Constantine beseeches Christ, addressing him: "master of judges, annul great errors."[28] Constantine's status as a civic leader and lawmaker is therefore paralleled with Christ's role as a judge who has the power to punish or redeem offenders of the law.

This parallel play on names is also found on the twelfth- to thirteenth-century staurotheke of Manuel Komnenos, now in the treasury of Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris (Figure 4).[29] The reverse of the cross features the inscription: "Jesus Christ, hanging on the cross, you exalted the nature of men. Manuel Komnenos crown-wearer writes (this)."[30] Like the Limburg dedication, the Notre-Dame inscription pairs the word "Christ" with the imperial epithet "crown-wearer."

This pairing of names is reinforced visually by the placement of names inscribed on the reliquary. The inscription begins on the upper cross arm with the abbreviation for Jesus Christ. It concludes on the lower cross arm with the words "Manuel" and "crown-wearer." The pairing of proper names and titles for "Jesus Christ" and "Manuel crown-wearer" is arranged on the cross arms, paralleling the Emperor, on the lower, with Christ, on the upper (Figure 5).

The comparisons made between the Emperors and Christ in the Limburg inscription reveal more about this reliquary and the messages conveyed by the dedication. The structure of the epigram, the pairing of specific actions, the indication of time, and the specific choice of names combine to typologically link the Emperors with Christ. The power of the True Cross that Christ established through his death, defeat of Hades, and resurrection is continued and harnessed by the Emperors who embellish the reliquary and use it to aid them in the defeat of their enemies.

The Placement of the Inscription

The placement of specific words on the Limburg Staurotheke emphasizes imperial ownership of the True Cross and the power associated with the relic. The names of the Emperors are given prominent placement on their reliquary. They are displayed on the vertical arm and centered between the two cross arms, which isolate and frame the patrons' names (Figure 6). The pearls, now replaced by gold beads, also drew attention to the names of Constantine and Romanos, thus linking the Emperors with their material contributions.[31]

The assertion of imperial ownership resonates in the rhyme of the word *margarōn* (pearls) in line 4. The homoioptoton, or repeated word endings, are arranged so that the rhyme ends on this word: "*lithōn diaugōn synthesei kai margarōn*," or "with the synthesis of radiant stones and pearls." As the final word in the rhyming sequence, *margarōn* is given the verbal emphasis.

This stress is echoed visually in word placement. The fourth line of the inscription begins at the left end of the lower cross arm. The line ends with the word *margarōn* at the intersection of the vertical and horizontal arms (Figure 7a). Originally, this set the word next to the pearls embellishing the cross, uniting the text with the materials added by the

63-71; and Leslie Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 158-62.

22 *LSJ*, s.v. "χριστός."

23 *LSJ*, s.v. "στεφᾶνηφόρος."

24 For a discussion on the practice of unction for Middle Byzantine imperial coronations, see Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 273-74. Ioli Kalavrezou notes the significance of the feast day of Christ's Baptism (January 6) for ninth- and tenth-century Emperors; see "Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture* (see note 21), 72-75. In the fifteenth century, Symeon of Thessaloniki compared the anointing of the Emperor at coronation with Christ's anointing by the Holy Spirit at Baptism; see *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Anointing," by Michael McCormick, 1:107.

25 Frolow, *La Relique*, 391-93; and Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Ikonen*, 189-92.

26 Abbé Coffinet, "Recherches historiques sur l'origine des parcelles de la Vraie Croix, conservées dans le trésor de la cathédrale de Troyes," *Mémoires de la Société d'agriculture, des sciences, arts et belles-lettres du Département de l'Aube* 19 (1855): 183-217.

27 *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Proedros as a Civilian Dignity," by Alexander Kazhdan, Anthony Cutler, accessed 3:1727.

28 According to Coffinet, verses 8 and 11 read: "πρωτοπροέδρος λαμπρύνας Κωνσταντ," and "ὥρχων δικαστῶν, λῦσων διαμαρτίας:" see "Vraie Croix," 196. For different revisions of this text, see Frolow, *La Relique*, 392; and Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Ikonen*, 190.

29 Frolow, *La Relique*, 483-84; Jannic Durand, ed., *Byzance: L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises, Musée du Louvre, 3 novembre 1992 - 1er février 1993* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), 444-45; and Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Ikonen*, 185-86.

30 Ι[ΗΣΟΥ]Σ Χ[ΡΙΣΤΟ]Σ ΣΤ[ΑΥ]ΡΩ ΠΑΓΕΙΣ ΥΨΩΣΑΣ ΑΝ[ΘΡΩΠ]ΩΝ ΦΥΣΙΝ ΓΡΑΦΕΙ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ ΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΣΤΕΦΗΦΟΡΟΣ

31 For the significance of name placement in dedicatory inscriptions, see Brad Hostetler, "The Iconography of Text: The Placement of an Inscription on a Middle Byzantine Reliquary," *Eastern Christian Art* 8 (forthcoming).

Emperors. The conscious placement of inscription and materials is also found in the position of the word *lithōn* (stones) at the end of the left cross arm (Figure 7b). This situates the word in the corresponding position of two radiant stones that embellish the front.

Just as word placement declares imperial ownership over the Limburg relics, it also emphasizes the source of their power. Centered on the lower cross arm is the instrumental dative phrase of line 6: "*christos en toutō*," or "Christ with this" (Figure 8). While the demonstrative "this" references the True Cross, the instrument of the Limburg inscription, the placement of the phrase "*christos en toutō*" also associates these words with the reliquary on which they are inscribed. Its precise placement over the intersection of the vertical and horizontal arms sets it at the actual and symbolic center of the cross—the junction from which, as it states in line 1, "God stretched out his hands upon the wood."

Lines 5, 6, and 8 each contain the word "this," referring back to the very object and relic upon which the words are inscribed. Therefore, when the energies of life gush forth, they do so though *this* wood—the wood of the True Cross contained within the Limburg. It is with *this* relic that Christ was crucified, destroyed the gates of Hades, and gave life to the dead. It is for *this* very same relic that the Emperors fashion a precious reliquary and in turn use it to defeat their enemies.

In conclusion, the multiple messages conveyed through the Limburg Staurotheke's complex interrelationship of text, form, and relic are much more nuanced than reading a dedication as a list of patrons and their material contributions. The Emperors are mimetically linked with Christ through the precise terminology chosen for the dedication. The placement of specific words on the reliquary emphasizes their actual and symbolic possession of the True Cross and therefore the power associated with it. These analyses demonstrate the multivalent function of dedicatory inscriptions. Word, form, and relic are chosen, arranged, and composed together on one object, uniting the patrons with their reliquary and the sacred matter it contains.

Florida State University

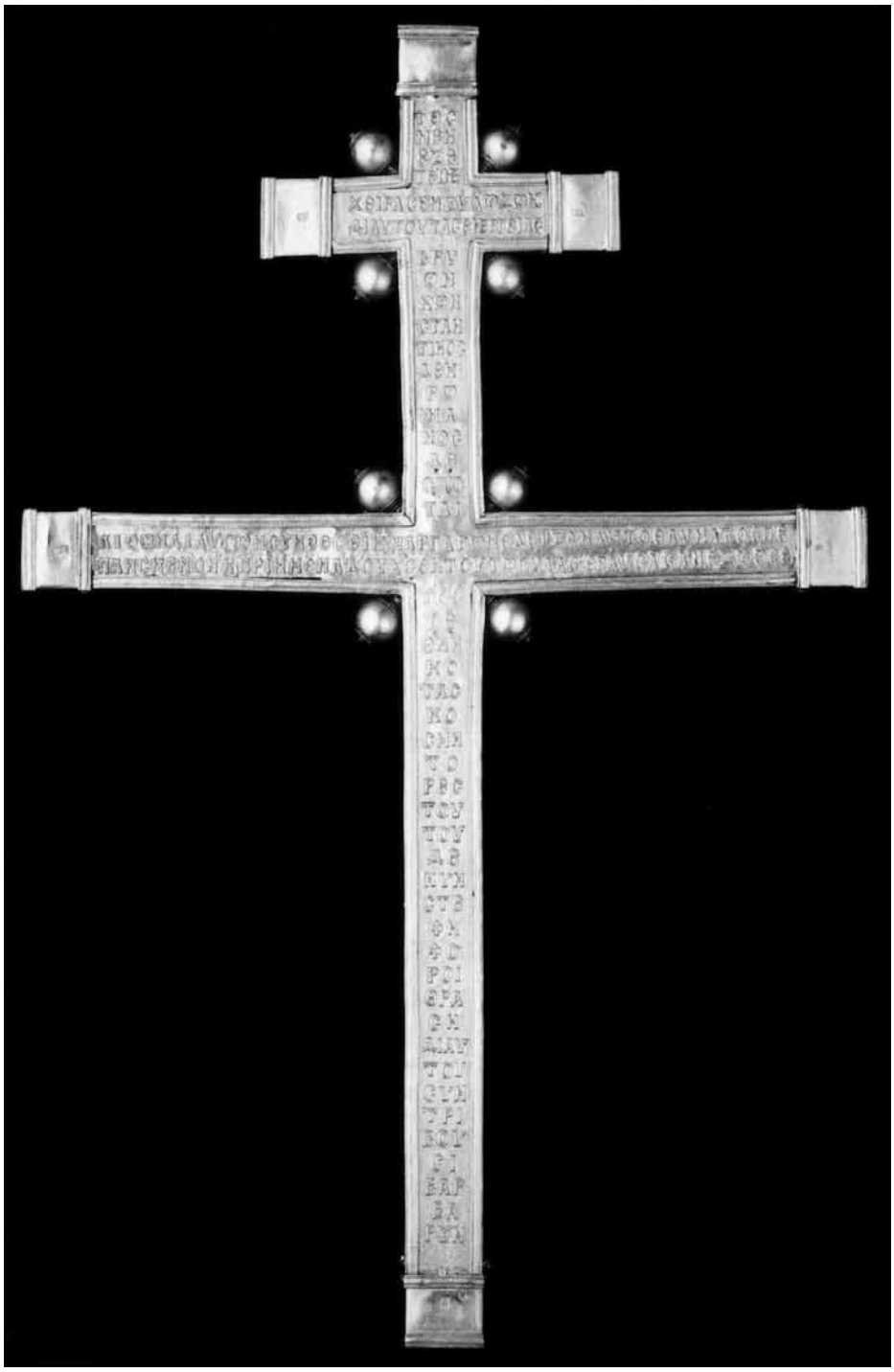


Figure 1. Limburg Staurotheke, cross reliquary, back side with inscription, 945-59, wood, gilded revetment, pearls, and gems, Cathedral, Limburg an der Lahn, Germany. Photo credit: Domschatz and Dözesanmuseum, Limburg.

Figure 2. Limburg Staurotheke, case with lid, 968-85, enamel, gilded silver, gems, 48 x 35 x 6 cm. Cathedral, Limburg an der Lahn, Germany. Photo credit: Domschatz and Dözesanmuseum, Limburg.

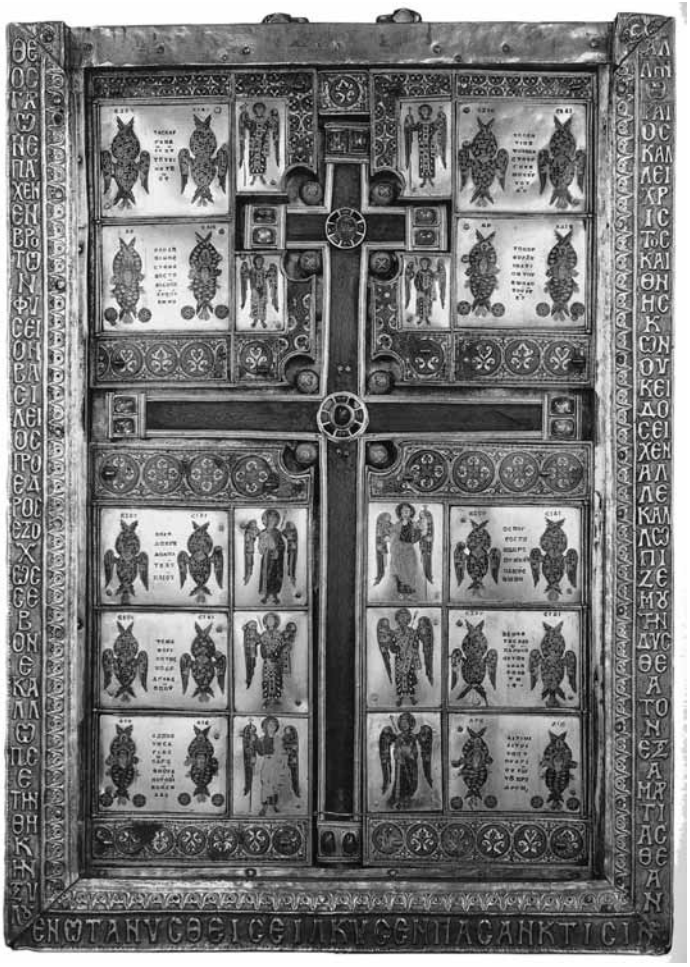
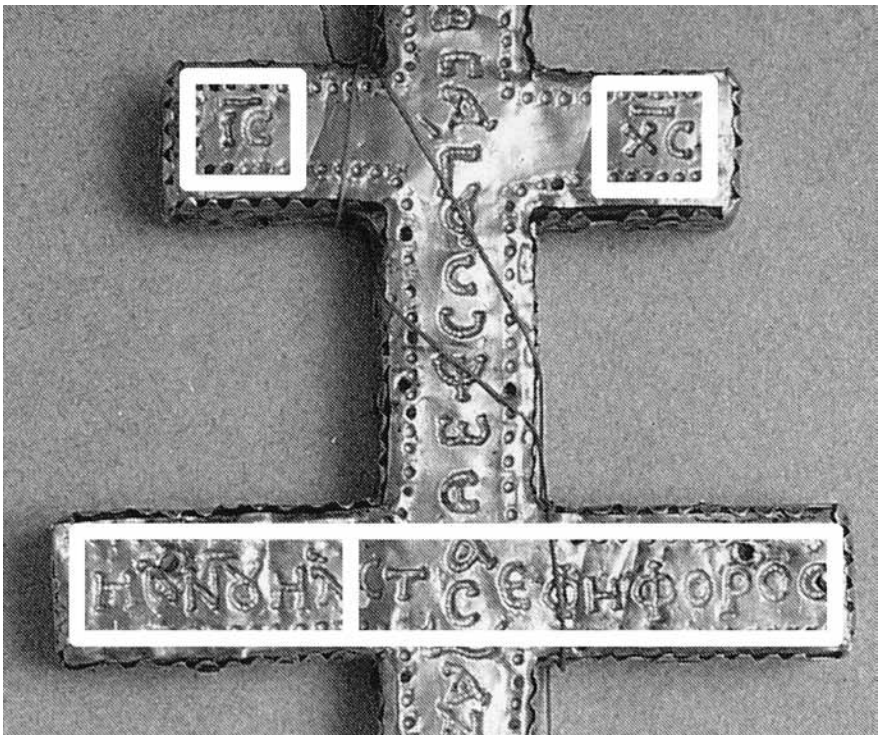


Figure 3. Limburg Staurotheke, case, interior, 968-85, enamel, gilded silver, 48 x 35 x 6 cm. Cathedral, Limburg an der Lahn, Germany. Photo credit: Domschatz and Dözesanmuseum, Limburg.



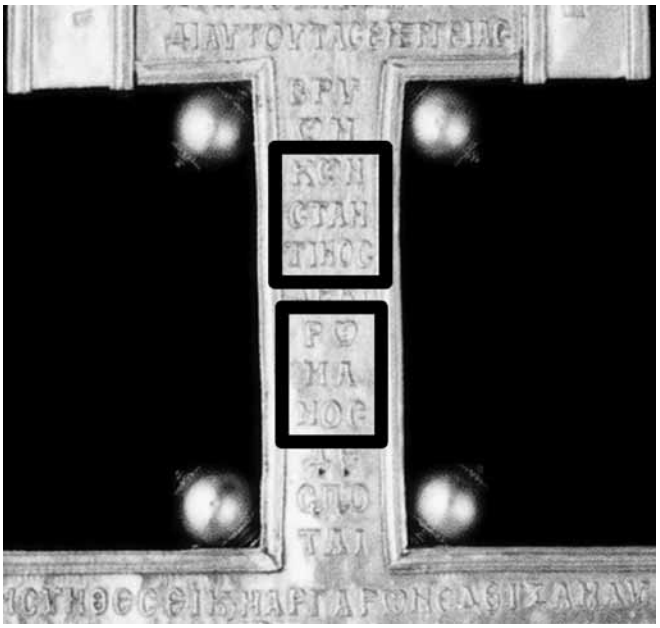
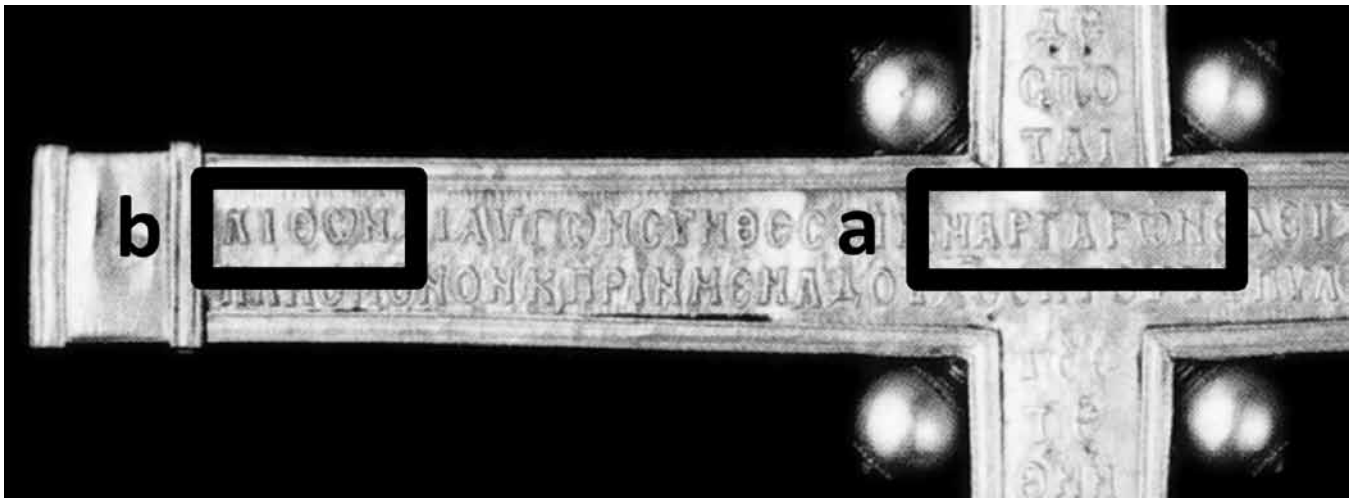
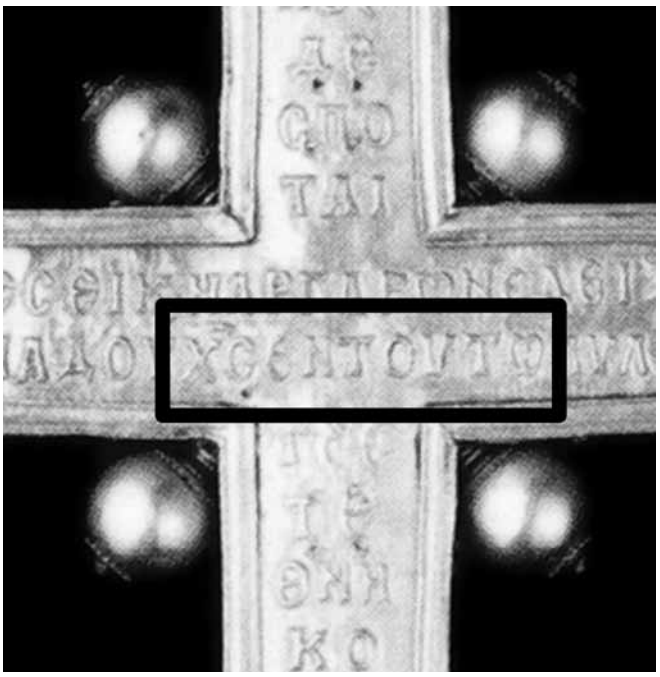


Figure 6. Limburg Staurotheke, cross-reliquary, back side with inscription, detail of names, 945-59, wood, gilded revetment, pearls, and gems, Cathedral, Limburg an der Lahn, Germany. Drawing by Brad Hostetler.

Figure 7. Limburg Staurotheke, cross-reliquary, back side with inscription, detail of the words *margarōn* (a) and *lithōn* (b), 945-59, wood, gilded revetment, pearls, and gems, Cathedral, Limburg an der Lahn, Germany. Drawing by Brad Hostetler.

Figure 8. Limburg Staurotheke, cross-reliquary, back side with inscription, detail of the words *christos en toutō*, 945-59, wood, gilded revetment, pearls, and gems, Cathedral, Limburg an der Lahn, Germany. Drawing by Brad Hostetler.





[*facing page, bottom left*] Figure 4. Cross of Manuel Komnenos, back side with inscription, twelfth or thirteenth century, wood, gold, and enamel, height 21 cm. Treasury of Notre-Dame Cathedral, Paris, France. After Jannic Durand, "La Vraie Croix de la princesse Palatine au trésor de Notre-Dame de Paris: Observations techniques," Cahiers archéologiques 40 (1992): page 141, figure 4.

[*facing page, bottom right*] Figure 5. Cross of Manuel Komnenos, back side with inscription, detail of names, twelfth or thirteenth century, wood, gold, and enamel, height 21 cm. Treasury of Notre-Dame Cathedral, Paris, France. Drawing by Brad Hostetler.

Kingship and the Materiality of Cameos: The Afterlife of the Grand Camée in Capetian Paris

Catherine Fernandez

Within the Greek and Roman collections of the world's great art museums, cameos and intaglios are displayed as singular masterpieces of classical antiquity. Most of these gems, however, remained in circulation throughout the Middle Ages. Ornamenting reliquaries, gospel book covers, and chalices, they acquired numerous "afterlives," so to speak, with every reuse. Pried from their medieval frames in later centuries, the ancient gems housed in today's collections are fragments of medieval liturgical objects. Any attempt to understand their reception, places us, as William Heckscher aptly describes, in "a sort of 'no man's land' between the fields of Classical Archaeology and the Medieval History of Art."[1] Within the taxonomy of ancient glyptics, moreover, the large sardonyx imperial cameos produced for the Julio-Claudians in the first century C.E. occupied a wholly different class in terms of visual sophistication and material value, both during the Roman period as well as in their medieval settings. This paper proposes a new interpretive dimension to the material significance of reused antique gems in the Middle Ages. By examining the medieval afterlife of one particular Julio-Claudian cameo known as the Grand Camée de France, it becomes clear that object classification and material historicism played no small role in its thirteenth-century reception as a treasury object in the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris (Figure1). The Grand Camée transformed into a uniquely Capetian embodiment of sacred kingship, a material conduit that elevated the saintly Louis IX into a noble lineage of Old Testament kings, and Roman and Byzantine emperors.

Very little textual evidence delineates the Grand Camée's historical trajectory; the precise circumstances that led to its creation or subsequent ownership remain unknown.[2] The gem's first medieval reference is a terse line in the 1279 inventory of the Saint-Chapelle of Paris, listing "a cameo, and the receptacle, and the base."[3] To be certain, no existing records show that the cameo was taken during the sack of Constantinople in 1204, nor does it appear in the list of Passion relics sold to Louis IX by the Venetians.[4] Nevertheless, scholars agree that its presence in a royal chapel specifically created to house the Byzantine emperor's most valuable relics points to its removal during or immediately after the Fourth Crusade.[5] The Grand Camée was probably given to Louis IX by Baldwin II during the negotiations for the Passion relics and accompanied one of the two shipments around 1241.[6] In the Sainte-Chapelle, the cameo was encased in a now-lost Byzantine frame studded with enamels and relics, which underscores the Capetian need to visually authenticate its Constantinopolitan origins.[7] The cameo was first "officially" recognized as a work of Roman facture by the seventeenth-century humanist and numismatist Claude Fabri de Peiresc, who identified the carved scene as an "Apotheosis of Augustus."[8] More intriguing, however, was his observation that medieval viewers believed that the image represented "the triumph of Joseph in the court of Pharaoh in Egypt."[9] Although this is an admittedly problematic record when considering the post-medieval date of this account, it is necessary, as Cynthia Hahn asserts, to "accept a certain level of discomfort" with these so-called "soft" sources.[10] Fortunately, there are other avenues of inquiry that accentuate the credibility of this late documentation. Indeed, both contextual and visual elements related to the Grand Camée support a reading of the imagery as the Old Testament Joseph.

One must naturally begin with the object at hand. With its dimensions of 12.2 x 10.4 inches, the Grand Camée is the largest extant cameo from Antiquity. The ovoid gem

1 William S. Heckscher, "Relics of Pagan Antiquity in Mediaeval Settings," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1 (1937): 204.

2 For an overview of the scholarship on the Grand Camée, see Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen und ihr Nachleben* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 160-166, 244-246.

3 "*Ung camahier et le repositoire et le pied*." Jannic Durand, Marie-Pierre Laffitte, and Dorota Giovannoni, *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2001), 90.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., 98-112; Daniel H. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of St. Louis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 11-32.

7 Durand, Laffitte, and Giovannoni, *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle*, 92-95.

8 Henri Stern, "Peiresc et la Grande Camée de France, " *La revue des arts* 6 (1956): 255.

9 Durand, Laffitte, and Giovannoni, *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle*, 90.

10 Cynthia Hahn, "Relics and Reliquaries: The Construction of Imperial Memory and Meaning, with Particular Attention to Treasuries at Conques, Aachen, and Quedlinburg," in *Representing History, 900-1300: Art, Music, History*, ed. Robert Maxwell (University Park:

is sardonyx, a type of stone that Pliny describes as having come from India and the Arabian Peninsula, and valued by the Romans for carving purposes.[11] One particular quality of sardonyx that gifted gem carvers exploited to create depth and texture within the composition are the multiple layers of color contained in an individual stone; the Grand Camée consists of five such layers in brown, white, red, white, and dark red.[12] Although the work is unsigned**,** the gem was likely carved in Rome by a Greek artist of Alexandrian origin or a Roman who was trained by a Greek artist.[13]

The Grand Camée portrays a sophisticated allegory of Julio-Claudian power involving living and deceased family members, whose exact identities have provoked much debate.[14] Although there is general agreement in the literature that the enthroned figures in the central register are the emperor Tiberius and his mother Livia, the heart of the dispute rests on the identity of the young boy depicted in military uniform on the left. With the cameo's reading dependent upon the identification of this young prince as either Nero or Caligula, two main interpretations emerge, which, in turn, affect the dating of the cameo. If the youthful figure represents Caligula, as Jean-Baptiste Giard has suggested, then the gem would have been carved shortly after the death of Germanicus around 19 C.E. during the reign of Tiberius.[15] Wolf Rüdiger Megow and Hans Jucker, however, argue that the figure should be identified as the young Nero, which would give the gem a Claudian provenance with a date of *c*. 51 C.E.[16] In both interpretations, the female figures in the central register play an integral role in constructing this lineage; they provide the "connective tissue" linking the past and present in order to project dynastic succession. Defenders of the earlier Tiberian date contend that the central register articulates the dynastic links through the visual rhythm of mother-son pairs: Agrippina the Elder and Caligula, Germanicus and Antonia, Tiberius and Livia, Drusus Caesar and Livilla.[17] Likewise, supporters of a Claudian date argue that Nero is commemorated as the Julio-Claudian heir by the portraits of his mother, Agrippina the Younger, and her parents, Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder.[18]

Scholars agree that the figures on the lowest register represent the vanquished of the Roman Empire (Figure 3). Arranged in various states of undress amid shields and spears, the figures, identified as Parthians wearing Phrygian caps and long-haired Germans, huddle together under the crushing visual weight of Julio-Claudian might.[19] Notwithstanding the debate centered on the precise identities of the figures, resulting in the differences in dating, it is clear that the Grand Camée promotes dynastic power through the visual assemblage of living and dead family members. An expensive and sumptuously carved object, the indestructible solidity of the sardonyx cameo metaphorically replicated in mineral form what the image was intended to convey. Indeed, its material value probably guaranteed its survival even after the end of the Julio-Claudian Dynasty. Although the imagery clearly depicts the promotion of a future emperor who would later become reviled in subsequent centuries, the gem somehow remained culturally and visually relevant. A fourth-century adaptation of Agrippina the Elder's (or Antonia's) coiffure underscores the Grand Camée's importance in what is presumably the imperial treasury under the control of later emperors.[20] That it was deemed worthy of repair suggests that it had some kind of public function. The original meaning of the group portrait may have been forgotten or conveniently ignored, but its ability to evoke the antiquity and power of imperial Rome assured its continued existence.

Our knowledge of its reception in Byzantium remains less certain. Direct and circumstantial evidence suggests that the Grand Camée and other Roman imperial cameos migrated at some point to Constantinople in Late Antiquity as was the case with the most important statuary of the Greco-Roman world.[21] Unlike the more monumental works of antique sculpture on display in places such as the Hippodrome or the Baths of Zeuxippos, there are no written accounts documenting their presence. There are, however,

Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 134.

11 Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. James Henderson, vol. 10, *Books 36-37*, trans. D.E. Eicholz (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 233.

12 Jean-Baptiste Giard, *Le Grand Camée de France* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1998), 17.

13 For discussion on the prominence of Greek gem engravers in Republican and Augustan Rome, see Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen und ihr Nachleben*, 108-146.

14 Giard, *Le Grand Camée de France*, 17-23; Hans Jucker, "Der Grosse Pariser Cameo," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 91 (1976): 211-50; Wolf-Rüdiger Megow, *Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus*, Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine 11 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987), 202-07; Hans Möbius, "Zweck und Typen der römischen Kaiserkameen" in *Principat*, ed. Hildegard Temporini (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985), 79-82; Marie-Louise Vollenweider and Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet, *Camées et intailles, II: Les portraits romains du Cabinet de médailles* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2003), 219-20.

15 Giard, *Le Grand Camée de France*, 20.

16 Jucker, "Der Grosse Pariser Cameo," 241; Megow, *Kameen*, 203.

17 Giard, *Le Grand Camée de France*, 18-20.

18 Katrina Marie Dickson, "Agrippina Minor: Optima mater or Semper atrox" (PhD diss., Emory University, 2002), 183-85.

19 Jucker, "Der Grosse Pariser Cameo," 22-23; Megow, *Kameen*, 204; Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet, *Camées et intailles,* 2:220.

20 Megow, *Kameen*, 202.

21 Cyril Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963): 55. Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 48.

several notable examples of ancient gems bearing Middle Byzantine inscriptions that imply that they were rebaptized as Christian images. A first century C.E. agate cameo of an Augustus portrait contains the inscription, which translates as "part of the relics of the holy martyrs," or "part of the relics of the Forty," as referring to the Forty martyrs of Sebaste.[22] A splendid amethyst intaglio with a portrait bust of the third-century emperor Caracalla is engraved with an inscription identifying the portrait as Saint Peter.[23] There were also Julio-Claudian cameos known to have been in Constantinople that contain no inscriptions identifying their subject matter. For example, Cardinal Humbert, acting as papal envoy to Leon IX in 1057, was presented with a cameo depicting the Apotheosis of Claudius during a diplomatic visit to the Byzantine capital.[24] The gem, also in the Cabinet de Médailles, completely lacks any Christian rebaptism in the form of an inscription. Inscriptions are also conspicuously absent on other Julio-Claudian cameos with purported Byzantine ties, such as the Gemma Augustea and the Augustus cameo in the Lothar cross.[25]

The issue of Byzantine reception of the Grand Camée is further complicated by its display in a Byzantine reliquary frame in the Sainte-Chapelle. Although the mount was stolen in 1804 and never recovered, Jannic Durand and Cyril Mango have created reconstructions based on inventory entries and a description written by Peiresc.[26] In this detailed record, the French humanist observed that the frame, which he dated to the ninth or tenth century, was encrusted with gems, pearls, and enamel medallions of various sizes depicting the four evangelists, portraits of saints, archangels, and the Virgin.[27] Additionally, there were two small enamel cross plaques, which may have been part of a cross reliquary or *enkolpion*.[28] This account has led most, if not all, scholars to accept uncritically that this was how the cameo was displayed in Constantinople.[29] Given the unfortunate loss of the reliquary frame, and the noticeable lack of a Byzantine reattribution of the subject matter through an inscription, one must remain hesitant in proposing a Byzantine reception for the Grand Camée. Compounding this problem is Peiresc's reference to the "medieval" interpretation of the cameo as triumph scene of the Old Testament Joseph. While Hans Wentzel accepts this rebaptism of imagery as Byzantine in origin, Durand and Mango rightly question whether this *interpretatio christiana* occurred in Constantinople.[30] What *is* certain is the fact that there is nothing engraved on the cameo or described in Peiresc's account of the reliquary frame that explicitly refers to Joseph. However Byzantine viewers interpreted the Julio-Claudian imagery, there is insufficient evidence that they regarded the figures as a representation of a scene from the Old Testament.

If the Grand Camée's association with the Old Testament Joseph did not originate in Byzantium, how did this narrative become associated with the cameo? It is probable that this rebaptism occurred after its arrival in Paris in the mid-thirteenth century within a distinctly Capetian context. As the Grand Camée was contextually stripped of its Byzantine reception, a medieval French audience would have responded differently to the gem's imagery. The Capetian court certainly encountered antique gems carved with imperial portraits, but it is important to stress just how unusual the Grand Camée would have appeared to them. Its large size and multi-figure composition might have suggested to its thirteenth-century audience that the gem depicted a specific narrative scene. Framed by its Byzantine mount, the Grand Camée may have been viewed as the lapidary equivalent of an individual medallion in a *Bible moralisée*, a type of densely illustrated manuscript produced for the Capetian court in the thirteenth century.[31] This may be due to the fact, that, among the extant Roman imperial gems, only a minority portray the kind of figural movement that we see in the Grand Camée.

The cameo's new setting would have been instrumental in its reception. The Sainte-Chapelle's stained glass decorative program of Old and New Testament narratives and the

22 ἐχ τωυ ἁγίων μ. This cameo was inserted into Abbot Suger's reliquary shrine dedicated to SS. Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius. See Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet, *Camées et intailles*, 2:51.

23 Ο ΠΕΤΡΟC. In the thirteenth century this intaglio was inserted into a Gospel book cover located in the Sainte-Chapelle. Ibid., 182.

24 Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet, *Camées et intailles*, 2:109. Cardinal Humbert later gave this gem to the Monastery of St. Evre in Toul.

25 On the Gemma Augustea, see Fernand de Mély, "Le Camayeul de St. Sernin et le Grand Camée de Vienne," *Mémoires de la Societé archéologique du Midi de la France* 15 (1894-96): 67-98. On the Augustus cameo in the Lothar Cross, see Ulrich Haussmann, "Zur Bedeutung des römisches Kairserbildes im Mittelalter," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung* 97 (1990): 383-93; Hans Wentzel, "Byzantinische Kleinkunstwerke aus dem Umkreis der Kaiserin Theophano," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44 (1973): 43-86; and Norbert Wibiral, "Augustus patrem figurat: zu den Betrachtungsweisen des Zentralsteines am Lotharkreuz im Domschatz zu Aachen," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 60 (1994): 105-30.

26 Durand, Laffitte, and Giovannoni, *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle*, 93-94.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.; Cyril Mango and Marlia Mundell Mango, "Cameos in Byzantium," in *Cameos in Context: The Benjamin Zucker Lectures, 1990*, ed. Martin Henig and Michael Vickers (Oxford: Derek J. Content, 1993); Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet, *Camées et intailles*, 2:109.

30 Hans Wentzel, „Mittelalterliche Gemmen: Versuch einer Grundlegung," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 8 (1941): 48; Mango and Mango, „Cameos in Byzantium."

31 For an introduction to the production and function of *Bible moralisée* within the Capetian court, see John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles moralisées*, 2 vols. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

history of the Passion relics served to emphasize the idea of sacred kingship personified by Capetian rulers (Figure 2). The strategic depiction of Old Testament rulers provided a concrete visual genealogy that originated in Biblical Antiquity and culminated with Louis IX.[32] Although his creation of a luxurious chapel to house the most precious relics of Christendom was a direct emulation of Solomon and the construction of his Temple, it is also worth remembering that the story of the Old Testament Joseph resonated with the Capetian monarch as well. For example, Jean de Joinville's 1250 commentary on the *Credo* concentrates on the overarching theme of the sufferings of Joseph.[33] Written in direct consultation with Louis IX, it has been argued that the text likens the king's own despair with the failure of the Seventh Crusade to the trials of the Old Testament figure.[34]

It is also significant that Joseph imagery became extraordinarily popular in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Western medieval art, particularly in the medium of stained glass in France. Joseph cycles figure prominently in the cathedrals of Chartres, Auxerre, Poitiers, Rouen, Bourges, and Tours, as well as in the Sainte-Chapelle.[35] As Madeline Caviness has observed, these representations of Joseph's life are remarkable because no two window narratives are alike; the sheer diversity of the arrangement, narrative order, and iconographic details suggests that the artists moved far beyond the original biblical account in their visual retelling of the Joseph story.[36] Arguing that medieval audiences were particularly receptive to aspects of Joseph's life, Caviness asserts that the Old Testament figure's allusive qualities allowed for the possible identification with Christ, the priesthood, or the role of the younger son in feudal society.[37] It is important to note that none of the stained glass scenes resemble the Grand Camée's figural composition. If we consider the gem's material identity as a cameo, however, interpretive possibilities emerge to explain its connection to the Joseph narrative.

There exist several thirteenth-century sardonyx cameos produced for the Hohenstaufen court of Frederick II in Italy during the first half of the thirteenth century that explicitly depict the Old Testament Joseph and his brothers. One such example, now in the Hermitage, depicts a scene from Genesis 44, the part of the narrative that describes Joseph's entrapment of his brothers as they are about to leave Egypt for Canaan (Figure 3).[38] Represented on the gem is the pivotal moment in which a gold goblet that had been planted in the bag of the youngest brother Benjamin by Joseph's steward the night before, is "discovered" upon their departure, causing great distress amongst his older brothers.

A hybrid of antique, Byzantine, and Western medieval stylistic components, the cameo portrays an enthroned Joseph in turban, gesturing to the huddled throng of his brothers.[39] The figures unmistakably possess classicizing features, such as the treatment of the drapery of their clothing, the sophisticated modeling of their bodies and facial hair, as well as the body of a lion supporting Joseph's throne. Like the Genesis narrative, which mentions that that the brothers "tore their clothes" upon the discovery of the goblet, the cameo show the brothers in different states of undress. Moreover, the brothers' display of anguish is quite palpable in the rendering of their facial expressions. With furrowed brows and pursed lips, the figures helplessly gesture at each other in disbelief. Reinforcing this visual narrative is the Hebrew script corresponding to verse 17 in Genesis 44 above Joseph's head: "the rest of you may go back safe and sound to your father," which refers to the moment when Joseph pronounces his younger brother Benjamin guilty of the "theft," and informs his other brothers that they are to return to Canaan without him.[40]

The Hermitage cameo was not a unique object in Hohenstaufen glyptic production. There is at least one other cameo in the Queen's collection that depicts a similar representation of Joseph and his brothers in Egypt in the same classicizing style (Figure 4). Potentially used as diplomatic gifts to other rulers, a great many Hohenstaufen cameos remained in circulation in the courts of late medieval Europe. They were certainly present in the collections of the Valois princes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For example, the 1379 inventories of Charles V list a cameo that portrays "a man who sits on a chair in the manner of a judge, and many others who are in front of him," a description that is compositionally similar to the Saint Petersburg cameo.

It is also certain that cameos of medieval facture entered into royal collections where they intermingled with antique cameos. Indeed, Hohenstaufen gem carvers were so gifted in their craft that many cameos produced at the court were

32 Alyce A. Jordan, *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002), 2-7; Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, 33-52.

33 William C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 131-32.

34 Ibid.

35 Madeline H. Caviness, "Biblical Stories in Windows: Were They Bibles for the Poor?" in *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art* (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1992), 128-147; Colette Manhès-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres:* étude *iconographique*, Corpus vitrearum: France; Etudes 2 (Paris: Léopard d'or, 1993), 358-59; Virginia Chieffo Raguin, *Stained Glass in Thirteenth-Century Burgundy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 147-148.

36 Caviness, "Biblical Stories in Windows," 128.

37 Ibid., 146-147.

38 Hans Wentzel, "Die Kamee mit dem ägyptischen Joseph in Leningrad,» in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Hans Kauffmann* (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1956), 85-105.

39 Ibid., 88.

40 Ibid., 86.

viewed as antique as late as the nineteenth century.[41] Given that Hohenstaufen gem iconography was perhaps more readable to a medieval viewer, the presence of such cameos in medieval glyptic collections may have influenced how antique gems containing ambiguous Greco-Roman subject matter were interpreted.

The visual and material parallels between the Saint Petersburg Joseph cameo and the Grand Camée are remarkable (Figure 9). Both are made of sardonyx and depict figures with overt classicizing features. In terms of composition, the gems give prominence to the enthroned figures supported by leonine elements. Moreover, the representation of vanquished prisoners, so visually marginalized in the lower register beneath members of the Julio-Claudian family, would have become a key part of the narrative for a medieval Capetian beholder. Their downtrodden expressions visually correlate with the depiction of Joseph's distressed brothers on the Hohenstaufen cameo. The Hohenstaufen cameo might also clarify the idea of what was meant by the description of the Grand Camée as a "triumph of Joseph in the court of Pharaoh." The Genesis story alludes to perhaps two scenes that might be considered "triumphal" elements within the narrative. The first pertains to the moment when Joseph stands before Pharaoh and describes his prophetic dreams. The second corresponds with what is depicted on the Hohenstaufen cameos. In the Grand Camée, specific iconographic features could be viewed as justifying either narrative scenario; the enthroned figures might have been interpreted as either Pharaoh or Joseph. It is also possible that a Capetian viewer understood the prisoners on the lower register as a representation of Pharaoh's prison or Joseph's anguished siblings.

Although the modern beholder can discern a stylistic disjuncture between the representations on the two gems, such precise connoisseurship issues would not have been of great import to Capetian viewers. Furthermore, the Grand Camée's thirteenth-century *interpretatio christiana* was not the result of a random medieval reattribution, but occurred specifically within a glyptic context. The process by which the Julio-Claudian cameo was seen as a triumph of Joseph was perhaps facilitated by its close proximity to other Hohenstaufen cameos and an architectural setting with a glazing program featuring Old Testament subjects. As antique and medieval gems circulated throughout Europe in medieval treasuries, those with more readable iconographic features may have semantically "asserted" meaning on gems with more uncertain iconography. We know almost nothing about the circumstances of the Grand Camée's entry into the Sainte-Chapelle's treasury, but it is likely that between 1204 and 1241, or even after its arrival in Paris, there were many opportunities for the gem to undergo its rebaptism to serve the emblematic needs of its new owner.

Key to our understanding of the Grand Camée's medieval reception is its material iconography. It is well known that the largest and most impressive engraved gems and cameos remained in royal collections or were gifted to church treasuries by members of royal families during the Middle Ages.[42] Moreover, the cameo as an object class was inextricably linked to notions of kingship in the Roman, Byzantine, and Western Medieval spheres. Although its medieval reception greatly deviated from its original function as a tangible representation of Julio-Claudian power, the Grand Camée as an object exemplified divine rulership in all of its afterlives. Its success also depended on the malleability of its imagery. Within the context of thirteenth-century France, the gem acted as a conduit for visually referencing previous manifestations of kingship. The fundamental motifs of antique triumphal imagery were so thoroughly embedded within the viewing practices of medieval courts that mutable objects such as the Grand Camée could absorb specific attributes of contemporary courtly presentation without completely severing their connection to their antique origins.

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[41] "*Ung camahieu sur champ vermeil, et a ung homme qui se siet sur un chayère par manie d'un juge , et plusieurs autres qui sont en estant devant luy*." Ibid.

[42] For the discussion of an international visual language of luxury objects in medieval courts, see Eva R. Hoffman, "Pathways to Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," *Art History* 24 (2000): 17-53.

Figure 1. *Grand Camée de France*, first century CE, sardonyx cameo, 31.1 x 26.5 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

[*left*] Figure 2. Interior of the Saint-Chapelle, mid-thirteenth century, Paris, France.

[*above*] Figure 3. *Brethren before Joseph*, thirteenth century, sardonyx cameo, 5.4 x 6.5 cm, The Hermitage, Saint Petersburg.

[*below*] Figure 4. *Brethren before Joseph*, thirteenth century, sardonyx cameo, 4 x 2.8 cm, Windsor Library, Windsor Castle.

Edirne Kapı and the Creation of Ottoman Ceremonial Iconography and Topography

Christopher Timm

The land walls of Constantinople were built under the Byzantine emperor Theodosius II (r. 408-50) in the early fifth century.[1] The Golden Gate, a fourth-century triumphal arch incorporated into the walls, was the ceremonial entrance for the Byzantine city until its transformation into a fortress in the fourteenth century.[2] Edirne Kapı is a gate at the highest point along these walls and served as the public gate for the northern branch of the central Constantinopolitan street, the Mese.[3] After the Ottoman sultan Mehmet II's (r. 1444-46, 1451-81) conquest of the city in 1453, Edirne Kapı replaced the Golden Gate as the ceremonial entrance to the city.[4] This *seemingly* represents a break in ceremonial typography during the transformation of Byzantine to Ottoman Constantinople.

Scholarship has recognized the Ottoman appropriation of Byzantine architecture as an assertion of its role as successor to both the Roman and Byzantine Empire.[5] R.J. Mainstone identifies the seventeenth-century Ottoman Sultan Ahmet Mosque as an architectural response to the sixth-century Byzantine church of Hagia Sophia.[6] Edirne Kapı illustrates the extent of such appropriation. Its Ottoman additions and the rise in the gate's ceremonial importance have been the focus of limited scholarship.[7]

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1 The Theodosian land walls protected the western side of Byzantine Constantinople and were completed by 413. See Neslihan Asutay-Effenberg, *Landmauer von Konstantinopel-İstanbul: historisch-topographische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007); B. Meyer Plath and Alfons Maria Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1943); Alexander van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London: J. Murray, 1899), 40-174; and Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion-Konstantinupolis-Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1977), 286-307.

2 The precise date of the Golden Gate and whether it predates or postdates the construction of the land walls is controversial. For an overview of the scholarship, see Jonathan Bardill, "The Golden Gate in Constantinople: A Triumphal Arch of Theodosius I," *American Journal of Archaeology* 103, no. 4 (1999): 671-90. The final ceremonial use of the Golden Gate was the triumphal entry of Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259-82) in 1261. John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347-54) fortified the area by blocking the Gate and adding towers. The site was further transformed under John V Palaiologos (r. 1341-76) with the addition of mythological reliefs to the outer entrance. Mehmet II reinforced the fortress at the Golden Gate, known in the Ottoman period as Yedikule. Sarah Bassett, "John V Palaiologos and the Golden Gate in Constantinople," in *To Hellenikon: Studies in Honor of Speros Vyronis, Jr.*, ed. John S. Langdon (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1993), 117-33; Aptullah Kuran, "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 123-25; and Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art & the Humanities, 1995), 3. For the ceremonial route of Byzantine Constantinople, see Cyril Mango, "The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 173-88; and Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 147, 155-56.

3 The Mese was the central street of Byzantine Constantinople: starting at the Milion, it continued west to the Philadelphion where the street forked. The northern branch continued to Edirne Kapı, while the southern branch continued to the Golden Gate. Albrecht Berger, "Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 162-69.

4 Edirne Kapı's Byzantine name was the Gate of Charisius (πύλη Χαρισίου). R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: developpement urbain et répartoire topographique* (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantine, 1964), 263-64.

5 Robert Ousterhout, "The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture," *Gesta* 43, no. 2 (2004): 165-176; and Robert Ousterhout, "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 53-60.

6 R. J. Mainstone, *Developments in Structural Form* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1975), 306, 351-59. See also Doğan Kuban, "The Style of Sinan's Domed Structures," *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 84; and Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium," in *Hagia Sophia from the Ages of Justinian to the Present*, ed. R. Mark and A. Çakmak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 195-225.

7 The seminal survey of the walls in 1929 by Meyer-Plath and Schneider recorded and translated the inscriptions on Edirne Kapı and allows my consideration of the inscriptions' ideological significance and relationship to Byzantine antecedents. The study of Ottoman ceremonial topography is still nascent; a recent study by Boyar and Fleet notes the ceremonial role of Edirne Kapı and allows my comparison between Byzantine and Ottoman ceremonial. See Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 53, 63.

The original Byzantine form of Edirne Kapı was destroyed in the siege of 1453 and is no longer extant.[8] The gate as it exists today is the product of multiple phases of construction and reconstruction (Figure 1). The lower half consists of Ottoman masonry, while the upper half is modern reconstruction that imitates the original Byzantine stonework.[9] Ottoman additions to the gate indicate its continued importance throughout the Ottoman period. A sixteenth-century marble plaque placed directly above the portal commemorates the repairs of the sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512). On the right inner wall is a seventeenth-century marble plaque that celebrates the military triumph of Murad IV (r. 1623-40). The curved lintel has eighteenth-century reliefs, now largely defaced, depicting the standards of imperial infantry divisions and relics held at the Ottoman court. This paper suggests that the Ottoman visual program of Edirne Kapı emulates the earlier Byzantine programs of the city's walls and gates, adapting Byzantine imperial iconography to an Ottoman visual language. Ottoman use of Edirne Kapı emulated Byzantine ceremony at the Golden Gate while transferring it to Ottoman triumphal space.

The Edirne Kapı visual program emulates preexisting Byzantine programs on the walls and gates of the city. These programs express three dominant imperial themes: Byzantine inscriptions continue the Roman ideals of imperial renewal—*renovatio*; inscriptions and sculptural groups celebrate military triumph; and relief crosses assert the religious authority granted by imperial ownership of the True Cross.

Byzantine emperors frequently added inscriptions to the gates and walls of Constantinople to commemorate their repairs and celebrate the *renovatio* of the state. After the Great Earthquake of 740, the Emperors Leo III (r. 717-41) and Constantine V (r. 741-75) added to the walls a series of inscriptions which read: "Leo and Constantine, wielders of the scepter, erected from the foundations this tower which had fallen."[10] After earthquakes in 1032 and 1033, Emperor Romanos III (r. 1028-34) repaired the damage to the walls, adding a marble inscription which reads: "Romanos, the Great Emperor of all the Romans, the Greatest, erected this tower new from the foundations" (Figure 2).[11] A similar Byzantine repair inscription on Edirne Kapı, no longer extant, is known from a fourteenth-century manuscript.[12] The inscription notes the streets and gates repaired by the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081-1118) and his renewal of the surrounding buildings.[13] Such inscriptions commemorating repairs were powerful statements of an emperor's stewardship of the city, the stability of his rule, and the renewal of the empire.

Triumph is another imperial theme expressed on the walls. Although the majority of the sculptural program of the Golden Gate is now lost, in the Middle Ages the gate featured a visual program of triumph including a bronze door seized from a conquered city, an elephant *quadriga*, and personifications of victory (Figure 3).[14] An inscription, formed of bronze letters affixed to the gate above the central portal, once celebrated the military victory of Emperor Theodosius over a failed usurper.[15]

Relics held at the imperial palace authenticated the divine appointment of the Emperor. The premier relic was the True Cross.[16] Fragments of the True Cross were brought on military campaigns and used in imperial ceremonies within the capital.[17] The repetition of crosses along the land walls of the city served as a reminder of the prestige

[8] The plaque to the right of the portal in Figure 1 is a modern addition and commemorates the triumphal entry of Mehmet II in 1453.

[9] For Byzantine masonry techniques used in fortifications, see C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* (Pretoria, South Africa: University of South Africa, 1986), 67-70. For details on the 1987-89 and 1991-94 restoration projects undertaken by the İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, see M. Ahunbay and Z. Ahunbay, "Recent Work on the Land Walls of Istanbul, Tower 2 to Tower 5," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 227-39.

[10] "† Λέον σὺν Κωνσταντίνῳ σκηπτοῦχοι πόνδε ἤγειραν πύργον τῶν βάθρων συμπτωθέντα†." The inscription is on Tower 37. Transcribed in Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, 130; and van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 98.

[11] "Πᾶσι Ῥωμαιοις μέγας δεσπότης ἤγειρε Ῥωμανὸς νέον ὁ παμμέγιστος τόνδε πύργον ἐκ βάθρω(ν)." The inscription is on Tower 5. Transcribed in Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, 124; and van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 102.

[12] The inscription is recorded in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. Gr. 459, fol. 75v. Cited in Janin, *Constantinople byzantine,* 263.

[13] "Κλόνοι, σπαραγμοὶ καὶ φορὰ μακρῶν χρόνων καὶ κυκλικὴ κίνησις ἀστρατουμένη, ἀφ᾽ὧν φθορὰ πάρεστι τοῖς φθαρτοῖς ὅλοις, πτῶσιν παρέσχον ἀθρόαν τοῖς ἐνθάδε στοὰς καταστρέψαντα καὶ πύλας ἅμα κτίσμασι λίθοις εὐφυῶς ἡρμοσμένοις• ἀλλ᾽ ὁ κράτιστος ὁ κρατῶν γῆς Αὐσόνων, Κομνηνὸς Ἀλέξιος εὐσεβὴς ἄναξ, αὖθις νεουργεῖ κἀπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον φέρει δεικνὺς ὁποῖός ἐστι ἐν τοῖς πρακτέοις. Μ(ηνὶ) Ἰουλλ(ίῳ) ἰνδος ιε' ἔτει [6705]." Quoted in Janin, *Constantinople byzantine,* 263.

[14] Bassett suggests that the elephants were original to the fourth-century gate, although they are not recorded prior to the tenth-century *Patria.* Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 212. See also Mango, "Triumphal Way of Constantinople," 183, 186; and John Wortley, trans., *John Skylitzes: A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811-1057* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 108, 258-59.

[15] Above the west side of the central portal of the Golden Gate was a Latin inscription that recorded Theodosius's *renovatio* of the area after the defeat of an unnamed usurper: HAEC LOCA THEVDOSIVS DECORAT POST FATA TYRANNI. This inscription is reconstructed in J. Strzygowski, "Das Golden Thor in Konstantinopel," *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 8 (1893): 5.

[16] For the legend of the True Cross, see Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

[17] For the use of relics of the True Cross on campaign, see George Dennis, "Religious Services in the Byzantine Army," in *Eulogema: Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, S.J.,* ed. Ephrem Carr (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1993), 107-17; and Nicolas Oikonomides, "The Concept of 'Holy War' and Two Tenth-Century Byzantine Ivories," in *Peace and War in Byzantium: Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S. J.*, ed. Timothy S. Miller and John W. Nesbitt (Washington, DC: Catholic

afforded by the imperial ownership of this relic. Crosses were added to the walls and associated with imperial inscriptions. On a tower to the north of Edirne Kapı, brick crosses visually reinforce the adjacent marble inscription that proclaims imperial ownership: "Tower of Theophilus, Emperor in Christ" (Figure 4).[18] The Byzantine walls were not merely fortifications; they also presented an imperial program of *renovatio*, triumph, and legitimacy through imperial ownership of relics of the True Cross.

Byzantine ceremonial use of the walls complimented this iconography. Constantinopolitan triumphs and coronations continued the triumphal tradition of Rome.[19] The procession first met on the outskirts of the city at the Hebdomon, where the emperor prayed in the Church of St. John the Baptist to a relic of the saint's head.[20] The emperor was then met at the Golden Gate and, passing through the arch, continued along the southern branch of the Mese through a series of imperial *fora* before ending at the patriarchal church of Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace.[21] Relics were likewise received at the Golden Gate. When the Mandylion, a miraculous image of Christ imprinted on cloth, was transferred from Edessa to Constantinople, the relic was received by the imperial court at the Golden Gate prior to being escorted to the Great Palace.[22]

On May 29, 1453, Constantinople fell to the besieging Ottoman army and the capital passed from Byzantine to Ottoman control.[23] The Ottomans inherited the city's Byzantine ceremonial iconography and topography. The visual program of Edirne Kapı adapted the earlier Byzantine imperial program of the walls of the city, continuing the themes of imperial *renovatio*, triumph, and the imperial ownership of relics in a new Ottoman visual language.

The sixteenth-century marble plaque placed directly above the portal praises the sultan Bayezid II for his restoration of the walls after their destruction: "The ruler of the Empire, Bayezid, the generous donor, renewed the fortress of the house of the Caliphate after it was destroyed" (Figure 5).[24] The inscription's date of 1509-10 identifies the destruction as the 1509 earthquake.[25] The inscription was added during a civil war between Beyazid's sons during which he retained control of only the capital.[26] By placing an inscription commemorating his repairs on the walls, Bayezid emulated the *renovatio* expressed by earlier Byzantine repair inscriptions and countered growing demands for him to abdicate.

On the south side of the gate passageway is a marble plaque that celebrates the victory over a nameless enemy and the peace brought to the empire by Murad IV (Figure 6). The inscription's effusive praise includes the following:

> The *Şahinşah* projects truthful power when his
> pure name among the people
> Is called, the world is busy healing for him.
> The happily gifted leader whose welfare and
> justice from *Qāf* to *Qāf*
> Unites the world under the same glorious sun.
> [...] Murad Han, he,
> Once again has called into being the fortress of
> *Kostantiniyye*.[27]

The date 1635 places the inscription during the height of the Ottoman-Safavid War. In this year, the twenty-three year-old Murad IV personally led Ottoman armies against Safavid Erivan in Armenia, conquering the city and returning in triumph to Constantinople.[28] Following Roman and Byzantine practice, enemy leaders were brought to the city and executed.[29]

University of America Press, 1995), 62-86. For the ceremonial use of the relic in Constantinople, see George Galavaris, "The Cross in the Book of Ceremonies by Constantine Porphyrogenitus," in Thymiama stē mnēmē tēs Laskarinas Mpura (Athens: Benaki Museum, 1994), 95-99.

18 "Πύργ[ος Θεοφίλου ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ] αὐτοκράτορος." Transcribed in Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel,* 141.

19 McCormick, *Eternal Victory,* 11-46.

20 Ibid., 155; and van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople,* 316-41.

21 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople,* 331-33.

22 Ibid., 67

23 For a recent study of the sources of the conquest, see Marios Philippides and Walter K. Hanak, *The Siege and the Fall of Constantinople in 1453: Historiography, Topography, and Military Studies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011).

24 "The ruler of the Empire, Bayezid, the generous donor, renewed / The fortress of the house of the Caliphate, after it was destroyed. / Those who see this renewal say: What excellent work. / 915. The chronicler said: You had this building beautified." Adapted from the German translation in Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, 159. See also Mehmet Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi: Bizans ve Osmanlı medeniyetlerinin ölümsüz mirası* (Istanbul: Bika, 2004), 150.

25 The September 14, 1509 earthquake toppled a number of buildings, including the Golden Gate of the older Constantinian walls. In the Gregorian calendar, AH 915 ends in April 1510, suggesting that Bayezid's repairs were completed in six months. For the earthquake, see Mango, "Triumphal Way of Constantinople," 176.

26 Samuel Jacob, *History of the Ottoman Empire: Including a Survey of the Greek Empire and the Crusades* (London: R. Griffin, 1854), 340-41.

27 The full inscription reads: "The Şahinşah projects truthful power when his pure name among the people / Is called, the world is busy healing for him / The happily gifted leader whose welfare and justice from *Qāf* to *Qāf* / Unites the world under the same glorious sun / Is it any wonder that the world is just water flowing from his footprint / With thanks to Allah, those in hiding departed the East / Shamed by the ruler of the heavens, the ruler of the world. Murad Han, he, / Once again has called into being the fortress of *Kostantiniyye* / Again, the ruler of the world has graciously set up / A lordly dwelling built in his majesty. / I, the chronicler of this, oh Danisi, pray: / While the earth remains, may it be of heavenly construction. 1045th year." Adapted from the translation in Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, 162. See also Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi,* 151.

28 H.R. Roemer, "The Safavid Period," in *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods,* ed. Peter Jackson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 284-85.

29 Ibid. The Druze leader Fakhr ad-Dīn was executed in 1635.

The inscription commemorates this victory over the Safavids through extensive wordplay. The use of the Iranian honorific *Shahanshah*—King of Kings—for the sultan is a statement of Ottoman domination over the Iranian Safavid dynasty.[30] The expression "from *Qāf* to *Qāf*" has its origins in Qur'anic geography, where Mount Qāf is described as surrounding the inhabited world.[31] Qāf, however, is also the Ottoman Turkish word for the Caucasus, alluding to the sultan's successes in Armenia.[32] The inscription describes Murad as rebuilding the fortress of *Kostantiniyye,* both continuing the theme of *renovatio* and associating Murad with Constantinople's eponymous founder, Constantine.[33] By adding the inscription to Edirne Kapı, Murad created an Ottoman triumphal monument on the land walls that celebrates his victory and the resulting peace.

The curved lintel at Edirne Kapı has reliefs on its outer and inner faces. The reliefs have been defaced. On the inner face of the lintel is a surviving inscription that praises Hacı Bektaş, the patron saint of the Ottoman elite infantry corps—the Janissaries.[34] The inscription includes the date 1796-97, placing these reliefs during the "New Order" reforms that sought to replace provincial Janissaries with a professional army.[35] A few areas of the outer face of the lintel survive; a striped banner with a triangular point is partially preserved on the right side.

The insignia of the different divisions of the Janissaries are known from the drawings of a Venetian sent to Constantinople in 1679 with the task of collecting information on the Ottoman Army.[36] A striped banner was the insignia of the guards of the royal apartments.[37] The flag represented on Edirne Kapı then symbolizes the Janissary division most loyal to the sultan at a period of conflict between the Ottoman court and provincial Janissaries.[38] Ultimately, the Janissary corps were outlawed in 1826, resulting in the destruction of their buildings within Constantinople and, likely, the defacement of these reliefs.[39]

Below the lintel, a double-bladed sword is inscribed on the supporting capital (Figure 7).[40] The sword is *Dhū l-Fiqār*, the double-bladed sword given to ʿAlī by the Prophet Muhammad.[41] The Dhū l-Fiqār on the capital follows the standard iconography exhibited by a sixteenth-century banner: bifurcated blades and a curved guard (Figure 8).[42] The actual object—the sword given to ʿAlī by the Prophet—played a central role in the history of the Islamic caliphate. Originally a symbol of Shīʿa legitimacy, the relic was held at the court of the Sunni 'Abbasid caliph in the eighth century.[43] In the tenth century, *Dhū l-Fiqār* was at the court of the Shīʿa Fatimid caliph.[44] Sunni Ottoman ownership of Dhū l-Fiqār was established with the conquest of Egypt when it was transferred to the treasury of Topkapı Palace in Constantinople, where it allegedly remains to this day.[45] The relic's history suggests its vital role in legitimizing the caliph as Commander of the Faithful. Its representation on Edirne Kapı symbolizes the legitimacy of the Ottoman Empire as successor to earlier

30 For the granting of the title to the Armenian Bagratid kings, see Lynn Jones, *Between Islam and Byzantium: Aght'amar and the Visual Construction of Medieval Armenian Rulership* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 30.

31 Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 222.

32 Noted in the German translation in Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, 125.

33 The "fortress of *Kostantiniyye"* also follows the wording found on the 1478 foundation inscription of the main gate to the Ottoman Topkapı Palace. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 34. I suggest its repetition helped unify the Ottoman ceremonial route.

34 Hacı Bektaş Veli was a thirteenth-century Persian mystic. Jane Hathaway, *A Tale of Two Factions: Myth, Memory, and Identity in Ottoman Egypt and Yemen* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 55, 171; Hülya Küçük, *The Role of the Bektashis in Turkey's National Struggle* (Leiden: Brill, 2002): 32-34; and Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, 145.

35 The "New Order" (*Nizam-ı Cedid*) reforms resulted in the overthrow of Sultan Selim III (r. 1789-1807) by a Janissary revolt. Frederick F. Anscombe, ed., *The Ottoman Balkans, 1750-1830* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 2006), 128.

36 Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomanno* (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1972), pls. 20-22. See also Zdzisław Żygulski, *Ottoman Art in the Service of Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 9-13.

37 The 14th division was known as the Royal *(Khaseki)* division. Frank H. Tyrrell, "The Turkish Army of the Olden Time," *Asiatic Quarterly Review* 8 (1889): 404; and Żygulski, *Ottoman Art*, 9-13.

38 Anscombe, *Ottoman Balkans,* 128.

39 For the destruction of Bektaşi and Janissary foundations in Constantinople, see Hans-Peter Laqueur, "Gravestones," in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey,* ed. Raymond Lifchez (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 293.

40 The other capital was *in situ* during the 1929 survey of the walls by Meyer-Plath and Schenider. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, pl. 33b. At the time of my examination of the gate in 2007 only the south capital remained.

41 To Shīʿa, the gift of the sword from the Prophet to ʿAlī was, and remains, a symbol of the Prophet's selection of ʿAlī as his successor. P.E. Walker, "Purloined Symbols of the Past: The Theft of Souvenirs and Sacred Relics in the Rivalry between the Abbasids and Fatimids," in *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung*, ed. F. Daftary and J. W. Meri (London: I.B.Tauris, 2003), 366.

42 Hathaway, *Tale of Two Factions*, 55; and Żygulski, *Ottoman Art*, 46-50.

43 The ʿAbbasid caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd (r. 786-809) allegedly sent the commander-in-chief of his army, Yezid, into battle with Dhū l-Fiqār. Hathaway, *Tale of Two Factions*, 169.

44 Recorded by the tenth-century historian al-Qādī al-Nuʿmān at the court of the caliph al-Muʿizz li Dīn Allāh (r. 953-75). Quoted in ibid.

45 Upon the Ottoman sultan Selim I's (r. 1512-20) conquest of Egypt, the defeated ʿAbbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil III (r. 1508-16 and 1518) handed over the relic and surrendered the title of caliph. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 150.

caliphates and the sultan as successor to the prophet. The Ottoman relic of the sword of ʿAlī functioned similarly to the Byzantine relics of the True Cross as an indicator of imperial legitimacy.

While the Edirne Kapı visual program is an expression of adapted continuity, likewise its function in the Ottoman city emulates Byzantine practices. The Golden Gate was the ceremonial entrance for Byzantine Constantinople. Edirne Kapı was the gate through which the triumphant sultan Mehmet II first entered the city after the Ottoman siege.[46] Edirne Kapı, therefore, is the site of the first Ottoman triumph at Constantinople. It also served as the gate for the road connecting the new Ottoman imperial capital of Constantinople with its previous capital at Edirne, uniting Ottoman past and present.[47] Edirne Kapı became a key station in imperial triumphs, coronations, and the translation of relics. Byzantine ceremony at the Golden Gate was emulated while transferred to Ottoman triumphal space.

An Islamic topography of Constantinople was developed merely seven days after the conquest when Mehmet II discovered the burial site of Eyüp, an early companion of the Prophet, in a suburb just outside of Edirne Kapı. [48] The sultan built a mosque and tomb on the site, and the suburb was renamed after the companion—Eyüp (Figure 9).[49] Eyüp and Edirne Kapı were first integrated into the sultan's accession ceremony by Bayezid II, the besieged sultan whose *renovatio* is commemorated above the portal of Edirne Kapı.[50] At Eyüp, the sultan received dynastic regalia before continuing to Edirne Kapı.[51] There he was received by city officials and escorted down the northern branch of the Mese to Topkapı Palace.

Accession ceremonies were adapted to include the translation of sacred relics, imitating earlier Byzantine reception of relics into the capital. The *sürre*, the ornamental cloth covering the Kaaba in Mecca, was translated to Constantinople in 1597 to celebrate the accession of Mehmet III (r. 1595-1603).[52] The cloth was first placed directly on the tomb of Eyüp. The next day it was brought into the city through Edirne Kapı with great pageantry, accompanied by clerics and court officials.

The Ottoman accession ceremony adapts the Byzantine imperial coronation procession, representing both continuity and change (Figure 10). The relic of John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, is replaced with the tomb of Eyüp, the companion of the prophet.[53] The Golden Gate, the Byzantine triumphal arch, is replaced by Edirne Kapı, the site of the first Ottoman triumph. Finally, the Byzantine Great Palace is replaced by the new Ottoman Topkapı palace. Byzantine ceremony is emulated while relocated to a new, distinctly Ottoman, route.

In conclusion, this paper suggests that at Edirne Kapı the Ottomans adapted a preexisting Byzantine program of *renovatio,* triumph, and imperial ownership of relics to an Ottoman visual language. Ornamental marble plaques added to the gate commemorate *renovatio* and military victory. Reliefs added to the lintel depict standards and relics that confirm imperial legitimacy. Byzantine ceremony at the Golden Gate was emulated while transferred to Ottoman triumphal space at Edirne Kapı, which became the ceremonial entrance for sultans upon their accession and for the reception of relics. By adapting the Byzantine imperial program to Constantinople's new Ottoman topography, the transformation of Edirne Kapı confirmed Ottoman ownership of the conquered city and empire.

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46 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 88-89; D. Nicolle, J. Haldon, and S. Turnbull, *The Fall of Constantinople: The Ottoman Conquest of Byzantium* (Oxford: Osprey, 2007), 131.

47 For Edirne as the Ottoman capital, see Kuran, "Three Ottoman Capitals," 118-22.

48 Ibid., 126.

49 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls,* 491, 508-13.

50 Melih Kamil et al., "The Eyüp Conservation Area," in *Conservation as Cultural Survival: Proceedings of Seminar Two in the Series Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World, Held in Istanbul, Turkey, September 26-28, 1978,* ed. Renata Holod (Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1980), 50.

51 Boyar and Fleet, *Social History of Istanbul,* 53.

52 Ibid., 63. The account is from the *Tarih-i* Selāniki of Mustafa Selaniki (d. 1600).

53 The imperial mosque of Mihrimah Sultan Camii (completed 1565) adjacent to Edirne Kapı was built from *spolia* brought from the Church of St. John in the Hebdomon, the first station in the Byzantine processional route. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls,* 441. This transfer, I suggest, further associated the Ottoman ceremonial route with its Byzantine predecessor.

[*above*] Figure 1. Edirne Kapı, portal, Istanbul, Turkey *c.* 1453. Photo credit: Stephan Ramon Garcia.

[*left*] Figure 2. Tower 5 of Theodosian Walls, repair inscription of Romanos III, Istanbul, Turkey, 1032–34. Photo credit: Christopher Timm.

[*below*] Figure 3. Golden Gate, portal, Istanbul, Turkey, *c.* 413. Photo credit: Stephan Ramon Garcia.

Figure 4. Tower 15 of Wall of Leo V, brick crosses and imperial inscription, Istanbul, Turkey, 829–42. Photo credit: Christopher Timm.

Figure 5. Edirne Kapı, repair inscription of Bayezid II, Istanbul, Turkey, 1509–10. Photo credit: Christopher Timm.

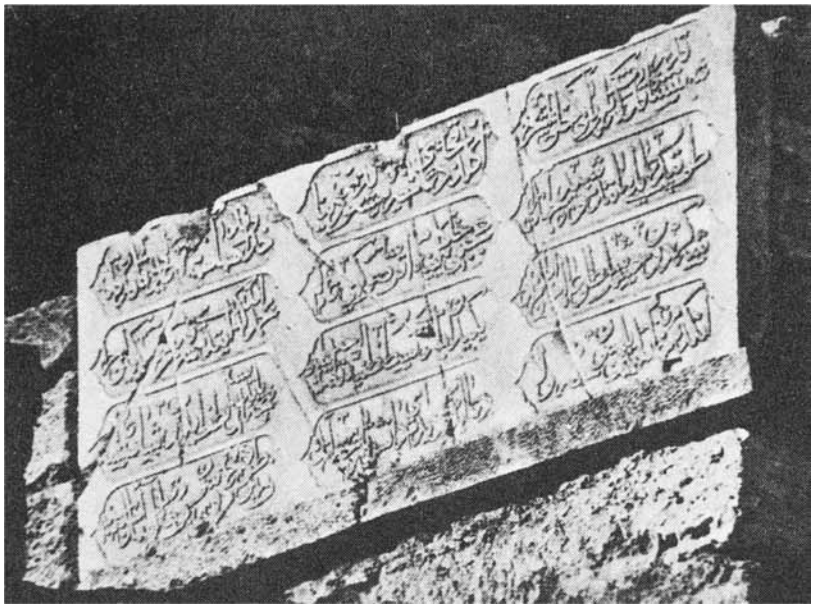
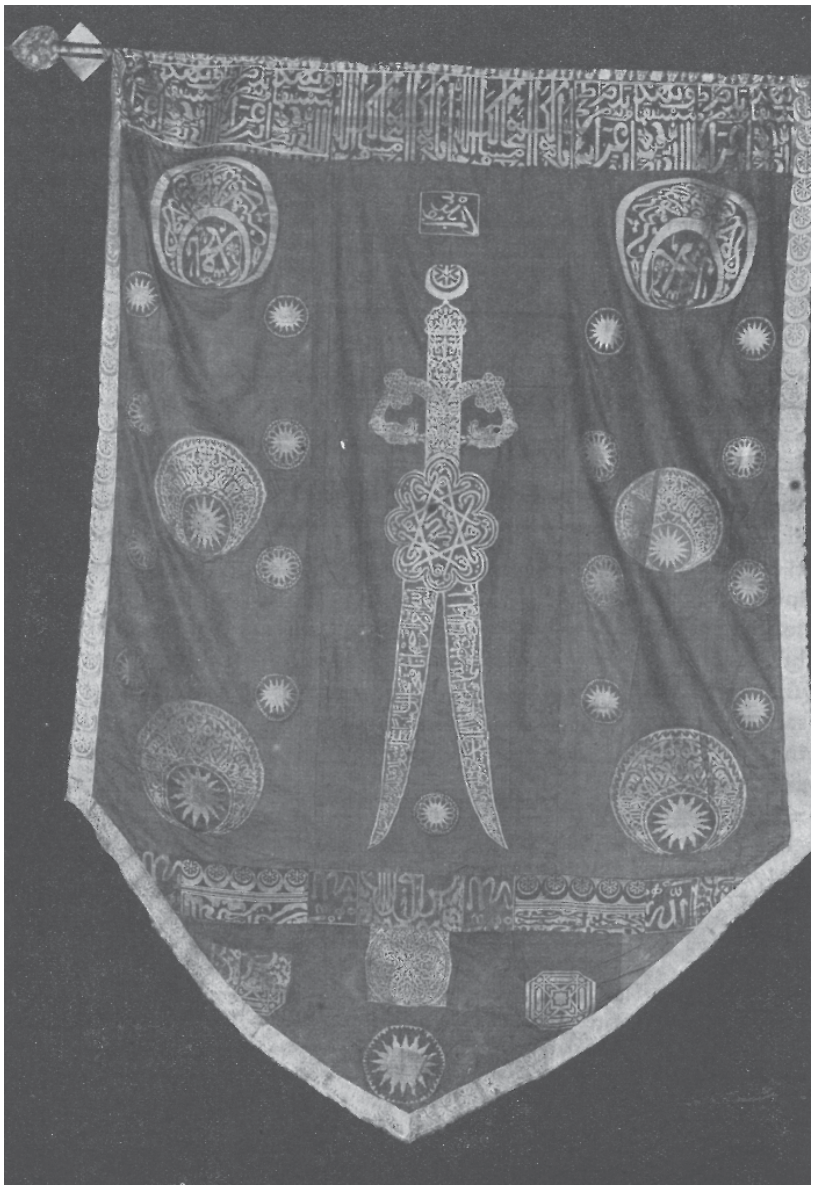


Figure 6. Edirne Kapı, triumphal plaque of Murad IV, Istanbul, Turkey, 1635. [Meyer-Plath and Schneider volume—requesting license]

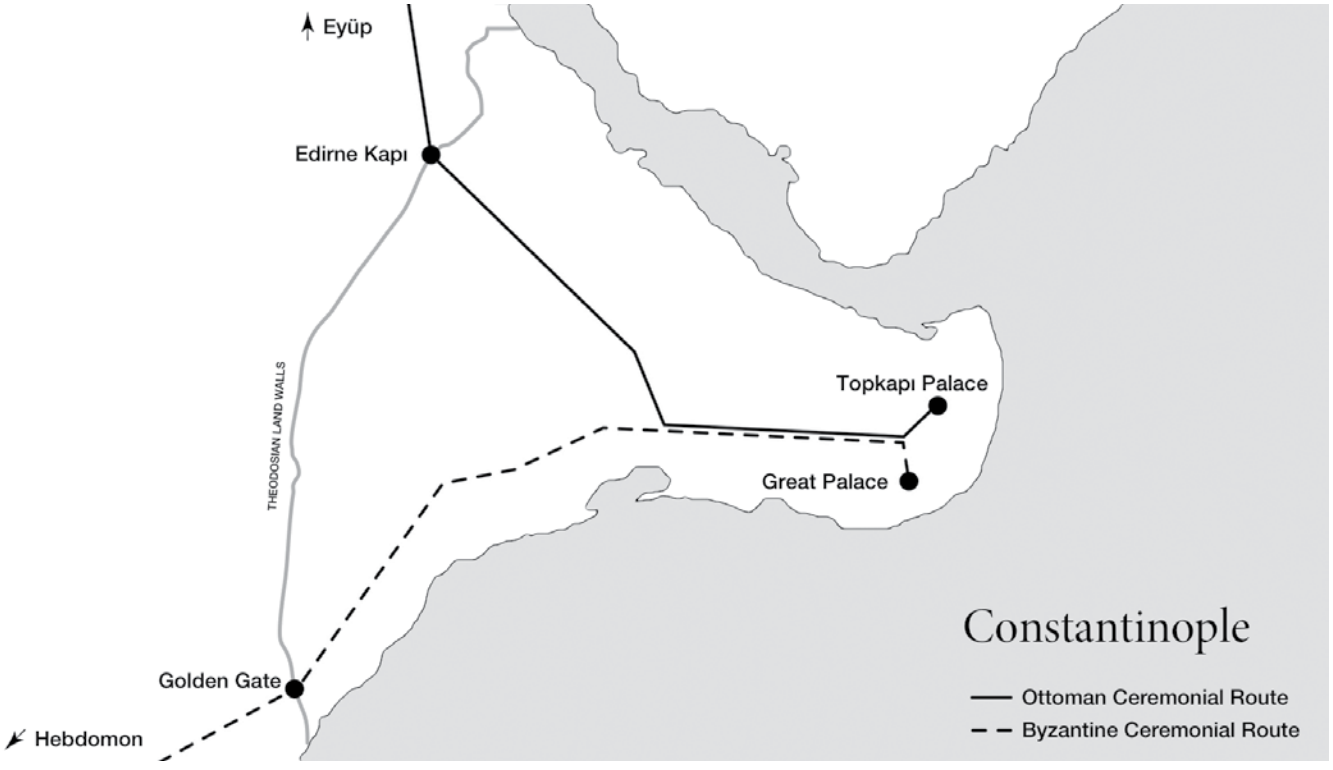
Figure 7. Edirne Kapı, detail of Dhū l-Fiqār on lintel, Istanbul, Turkey, *c.* 1796–1826. Photo credit: Christopher Timm.



[*left*] Figure 8. Dhū l-Fiqār Banner, Topkapı Museum, Istanbul, Turkey, 16th C. [Hathaway volume—requesting license]

[*facing page, top*] Figure 9. Eyüp Tomb and Mosque complex, Istanbul, Turkey, photograph *c.* 1900, Library of Congress. http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.03039

[*facing page, bottom*] Figure 10. Map of Byzantine and Ottoman ceremonial topography. Drawing: Christopher Timm.


Eyüp
Edirne Kapı
THEODOSIAN LAND WALLS
Topkapı Palace
Great Palace
Golden Gate
Hebdomon
Constantinople
Ottoman Ceremonial Route
Byzantine Ceremonial Route

Clothes Make the God: The Ehecatl of Calixtlahuaca, Mexico

Jennifer Lynn Burley

During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in Central Mexico, the Aztec government commissioned works of art throughout the inner provinces of its empire as well as in the capital, Tenochtitlan, where Mexico City now stands. One of the provincial areas was the colony of Calixtlahuaca, located in the Tollocan province, 70 miles west of the imperial capital. A number of Aztec period sculptures have been found at this site.[1] Among these is the only known imperial-style deity image found at a temple in the Aztec realm, the unclothed sculpture of the Aztec wind god, Ehecatl (Figure 1). The stone sculpture was found at Calixtlahuaca during José Garcia Payón's excavation of the site in the 1930s on the southeast side of Structure 3, a round temple known to be the type of building associated with the wind in Mesoamerica.[2] The life-sized sculpture can be identified as Ehecatl by his prominent mouth mask, the buccal mask that he wears; the sculpted figure also wears sandals and a loincloth. The mask covers the mouth and chin of the deity and combines features of avian and reptilian snouts. The sculpture displays black body paint, and the mask is painted red.

The word *ehecatl*, in Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs, means wind. Ehecatl is also the name of the Aztec wind god, and in Aztec religion he is primarily associated with fertility, as harbinger of the rains.[3] He is also an important creator god who started the movement of the sun and breathed life into humans.[4] In manuscripts made after the Spanish conquest of Mexico in 1521, the wind god is sometimes referred to as Quetzalcoatl Ehecatl or Ehecatl Quetzalcoatl. Regardless of this addition to his name, he is regularly identified by a red, protruding buccal mask, the Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl's permanent feature.

The deity image belongs to a group of sculptures that Aztec scholar Richard Townsend terms cult effigies—anthropomorphic figures that were the object of ceremonies.[5] As evidenced by the absence of permanent clothing and lack of detail in the body, this type of effigy would have been dressed and its clothing could be changed for different occasions. As in other Aztec productions, the Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl's garments were an essential part of the deity image, and the image cannot be interpreted without considering its costume. Townsend's analysis emphasizes the supernatural aspect of cult effigies, but they had other meanings as well. For the Aztecs, ritual attire was meant to visually express a metaphoric language that had both religious and political significance in the case of major temple images like the Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl.[6] As Stephen Houston and David Stuart acknowledge, "effigies of gods do not 'represent' deities. They *are* gods in the sense of being partial extensions of divinity."[7] When dressed, the Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl was transformed into the god of wind and was imbued with the supernatural abilities of the deity.

This examination of the sculpture functions as a case study of the usages of cult effigies in the Aztec empire as reflected in clothing. The costume of the Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl would have been changed for different ceremonies in order to commemorate special events. The range of clothing the

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1 Emily Umberger, "Historia del arte e Imperio Azteca: la evidencia de las esculturas," *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 37 (2007): 172-173.

2 Mario Mariscal, "Quetzalcoatl: Deidad de los Vientos," *Revista de Revistas* 28 (1938): 1. It should be noted that *ehecatl* means *wind*, not *wind god* and Ehecatl, as the sculpture is known, was not necessarily an Aztec title. Other wind gods exist in Mesoamerica in addition to Ehecatl of Calixtlahuaca.

3 Bernardino de Sahagún, *General History of the Things of New Spain: Florentine Codex,* ed. and trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research, 1950-78), 1:3.

4 Sahagún, *General History*, 7:8.

5 Richard Fraser Townsend, *State and Cosmos in the Art of Tenochtitlan* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1979), 23.

6 For a detailed description of ritual attire, see Townsend, *State and Cosmos*, 23-36; and Arild Hvidtfeldt, *Teotl and *Ixiptlatli: Some Central Conceptions in Ancient Mexican Religion, with a General Introduction on Cult and Myth* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1958), 76-139.

7 Stephen Houston and David Stuart, "Of Gods, Glyphs and Kings: Divinity and Rulership Among the Classic Maya," *Antiquity* 70 (1996): 297.

sculpture might have been dressed in is displayed in representations of the wind god in post-conquest manuscripts. This paper speculates on the range of clothing the sculpture might have worn and emphasizes how his attire relates to the Aztec Empire's political agendas. If we accept the religious and political implications of ritual attire, then we can analyze the garments of Ehecatl as imperialistic images of the Aztec Empire and place them within discourses of power.

The Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl has meanings for the Aztec government, specifically in relation to the conquest of the Matlatzinca, the inhabitants of the province where the sculpture was found. The practice of creating monumental architecture and sculpture in Mesoamerica demonstrated the dominance of the group that commissioned the work.[8] In the provincial area of Calixtlahuaca, the sculpture was intended to show the Matlatzinca that the empire controlled agriculture, fertility, and the luxury goods associated with the wind god. The Matlatzinca region was significant to the Aztecs for strategic purposes. Due to its location, it served as a barrier between Tenochtitlan and the enemy Tarascan territory. It was also a tributary province that contributed taxes and military manpower to the empire. Most importantly, since it is close to the capital city, the Matlatzinca area was able to provide agricultural products to the imperial heartland. In addition to tributary obligations, thousands of colonists settled there from the empire's center to work the land.[9]

Ways of legitimizing Aztec rule were important in Calixtlahuaca, in particular, because there was still unrest in the area in the early sixteenth century. After the initial conquest in the 1470s, there were several revolts; two rulers—Tizoc, in 1484, and Motecuhzoma II, in 1510—defeated Matlatzinca rebellions.[10] The various uprisings are evidence that the Matlatzinca area was never fully subjugated by the Aztecs, and tools for reinforcing the strength and power of the Aztec government were important to discourage any additional uprisings, although they were not necessarily effective. Thus, the form, content, and function of the Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl act to legitimize the rule of the Aztecs and assert their political and economic dominance. Significantly, the deity himself functioned as a symbol of Aztec authority more than human administrators in the Matlatzinca area.

The form of the sculpture is characteristic of its late imperial-style craftsmanship, including the high quality of carving and detailing in the knees, ankles, and wrist bones and an exaggerated emphasis on hands, feet, and the head.[11] The attention given to the carving of certain parts and the lack of detail in others is appropriate in a sculpture that would have been clothed. While wearing a costume, the sculpture's feet and face would be visible, the head would have borne a headdress, and the hands would have held objects. The torso was covered or uncovered according to the occasion. Given that the headdress, costume, and held objects are not a permanent part of the sculpture, one can assume that they were manufactured with a variety of different materials, such as cloth and paper, and changed according to the usage of the figure.

In manuscripts, in addition to the red buccal mask, the wind god's basic costume consists of a conical headdress, a curved shell ear pendant, either a breastplate or shield displaying the wind-shell design, and sandals. Most of the costume attributes are varied in style and intricacy and are often supplemented by additional elements, including back fans, face paint, and other jewelry. The distinct accoutrements refer to social class, occasion celebrated, supernatural abilities, and occupation, all of which reinforce the political significance of the figure.

Two important sources of the wind god's costume are Fray Diego Durán's *Book of the Gods and Rites of the Ancient Calendar,* that describes and illustrates the attire, and Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *General History of the Things of New Spain: Florentine Codex,* in which it is only described.[12] Durán discusses a wooden statue of an idol with a buccal mask and real garments (Figure 2). The red mask was red with a crest emerging from the beak, rows of teeth and a protruding tongue. The corresponding image depicts the deity with this mask, sandals, conical headdress, and spiral-shaped wind-shell breastplate. He also wears a cape made of feathers and a knee-length loincloth. He carries a spear thrower and shield.[13] Sahagún adds that the headdress is made of jaguar-skin and that the shield has a "wind-shell" design on it.[14]

Styles of the mask vary only slightly in manuscript images and are similar to the three-dimensional representation of the mask on the Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl. If the mask was rendered in a consistent manner in manuscripts and stone sculpture, then presumably the attire was similar as well. The differences in clothing as illustrated and described in manuscripts correspond to distinct costumes the Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl would have worn.

The conical headdress is regularly depicted in manu-

8 Emily Umberger, "Art and Imperial Strategy in Tenochtitlan," in *Aztec Imperial Strategies*, ed. Frances Berdan (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 85.

9 Umberger, "Historia del arte," 173.

10 José Garcia Payón, *La Zona Arqueológica de Tecaxic-Calixtlahuaca y los Matlatzincas* (México: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1936), 205-216.

11 Umberger, "Historia del arte," 169.

12 Like all forms of documentation, the compilers and writers influenced these accounts. Although there are biases and large gaps in information, these sources are still important tools for understanding pre-colonial subjects because they contain information that would otherwise not be available to modern scholars. The analysis in this paper takes into consideration the possibility of misconceptions in these colonial documents.

13 Diego Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites and the Ancient Calendar* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 130-131.

14 Sahagún, *General History*, 1:3.

scripts and is the only shape of headdress that Ehecatl wears. It varies primarily in terms of intricacy and additional elements, including fans, feathers, bones, and jewels. The more elaborate versions of the headdress appear in the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, *Codex Borbonicus*, and *Codex Magliabechiano* (Figures 3-5). While all these include jaguar skin, feathers, and fans, Durán's illustration indicates that the cone might have been less ornate. In his illustration, the deity wears a pointed paper headdress that is striped and colored black, white, and yellow.[15] Small Aztec period stone sculptures and ceramic figurines of the wind god also wear a conical headdress, sometimes with fans attached to the rear. Thus, it is likely that the cone was featured in all headdresses but the different patterns and decorations changed according to the occasion.

Among other consistent attributes of the figure is a curved shell ear pendant that is sometimes attached to a jade or turquoise ear spool. The ears of the Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl have holes in them for earrings that were probably curved and made of shell. The importance of shell is further emphasized in the constant appearance of a breastplate in the form of a spiral wind-shell design, a large white shell cut vertically down the middle to reveal the inner section. It could have been incorporated into the costume of the Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl either as a breastplate or as a shield, as Sahagún mentions. Both elements are not commonly represented jewelry pieces in manuscripts and appear to be specific to the wind god.

The traits discussed thus far are associated with the primary natural and supernatural realm of the wind god. His more valuable accoutrements would have related him to different human roles. In both the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* and *Codex Borbonicus* he holds objects linked to priests: a maguey thorn for self-sacrifice, copal, and an incense bag and burner. His black skin paint also connects him with priests. In the *Codex Magliabechiano* and Durán's illustration, the wind god is shown holding objects associated with warfare, a curved spear-thrower in one hand and a shield in the other. It is expected that these two groups of items are the type of objects the Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl would have held in his hands.

Significantly, all the images of the wind god wear sandals with red bows, a high-status clothing piece. Although the sculpture has lost color in this area, the stylistic similarity of the sandals in manuscripts indicates that they were probably painted red on the sculpture as well.

Another garment that indicates elite status is his loincloth. In manuscripts, the deity wears a style of loincloth with the two ends separated, one hanging in front and the other behind. The sculpture wears a knotted style with both ends in front. His loincloth is cut short, more than likely to accommodate other costume elements, including the addition of a loincloth made of real fabric. This is similar to the sculpted images of wind gods as sky bearers, housed in the Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia in Mexico City, where he is depicted wearing a long loincloth with separate ends on top of other garments. Since this style is the type usually worn by deities, it is possble that this represents an older, archaic style.[16]

Each costume element has ideological significance. Some garments varied according to date in the religious calendar, such as the jaguar skin headdress that connects him to the date 1 Jaguar, the day the wind god started the movement of the sun.[17] Other parts relate him to different human roles as a priest or warrior. However, his connection to the high nobility through sandals, a loincloth, and luxury materials is most noteworthy.

The inclusion of these high status goods was a means of emphasizing the power of the Aztec Empire. In manuscripts, the wind god's costume often features objects like jaguar skins, quetzal feathers, jade, and turquoise. The presence of luxury materials demonstrates the government's control of these resources through trade, taxes, and warfare. In this way, the sculpture reinforces the state's economic and political supremacy. However, power is not simply political; the materials also retained a form of power in that they were reserved for manipulation by the nobility. By wearing these accoutrements, as did Aztec elites, Ehecatl had the ability to manage the supernatural forces associated with them. For example, when his costume featured jade or shell, it demonstrated that Ehecatl could control water, which is commonly associated with both of these substances in Mesoamerican thought.[18] Through the connection with these materials, the Aztec ruler showed that he was able to manipulate supernatural elements better than the Matlatzinca.

The Aztecs commonly reinforced their relationship with subordinate groups through the treatment of gods. Their standard practice was to place images of the gods of defeated peoples in a temple in Tenochtitlan as a means of taking the deity captive.[19] After the Aztec conquest of the Matlatzinca, they replaced the local wind deity, which looks very different, with their imperial version at the wind god temple (Figure 6).[20] This procedure seems to be confined to the inner empire close to the capital. By placing their version of Ehecatl at the temple in Calixtlahuaca, the Aztecs appropriated an ancient sacred site dedicated to the wind god. As a form of

15 Durán, *Book of the Gods*, 130.

16 Patricia Rieff Anawalt, *Indian Clothing before Cortes: Mesoamerican Costumes from the Codices* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 21.

17 Umberger, "Historia del arte," 191.

18 M. W. Stirling, "The Olmecs, Artists in Jade," in *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, ed. Samuel K. Lothrop (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), 44.

19 Sahagún, *General History*, 2:168.

20 Umberger, "Historia del arte," 190-191.

antiquarianism, this shows an acknowledgment of the local significance of the site. Due to this relationship with the divine, the Aztecs established a link to the past that served to legitimize their government.

The connection between leadership and fertility, both agricultural and human, was another important means of demonstrating that the Aztecs were capable and rightful rulers. The Aztec leader managed food production through the Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl who used his buccal mask to blow the wind and bring rain. This served as a metaphor for the ruler's control of the agricultural productivity of the Calixtlahuaca region. Furthermore, the wind god created humans by blowing life into them. Since the ruler was associated with these abilities, he had the power to influence prosperity in his realm. Therefore, the government used the sculpture as a conscious display of control and stability.

In brief summary, the Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl is an example of monumental sculpture that was representative of the authority that commissioned it, the Aztec government. The sculpture functioned to demonstrate the power of the empire and discourage insubordination through its control of luxury materials, connection to a traditional sacred site, and relationship to fertility and agriculture. These multiple associations of the wind god were possible in one image because its costume was changed for different occasions. Thus, the sculpture's attire is its most important element. In Aztec religion and culture, the clothing and the physical representation of the deity are extensions of the supernatural being. Since the imperial-style Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl *was* the wind god, then the incarnation of Ehecatl was a symbol of Aztec power.

The University of Arizona

[*facing page*] Figure 1 a. and b. Calixtlahuaca Ehecatl, *c.* 1475-1521, stone, 1.6 m. Museo del Antropología del Estado de México. Reproduced with permission from the Museo del Antropología del Estado de México. Photo credit: Jennifer Lynn Burley.

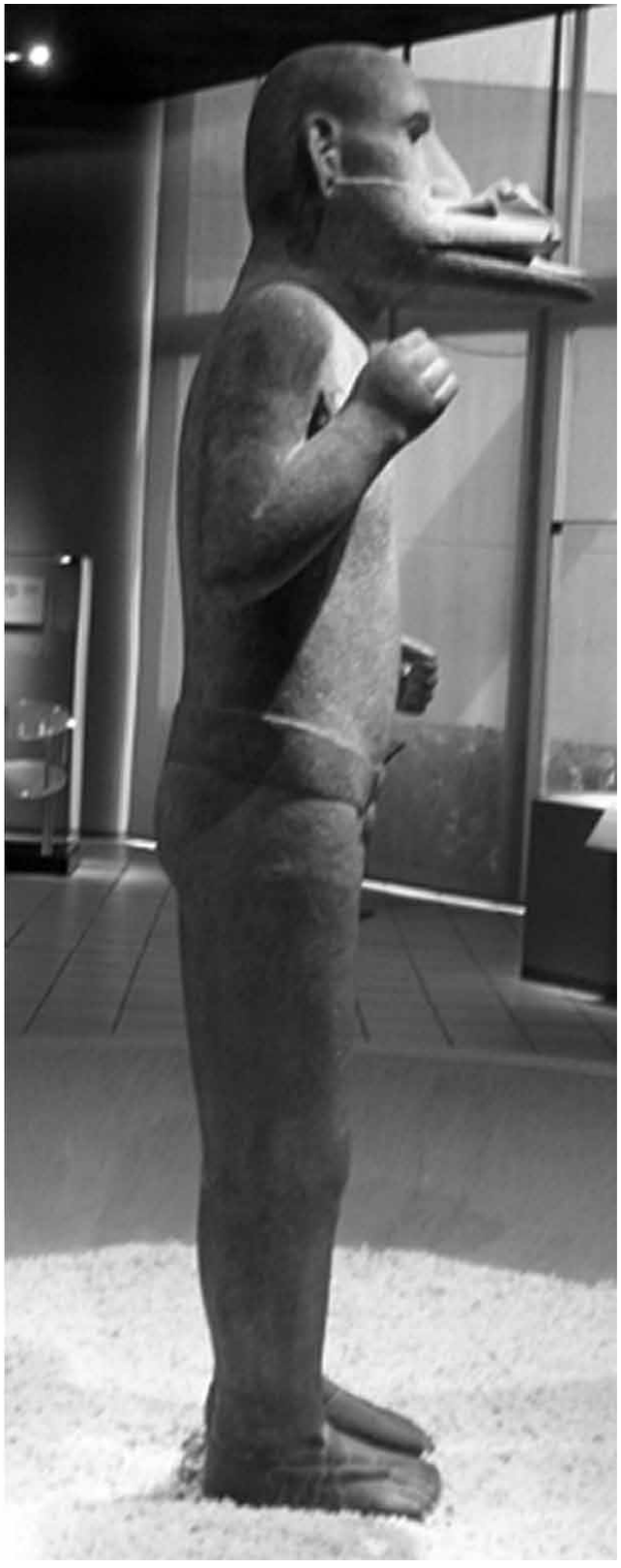


Figure 2. *Book of the Gods and Rites of the Ancient Calendar*, Quetzalcoatl as the wind god, *c.* sixteenth century. Drawing by Jennifer Lynn Burley.

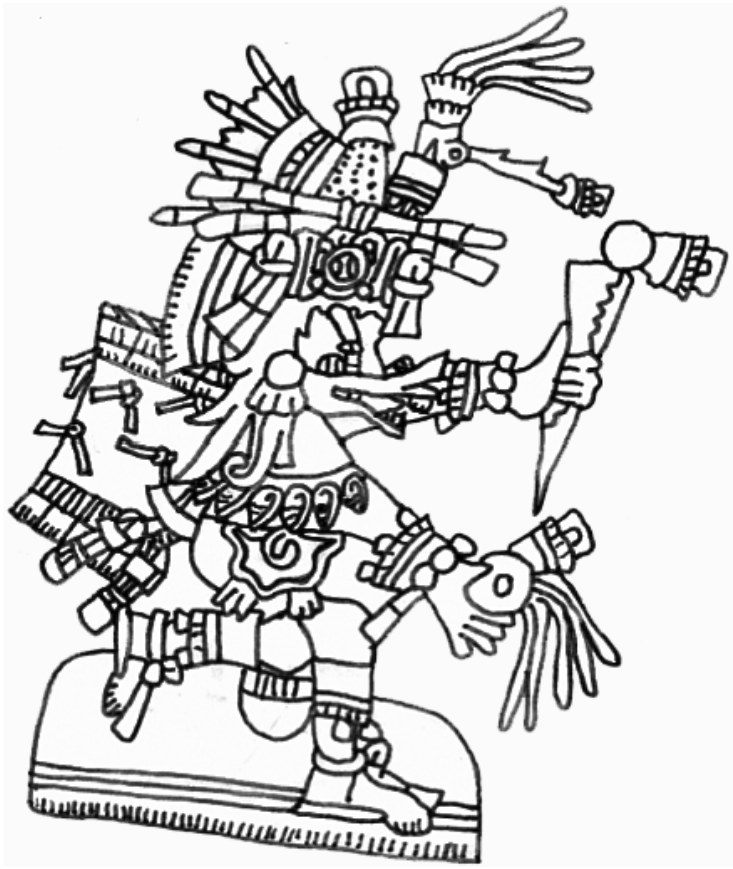


Figure 3. *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, folio 8v, Quetzalcoatl as the wind god, *c.* sixteenth century. Drawing by Jennifer Lynn Burley.

[*left*] Figure 4. *Codex Borbonicus*, page 22, Quetzalcoatl as the wind god, *c.* sixteenth century. Drawing by Jennifer Lynn Burley.

Figure 5. *Codex Magliabechiano*, page 49, Quetzalcoatl as the wind god, *c.* sixteenth century. Drawing by Jennifer Lynn Burley.

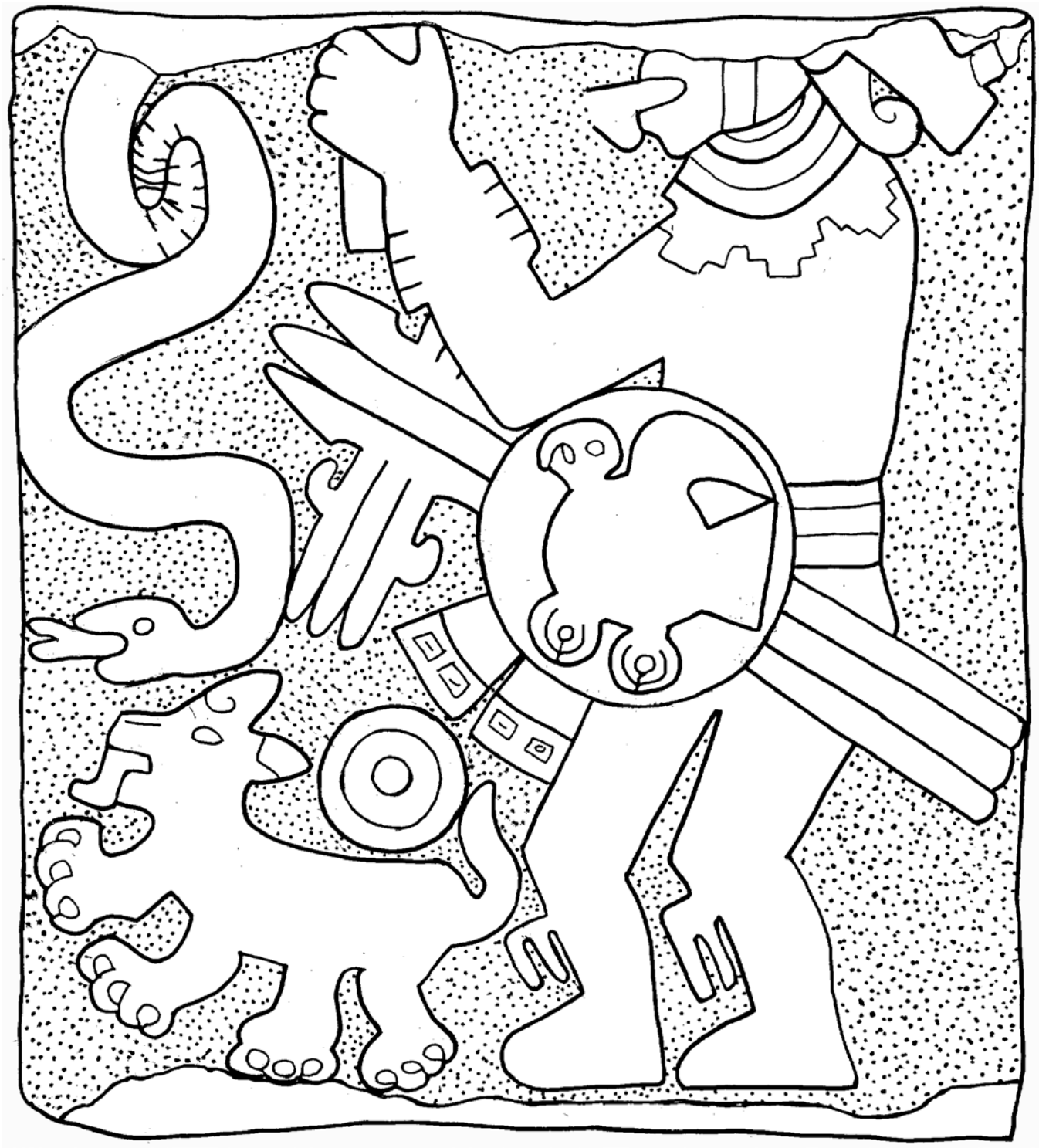


Figure 6. Matlatzinca wind god, *c.* fifteenth century, stone. Drawing by Emily Umberger.

The Sword of Cesar Borgia: A Re-dating through an Examination of His Personal Iconography

Elizabeth Bemis

Cesar Borgia was one of the four more famous children born to Pope Alexander VI. As was dictated by his standing as the second male, he dedicated much of his life to the Church. In 1493, at the age of twenty-two, he attained the rank of Cardinal, no doubt due to the fact that his father was the reigning pontiff; but through the tragic death of his brother, the secular aspirations of the Borgia were left without a conduit, so just five years later, in 1498, Cesar would put off the purple to marry and cement the standing of his family in European power politics.

Borgia left Italy for a French wife, returning to the peninsula with King Louis XII's invasion of Milan in 1499. Just months later as a lieutenant general in the French army, Cesar began his military subjugation of the northern city-states of the Italian Romagna. Upon his return to Rome in 1500, Alexander VI made him Captain General of the Papal Army. He died on March 11, 1507, four days shy of the Ides of March. Charging alone onto the field of battle, Cesar would die a death no less epic than his namesake. Yet he derived much more than just his name from the life of Julius Caesar; he built from the deeds of the Roman Emperor his personal iconography. The engravings on the blade of a sword once belonging to Cesar provide the foremost manifestation of his chosen propagandistic narrative (Figure 1).

Following an examination of these iconographic representations, pertinent conclusions will be used to offer a revision in the date regularly given for the fabrication of the etchings which decorate the sword. The date is often derived from an inscription on the hilt of the sword in which Borgia is referred to by the title of Cardinal. This citation dates the fabrication of the hilt, and most likely of the blade, to between 1493 and 1498, the years of Cesar's service to the Roman Church under that title. Previous scholarship on the sword has operated under the assumption that the sword and the etchings are dated to the same time period. That is not necessarily the case. This research will suggest the strong possibility that this sword, found today in the Fondazione Camillo Caetani in Rome, in its foundational state had belonged to Cesar during his life as a Cardinal, but was later prepared with engravings for presentation as the Blessed Sword of 1500.

The form taken by Cesar's sword is of a cinqueda, marked by a dramatically curved cross guard and a broad, double-edged blade. The hilt is comprised of a circular pommel, grip, and cross, all of which are gold-gilt and elaborately decorated with filigree work and diversely colored enamel. Like the hilt, the first third of the blade is also gilt in gold and detailed, but unlike the purely ornamental work on the hilt the decorative program executed here is both narrative and complex. This section of the blade is, on both sides, divided through designed etching into four separate scenes. Of these eight framed compartments, one holds the name CESAR, constructed as a multi-layered monogram; another displays two winged putti supporting the caduceus. The remaining six comprise the core of the decorative program: images of the Classical world.

The story told on the face of the blade begins with a representation of the Sacrifice or Worship of a Bull (Figure 2). The animal stands on an architectural base, functioning in this case as an altar. It is surrounded by figures bearing symbols of the offering. The inscription CVM NVMINE CESARIS OMEN transcribes the intentions of the scene—"a favorable omen with Caesar's divine will." Moving up the blade, the next composition is Cesar's monogram. It is important to note that although modern scholars spell his name with an 'e' on the end, for the majority of his life, with very few exceptions, Cesar always used the Spanish spelling which was without the terminal 'e.' That is the case here.

Above this ornamental section, Julius Caesar crosses the Rubicon. This depiction of Julius Caesar's famous journey is taken from the description of this event in Suetonius' *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*.[1] The inscription that runs across the bottom of the scene is also taken from Suetonius: IACTA EST ALEA, translating to "the die is cast," the words Caesar was said to have spoken at this very moment.[2]

The final etching on the face of the blade is a depiction of The Worship of Love. A figure representing cupid or a personification of love is shown blindfolded, standing on a pedestal.

As the blade is turned over, the decoration opens with the Triumph of Julius Caesar and the word BENEMERENT—"to the well deserving," (Figure 3). Among a parade of figures

[1] Charles Yrairte, *Autour des Borgia* (Paris: J. Rothschild, 1891), 153-154.

[2] Suetonius, *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, trans. Catharine Edwards (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 17.

and horses carrying the standards and arms of Rome, Caesar sits on a horse-drawn chariot, crowned by laurels and holding an olive branch. The following frame is another ornamental band, which houses decorative foliage and two winged bulls. In a central oval, two winged figures support a caduceus.

Next is the Worship of Faith and the inscription FIDES. PREVALENT. ARMIS—"faith is more prevalent than arms." Faith is depicted as a shrouded woman, seated as if a statue in an architectural niche. She is surrounded by nude figures that appear to be paying homage.

The final scene etched on the blade is of the Pax Romana. An eagle spreads his wings as he sits atop a globe that is supported by a column. Musicians stand at the base, playing instruments.[3]

These images provide essential elements towards the dating of the sword. The triumphal chariot, the presence of a sacrificial bull, and the bearing of the spoils of war are customary components to the Triumphs of Julius Caesar. Here the bull is given particular attention due undoubtedly to the status of this animal as a chief emblem of the Borgia family, but the Crossing of the Rubicon is a unique scene uncommon to contemporary portraits of the military triumphs of the great Emperor. The inclusion of it here is revealing of the narrative iconography desired by the sword's owner. His repetition of it is telling of its personal significance.

Perhaps the most grandiose expression of Cesar's individualized visual representation is found in a parade held in his honor in February 1500. Here, on sumptuous display for the people of Rome, the Triumphs of Julius Caesar merged with Cesar Borgia's recent military victories, creating a memorable spectacle. In a parade that wound from the Piazza Navona to the Vatican and back again, twelve chariots showcased the Triumphs of Caesar. It was not an uncommon practice to represent the triumphs of ancient military leaders, but the very personal elements of Cesar that are present in this particular event should not be written off as immaterial. Eleven of the wagons were decorated with tableaux relative to recent events in the life of Cesar Borgia.[4] Among the scenes most notable to this discussion was the Crossing of the Rubicon.

As stated, this scene was not common in Renaissance depictions of the Triumphs of Caesar. The standard procession, both in art and life, followed a similar formula. It was a generalized pageant, mimicking the antique practice and style, but no particular scenes from the life of the leader were shown. Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*, which he painted for the Dukes of Mantua, are an example of this formulaic picture.

What is important is the general nature of what is considered the Triumphs of Caesar and the stark absence of any specific event from his life. This makes the parade of 1500 unique, and the representation of the Crossing of the Rubicon becomes a conspicuous addition of which the significance should not be overlooked. It must be assumed then that it was Cesar's desire to adopt this scene as part of his personal iconography, both on his sword and during the parade that honored his recent triumphs in northern Italy and his elevation to Captain General of the Papal Army. A connection must have been felt by Cesar between this moment in his own life and the past event in the life of the ancient general. The definitive moment where Julius Caesar could no longer turn back had symbolically become the line in the life of Cesar Borgia from which he desired to never return. He marked this association through the engravings on his sword and in the parade.

This study considers the sword and the parade together, presenting them as two key elements, one material and one ephemeral, in the development of Cesar's personal iconography. The close alignment found between this parade and the scenes on the sword suggests that they share a common date of execution.

It is known that Cesar was given the Blessed Sword in 1500.[5] The Blessed Sword was an annual gift presented by the pope to a secular ruler in honor of service in defense of the Church and its faith. It was a costly gift despite the fact that the blades were purchased ready-made.[6] The use of a pre-fabricated blade is interesting in the context of this discussion. Since this was already standard practice, the pontiff likely took a sword, one belonging to Cesar during his years as a Cardinal, and through the addition of the decorative etchings and the traditional blessing, created the Blessed Sword of 1500. Pinturicchio, who has long been considered the designer of these images, was working for both Cesar and his father during this time.

The elaborately worked leather scabbard, today in the Victoria and Albert Museum and originally intended for the Caetani sword, is a source of additional evidence towards this theory (Figure 4). Günter Gall, through stylistic comparison, dates the scabbard to the beginning of the sixteenth century. He further questions that the scabbard is contemporary to the fabrication of the sword, suggesting that a simple sheath was made at the time of the sword's manufacture and stating that the scabbard under examination here is a more elaborate "pomp-sheath" that was commissioned some time later.[7] If the sheath, matching the etchings in design and theme, was made some time after the fabrication of the sword, the logical conclusion to be drawn is that the etchings on the blade were added at a later date, coinciding not with the blade and hilt of the sword, but instead with the production of the scabbard.

[3] Yrairte, *Autour des Borgia*, 154-155.

[4] Sarah Bradford, *Cesare Borgia* (New York: Macmillan, 1976), 115-116.

[5] Eugène Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes Innocent VIII, Alexander VI, Pie III (1484-1503)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898), 238.

[6] Charles Burns, *Golden Rose and Blessed Sword: Papal Gifts to Scottish Monarchs* (Glasgow: John S. Burns & Sons, 1970),14n37.

[7] Günter Gall, *Leder Im Europäischen Kunsthandwerk* (Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann Bnraunschweig, 1965), 163.

The decorative program of the scabbard is in dialogue with the personal iconography displayed so prominently on the blade of the sword. Venus, as more than just a reference to the Worship of Love on the blade, here on the scabbard is an illustration of the Venus Genetrix, the Universal Mother aspect of the Roman goddess and the mythical forbearer of the Gens Julia, the house of Julius Caesar (Figure 5).[8] Suetonius describes a dedication before the Temple of Venus Genetrix that takes place during a military campaign of the ancient emperor.[9] The consultation of Suetonius in both programs suggests that the etchings of Julius Caesar on the blade of the sword and this highly crafted scabbard were fashioned at the same time, according to Gall, during the sixteenth century.

A final clue regarding the date of the etchings can be found in perhaps the only other element of Cesar's personal adornment known to still exist. Inscribed in small black letters on a signet ring, is the phrase "fais ce que dois advienne que pourra" ("do what thou must, come what will").[10] These are the words spoken by Julius Caesar immediately following the utterance "the die is cast."[11] Through the use of this inscription on a personal item, it is all the more clear that Cesar was deeply connected to this historical moment in the life of the Roman general. The fact that the inscription is written in French is the most telling. Never would he have strayed so far from his native tongue until after he had quartered his arms with the lilies of France in 1499, giving great weight to the suggestion that it was only after he took up military arms that he could find self-definition in this moment of Caesar's life.

The question could be asked as to why the shifting of a few years makes a difference in our understanding of the work. To answer this, one must appreciate the profound and essential role that the category of arts—into which this sword falls, what we now refer to as decorative arts—played during this era. In the Medieval and Renaissance periods, these objects were esteemed not only for their material worth but also for their political power.[12] Visual arts grew to be important weapons in the game of cultural propaganda, and although all art objects generally provided some form of outward projection in regard to their owner, in this visual competition arms and armor were among the most highly prized items. Military costume expressed the virtues that all Renaissance statesmen desired to be associated with: prominent echelon; strength at arms; noble character; and the chivalric presence of honor. It was an exclusive art that carried a political resonance of wealth, and served as an invaluable asset to an individual's iconographic alliance to the great figures of history. Allusions to the ancients were frequent in the decoration of these objects, seeking through this iconography to present the man who donned them as a new Hercules, Alexander, or Caesar.[13]

Clearly the sword of Cesar Borgia is also part of this display. The etchings are the perfect example of an individual deriving personal power from the adopted image of a historic icon. The parade held in 1500 is an absolute illustration of the outward propaganda intended to persuade the viewer to attribute Cesar with the characteristics of the ancient Roman whom the Renaissance considered to be the greatest general to ever live.

If one is to view the object as it was initially intended, as a representation of the self-fabricated image and personal iconography chosen by Cesar, it offers tremendous insight into his life and motivations. However, for this individual, life was spent in two very distinct phases. If the date commonly proposed for these etchings is correct, and Cesar had in the years 1493 to1498 created a personal iconographic image modeled after Julius Caesar, the question must be asked as to why. It would be truly unnecessary for a Cardinal to define himself as possessing genius in warfare while confined to an ecclesiastical way of life that offered him little but an annual income and most certainly no outlet for strength of lordship or military supremacy.

If instead the other faction of his life is considered as spawning the iconography, a strong correspondence in context develops. As the new leader of the army of Rome, Caesar's army, Cesar Borgia had crossed his Rubicon to this long dreamt-of military position, one that is steeped in the politics of power. This is the moment when he aligned himself with the virtues of the ancient Caesar.

To prove conclusively that the etchings on the blade of the Caetani sword were completed in 1500 is an objective that may remain unattainable; it is entirely possible that the intimate nature of the participants negated the need for the kind of documents that would offer definitive proof. Nonetheless, the sword and the scabbard intended as its cover are critical to our understanding of the development of Cesar Borgia's personal iconography, and it is through this understanding that we gain insight into the man who, for a moment, held the awe of Renaissance Italy.

The University of Florida

8 Claude Blair, "Cesare Borgia's Sword Scabbard," Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin reprints 6, reprinted from the Bulletin, 2, no. 4 (October 1966):14n17.

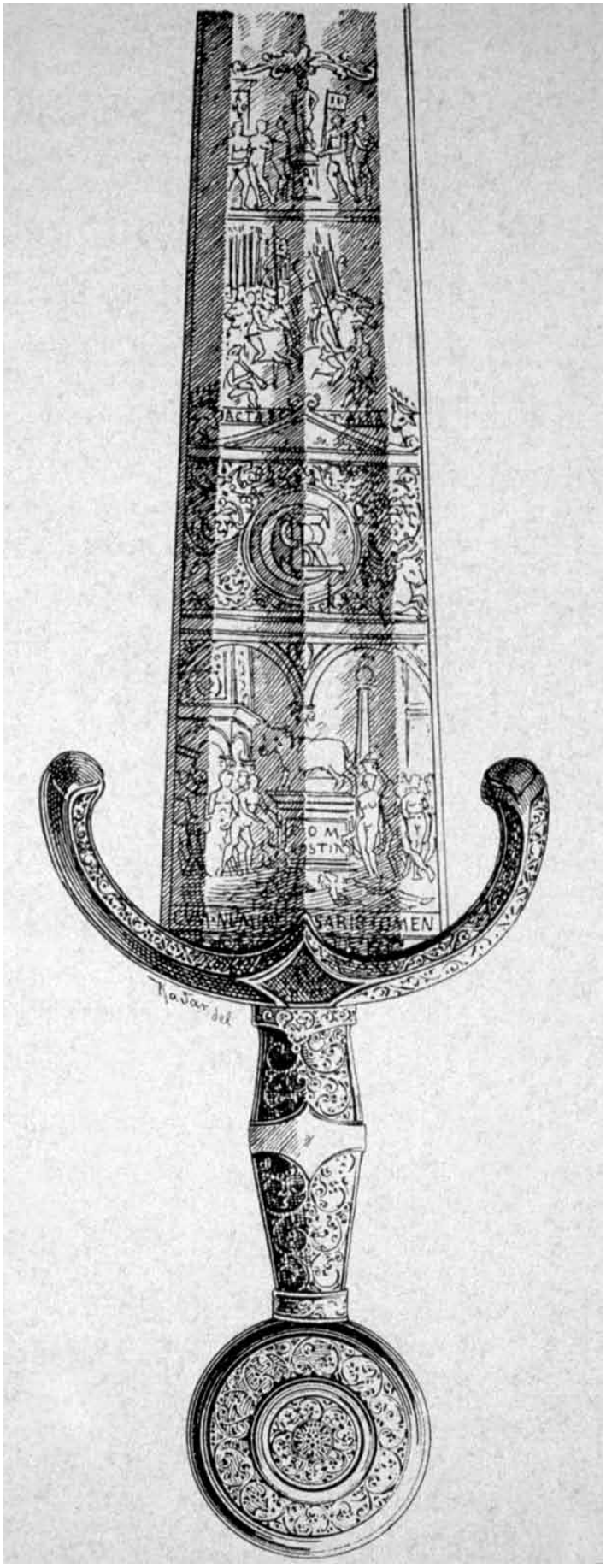
9 Suetonius, *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, 61.

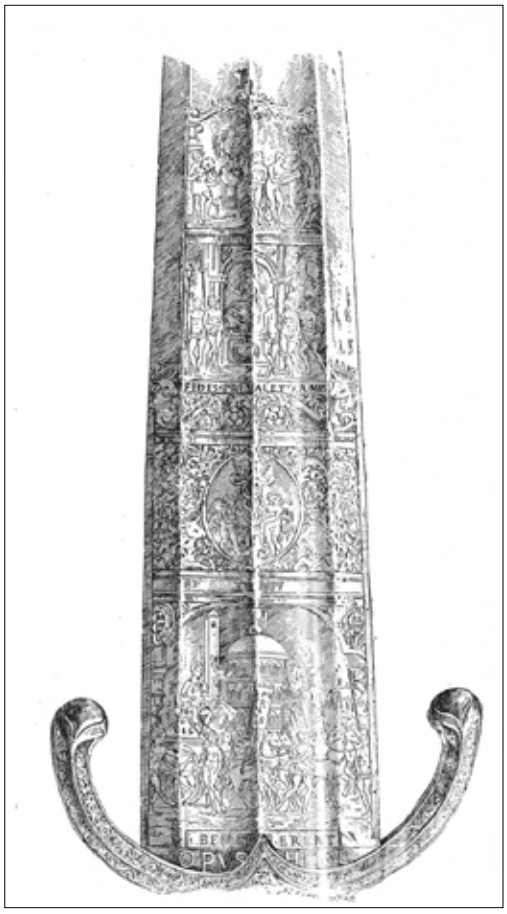
10 From the Notes and Queries section of *The Connoisseur* 18 (May-August 1907): 59. This is a response to a question posed in the Notes and Queries section of *The Connoisseur* 17 (January-April 1907): 116.

11 Suetonius, *History of the Twelve Caesars*, trans. Philemon Holland (London: David Nutt, 1899), 39.

12 Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 4.

13 Marina Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 157.





[*facing page, left*] Figure 1. Sword of Cesar Borgia, *c.*1500, silver, enamel, gold, steel; blade is 40.5 inches. Image taken from *Autour des Borgia* (Paris: J. Rothschild, 1891), page 148.

[*facing page, top right*] Figure 2. Sword of Cesar Borgia (face), *c.*1500, silver, enamel, gold, steel; blade is 40.5 inches. Image taken from "Le Graveur d'Epees de César Borgia," *Les Lettres et les Arts*, vol. 1 (Jan., 1886), page 166.

[*facing page, bottom right*] Figure 3. Sword of Cesar Borgia (reverse), *c.*1500, silver, enamel, gold, steel; blade is 40.5 inches. Image taken from "Le Graveur d'Epees de César Borgia," *Les Lettres et les Arts*, vol. 1 (Jan., 1886), page 169.

[*facing page, right*] Figure 4. Scabbard of Cesar Borgia, *c.* 1498, tooled calf's leather, 83.5cm x 8.5cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

[*facing page, far right*] Figure 5. Detail of the Scabbard of Cesar Borgia, *c.* 1498, tooled calf's leather, 83.5cm x 8.5cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

The Catholic Cosmos Made Small: Athanasius Kircher and His Museum in Rome

Bradley J. Cavallo

If a person sought "conference [with] learned persons" while visiting mid-seventeenth- century Rome, the advice received might very well have been "See Father Kircher…" (Figure 1).[1] Father Athanasius Kircher (1602-80) of the Society of Jesus was known during his lifetime as one of the most prolific and prestigious natural-philosophers of the seventeenth century, a man so well regarded in the estimation of his contemporaries, that some of them even referred to Kircher as the "arbiter and dictator of all arts and sciences in Europe,"[2] and "Master of One Hundred Arts."[3] Working from his position as Chair of Mathematics at the Roman College of the Jesuit Order,[4] Kircher published over forty studies on subjects as varied as translations of Egyptian hieroglyphics, the secret power of magnets and magnetism, Chinese culture and language, the geologic forces underlying volcanic activity, the engineering of Noah's Ark and the mathematical impossibility of the Tower of Babel, as well as treatises on optics, fossils, the plague, music, and a form of Platonic dialectics empowering one to know everything in the universe (to name only a very few).

Despite his prodigious textual output, none of Kircher's activities played as important a role in the development of his reputation as the establishment of a museum in the Roman College, the size of which suggested the encyclopedic material reach of Jesuit global missionary activity as well as Kircher's own equally extensive, seemingly world-subsuming intellectual acumen. Certainly, the frontispiece to the museum's 1678 catalogue would have had readers imagine it that way by depicting the black-robed Kircher and his two guests as miniscule figures amidst the museum's apparently immense collection of an innumerable array of curios and a series of prominently placed model obelisks (Figure 2).

Interpretations of Kircher's museum by modern scholars have remained consistent with the impression given by the frontispiece: Paula Findlen has suggested that Kircher's museum acted as a microcosm of the known universe, with "every section of the Museum [being] a chapter in the great book of Universal Knowledge."[5] Closer inspection, however, reveals a far more subtly nuanced correspondence between collection and collector, and that, in fact, the museum could not have successfully presented its microcosmic model without Kircher's mediation, for Kircher acted as the literal (but, more importantly, as the *figurative*) gatekeeper and guide to his museum, granting access to the museum's meaning by activating its representation of terrestrial variety in a way that suggested an underlying divine unity. Because of this inseparability, Athanasius Kircher and his museum represented the conjoined, embodied center of all orthodox natural philosophy within the center of the larger incorporated body of the Roman Catholic Church. If the Church in Rome envisioned itself as the center of the globe, the Church also maintained the centrality of that very same globe in the universe with the trial and condemnation of Galileo's heretical theory of heliocentricity in 1633. Kircher's museum defended both orthodox claims by manifesting an authoritative, Catholic vision of all known scientific knowledge with Kircher, his museum, Rome, Catholicism, and the Earth forming inseparably unified, universal centers.

A member of the English Royal Society, John Evelyn, wrote the first known description of Kircher's museum as it appeared in 1644. At that time, the museum fit into the Jesuit's "own study…[wherein] he shew'd us his perpetual motions, catoptrics, magnetical experiments, models, and a thousand other crotchets and devices…."[6] This initial collection suggests quite humble beginnings for what the museum became in 1651 when the patrician Alfonso Donnino donated his large private collection of art and antiquities to the

1 Cited in Paula Findlen, "Scientific Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Athanasius Kircher and the Roman College Museum," in *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters*, ed. Mordechai Feingold (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), 259.

2 Cited in Findlen, "Scientific Spectacle in Baroque Rome," 259.

3 Cited in Daniel Stolzenberg, "Introduction: Inside the Baroque Encyclopedia," in *The Great Art of Knowing: The Baroque Encyclopedia of Athanasius Kircher*, ed. Daniel Stolzenberg (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Libraries, 2001), 1; Joscelyn Godwin, *Athanasius Kircher's Theatre of the World: The Life and Work of the Last Man to Search for Universal Knowledge* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2009), 14; Joscelyn Godwin, *Athanasius Kircher: Renaissance Man and the Quest for Lost Knowledge* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 7.

4 Godwin, *Athanasius Kircher*, 11.

5 Paula Findlen, "Un incontro con Kircher a Roma," in *Athanasius Kircher: Il museo del mondo*, ed. Eugenio Lo Sardo (Rome: De Luca, 2001), 41-42.

6 P. Conor Reilly, S.J., *Athanasius Kircher, S.J.: Master of a Hundred Arts, 1602-1680* (Wiesbaden-Rome: Edizioni del Mondo, 1974), 148.

Roman College.[7] Henceforth, Kircher the private collector became Kircher the public impresario and essentially the official Catholic world-builder in miniature with his power of arcane, occult, and seemingly empirical sciences fused with the sanctification of the Church that supported and promoted him.

Upon arrival, visitors were announced through the use of a rudimentary form of an intercom system invented by Kircher and made of a "long brass-trumpet embedded in the wall" connecting the entrance of the College to Kircher's studio/workshop.[8] Like an occult magus, Kircher led only a chosen number of individuals through the collection's gate to be "struck by the sound of an organ that 'imitated the singing of every type of bird and the clangorous ringing of Egyptian bells.'"[9] Beyond this entrance-way, Kircher's museum consisted of a single 77 foot-long corridor set perpendicular to three smaller galleries on the third floor of the Roman College immediately adjacent to the library.[10] Within these spaces, the collection presented to the casual observer much as they might have expected of any seventeenth-century European cabinet-of-curiosity. Among other things, this included "the tail of a siren and the bones of a giant," amber-encased animals and a stuffed crocodile, works of art by Guido Reni and GianLorenzo Bernini, instruments of alchemy, Classical and Chinese statuary, fragments of ancient inscriptions, one of the most impressive displays of ethnographic materials in all of Rome, numerous portraits of generous donors or important visitors, and a "complete set of Kircher's publications."[11] Amidst this multitude, a series of four or five scale-model replicas of famous Roman obelisks (between 4.5 and 6 feet tall—with pedestals) stood at intervals along the center of the corridor and marked the visitor's progress through the museum.[12] Despite the reality of their modest size, the museum catalogue's frontispiece amplified their dimensions as part of an exaggerated perspective of the entire museum, hence suggesting the relative importance of the obelisks in the museum's imagined space.[13]

Beyond the obelisks, what distinguished Kircher's museum and impressed visitors most were those objects used and made by Kircher himself. These included many machines and instruments Kircher built for his experiments to elucidate certain ideas of natural philosophy, or simply to delight and amuse with small-scale spectacles. It was the presence of these machines and mechanical devices that led Kircher to claim in 1671 that, "No foreign visitor who has not seen the Roman College museum can claim that he has truly been in Rome."[14]

One contraption, in particular, illustrated the museum's ideologically didactic intentions with respect to cosmology, and yet it has survived in only a single description. In his 1653 description of the museum and its "artificial wonders," G.P. Harsdörffer included a brief note about some manner of machine that he had seen therein that demonstrated "How the Motions of the Planets are shown in glass spheres."[15] By itself, this bit of information would offer nothing more than another example of Kircher's penchant for entertaining devices displaying his mechanical aptitude. Yet, even though Harsdörffer did not specify whether the "Motions of the Planets" revolved around the Earth or the Sun, Kircher clearly enunciated his views on the issue a short time later in 1656 and again in 1660 with the publication of *The Ecstatic Celestial Journey*, a work that he called his "verdict and opinion about the nature, composition, and working of the celestial globes."[16]

Written in the form of a fictional dialogue between Kircher's alter-ego Theodidactus and an angel named Cosmiel, the

7 Findlen, "Scientific Spectacle in Baroque Rome," 231.

8 Ingrid Rowland, *The Ecstatic Journey: Athanasius Kircher in Baroque Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 6; Michael John Gorman, "Between the Demonic and the Miraculous: Athanasius Kircher and the Baroque Culture of Machines," in Stolzenberg, *Great Art of Knowing* (see note 3), 61.

9 Cited in Valerio Rivosecchi, *Esotismoin roma barocca, studi sul Padre Kircher* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1982), 142. Access to the collection was not guaranteed and, as the curator of the collection related in 1716, "Only from time to time were locals…allowed in…." Cited in Findlen, "Scientific Spectacle in Baroque Rome," 260.

10 Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 126-27; Findlen, "Scientific Spectacle in Baroque Rome," 227; Findlen, "Un incontro con Kircher," 41.

11 See Rivosecchi, *Esotismo in roma barocca*, 142-45; Findlen, "Un incontro con Kircher,"41; Silvio A. Bedini, "Citadels of Learning: The Museo Kircheriano and Other Seventeenth Century Italian Science Collections," in *Enciclopedism in Roma Barocca: Athanasius Kircher e il Museo del Collegio Romano tra Wunderkammer e museo scientifico*, ed. Maristella Casciato, Maria Grazia Ianniello, and Maria Vitale (Venice: Marsilio Editori S.P.A., 1986), 259-60; Rowland, *Ecstatic Journey*, 6; Reilly, *Athanasius Kircher, S.J.*, 150.

12 While Rivosecchi argues that there were five scale-model obelisks, the general consensus seems to be that there were four. See Rivosecchi, *Esotismo in roma barocca*, 147; Godwin, *Kircher's Theatre of the World*, 46; Sergio Donadoni, "I geroglifici di Athanasius Kircher," in Lo Sardo, *Athanasius Kircher* (see note 5), 102-06.

13 Bedini, "Citadels of Learning," 260.

14 "Nessun visitatore straniero che non abbia visto il Museo del Collegio Romano pù affermare di essere veramente stato a Roma." Cited in Rivosecchi, *Esotismo in roma barocca*, 141; Reilly, *Athanasius Kircher, S.J.*, 146-47; Paula Findlen, ed., *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 31.

15 "'Künstliche Wunderwerke'…'Wie der Planeten Lauff in gläsernen Kugeln zu weisen.'" Cited in John Fletcher, "Kircher and Astronomy: A Postscript," in Casciato, Grazia Ianniello, and Vitale, *Enciclopedismo in Roma Barocca* (see note 11), 134-35.

16 "'La mia sententia e opinione intorno la natura, compositione, e fabrica dei globi celesti.'" Cited in Fletcher, "Kircher and Astronomy," 134. Kircher's assistant, Gaspar Schott, explained the genesis of the work in the second, expanded edition of 1660. Despite having often declined the desires of Schott to write a cosmological text, Kircher woke one

"fictitious rapture" of *The Ecstatic Celestial Journey* examined the many proposed cosmologies used to explain the nature of the universe, from the Ptolemaic and Egyptian to those of Tycho Brahe and Copernicus.[17] Despite its overturning of many revered Aristotelian ideas and the suggestion of an infinite universe, Kircher's dream-journey seems to have been an espousal of the cosmological model established by the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe, a system Kircher claimed "best for 'saving the appearance of the heavens'…."[18] It is this system that appears prominently in the frontispiece of Kircher's work (Figure 3). With the Tetragrammaton-form of the name of God ("*YHVH*") in Hebrew above, the Jesuit stands in his robes holding a large compass with Cosmiel beside him, both dwarfed by a depiction of the universe with the Earth at the center, the Sun circling the Earth, and the Planets circling the Sun, all circumscribed by the perimeter of Fixed Stars.

Regardless of what he personally thought, *The Ecstatic Celestial Journey* demonstrated Kircher's commitment to creating a reasoned compromise between the orthodox, geocentric cosmology of the Church and the ever more accepted Copernican heliocentricity espoused by Galileo. Anticipating the criticism that the book did receive, Kircher ended the text by saying that, "'in case we seem to assert anything contrary to the decrees and instructions of the Holy Roman Church, we declare that we deny both the idea of the mobility of the earth, and of the inhabitants of the other heavenly globes.'"[19] Kircher's museum would have been the perfect setting in which to manifest exemplifications of these kinds of orthodox statements. Hence, it is very reasonable to hypothesize that the machine seen by Harsdörffer that visualized the "Motions of the Planets" did so as an explication of a very conservative cosmology.

As the heart of efforts to create a *Catholic* empirical science, Kircher's museum would have required a greater than lesser degree of demonstrable orthodoxy because (as the example of *The Ecstatic Celestial Journey* and its tentatively corresponding machine suggests) it represented an extension of and supplement to his published texts. In this "theatre of the world," as Kircher called it, he was the main actor and omniscient narrator who animated the museum-space into a rhetorical device displaying Catholic doctrine without necessarily having or wanting to call it Catholic.[20] As Findlen has written, "It goes without saying that…protestant visitors nurtured no little skepticism in confronting the conclusions Kircher reached based upon his objects; at the same time, they demonstrated a certain curiosity concerning the efforts to which the Jesuit went to reach such conclusions."[21] It was this curiosity about Kircher and his museum that mentally disarmed skeptics and schismatics, opening them ever so subtly to the persuasive power of Kircher's displays and demonstrations of the museum's curios and contraptions, all of which sought to suggest the controlled immensity of Universal Knowledge, the language of which was as arcane and inscrutable as the Egyptian hieroglyphics.[22] If Athanasius Kircher could claim knowledge of the hieroglyphics as his own, who could doubt his potential to know everything else that he claimed intellectual dominion over?

Kircher played the symbolic role prescribed to him by the Catholic Church very well, performing as an intermediary between Earth and Heaven. The presence and placement of the previously mentioned scale-model obelisks acted in a similar fashion. What is not so obvious is that in marking a visitor's passage through the space (just as the real-life obelisks marked space throughout Rome itself), the scale-model obelisks also marked time like a series of sundials, objects that had attracted Kircher's interest from his earliest days as a member of the Jesuit Order. For example, in 1632 Kircher had built for the Jesuit College in Avignon a sundial that indicated "not only the motions of the planets and the positions of the stars, but also the time differences throughout the world,"[23] and while visiting the island of Malta in 1637 Kircher had constructed something he called the Maltese Observatory that was inscribed in twelve languages, and "contained a planisphere, kept track of the Julian and Gregorian calendars, told universal time, charted horoscopes, and condensed all important medical, botanical, alchemical, Hermetic, and magical knowledge into a cube known as the 'cabalistic mirror.'"[24]

These devices and inventions functioned not only as instruments of scientific observation, but also as iterations of Kircher's attempt to subsume larger and larger bodies of knowledge into a more compressed and thus immediately visible comprehensibility. This ambition to compile and translate into a manageable form all of the knowledge existing in the world and universe also informed Kircher's interest

day after having been particularly "affected by the harmony of three musicians" heard the night before to proclaim that he had "dreamt a remarkable dream. I saw myself led by my guardian angel to the Moon, to the Sun, to Venus, to the rest of the Planets, to the very fixed stars and the outermost boundaries of the universe, and furthermore I found everything that I have so often spoken about…." Cited in Rowland, *Ecstatic Journey*, 77.

17 Daniel Stolzenberg, "Introduction," 6-7; Reilly, *Athanasius Kircher, S.J.*, 165-66.

18 Reilly, *Athanasius Kircher, S.J.*, 166.

19 Ibid.

20 Findlen, "Scientific Spectacle in Baroque Rome," 231; Rowland, *Ecstatic Journey*, 5.

21 "Va da se che i visitatori protestanti nutrivano no poco scetticismo nei confronti delle conclusioni cui Kircher giungeva basandosi sui suoi oggetti; al contempo tuttavia, dimostravano una certa curiosita riguardo gli sforzi che il gesuita compiva per elaborare tali conclusioni." Findlen, "Un incontro con Kircher," 42.

22 I.e., *scientia universalis*.

23 Findlen, *Athanasius Kircher*, 12.

24 Rowland, *Ecstatic Journey*, 10; Findlen, *Athanasius Kircher*, 20.

in discovering a universal language for conveying universal principles across linguistic divisions, a process that suggested the way in which this very same universal language carried with it universal knowledge.[25]

Kircher's interest in creating a universal language intersected with his interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphics. In his opinion, the Egyptian hieroglyphics represented the earliest form of a symbolic universal language formed "not by…the assembling of verbs or nouns, but by marks and figures" that communicated the ancient Egyptian's understanding of universal knowledge since the hieroglyphs "conceal the full meaning of the highest mysteries of nature and Divinity."[26] Because of their polyvalence, Kircher read the hieroglyphics as a system of "historical, physical, ethical, and metaphysical/theological" levels of interpretation that allowed him to condemn the idolatry of the ancient Egyptians while also arguing for an Egyptian, pre-Christian Trinity with Osiris, Isis-Typhon, and Amon equivalent to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.[27] In this intellectual context, Kircher could argue that the Egyptian obelisks of Rome, his models of them, and their original or invented hieroglyphics indicated the existence of pre-Christian thought in ancient Egypt, hence making it permissible for a Christian appropriation of ancient Egyptian wisdom. The densely packed surfaces of the obelisks pointed beyond their own physicality with each hieroglyph being a part of a universal knowledge that had been lost but by Kircher recovered for the sake of the Catholic Church's claims upon universality and the possession of universal truth.

Kircher's attempt to represent these systems of universal language and knowledge found visible form in his Roman museum. Here, the abstract signs and symbols provisionally found in Kircher's many texts became physically manifested in the museum's collection, the contents of which provided the informed visitor with a countless array of productive juxtapositions communicating encoded associations and meanings.[28] In this way, entrance into the museum could be a form of transcendence from physical variety into metaphysical unity, if and only if the visitor knew how to read the signs properly. While the placement of the collection's objects may have changed periodically, the position of five frescoed roundels on the ceiling did not. And even if they appear out of order in the museum catalogue frontispiece, it is to the ceiling's roundels that the obelisks point directly in the museum catalogue's frontispiece as they lead the eye and the mind from earth to the heavens.

It is this implied correspondence between heaven and earth that each of the ceiling's five ovoid images depicted, using different occult or hermetic iconography, and with at least four of the images referring obliquely to Kircher as ultimate authority on interpreting the museum as a scale model of universal knowledge. The roundel closest to the entrance, for example, showed a salamander amidst flames and surrounded by inscriptions that read, "There is no realm, nor anything, nor any place or region in which is not found written the Tetragrammaton, name of God, down to the last bit of human body and soul" and "Whoever will know the bond by which the lower is united with the upper world will discover the mysteries of nature and will become the author of miracles."[29] It is Kircher who is impervious to the flames (in this context) of "arduous study" and also the symbolic guide for those visitors wishing to learn of the mysterious chain linking the lower and upper worlds.[30] For as Cosmiel had been a cosmic guide to Kircher, so did Kircher become a guide for visitors of his implicitly cosmological museum.

Similarly, from the second roundel dangled an embalmed flying-fish (referred to as a "sea swallow") surrounded by inscriptions that read, "Wisdom is a unique treasure, whoever finds it is blessed and the friend of God, so that even if only human they demonstrate here below that divine resemblance" and "There is Heaven above and

25 This informed two of Kircher's publications in particular. In 1663, Kircher published "The New and Universal Polygraphy" (*Polygraphia Nova et Universalis*) in which he developed a universal language based upon the principles (after Raymond Llull and Giordano Bruno) of a highly sophisticated mnemonic system he called his "combinatory art" (*ars combinatoria*), the theory of which he slightly reformulated for the publication of "The Great Art of Knowing" (*Ars magna sciendi*) in 1669. Both of these works consisted of and promoted methods of combining a specific set of symbols signifying universal principles; doing so allowed the user to communicate across linguistic divisions, a process that suggested the way in which this very same universal language carried with it universal knowledge, based as it was on "universal categories in which all reality (both physical and abstract) could be classified" and combined using a synthesis of these Lullist categories with "icons from Kircher's interpretations of hieroglyphs." See Nick Wilding, "'If you have a secret, either keep it, or reveal it': Cryptography and Universal Language," in Stolzenberg, *Great Art of Knowing* (see note 3), 96-98.

26 According to the generally held belief that Kircher also upheld, the Egyptians concealed in their hieroglyphics four levels of meaning so that exegesis fundamentally depended upon the knowledge and intent of the individual: for the illiterate and ignorant, the most basic interpretation of the hieroglyphics suggested superficial fables and a form of literal history; only those at the beginning of their search for wisdom will be able to delve into the second, slightly deeper level of meaning, where the hieroglyphics communicate a form of mysticism; for those who learn to see into the third level of meaning, the hieroglyphics communicate a more symbolic, ethical message; for those wisest of men who know how to look to the deepest most profound underlying meaning, the Egyptian hieroglyphs communicate the Sublime, the "stories of the gods…which concern the intelligible world of archetypes." Daniel Stolzenberg, "Kircher's Egypt," in Stolzenberg, *Great Art of Knowing* (see note 3), 121-22.

27 Ibid., 122.

28 Rowland, *Ecstatic Journey*, 81-83.

29 "Non vi è Regno, ne alcuna cosa, ne alcun luogo o regione, in cui non si trovi scritto il tetragramma, nome di Dio, fino alle ultime fibre dell'anima e del corpo umano," "Chiunque conoscerà la catena con la quale il mondo inferiore è unito al superiore scoprirà i misteri della natura e diverrà autore di miracoli." Cited in Rivosecchi, *Esotismo in roma barocca*, 146.

30 "Ardua studia." Cited in ibid.

there is Heaven below; everything is above and below, understand this and you will succeed."[31] These inscriptions urge the visitor to consider Kircher as that blessed friend of God who, like the flying-fish, passed from one element to another, while concurrently pointing directly to the museum as the Catholic cosmos made small, the place where Kircher had gathered everything terrestrial as an imagined resemblance to everything celestial and divinely unified. If the first roundel portrayed Kircher as guide to his museum, the second roundel provided the reason for trusting in his judgment and sagacity.

The fourth roundel strengthened this suggestion by depicting a young man pouring flowers from a cornucopia surrounded by an inscription that read, "Only he who contemplates the hand of God in the works of Art and Nature can truly say to have entered into the office of Wisdom and Virtue."[32] Kircher was that man who, after having contemplated all that the hand of God had produced (and as found in the museum) would, like the water-carrier, willingly pour his boundless knowledge of the terra-firma and the firmament into the minds of those sufficiently prepared and open to receive it.[33]

Examined together, Athanasius Kircher intended for these images and their corresponding inscriptions to be understood as a form of neo-hieroglyphs; intellectually accessible on various levels of meaning depending upon the viewer's knowledge and experience.[34] Essentially, then, the obelisks marked terrestrial passage through Kircher's museum while pointing towards the heavens where the roundels functioned as a series of puzzles or tests of hermetic knowledge to distinguish those who knew from those who did not. Like initiates, the learned passed from fresco to fresco as if through a series of gates of initiation, each granting ever-higher levels of perceived truth or explication from Kircher himself as hierophant. For the less learned, the frescos might have simply delighted with their fanciful images while also deepening appreciation for Kircher's intellect, so immense was the wisdom apparently at his command and implied by the near indecipherability of his museum.

It was because of the prominent inclusion of this form of iconography that Kircher's museum became inseparably identifiable with Kircher the man. Hence, because of the presence of the curator, the collection appeared before the eyes and minds of visitors from "all the nations of the world" less as a physical edifice and more as an intellectual construct whose scale was both universal and human.[35] It was because of the person of Athanasius Kircher that visitors could experience the museum as a collection of universal proportions that seemed to teach progressive, scientific thought while overlooking the actuality. This is to say that, trusting in the person of Athanasius Kircher allowed visitors to trust in the museum even though its prime directive was to propagate the fundamentally conservative geocentric belief-system of the Catholic Church. Acting upon this cognitive dissonance, the Church deployed Kircher as its designated guide to an intellectual edifice that promoted the Church as the arbiter of a cosmos-encompassing, scientific truth.

Yet, Kircher's promotion of analytical observation subverted the museum's instantiation of Catholic ideology as bounded visualization of all things mundane and ineffable.[36] For if the roundels on the museum's ceiling could be believed, Father Athanasius Kircher had transcended the blind faith of orthodoxy through his empiricism into a form of unbounded consciousness of the relationships between heaven and earth, a sublimity of thought and knowledge that Kircher alone had seemed to achieve and that placed him beyond circumscription or regulation by the Church. This seems most appropriate, given that in Greek the name *Athanasius* means "immortal."[37]

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31 "La Sapienza è un Tesoro ineguagliabile, chiunque la trova è beato: l'amico di Dio, anche se di aspetto umano, mostra sotto di esso sembianze divine," "Vi è cielo in alto, vi è cielo in basso, tutto è sopra e tutto è sotto, comprendi questo e riuscirai." Cited in ibid.

32 "Solo chi nelle opera dell'Arte e della Natura contempla la mano di Dio può veramente dirsi entrato nell'officina della Sapienza e della Virtù." The other inscription reads, "Nulla è piu dolce che sapere tutto." Cited in ibid., 147.

33 The fifth and final roundel departs slightly from the iconography of the preceding four by representing three signs of the Zodiac: Pisces, Aries, and Taurus, all Spring 'signs' whose visibility and orientation suggest an imprecise date between late-February and early-May (in the Ptolemaic Tropical Zodiacal system). That these signs slightly correspond to the season of Kircher's birth must remain hypothetical; and yet, if Kircher used the Sidereal Zodiacal system, his portrayal as a water-carrier would make more sense since his sign would then be Aquarius, the Water-Bearer. Cited in ibid.

34 This could be likened to Kircher's explanation of the Pythagoreans, who "conveyed their teachings that their Master had learned from the Egyptians through riddles and symbols, reckoning that naked and open exposition was inimical to God and Nature…God [having] withdr[awn] himself from the senses of common, profane humanity, hiding understanding and knowledge beneath likenesses and parables of various sorts…[and yet] it would be welcome and acceptable to Him that those genuinely desirous of true wisdom should investigate his hidden mysteries along secret paths, and proceed to uncover the secret sacraments of His holy doctrine by this underground way." Cited in Rowland, *Ecstatic Journey*, 16.

35 John Fletcher, "Kircher and Duke August of Wolfenbüttel: Museal Thoughts," in Casciato, Grazia Ianniello, and Vitale, *Enciclopedismo in Roma Barocca* (see note 11), 285; Findlen, "Scientific Spectacle in Baroque Rome," 233.

36 The inscriptions in the fifth roundel specifically exhort viewers to seek knowledge, stating that, "Impara la Sapienza, figlio mio, essa infatti è preferibile allo scettro dei re e riempie gli uomini di tutto il bene che possono desiderare," since, "Chiunque, arriverà alla radice dell'ordine superiore e inferiore, non avrà più segreti sulla terra," as if "Nel cielo vi è il fiume Gehon, ad esso corrisponde Gehon, il Nilo: se scoprirai il suo mistero potrai realizzare ogni desiderio della tua vita." Cited in Rivosecchi, *Esotismo in roma barocca*, 147.

37 Rowland, *Ecstatic Journey*, 3.

Kircheriana Domus naturæ artisq; theatrum
Par cui vix alibi cernere posse datur.

AMSTELODAMI.
Ex officina Janssonio-Waesbergiana Anno MDCLXXVIII.

Figure 2. Georgius de Sepibus, *Romani collegii Societatus Jesu musæum celeberrimum*, 1678, page 1, Amsterdam, Ex officina Janssonio - Waesbergiana, courtesy of the University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center.

[*facing page*] Figure 1. Georgius de Sepibus, *Romani collegii Societatus Jesu musæum celeberrimum*, 1678, frontispiece, Amsterdam, Ex officina Janssonio - Waesbergiana, courtesy of the University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center.

[*right*] Figure 3. *Iter extaticum coeleste*, 1660, frontispiece, Würzburg, Sumptibus Joh. Andr & Wolffg. Jun. Endterorum hæredibus, courtesy of the University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center.

Building a Secular Sepulchre: Horace Walpole and the Gothic Revival at Strawberry Hill

Saskia Beranek

Horace Walpole, author, collector, antiquarian, and member of Parliament, is frequently counted among the fathers of the Gothic Revival in England thanks to both his novel, *The Castle of Otranto*, and the construction of his neo-Gothic castle in Twickenham, Strawberry Hill, a project that occupied him from 1747 until the end of his life fifty years later (Figures 1-2).[1] While his design process is well documented,[2] his reasons for selecting the Gothic style—a style initially condemned by some of his contemporaries as barbaric—have remained unclear. Scholars have maintained that Walpole never explicitly stated why he decided to build a castle, instead attributing it either to the need for a fictive ancestral manor or to Walpole flightily adopting a new fashion.[3]

Yet in a letter of September 28, 1749, he wrote to his old school friend George Montagu, "Did I tell you that I have found a text in Deuteronomy to authorize my future battlements? '*When thou makest a new house, then shalt thou make a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thy house, if any man fall from thence*.'"[4] While indeed providing a Biblical context for the renovations, the second half of this enigmatic passage has never been discussed. The first half addresses architectural detail, but the second half, playing on the term "house," is concerned instead with protecting one's lineage from judgment, an interpretation confirmed by multiple eighteenth-century biblical commentaries.[5] In his characteristically oblique fashion, by quoting this passage, Walpole expressed his lifelong loyalty to his famous father, Sir Robert Walpole, who had fallen from the figurative battlements: in a flurry of controversy, he had been forced to resign his position as Prime Minister. The "new house" was a way to protect the fallen member by enshrining his memory. The letter to Montagu—which also includes direct discussions of tomb architecture as model—provides an explicit statement of not only why Walpole was constructing a castle, but also why it was specifically a Gothic one.[6] Through an analysis of his written works and the precedent set by Gothic garden pavilions, Strawberry Hill can be read as a conflation of the sacred language associated with tomb architecture and the secular language of the garden, creating a secular sepulcher that commemorated his family's place in English history.

Any interpretation of his patronage and architectural projects hinges on an assessment of character: how seriously should Horace Walpole be taken? Scholarship has suffered from the scathing opinions of Macaulay, who portrayed Wal-

1 Strawberry Hill has recently become a focus of scholarly attention due in part to an ongoing restoration. This has resulted in two major publications: Michael Snodin, ed., *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill* (New Haven, CT: Lewis Walpole Library and Yale Center for British Art, 2009); and Anna Chalcraft and Judith Visconti, *Strawberry Hill: Horace Walpole's Gothic Castle* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2007).

2 The seminal source for the progress of renovations at Strawberry Hill is W.S. Lewis, "The Genesis of Strawberry Hill," *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 5, no. 1 (1934): 57-92. See also Michael McCarthy, *The Origins of the Gothic Revival* (New Haven, CT: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1987), which sheds important light on Walpole as a serious architectural influence in the eighteenth century instead of dismissing the project as one dictated by whimsy. Biographical sources for Walpole are extensive, but among the most helpful have been Martin Kallich, *Horace Walpole* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971); and Morris Brownell, *The Prime Minister of Taste: A Portrait of Horace Walpole.* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001).

3 Snodin, *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill,* passim. In the most recent volume on Strawberry Hill, Snodin and his collaborators present a strong case for the interpretation of the project as a whole as a fictive ancestral manor and take Walpole seriously as a collector and patron. For a longer discussion of the need for an ancestral manor, see also S. Lang, "The Principles of the Gothic Revival in England," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 25, no. 4 (1966): 251; and Lewis "Genesis of Strawberry Hill," 57.

4 W.S. Lewis, ed., *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960-1983), 9:102-103.

5 Samuel D.D. Smith, *The Family Companion or, Annotations upon the Holy Bible: Together with the Lives, ... of Our Blessed Saviour and His Twelve Apostles*. ... (London, 1739), 239. This eighteenth-century gloss on the biblical passage explains the verse thus: "When a man built a *new House,* he was to surround it with a Battlement on the Roof, that there might be no Danger of any one's falling from thence, and staining the House with his *Blood*…Therefore the *Fence* or *Breast-Work* was to be set up, to prevent any Man's falling over, and to hinder any dreadful Mishap in the House, whereby the Owner, through Carelessness, might bring Judgment upon himself and House." Within the context of Walpole's family, this sense of preservation and avoiding judgment become particularly potent. The same text is found in a 1745 commentary by John Marchant as well, suggesting that it reflects a common interpretation.

6 Earlier in the letter, Horace says, "I have just seen a collection of tombs like those you describe…All these are in a chapel of the church at Cheyney's, the seat of the first earls….I propose making a push and begging them of the Duke of Bedford; they would be excellent for Strawberry Castle." Later in the letter, he continues: "Now I have dipped you so deep in heraldry and genealogies, I shall beg you to step into the church of Stoke…I want an account of the tomb of the first

pole as an irrelevant and superficial dilettante.[7] More recent scholarship has discarded this outdated view and drawn attention to his keen eye and sharp mind. Horace was highly educated, well traveled, and well read, as evidenced by his extensive library inventory.[8] Like his father, he was a loyal member of the Whig party, which glorified personal liberty and constitutional government while curtailing the power of the Crown.[9] While he himself never sought the spotlight, he gave copious advice in private and published political pamphlets both anonymously and under his own name.

Horace's political life was shaped, in a large part, by his relationship to his controversial father, Sir Robert Walpole, to whom he felt perpetually indebted. His deep sense of family pride is visible in his own house through the prominent display of the family arms as well as in his own published works: his first project had been the *Aedes Walpolianae*, an inventory of the paintings owned by his father. In it, he not only established an image of his father as an elite connoisseur and gentleman, but also describes Sir Robert as an unrewarded Moses, "the 'slighted Patriot' who preserved Israel."[10] The preservation of his father's public image was echoed in his own political life: his only remarkable public act in Parliament was a defense of Sir Robert during the investigation prior to his resignation.[11] This was not merely the pride of a young man; in 1779, when Walpole was more than sixty and his father had been dead for more than thirty years, he still wrote of his idolatry of his father's memory.[12] Even as late as 1784, he identified himself in print as "Youngest Son of Sir Robert Walpole Earl of Orford" (Figure 3).[13]

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, English architectural tastes were dominated by classicizing examples drawing on the works of Andrea Palladio, such as the villa of Lord Burlington at Chiswick or even the Walpole residence at Houghton. Yet within a century, the architectural language of the Gothic style had become so nationalized that the new Houses of Parliament were built in it. It acquired significance as an expression of not only nationalistic sentiments, but more specifically, the political ideals of the Whig party. This connection was founded on the belief that the ancient Britons derived from Germanic, "Gothic" peoples, who were believed to be a fiercely independent people who practiced a model of mixed government comparable to the ideal balance between Parliament and Crown.[14] Political uprisings like the Jacobite rebellion in 1745 were terrifying to Walpole and other Whigs precisely because the insurgent Stuarts were seen as popish and catholic—foreign influences that would violate the ancient and honorable "Gothic" constitution.

In 1750, despite the beginnings of this growing rhetoric of national sentiment and ancient venerability, the Gothic was used primarily in two contexts: for tombs or other sacred architecture and for garden follies.[15] One of the first such follies, called Merlin's Cave, was built in 1733 by William Kent for Queen Caroline (Figure 4). It used a combination of Gothic architectural elements and historical wax tableaux of figures like Queen Elizabeth to tie the foreign, Hanoverian royal line to the local Authurian past.[16] Associations with the Arthurian legend indicate a further nod to the Gothic: for the eighteenth-century viewer, Gothic was not a specific term, but rather could refer to anything old or medieval. However, the pavilion—and the Gothic—quickly became a site subjected to the mockery of those who opposed the monarchy and the powerful Prime Minister. While Merlin had previously been seen as a mentor to King Arthur, by the eighteenth century, he had also taken on a more sinister

Earl of Huntingdon, an ancestor of mine who lies there." Sandwiching a justification of his castle between a discussion of tombs as models and a discussion of his own ancestry further supports my interpretation of this passage. Smith, *Yale Correspondence*, 9:102-103.

7 T.B. Macaulay, "Horace Walpole (October, 1833)," in *Miscellaneous Works of Lord Macaulay*, ed. Lady Trevelyan (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1880), 176-216.

8 Allen T. Hazen, *A Catalog of Horace Walpole's Library* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1969); W.S. Lewis, *Horace Walpole's Library* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

9 For discussions of Horace's political stances, see Archibald S. Foord, "'The Only Unadulterated Whig,'" in *Horace Walpole: Writer, Politician and Connoisseur*, ed. Warren Hunting Smith (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967), 25-44.

10 Cited in Kallich, *Horace Walpole*, 68; Horace Walpole, *Aedes Walpolianae or, a Description of the Collection of Pictures at Houghton-Hall in Norfolk: The Seat of the Right Honorable Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford* (London, 1747). The *Aedes* was reprinted several times through the 1740s and 1750s, corresponding with the conception and initial progress on Strawberry Hill.

11 R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *Horace Walpole: A Biography* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1964), 67.

12 Kallich, *Horace Walpole,* 20. Kallich notes that Walpole observed in 1745 that "all [his] interest and significance are buried in [his] father's grave."

13 Horace Walpole, *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole, Youngest Son of Sir Robert Walpole Earl of Orford, at Strawberry Hill near Twickenham, Middlesex, with an Inventory of the Furniture, Pictures, Curiosities, &c.* (Strawberry-Hill, UK: Thomas Kirgate, 1784), title page.

14 J. M. Frew, "Gothic is English: John Carter and the Revival of Gothic as England's National Style," *Art Bulletin* 64, no. 2 (June 1982): 317. Further discussions of the national rhetoric of the Gothic can be found in Samuel Kliger, "The 'Goths' in England: An Introduction to the Gothic Vogue in Eighteenth Century Aesthetic Discussion," *Modern Philology* 43, no. 2 (November 1945): 107-117; and Simon Bradley, "The Englishness of Gothic: Theories and Interpretations from William Gilpin to J.H. Parker," *Architectural History* 45 (2002): 325-346. See also Christine Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth, 1725-1742* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

15 David Stewart, "Political Ruins: Gothic Sham Ruins and the '45," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 55, no. 4 (December 1996): 400-411.

16 Judith Colton, "Merlin's Cave and Queen Caroline: Garden Art as Political Propaganda," *Eighteenth Century Studies* 10, no. 1 (1976): 10.

aspect. In popular literature, Merlin was described as having been "begotten by a Daemon, called Incubus, upon the body of an English Lady…So that the public are puzzled and rightly cannot understand if he was a Man or a Devil, but by this last Account, he seems to have had the spice of both."[17] Tellingly, satires of Robert Walpole, printed in publications such as *The Gentleman's Magazine* or *The Craftsman,* present him as Merlin—a prophet-magician who betrayed the Crown and led the nation into misery.

Garden follies became a powerful site for such political commentary. In the gardens at Stowe, a popular destination during the eighteenth century, was The Temple of Liberty, built at the crest of a hill by James Gibbs (Figure 5).[18] Designed in 1741, it embodies a message glorifying individualism and constitutional monarchy. Engraved over the door was the phrase "I thank God that I am not a Roman," declaring the supremacy of the native Gothic style over the foreign classical style in both text and image.[19] The nationalizing rhetoric was not lost on contemporaries; William Gilpin, a writer of commentaries on garden architecture, compared the Gothic elements to a "generous patriot in his retirement."[20] Walpole himself loved the temple. He wrote in a letter to his friend John Chute, "I adore the Gothic building, which by some unusual inspiration Gibbs has made pure and beautiful and venerable."[21] The windows which Walpole went on to admire so much later in the letter were adorned with heraldry, providing a precedent for later renovations to his own house. Inside the temple were a series of sculptures of pagan gods, but it had also been the original home of eight of the sixteen busts which were later moved to the Temple of British Worthies, an arcade of classicizing niches glorifying notable figures drawn both from England's past and from current affairs.[22] Sir Robert's absence from the Temple of British Worthies is both conspicuous and unsurprising.

The gardens at Stowe were owned by Lord Cobham, a gentleman whose career had been ruined after he clashed with Sir Robert Walpole over a wildly unpopular 1733 excise bill. As a result, Cobham was dismissed from his regiment and became part of a strong anti-Walpole clique bent on discrediting the powerful Prime Minister. Cobham chose to pursue this personal and political vendetta through his emblematic gardens at Stowe which embodied, as George Clarke calls it, "a political manifesto, traditional ideals of government being contrasted with the decadence of the Walpole administration."[23] The most potent condemnation was the Temple of Modern Virtue, no longer extant. A sham Gothic ruin, it showed the corruption and decay of the current day. This is contrasted with the adjacent Temple of Ancient Virtue where pristine classicism glorified those elements that Cobham felt the current administration lacked. In case the message of the two temples had been lost, next to the modern temple stood a decapitated statue—one that has always been understood to represent none other than Robert Walpole (Figure 6).[24] Gilpin describes the statue in his 1748 *Dialogue upon the Gardens at Stow* [*sic*]: "I can see nothing here to let me into its design, except this old gentleman; neither can I find anything extraordinary in him, except that he has met with a Fate that he is entirely deserving of, which is more than falls to the share of every worthless fellow."[25] Notably, Walpole comments in a letter to Chute about Stowe: "you may imagine I have some private reflections entertaining enough, not very communicable to the company….But I have no patience at building and planting a satire! Such is the temple of modern virtue in ruins!"[26]

Horace Walpole had a long-standing interest in gardening and knew Stowe well. Not only did he tour the homes and gardens of notable Englishmen and collect pamphlets on them, but he also wrote a text entitled *On the Modern Tastes in Gardening*, first published in 1771, but probably written as early as the 1750s,[27] that argues that modern garden design

17 Caleb D' Anvers, "Merlin's Prophecy, with an Interpretation," in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 5 September 1735, 532-535. For futher discussion of the political associations, see Colton, "Merlin's Cave."

18 *Stowe: A Description of the Magnificent House and Gardens of the Right Honourable Richard, Earl Temple, Viscount and Baron Cobham; Embellished with a General Plan of the Gardens, and Two Perspective Views of the South and North Fronts of the House* (London, 1762), 32. The description of the Gothic temple here indicates that there were seven Saxon deities sculpted by Rysbrack.

19 George Bickham, *Stow: The Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham* (Buckingham: B. Seeley, 1750), 22-23.

20 William Gilpin, *A Dialogue upon the Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham at Stow in Buckinghamshire* (London, 1748), 48.

21 Walpole to John Chute, 4 August 1753, in Lewis, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 35:77.

22 John Dixon Hunt, "Emblem and Expressionism in the Eighteenth Century Landscape Garden," *Eighteenth Century Studies* 4, no. 3 (Spring 1971): 299: "For its construction in about 1735 Kent removed eight busts from a Gibbs building elsewhere in the garden and fitted them into this curiously naïve structure, designed to hold a further eight busts, which were added later. The message of these ranged figures is anti-Stuart, anti-Catholic, pro-British." There is a long medieval tradition of "worthies" in both English and French sources. The British Worthies included at Stowe were Alexander Pope, Thomas Gresham, Inigo Jones, John Milton, William Shakespeare, John Locke, Isaac Newton, Francis Bacon, King Alfred, Prince Edward, Queen Elizabeth I, King William III, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Drake, John Hampden, and John Barnard.

23 George Clarke, "Grecian Taste and Gothic Virtue: Lord Cobham's Gardening Programme and Its Iconography," *Apollo* 97 (June 1973): 568. See also Andrew Eburne, "Charles Bridgeman and the Gardens of the Robinocracy," *Garden History* 31, no. 2 (Winter 2003): 193-208.

24 Stewart, "Political Ruins," 400.

25 Gilpin, *Dialogue*, 21.

26 Walpole to John Chute, 4 August 1753, in Lewis, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 35:76. Walpole comments on multiple occasions about his visits to Stowe and has nothing positive to say: "Twice a day, we made a pilgrimage to almost every heathen temple in that province

was a direct result of a society flourishing under good (Gothic and English) government. Elsewhere, he wrote "at least it will show what a paradise was England while she retained her constitution—for perhaps it is no paradox to say that the reason why Taste in gardening was never discovered before the beginning of the present century is, that it was the result of all the happy combinations of an empire of freemen, an empire formed by trade, nor by a military and conquering spirit, maintained by the valour of an independent property, enjoying long tranquility after virtuous struggles and employing its opulence and good sense on the refinements of rational pleasure."[28] It is clear that gardens became a manifestation of political ideals for both Walpole and his contemporaries. In his view, however, using the garden as political satire was an abuse of the medium.

Despite his references to Strawberry Hill as his toy castle or a confection, Horace Walpole felt that the Gothic style had serious implications.[29] The Goths were, after all, the noble race who inspired the constitution—and, to quote Horace himself, "the Goths never built summerhouses or temples in a garden."[30] He once criticized a garden pavilion at Painshill for being merely an "unmeaning edifice,"[31] and wrote in a letter to Horace Mann that only architecture could be Gothic, not gardens.[32] The seriousness of the style is reiterated in his comments in the *Anecdotes of Painting*, where he insists that with the Gothic style, the viewer is aware not of the architect, but of the greater driving ideology behind the building.[33] This suggests that his architectural decisions at Strawberry Hill must be taken seriously, ruling out the possibility that he adopted the Gothic on a stylish whim. Strawberry Hill's renovation as a Gothic castle should be viewed as his way of reclaiming the Gothic style from the follies of the garden where it had been inappropriately used, as well as a way to re-enshrine his father's memory in a new Temple of British Worthies, dedicated to the national architectural style as well as English constitutional liberty as embodied by the Walpole family.

At every turn, the plans for the renovation of the house were dictated by Walpole himself, though a team of like-minded friends and antiquarians produced the actual designs. He would direct his "Committee of Taste" to specific textual and archaeological sources.[34] In his published *Description* of the house, he identified eleven different tombs as source material.[35] The tombs were located in places such as Westminster and Canterbury, famous sites of cultural memory for the nation and the Church of England. The use of tombs as sources has previously been written off as part of a romantic interest in what Walpole himself termed Gothic "gloomth," or at best, a way to provide what one scholar termed "reliable gothic ancestors for his architectural whimsicalities."[36] However, it can also be interpreted as part of a coherent plan of cultural appropriation: Walpole wove history and memory of the English past into his new secular cathedral. By combining the sacred language of historic tombs with the secular language of a domestic space, Walpole made his house a new cultural monument—one which he intended the public to visit, as they did the gardens at Stowe. His intent to create a public space is made evident through his newspaper advertisement for tickets to tour the house.

In addition to drawing on tombs in the design of the house, he used historical models such as the Queen's dressing room at Windsor, re-appropriated for use on the ceiling of the Holbein Chamber (Figure 7).[37] He filled his house with historical artifacts and curiosities, set side-by-side with family relics.[38] He utilized heraldry throughout his house, for example in the stained glass windows and on the ceiling of

that they call a garden…thank heaven that I am emerged from that Elysium and once more in a Christian country!" (Walpole to Conway 12 July 1770, in Lewis, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 39:127). Also to Conway, 6 October 1785: "Three parts of the edifices in the garden are bad, they enrich that insipid country" (in Lewis, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 39:436). In writing to Montagu, he laments: "Every acre [of Stowe] brings to one's mind some instance of parts or pedantry, of the taste of want of taste, of the ambition, or love of fame, or greatness…" (Walpole to Montagu, 7 July 1770, in Lewis, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 10:310-315.)

27 Isabela W. U. Chase, *Horace Walpole: Gardenist; An Edition of Walpole's "The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening"* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press for University of Cincinnati, 1943), xix.

28 Samuel Kliger, "Whig Aesthetics: A Phase of Eighteenth Century Taste," *English Literary History* 16, no. 2 (June 1949): 141.

29 In a letter to Conway of 8 June 1747, Walpole says that the house (before his renovations) "is a little plaything –house that I got out of Mrs. Chenevix's shop, and is the prettiest bauble you ever saw. It is set in enameled meadows with filigree hedges" (quoted in Lewis, "Genesis of Strawberry Hill"). While this has often been interpreted as whimsicality about the house, it more likely jokingly alludes to the previous owner, Mrs. Chenevix, who was a fashionable toy seller in Charing Cross. This interpretation is also put forth by Peter Guillery and Michael Snodin in "Strawberry Hill: Building and Site," *Architectural History* 38 (1995): 102-128.

30 Mavis Batey, "Horace Walpole as Modern Garden Historian," *Garden History* 19, no. 1 (1991): 1-11, refer to page 2.

31 Ibid.

32 Brian Fothergill, *The Strawberry Hill Set: Horace Walpole and His Circle* (London: Faber and Faber, 1983), 45.

33 Frew, "Gothic is English," 315.

34 McCarthy, *Origins of the Gothic Revival,* Chapter 2.

35 Walpole, *Description of the Villa*. The tombs used as models include: from Worcester: Prince Arthur; from Westminster: Thomas Ruthall, Bishop of Durham, John Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, Queen Eleanor, W. Dudley, Bishop of Durham; from Canterbury: Archbishop Warham, Thomas Duke of Clarence, Archbishop Bourchier; and other: Roger Niger, Bishop of London and Edmund Audley, Bishop of Salisbury.

36 Fothergill, *Strawberry Hill Set*, 63.

37 Lewis, "Genesis of Strawberry Hill," 75.

38 His inventory includes objects such as a tile from William the Conqueror's kitchen, a clock given to Anne Boleyn by Henry VIII, and

the library, where shields of both English Worthies and his own family were placed. He included not only the current Walpole arms, but also those of families loosely connected by marriage, in order to establish the nobility and antiquity, sometimes falsely, of the Walpole line.[39]

Strawberry Hill cannot be divorced from the textual materials produced by Walpole to mediate the experience of the visitor, and his political agenda can be seen throughout. As founder and owner of the Strawberry Hill Press, and himself a prolific writer, Walpole understood the power of the printed word and the ways in which it could mediate experience. In the middle of the century, there had been a significant shift in garden design that relocated meaning from the garden itself to texts. John Dixon Hunt sees the development of the garden in the eighteenth century as a shift from "emblematic" to "expressive." As he argues, this was a distinction already made at the time by writers such as Thomas Whately (1770) and Joseph Warton (1744).[40] In order for the space of the garden to be understood, it had to be "read." Stephen Bending carries this distinction further into the second half of the century, examining the shift from emblematic to expressive garden: "the landscape does not in fact lose its ability to be read as a coherent program; however rather than being found in the overt emblematic structuring of earlier gardens, the act of interpretation has been wrested from the owner of the gardens and relocated with the visitor, but a visitor now trained by literature in the 'correct' art of reading."[41] Meaning was no longer located implicitly in the garden, but in the viewer, who, before visiting, had already been conditioned and prepared by reading material such as William Mason's epic poem, *The English Garden*, which stresses the "political implications of altering landscape."[42] William Gilpin's 1748 text on Stowe, which takes the form of a conversation between two visitors, is another such text, establishing clear interpretations for the tableaux in the garden.

McCarthy has noted that Walpole's letters to Horace Mann indicate that the use of the Gothic in gardens was directly related to his building plans, mapping ideas already common in a garden directly onto the house.[43] If the garden became a site mediated by texts, so, too, could the house. In addition to his own writings on gardens, Walpole collected precisely the kinds of didactic texts which scholars of the garden identify as those used to structure the viewing experience. It is through this lens that the 1774 publication of a description of his house must be viewed, a text which is half inventory and half description. Like gardens, Walpole's house must be viewed as a semi-public space where political ideologies of cultural memory and national pride were made manifest for the public, both through the architecture itself and through mediating texts. The *Description* begins with historical background, including previous owners of the land and individuals who had slept there. From the first page, Walpole makes it clear that his castle has a place in the history of the country: this location, if not this actual building, had housed bishops and dukes. The text goes on to describe a detailed path through the house, drawing attention to particularly significant sites of display. In every room, the attention of the visitor is directed to specific elements of both the architecture and the art collection with an emphasis on their historic origins. Above all, family ancestry and identity were stressed, and national heroes were enshrined. Morris Brownell draws attention to the fact that the majority of the paintings in Walpole's collection were portraits—and of those portraits, most of them were of Englishmen. Walpole himself wrote to Horace Mann that "I am indefatigable in collecting English portraits."[44] This obsession is particularly visible in the Gallery and Star Chambers, where Walpole displayed his portrait collection and miniatures, respectively (Figures 8-9). Walpole created in Strawberry Hill a showcase for portraits of those he had deemed British Worthies and communicated the identity and importance of these figures, relatives by blood and by national kinship, through the textual description provided to visitors. These texts suggest that the political nature of Strawberry Hill was not merely a passing fancy which prompted the initial design, but rather represented a unified lifelong ideology which was continually in the minds of its designer.

Through his correspondence and published works, it is possible to see Strawberry Hill as Walpole meant it to be seen. Witty and intentionally esoteric in his allusions, Walpole constructed a serious monument in his "toy house," dedicated to the Gothic history of constitutional liberty and the role played by his father in preserving what he regarded as a

Edward VI's crown (see *Description of the Villa*). Horace was crushed to have just missed out on purchasing Oliver Cromwell's nightcap at auction.

39 The Walpole arms are "Or, on a fess between two chevrons sable three crosses crosslet Or." Horace's personal arms have an added gold star at the "honour point" which indicates his position as a third son. The connection is also made that including the "Saracen" head which appears at the top is indicative of the family's (possibly fictive?) involvement in the Crusades. Chalcraft and Visconti, *Strawberry Hill,* 70. On the use of arms see, Lewis, "Genesis of Strawberry Hill," 70. Chief among these spurious relations were the Shorter and Robsart families. Walpole had dredged his relationship to the Robsarts out of the mists of history. To claim relation to "Sir John Robsart, knight banneret, and knight of the most noble order of the garter, famous for his surprising valour in several actions in France in the reigns of Henry IV, V and VI," was to establish the nobility and antiquity of the Walpole line and enhance the motivating theme of the building.

40 Hunt, "Emblem and Expressionism," 294.

41 Stephen Bending, "Re-Reading the Eighteenth-Century English Garden," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (Summer 1992): 380.

42 Ibid., 393.

43 McCarthy, *Origins of the Gothic Revival,* 63.

44 Brownell, *Prime Minister of Taste,* 97, quoting a letter to Horace Mann. While Brownell's work is critical in salvaging Walpole's reputation,

sacred form of government. By building a space reminiscent of a cathedral and that draws on tomb monuments as sites of cultural memory, he created a new secular space of worship, filling it not with images of saints and bishops but Prime Ministers and Kings, all of them British Worthies. Rather than an eccentric collector of baubles, Walpole's written texts and art collections allow us to see him as a dedicated son and patriot, enshrining both personal and national loyalties in a secular sepulcher built in what he perceived as the appropriate architectural style: the Gothic.

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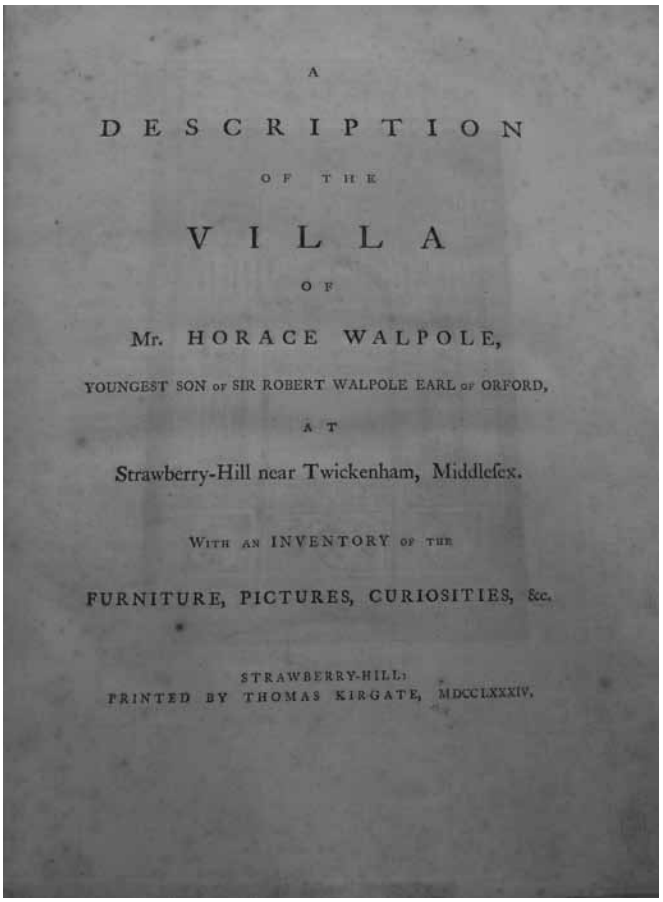
he could have carried further his point about collecting portraits and Walpole's political affiliations. For Brownell, the collecting of English portraits "had enormous value to Walpole in furnishing a Gothic house with stage scenery," but he does not fully pursue the political and ancestral implications of the collection.

Figure 1. Horace Walpole, Strawberry Hill from the South, Twickenham, England, 1747-1797; restored 2010. Photo credit: Robert Neuman.

Figure 2. The Battlements of Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, England. Photo credit: Amanda Weimer.

[*below*] Figure 3. Frontispiece and title page of *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole: Youngest Son of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford, at Strawberry-Hill near Twickenham, Middlesex; with an Inventory of the Furniture, Pictures, Curiosities, & c. Strawberry-Hill*, printed by T. Kirgate, 1781. Courtesy of Special Collections, Hillman Library, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.



[*above*] Figure 4. "The Section of Merlin's Cave in the Royal Gardens at Richmond" from *Some Designs of Mr. Inigo Jones and Mr. Wm Kent* (London: J. Vardy, 1744), plate 32. Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Figure 5. B. Seeley, "The Gothic Temple," Plate V from *Stow: The Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham* (Buckingham: B. Seeley, 1750). Courtesy of Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

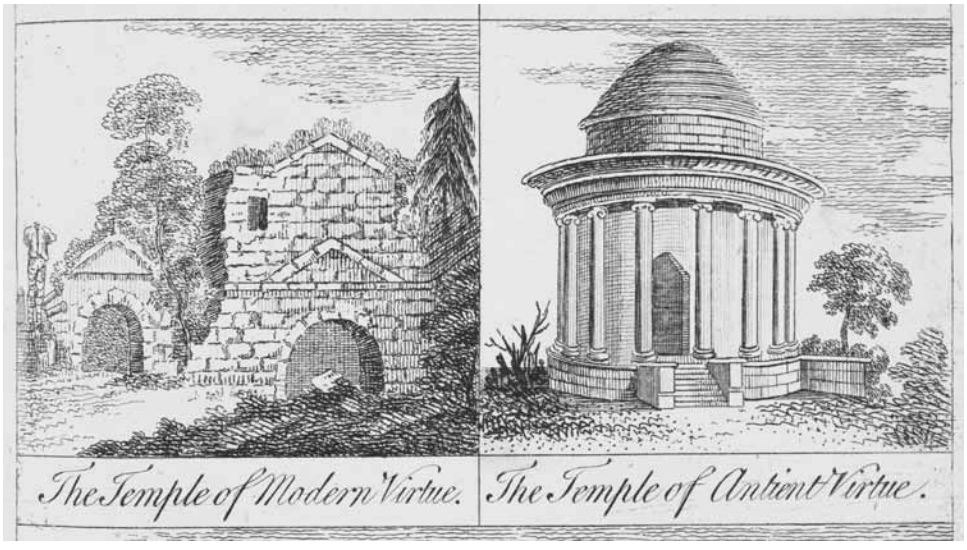


Figure 6. B. Seeley, "The Temple of Modern Virtue," and "The Temple of Antient Virtue," Plate IX from *Stow: The Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham* (Buckingham: B. Seeley, 1750). Courtesy of Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

[*above*] Figure 7. Mantelpiece of the Holbein Room, November 2010. Photo credit: Saskia Beranek.

[*top right*] Figure 8. T. Morris, "The Gallery", from *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole: Youngest Son of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford, at Strawberry-Hill near Twickenham, Middlesex; with an Inventory of the Furniture, Pictures, Curiosities, etc. Strawberry-Hill*, printed by T. Kirgate, 1781. Courtesy of Special Collections, Hillman Library, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Figure 9. The Gallery at Strawberry Hill after restoration, 2011. Photo credit: Amanda Weimer.

Impressionism and the *Salons Juifs*: The Ephrussi Family and Jewish Patronage Networks in 1880s Paris

Elizabeth Melanson

In volume three of Marcel Proust's *In Search of Lost Time*, the novel's narrator visits the most prestigious aristocratic salon hostess in Paris, the Duchess de Guermantes. As the Duchess serves her guest more asparagus, she turns her attention to a painting by the artist Elstir, a character inspired by Gustave Moreau, Édouard Manet, Claude Monet, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Edgar Degas, and others. Always the gracious hostess, the Duchess mentions the painting because she has noticed the narrator admiring it, though the reader is informed: "As a matter of fact, she hated Elstir's work."[1] The narrator jumps at the opportunity to discuss modern art with his noble hosts:

> I asked Monsieur de Guermantes if he knew the name of the gentleman in the top hat who figured in the picture of the crowd…"Good Lord, yes," he replied, "I know it's a fellow who is quite well-known and no fool either in his own line, but I have no head for names... Swann would be able to tell you, it was he who made Madame de Guermantes buy all that stuff… Between ourselves, I believe he's landed us with a bunch of junk. What I can tell you is that the gentleman you mean has been a sort of Maecenas to Elstir. He gave him a start and has often helped him out of tight places by ordering pictures from him. As a compliment to this man—if you can call that sort of thing a compliment—he has painted him standing among that crowd… He may be a big gun in his own way but he is evidently not aware of the proper time and place for a top hat. With that thing on his head, among all those bare-headed girls, he looks like a little country lawyer on the razzle-dazzle.[2]

The painting that the narrator and the Duke are discussing is identifiable as Renoir's *Luncheon of the Boating Party*, and the overdressed figure is Renoir's friend and patron Charles Ephrussi, the art historian, collector, and owner of the distinguished periodical, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (Figure 1). The Duke continues:

> I know of course that [Elstir's paintings] are merely sketches, still, I don't feel that he puts enough work into them. Swann had the nerve to try and make us buy a *Bundle of Asparagus*. In fact it was in the house for several days. There was nothing else in the picture, just a bundle of asparagus exactly like the ones you're eating now. But I must say I declined to swallow Monsieur Elstir's asparagus. He asked three hundred francs for them. Three hundred francs for a bundle of asparagus! A louis, that's as much as they're worth, even early in the season.[3]

Again, the painting in question is based on a real work, *Bundle of Aspargus* by Manet (Figure 2).

In this scene Elstir's paintings function as gauges of aesthetic sensitivity, revealing the Guermantes' inability to comprehend modern art. In *In Search of Lost Time* Proust chronicles a fictionalized Belle Époque Paris with a keen eye for subtle distinctions in the class, taste, intelligence, and affiliation of his characters. Thus, it is important to determine precisely which social group the author is contrasting with the aristocracy in terms of its relationship with modern art. The answer lies in Proust's multiple allusions to the historical figure Charles Ephrussi. In his assessment of *Luncheon of the Boating Party,* the Duke de Guermantes is dismissive of this patron, with his inappropriate attire and poor taste in art. The fictional aristocrat's distaste for the art historian and collector is reiterated if the reader is aware that Ephrussi commissioned *Bundle of Asparagus* from Manet in 1880. To this day, it is rare to find a discussion of this painting that does not include the "delightful story" of its purchase.[4] Moved by friendship for the ailing artist, Ephrussi sent Manet 200 francs more than the quoted price for the still life. To thank him, Manet famously sent a painting of a single asparagus with the note: "There was one missing from your bunch" (Figure 3).

In the novel both *Luncheon of the Boating Party* and *Bunch of Asparagus* are symbolic of the personal relationship shared by Charles Ephrussi and the modern artists of the

[1] Marcel Proust, *In Search of Lost Time*, trans. C.K. Scott Moncrieff and Terence Kilmartin, rev. D.J. Enright (London: Chatto & Windus, 1992), 3:577-78.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] "Manet's *L'Asperge,"* Musée d'Orsay, accessed 14 December 2011, http://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/collections/works-in-focus/search/commentaire/commentaire_id/lasperge-18315.html?no_cache=1.

late 1870s and early 1880s. Proust was familiar with these relationships because Ephrussi was his friend and mentor on whom he partly based the character of Swann, an art historian, man about town, and member of the bourgeois intelligentsia. As the subject, patron, and promoter of Impressionism, Ephrussi, as well as the narrator and Swann, are the representatives of advanced taste and modernist sensibility in Proust's novel. Early twentieth-century audiences would have immediately recognized the connection between Proust (who is generally assumed to be the narrator), Swann, and Ephrussi. They were all (at least partly) Jewish. In fact, throughout *In Search of Lost Time*, modern art is continually linked with Jewishness and the *salons juifs*, or Jewish high society salons.

Surprisingly, there has been little exploration of the real historical connection between Jewish high society and Impressionism in the 1870s and 1880s, despite the fact that a disproportionately large number of Impressionism's early patrons were Jewish. This paper will map the Jewish patronage network associated with the Ephrussi family to reveal the interconnectedness of Jewish high society in Paris and to argue that in many cases Impressionism can be understood as the visual language of the patronage network of the *salons juifs*. For Jewish high society, Impressionism was a rallying point, a marker of identity that preserved and refashioned a distinct Jewish sphere. The exchange of Impressionist pictures cultivated and consolidated the Jewish community of Paris, creating a circuit of aesthetic relationships that mirrored real social relations. This paper explores how Impressionism visually articulated these relationships, and how the interpretation of Impressionism reflected the influence of its Jewish patrons, particularly Charles Ephrussi who shaped the ideas of later critics including Jules Laforgue. Impressionism and the *salons juifs* shared many stylistic characteristics, and as a result they attracted similar criticisms during the fin de siècle.

In the high society Parisian patronage networks of the Belle Époque, women acted as nodal points around which communal identities were formed and reinforced. The Jewish patronage network was essentially a social network that gathered in salons where women fostered connections. They introduced artists to patrons, sympathetic critics, and potentially inspiring musicians, writers, actors, and socialites. Thus, the map of this network originated not with Charles, but with his sister-in-law, Fanny Ephrussi. Born in Austria, Fanny married into the wealthy Ephrussi banking family of Paris in 1876 and quickly established a salon. She was especially welcoming to artists, writers, collectors, and Jewish high society. Through her letters to Charles Deudon, an important early collector of the Impressionists, one learns that Fanny was the first of the Ephrussi family to appreciate Impressionism, which she introduced to Charles in the late 1870s.[5] At the time, Charles Ephrussi was already an accomplished art historian specializing in the work of Dürer. His conversion to the new style surprised many, including Manet who had once warned their mutual friend, Théodore Duret: "Leave the children to their mother and Ephrussi to [the stylish academic painter, Léon] Bonnat" (Figure 4).[6] Encouraged by Fanny, Charles began to collect Impressionist paintings and published some of the earliest positive reviews of the style in the respected *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1878, 1880, and 1881.

The network of influential people connected to Fanny and Charles Ephrussi was so wide, it would be impossible to map here. The examples of Charles Ephrussi's cousins, the Bernsteins, who introduced Impressionism to Germany, will have to suffice to demonstrate the importance of personal relationships to the success of Impressionism. In 1882 Charles sent his cousins Carl and Félicie Bernstein of Berlin twelve Impressionist paintings which they displayed in their home for artists, curators, critics, and their *mondain* friends to examine (Figure 5). A year later, with the support of Charles and the dealer Paul Durand-Ruel, they staged the first ever Impressionist exhibition in the country at Berlin's Gurlitt gallery. This exhibition and the Bernstein's salon have been credited with inspiring not only German Impressionists such as Max Liebermann but also the Berlin Secession of 1898.[7]

The Impressionist paintings that circulated among the *salons juifs* created a communal identity. Like-minded people gathered at the salons of Fanny Ephrussi, Félicie Bernstein, and their circles in Paris and Berlin, where they admired and discussed the newest Impressionist paintings and met the artists. The names of the Ephrussis, their friends, and family appeared together repeatedly in exhibition catalogues and press coverage of the art world, making Impressionism a kind of marker of Jewish identity in the public imagination. Often works were not sold, but passed from one family member to another or among friends. For example, Charles and Fanny's nephew Théodore Reinach was the recipient not only of the directorship of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* after Charles's death, but also his aunt and uncle's modern paintings, including Degas's *General Mellinet and Chief Rabbi Astruc*, a portrait of the father of Charles's friend Gabriel Astruc.

The historians of Jewish consumer culture Gideon Reuvani and Nils Roemer have suggested that Stuart Hall would argue that Jewish patronage of Impressionism acted as a form of cultural resistance to the mainstream of high society

[5] "Correspondance de Charles Deudon avec Fanny Ephrussi," accessed 15 December 2011, http://deudon.charles.free.fr/.

[6] Anne Distel, *Impressionism: The First Collectors*, trans. Barbara Perroud Benson (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1990), 161.

[7] Emily D. Bilski and Emily Braun, *Jewish Women and their Salons: The Power of Conversation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 84; Gideon Reuveni and Nils Roemer, eds., *Longing, Belong, and the Making of Jewish Consumer Culture* (Boston: Brill, 2010), 7; and Jewish Women's Archive, "Félicie Bernstein," Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia, accessed 14 December 2011, http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/bernstein-felicie.

taste.[8] For the Bernsteins in Berlin, this was certainly the case. Impressionism set them apart from German high society, characterizing them as cosmopolitan and progressive.[9] It has also been argued that the patronage of modernism brought distinction to members of the Jewish community. For the Ephrussi family, Impressionism was a tool of assimilation into the upper echelons of French high society. In 1886, the same year as Edouard Drumont's book *La France Juive* brought anti-Semitism to the masses, the disapproving author of an article entitled "Jews in Paris" reported:

> Then, through the loophole of art, one of these energetic Israelites (Charles Ephrussi) penetrated the salon of an ex-imperial highness (the renowned Princess Mathilde). He made room for his uncles and aunts and cousins, who gradually introduced their friends and their friends' friends, until at last the Wednesday receptions of the amiable hostess…have come to be in a large degree receptions of the descendants of the tribes.[10]

Naturally, Impressionist artists responded to the support of their Jewish patrons. Philip Nord has shown that Impressionism abounds in Jewish subject matter, particularly in portraits and genre paintings.[11] Through these works familial and friendship ties between Jewish patrons and the Impressionist artists become visible. A short demonstration of this point will suffice to reveal Impressionism's literal articulation of the Ephrussi patronage network. Fanny Ephrussi's friend and neighbor, the salon hostess Countess Louise Cahen d'Anvers commissioned two portraits of her daughters from Renoir in 1880 and 1881 on the advice of Charles Ephrussi, with whom she was having an affair (Figures 6 and 7). Louise and the Ephrussis frequented the homes of wealthy Jewish families in the newly developed Monceau district of Paris, including those of Henri Cernsuchi and Moise de Camondo, who later married the subject of Renoir's 1880 portrait, Iréne Cahen d'Anvers. Both of these wealthy art *amateurs* bequeathed their collections and mansions to the French state as museums of (respectively) Asian and eighteenth-century art. Moise's brother, Isaac de Camondo was another close friend and collaborator of the Ephrussi family. He left sixty-four important Impressionist paintings to the Louvre in the early twentieth century, including works from his celebrated "Degas room." Louise's husband introduced his brother, the composer Albert Cahen d'Anvers, to Renoir whose portrait the artist painted at the home of their mutual friend, the collector Paul Bérard (Figure 8).[12] Renoir also painted Charles's aunt and her daughter-in-law, Thérèse and Delphine Fould. Another Impressionist collector, the painter Gustave Caillebotte, also lived in the Monceau district and associated with the Ephrussi circle. In Jean Béraud's painting of a *soirée* at the Caillebotte *hôtel particulier*, Louise Cahen d'Anvers is depicted among the guests (Figure 9).

Beyond acting as a visual record of Jewish patronage, Impressionism also shared stylistic characteristics with the *salons juifs*. In many ways, Impressionism reflected the values of Jewish salons, which were devoted not only to visual art, but to the dying art of polite conversation.[13] In the salon, wittiness, artificiality, and femininity were valued above the masculine virtues of directness and concision. Salon conversation was leisurely and circular, not pointed or focused. Beauty trumped functionality, and the fleetingness of fashion set the pace for worldly banter. At Fanny Ephrussi's, there was far less discussion of politics or business than of couture gowns, interior decoration, and exhibition openings. Her letters reveal the jovial and airy tone in which she held forth on the latest books, paintings, articles, plays, concerts, and gossip.[14] She and her friends were extremely well read and well informed, as well as multilingual and well travelled. Though modern in artistic taste, the *salons juifs* were fundamentally out of step with the developing mass culture and society of the late nineteenth century. No doubt the Ephrussi circle recognized similar values in Impressionist paintings. This was certainly true in the case of Charles Ephrussi, whom Edmond de Goncourt criticized for his ubiquity in the salons of Paris.[15]

In 1880, the same year that Charles became obsessed with creating the perfect index for his catalogue raisonné of Dürer's drawings, he was uncharacteristically poetic about his new favorite painter, Berthe Morisot. Perhaps he was referring to one of the works in his own collection, which included *On the Lawn* and *Winter*, when he wrote in the *Gazette des Beaux- Arts*:

> Berthe Morisot is very French in her distinction, elegance, gaiety and nonchalance. She loves painting that is joyous and lively;

8 Reuvani and Roemer, *Jewish Consumer Culture*, 7.

9 Elana Shapira, "Jewish Identity, Mass Consumption, and Modern Design," in *Longing, Belonging, and the Making of Jewish Consumer Culture*, ed. Gideon Reuvani and Nils Roemer (Boston: Brill, 2010), 99.

10 Theodore Child, "Society in Paris," *The Fortnightly Review* 39 (1886): 486.

11 Philip Nord, *Impressionists and Politics: Art and Democracy in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2000), 59.

12 Kathleen Adler, "Renoir's *Portrait of Albert Cahen d'Anvers*," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 23 (1995): 31-40.

13 See Bilski and Braun, *Jewish Women and their Salons* on the importance of upholding the French tradition of polite conversation in the *salons juifs*.

14 Correspondance de Charles Deudon avec Fanny Ephrussi," accessed 15 December 2011, http://deudon.charles.free.fr/.

15 Edmond de Goncourt, *Journal, Mémoires de la Vie Littéraire tome 6* (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1906), 11 June 1881. Goncourt accused Ephrussi of "attending six or seven *soirées* every night in order to become the Director of Beaux-Arts."

> she grinds flower petals onto her palette, in order to spread them later on her canvas with airy, witty touches, thrown down a little haphazardly. These harmonize, blend, and finish by producing something vital, fine, and charming… this fugitive lightness, this likeable vivacity, sparkling and frivolous recalls Fragonard.[16]

Like the polite conversation of the salons he frequented, Charles appreciated Morisot as an elegant throw-back to the essential Frenchness of the eighteenth century. He was similarly enchanted with the work of Degas who understood Paris from a man's perspective. Charles owned a dance scene by the artist in which, he said, "the artificial atmosphere of the theater had never been better captured."[17] Ephrussi, who financed Degas's first subscription and backstage pass to the opera in 1883, was the expert on such matters as well as on horseracing.[18] Charles accompanied his uncles Maurice and Michel and their prize thoroughbreds to Longchamps many times and owned two paintings of the racecourse by Degas, as well as one by Manet.[19]

Tellingly, Ephrussi was not so taken with what he called the "miserabilism" of Pissarro or the art of Raffaelli who specialized in landscapes of the industrial outskirts of Paris. The only Pissarro works that Ephrussi owned were decorative painted fans, which were popular among society women. In response to the fifth Impressionist exhibition of 1880, where Pissarro showed *The Wool Carder* among other paintings, Ephrussi wrote:

> Monsieur Pissarro is far from the communicative gaiety (of Morisot, Cassatt, and Degas). It is painful for him to paint in lively tones; he makes the spring and flowers sad and the air heavy. His facture is thick, cottony, and tormented, and his figures are melancholic...he recalls Millet, but in blue.[20]

As for Raffaelli, Ephrussi lamented that his work's mediocrity became more apparent in the company of the true Impressionists.

Ephrussi's personal relationship with the art of the Impressionists inspired not only his own criticism of the style, but also that of a younger generation of writers. In 1880, Charles bought a portrait by Degas of Edmond Duranty, the early defender of Impressionism. No doubt, Ephrussi was expressing his debt as a critic to Duranty's interpretation of the style. Norma Broude has credited Duranty with spearheading a strain of Impressionist criticism in 1876 that linked the expressiveness of the picture to the artists' standard of truth to optical reality and conformity to the laws of science.[21] In his reviews of the Impressionist exhibitions beginning in 1878, Ephrussi followed in Duranty's footsteps by defending the truth of Impressionist vision to the operations of the human eye. He wrote, approvingly:

> (Impressionism) has not learned its optical catechism, it disdains pictorial rules and regulations, it renders what it sees as it sees it, spontaneously, well or badly, uncompromisingly, without comment…[22]

Though familiar today, such an interpretation was unusual in 1878 and directly linked Ephrussi to Duranty. Ephrussi then passed this interpretation of the style to his protégé, the Symbolist poet Jules Laforgue, who worked as his assistant for a short time in 1880.[23] Before meeting Ephrussi, Laforgue was influenced mainly by Huysmans, who preferred the darker subject matter of Pissarro and Raffaelli to the sparkling landscapes and genre scenes of the other Impressionists. Ephrussi changed the course of Laforgue's Impressionist criticism when he introduced him to his cousins, the Bernsteins. Their 1883 Gurlitt Gallery exhibition inspired the young poet to write an important essay entitled "The Physiological Origins of Impressionism."[24] Laforgue never forgot the experience of being surrounded by Charles's collection of Impressionist paintings. He spoke of these works numerous times in letters and his essay, and was more than likely making a winking reference to Ephrussi's *Two Sisters on a Terrace* by Renoir when he spoke of Impressionism as a style in which the spectator and spectacle are knitted together (Figure 10).

Because Impressionism and Jewish high society shared so many characteristics and were linked in public opinion, they attracted similar criticisms. Like Jewish members of French society in the 1880s, Impressionism was accused of being foreign and anti-French, existing outside of true French tradition. As Proust demonstrated, both the Impressionists and their Jewish patrons were accused of the most egregious of crimes—bad taste; but it was Jewish high society's continued support of the style throughout the Belle Époque

16 Charles Ephrussi, "Exposition des artistes indépendants," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 21 (1 May 1880): 486.

17 Ibid.

18 Richard Thomson, *Degas: Waiting* (Malibu, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1995), 33.

19 See Edmond de Waal, *The Hare with Amber Eyes: A Family's Century of Love and Loss* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2010), 67-90, for information on Charles Ephrussi's collection of Impressionist paintings.

20 Ephrussi, "Exposition des artistes indépendants," 486.

21 Norma Broude, *Impressionism: A Feminist Reading* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1997), 124.

22 Quoted in de Waal, *Hare with Amber Eyes*, 80.

23 Philip Kolb and Jean Adhémar, "Charles Ephrussi: Secrétaires; Laforgue, A. Renan, Proust, sa *Gazette des Beaux- Arts*," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 6 (1984): 29-41.

24 See Juliet Simpson, "Bourget, Laforgue, and Impressionism's Inside Story," *French Studies* 4 (2001): 467-83, for an analysis of Jules Laforgue's groundbreaking "scientific" interpretation of Impressionism.

that is largely responsible for Impressionism's overwhelming popularity in the twentieth century. The French traditions of adventurous patronage of modernism and generous donations to state museums had their origins in the *salons juifs* of the 1870s and 1880s, where figures like Fanny and Charles Ephrussi enjoyed a great deal of influence over some of the wealthiest patrons of art in France.

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Figure 1. Pierre Auguste Renoir, *Luncheon of the Boating Party*, 1880-81, oil on canvas, 51 1/4 x 69 1/8 in.; 130.175 x 175.5775 cm., The Phillips Collection.

Figure 2. Édouard Manet, *Bundle of Asparagus*, 1880, oil on canvas, 46 x 55 cm, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum.

Figure 3. Édouard Manet, *The Asparagus*, 1880, oil on canvas, 16.5 x 21.5 cm, Musée d'Orsay.

Figure 4. Léon Bonnat, *Charles Ephrussi*, 1906, oil on canvas, 46 x 38 cm, Private Collection.

Figure 5. Carl and Félicie Bernstein's Music Room, before 1900.

[*top, left*] Figure 6. Pierre Auguste Renoir, *Iréne Cahen d'Anvers*, 1880, oil on canvas, 64 x 54 cm, Private Collection.

[*top, right*] Figure 7. Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Cahen d'Anvers Girls*, 1881, oil on canvas, 119 x 74 cm, Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand.

[*right*] Figure 8. Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Albert Cahen d'Anvers*, 1881, oil on canvas, 113 x 97.2 x 8.3 cm (44 1/2 x 38 1/4 x 3 1/4 in.), The J. Paul Getty Museum at the Getty Center.

Figure 9. Jean Béraud, *Soirée at the Hôtel Caillebotte*, 1878, oil on canvas, H. 1 ; L. 1,513 m., Musée d'Orsay.

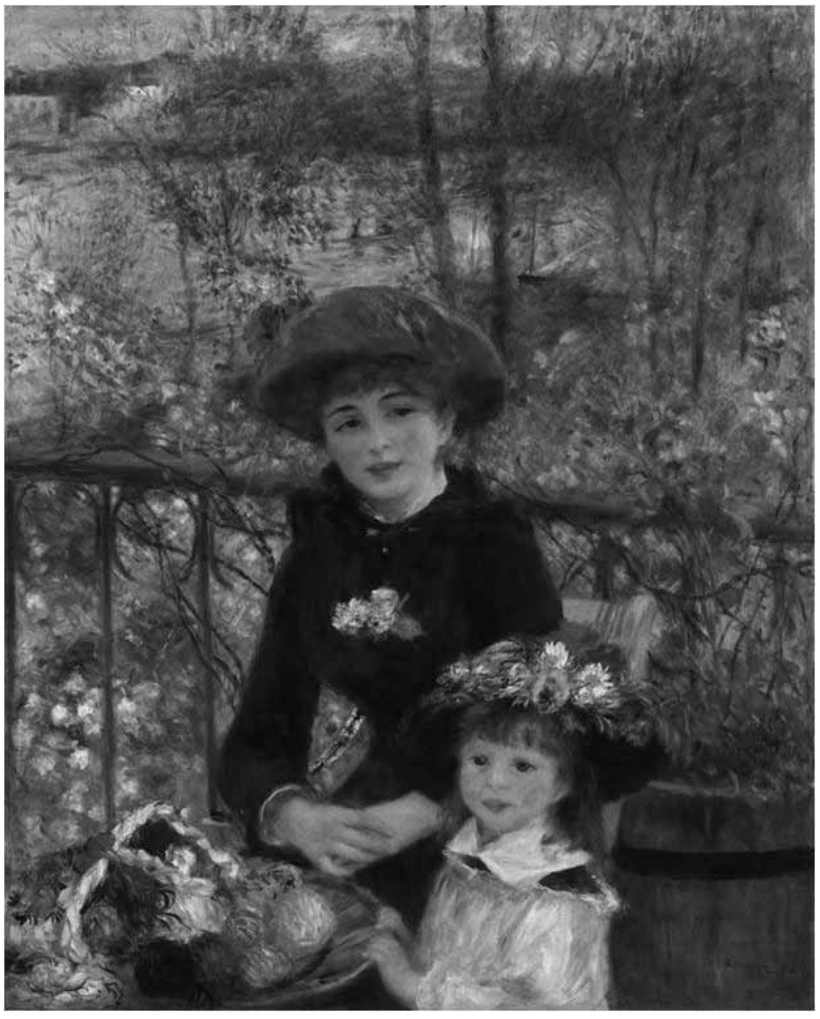


Figure 10. Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Two Sisters on a Terrace*, 1881, oil on canvas, 100.5 x 81 cm, Art Institute of Chicago.

Peasants and Politics: Croat Ethnography and Nationalism in the Work of Maksimilijan Vanka

Heidi A. Cook

Throughout the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, images of folk culture linked with burgeoning nationalisms were a ubiquitous part of the visual culture of Central and Eastern Europe. By the 1920s and 1930s, driven by increasing nationalism, new commoditization, and ethnographic preservation, peasant imagery took on a life quite its own, far from the rural countryside where it originated. In the Croat visual culture within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, peasants and their rural villages popped up on the stage of the national theater in a new, thoroughly modern style. They graced the covers of the most fashionable middle-class illustrated magazines in their brightly colored folk dress, and these locally circulating folk motifs were picked up by academic and avant-garde artists alike in their work.

The work of Croatian-American artist Maksimilijan Vanka (1889-1963) provides a glimpse into the use of folk imagery in the interwar period. As an artist classically trained in Zagreb and Brussels, Vanka's oeuvre was dominated by academic-style landscapes, portraits, and nudes, but he dedicated many of his largest compositions and projects to scenes of Croatian folk culture (Figure 1). Vanka said and wrote very little about himself and his work, and he is an artist who has been predominantly ignored or misunderstood by scholarly literature. As an illegitimate child supposedly born to Habsburg nobility in 1889, raised by a peasant wet nurse until the age of eight, and married to a rich American heiress in 1931, there is much material from which to construct a mythic persona of this artist. Indeed, Vanka's close friend, the socialist author Louis Adamic, even published just such a fictionalized account of Vanka's life in 1936, titled *Cradle of Life: The Story of One Man's Beginnings*.[1] In the United States, to which Vanka immigrated in 1934, the complex nature of his relationship to Croat nationalism was brushed over in favor of this mythic persona. In Croatia, on the other hand, Vanka is largely ignored by art-historical scholarship because of his seemingly simple nationalist leanings and refusal to embrace avant-garde style.[2] It would be a mistake, however, to assume that these peasant images were simple or that Croat nationalist imagery was homogeneous. Quite in contrast to these generalizations of Vanka's work, the artist's images of folk culture produced during the interwar period in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia played a decisive role in shaping the shifting imagery of a new Croat national identity.

The Croatian land in which Vanka was born and lived until his immigration to the United States in 1934 was a divided and disputed nation that had not existed as a unified territory for almost a thousand years. Present-day Croatia was incorporated into Austria-Hungary in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and then between the two World Wars, into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—later shortened to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The first wave of Croatian nationalists emerged in the nineteenth century and was a group of intellectuals called the Illyrians. They sought to preserve and strengthen Southern Slavic identity against the cultural and political hegemony of Hungarian nationalism. Language and literature were the means of this first nationalist movement; the Illyrians attempted to dispense with the various regional Croatian dialects in favor of standardizing to the *štokavski* dialect, spoken in the coastal city Dubrovnik, which had been a literary center during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Croatian artist Vlaho Bukovac's (1855-1922) curtain for the Croatian National Theater was produced several decades after the active period of the movement, but it evokes the Illyrian's intense admiration for Dubrovnik's golden past and specifically the writings of Dubrovnik's greatest Baroque poet Ivan Gundulić, who sits enthroned on a raised platform in this painting (Figure 2).

Illyrian nationalism was concerned with language and literature at a time when most rural people could not read or write, making it primarily a movement by and for the urban intellectual upper classes. A new and quite different type of Croatian nationalism was fostered by the brothers Stjepan

[1] Louis Adamic, *Cradle of Life: The Story of One Man's Beginnings* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936).

[2] Representative of this dismissive attitude towards images of folk culture in Vanka's work is Grgo Gamulin, "Maksimilijan Vanka," in *Hrvatsko slikarstvo XX. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Naprijed, 1997), 179: "The burden of folkloric and decorative elements, which became an imperative most probably due to the aforementioned painting [*Proštenjari*, c. 1915], made him follow the path of narrative regionalism. This proved to be fatal for Vanka for the rest of his life and it was because of this that the first history of modern art in Croatia dedicated no more than three lines to this artist…" ("*Folklorno/dekorativni teret, do kojega je i došlo možda zbog uspjeha već spomenute slike, poveo ga je putem tog narativnog regionalizma; što je za nj bilo doživotno kobno i što je uvjetovalo da u prvoj povijesti naše moderne umjetnosti bude samo usput spomenut sa jedva tri crte...*").

[3] Originally named Croat People's Peasant Party, (*Hrvatska pučka seljačka stranka*), this party underwent several name changes that reflected its shifting political ideology during the period.

and Antun Radić, who founded the Croat Peasant Party in 1904.[3] The party's main goals included establishing a united peasant Croatian state and advancing peasants' rights, which involved improving their economic, political, and social conditions.[4] Although the Croat Peasant Party was largely ineffective in Austria-Hungary, it became by far the dominant Croat party in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, representing at times almost 80 percent of Croat votes.[5] In the early 1920s, the party boycotted the parliament in an attempt to resist the Serbian monarchy in favor of an independent Croat peasant republic. In the interwar years Radić's party succeeded in making the Croat peasant into a political and politicized figure, and Vanka's contemporary images helped bring the party's new nationalism, with its emphasis on peasants and folk culture, to visual form. The curtain, costumes, and scenery that Vanka designed for a ballet titled *Gingerbread Heart*, staged at the Croatian National Theater in Zagreb in 1924, exemplify his contribution (Figures 3-4).[6]

Vanka's designs, while seemingly innocent stage props, actually contributed to the nationalist project; the Croatian National Theater, founded in 1894, became an important space for imagining Croat nationalism in a land politically subjugated under Austria-Hungary and, later, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Comparing Bukovac's and Vanka's theater curtains visualizes the very different ways in which cultural material was shaped into national identity by the nineteenth-century Illyrians in contrast with the twentieth-century Croat Peasant Party. The Paris-trained Bukovac created his nationalist vision in a distinctly Western-European academic style. The romanticized scene depicts the enthroned Baroque poet being approached by leaders of the Illyrian movement, and the figures inhabit a mythical space composed of a hybrid background of the Dubrovnik and Zagreb skylines and bordered by a neoclassical colonnade under which several men in folk dress dance.[7] Three decades later, Vanka's curtain pulled peasant imagery to the foreground, employing a modern graphic style inspired by folk art rather than Western-European neoclassicism. Displayed prominently in the center of the curtain is a traditional gingerbread heart, a common folk symbol produced in villages to celebrate church holidays and often given as a gesture of love. We see a distinct turn here from a national identity based in the elite arts and literature to a national identity derived from rural culture.

Tracing Vanka's work through the interwar period provides a visual framework through which to examine the rise and change of this Croat peasant nationalism. World War I proved to be the decisive turning point for the politicization of the Croat peasant, as it was for much of Europe. The harsh experiences and deaths of Croat soldiers on the Russian Front and mounting economic pressure on the home front radicalized the lower Croat classes, ending in rural riots in 1918.[8] Vanka, at this time near the beginning of his career, seems to be one of the main Croat artists to prominently take up folk motifs in his works created during the war.[9] The dominance of peasant imagery is visible in his work titled *So That Our Fields May Be Fertile* (*Da bi nam polje rodilo bolje*), which previous literature has dated to around 1930, but which a photograph of Vanka together with the work actually dates to sometime before June of 1917 (Figures 1 and 5). Vanka began the work of legitimizing a new Croat national peasant identity, which rapidly increased in popularity after the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918 and its introduction of universal male suffrage, surprisingly, at a time when many of the urban elite continued to be suspicious of the Croat Peasant Party.[10] Elevating folk culture through the highly idealized style and format of the history painting, Vanka's images seem to answer Stjepan Radić's call for a rise in the social status of the peasant.

In *So That Our Fields May Be Fertile*, Vanka paid remarkable ethnographic attention to the women's colorful dresses. Native to the Posavina region east of Zagreb, the dresses bloom with woven and embroidered flowers in rich reds and have voluminous pleated skirts and sleeves. Additionally, he captured with skill the intricate sartorial coding of the various headdresses worn by the women. The ornamentation of headgear varied slightly regionally, but within rural communities, the way in which the hair was worn, the presence of a hat or headscarf, and the color of decorative embroidery all carried signals of fertility, age, marriage status, motherhood, widowhood, and wealth.

4 Mark Biondich, *Stjepan Radić, the Croat Peasant Party, and the Politics of Mass Mobilization, 1904-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

5 Ibid., 206.

6 *Gingerbread Heart* (*Licitarsko srce*) was composed by Krešimir Baranović (1894-1975) and staged in June of 1924. The ballet's nationalist narrative takes place in Zagreb and the dancers wore folk-inspired costumes throughout the performance. *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, s.v. "Baranović, Krešimir," by Eva Sedak, accessed 24 October 2010, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber /article/grove/music/01975.

7 For more information see Ivo Banac, "Dubrovnik in Modern Croat National Ideology," in *Nation and Ideology: Essays in Honor of Wayne S. Vucinich*, ed. Ivo Banac, John G. Ackerman, and Roman Szporluk (New York: East European Monographs, 1981).

8 Contributing to the rural unrest were the "Green Cadres," bands of Croatian military deserters who lived in rural areas, pillaged rich neighboring estates, and denounced the ability of the National Council to represent their political interests in the period that followed World War I. Biondich, *Stjepan Radić*, 143.

9 Already in 1915, Vanka won a gold medal at the Royal Academy of Beaux-Arts in Brussels for his work *The Supplicants* (*Proštenjari*), which depicted Croatian peasants at an outdoor altar. This was probably one of his first works to prominently take up the theme of folk culture (see note 2 for Grgo Gamulin's comment about this work).

10 This initial urban suspicion of the Croat Peasant Party is evidenced by the results of the first elections for the Belgrade Constituent Assembly in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, held 28 November 1920. While the Croat Peasant Party received 67.35 percent of the vote in Zagreb County, they received only 6.77 percent of the votes within the city of Zagreb. Biondich, *Stjepan Radić*, 172.

Indeed, Vanka's ethnographic interest in folk culture continued to grow and develop throughout the interwar period. In the summer of 1923, after becoming a professor at the Zagreb Academy of Fine Arts, Vanka spent four weeks taking part in an ethnographic expedition, arranged by the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb, that researched and documented rural Croatian peasant culture in the Pokuplje region (Figure 6). Although operating within the confines of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Ethnographic Museum, founded in 1919, was concerned primarily with collecting and studying Croat folk culture and was a hotbed of activities fostering Croat peasant nationalism. This is apparent in the new museum's objectives as laid out by Vladimir Taklčić, the first curator of the museum and a member of the expedition:

> The goal of…the Museum is to represent all life and culture of our nation, above all peasants, who to this day have best preserved our national characteristics… The Museum's…aim is to serve scientific research of the characteristics of our people, as well as man in general.[11]

During the expedition Vanka and Taklčić, along with a group of four other men and two women, traveled in canoes along the Kupa River. They documented about 34 villages between Karlovac and Sisak in words, drawings, and photographs and by collecting artifacts including textiles, artworks, and tools.[12] During this period, Croat ethnography directly mined peasant culture for the values and symbols so important to imagining a nation, and Vanka actively participated in this mission as is evidenced by the level of ethnographic detail in his works that followed, including prominently *Preparation of the Bride for the Wedding* (*Pripremanje mlade za svadbu*) from 1925.[13]

Vanka's collaboration with the Ethnographic Museum continued at least up to 1928 when he designed a poster for the Zagreb Assembly together with Zdenka Sertić, an artist employed at the Ethnographic Museum (Figure 7).[14] The Zagreb Assembly was one of a number of folk culture festivals throughout Croatia that were among the most prevalent expressions of the political, cultural, and ethnographic move to preserve peasant culture in the interwar period.[15] This poster was designed during a politically tumultuous period in the spring of 1928 surrounding protests against the ratification of the Nettuno conventions, which the Croat Peasant Party and many protestors saw as providing Italy too much influence in Dalmatia. In light of this turmoil, it is significant that after numerous sketches for the poster that depicted a peasant man and woman traveling aside one another to the festival, Vanka and Sertić settled on a design that depicts a massive central figure of a peasant woman, whose enormous skirt serves almost as a protective shield for the parade of proud male and female peasants at her feet. This Mother Croatia wears a boldly graphic Croat folk costume, accessorized with hanging hair ribbons that correspond with the peasants' banners in the pan-Slavic colors, red, white, and blue, which were used in both the Croatian and Yugoslavian flags. These same banners appeared in great number when the political turmoil peaked in the months before the festival took place. On June 20, 1928, Stjepan Radić, as well as four other members of the Croat Peasant Party, was shot during a parliament session in Belgrade, and when Radić passed away on August 13 from the gunwounds, 300,000 people turned out for his funeral. After Radić's death, which came to be seen as political martyrdom, the Croat people seemed more united as a nation than ever before, but the Serbian monarch, King Aleksandar, used the assassination to do away with the Yugoslav parliament and enact a strict royal dictatorship in January of 1929.

In the years following Radić's death, a slow transformation in folk imagery can be observed not only in the work of Vanka, but other Croat artists as well. In the early 1930s, shortly before Vanka's immigration to the United States, themes of rural labor and peasant hardship began to appear. A combination of factors, including a royal censorship of nationalisms, the effects of the Great Depression on the Balkans, and the increasing modernization of traditional rural life, contributed to this new melancholic cast. In 1932 Vanka worked on a series of murals in the rooms of the *Gradski podrum*, a prominent café located directly on the main square of Zagreb (Figure 8). He painted these murals together with several artists involved in a new Croatian art movement, *Zemlja*, meaning Earth or soil.[16] By 1932 the economic and social plight of the peasantry was already a common theme in the work of the most prominent member of *Zemlja*, Krsto Hegedušić. For the murals that Hegedušić and Vanka painted together, they adopted a naïve style and prominently featured the various steps involved in the

[11] Quoted in Vjera Bonifačić, "Ethnological Research in Croatia, 1919-1940," *Narodna Umjetnost* 33, no. 2 (1996): 241. Bonifačić has pointed out that this statement is ambiguous about whether the nation referred to is Croatia or the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Though Taklčić was probably purposely vague, the vast majority of the collection and research at the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb was dedicated to the peasant culture of Croatia. Taklčić was later director of the museum from 1925 to 1934.

[12] Nikola Vizner, "Homeland: Croatia 1916-1934," in *The Gift of Sympathy: The Art of Maxo Vanka*, ed. David Leopold (Doylestown, PA: James A. Michener Art Museum, 2001), 12. For more information see also Aleksandra Muraj, Nerina Eckhel, and Vesna Zorić, *Pokupska sjećanja: Etnografska ekspedicija 1923* (Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 1993).

[13] This work is located at the City Assembly (*Gradska skupština*) of Zagreb.

[14] Katarina Bušić, "Salamon Berger and the Beginnings of the Exhibition Activity of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb," *Ethnological Researches* 1, no. 14 (December 2009): 313.

[15] Zorica Vitez and Aleksandra Muraj, eds., *Croatian Folk Culture at the Crossroads of Worlds and Eras* (Zagreb: Gallery Klovicevi Dvori, 2000), 33.

[16] For additional images and information on other artists involved, see "Slike: Gradski podrum u Zagrebu," *Hrvatska Revija* 6, no. 9 (1933).

production of wine and wheat. This shift to depictions of laboring peasants reflects a growing interest in the everyday plight of the rural Croat population.

Vanka's work in the interwar period in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia provides a visual framework through which to examine the shifting ideology of Croat nationalism. Vanka's earlier works from the 1910s and 1920s marked a distinct break with the classicizing imagery and elite literary interests of the Illyrians and reflected instead a nationalism derived from ethnographically specific folk culture aimed at raising the social, political, and economic status of the peasant. He worked on both the ethnographic collection and artistic depiction of an emerging nationalist iconography that would glorify and legitimize the image of the proud, culturally distinct peasant through precise ethnographic renderings of dress and rural customs. After increased political turmoil and Stjepan Radić's death, proud peasants gave way to an increasing concern with political underrepresentation within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and with economic hardships of the lower Croat classes. For Vanka this shift to increasingly social realist imagery would eventually culminate in the Millvale murals that he painted in 1937 and 1941 in the St. Nicholas Croatian Catholic Church located in Millvale just outside Pittsburgh. In comparison to the female embodiment of Croatia in Vanka's 1928 Zagreb Assembly poster, the image of a Croatian mother found in one of the 1941 Millvale murals is profoundly melancholy (Figure 9). The bright and ornate folk dress from the poster has been replaced with a plain white habit without ethnographic specificity. With her hands and legs chained to a cross, she does not shield the peasants at her feet, but instead they reach out to her from behind bars. What emerges is an increasingly radical critique of the Croatian national situation and the social situation of the Croatian lower classes in both the United States and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Vanka's relationship to his homeland and Croatian national identity was complex and changed over the course of his career. His work reveals the shifting political, social, and aesthetic meaning that peasant imagery carried for image makers and their audiences under the influence of new ethnographic preservation, political usage, and commoditization. Few scholarly studies have tried to provide an overview of the broader scope of folk motifs in early twentieth-century Central and Eastern European visual culture. Yet it is the influence of ethnic nationalism and folk culture that in many ways makes the modernism of Central and Eastern Europe both distinct from and similar to the standard narrative of modernism in Western Europe; like so many mondernisms it has one foot in a traditional past and another in a political future.

University of Pittsburgh

Figure 1. Maksimilijan Vanka, *So That Our Fields May Be Fertile* (*Da bi nam polje rodilo bolje*), *c*. 1917, oil on canvas, 180 x 202 cm. Office of the President of the Republic of Croatia, Zagreb.

Figure 2. Vlaho Bukovac, *The Croatian Revival* (*Harvatski preporod),* 1895, ceremonial curtain, Croatian National Theater, Zagreb.

Figure 3. Foto Tonka, Drop curtain for the ballet *Gingerbread Heart* (*Licitarsko Srce*) designed by Maksimilijan Vanka, 1924, black and white photograph of the Croatian National Theater, Zagreb, courtesy of the Vanka-Brasko Family Archive, Rushland, Pennsylvania.

Figure 4. Foto Tonka, Scenery for the ballet *Gingerbread Heart* (*Licitarsko Srce*) designed by Maksimilijan Vanka, 1924, black and white photograph of the Croatian National Theater, Zagreb, courtesy of the Vanka-Brasko Family Archive, Rushland, Pennsylvania.

Figure 5. P.M. [?], Vanka, seated center, with his work *So That Our Fields May Be Fertile* (*Da bi nam polje rodilo bolje*), 21 June 1917, black and white photograph courtesy of the Vanka-Brasko Family Archive, Rushland, Pennsylvania.

Figure 6. Vanka, seated center, taking part in the Pokuplje Expedition along the Kupa River, 1923, photograph courtesy of the Etnografski Muzej, Zagreb.

[*left*] Figure 7. Maksimilijan Vanka and Zdenka Sertić, Poster for the X. Zagreb Assembly, 1928, ink on paper, 10 ½ x 8 9/16 inches, courtesy of the Vanka-Brasko Family Archive, Rushland, Pennsylvania.

[*bottom left*] Figure 8. Maksimilijan Vanka and Krsto Hegedušić, Gradski Podrum Murals, 1932, fresco, n.d., formerly located in the Gradski Podrum in Zagreb. Photograph courtesy of the Vanka-Brasko Family Archive, Rushland, Pennsylvania.

[*bottom right*] Figure 9. Maksimilijan Vanka, Mother, 1941 (Mati, 1941), dry fresco, 1941, St. Nicholas Croatian Catholic Church, Millvale, Pennsylvania. Photograph taken after the restoration (August 2012). Photo credit: Sam Lusi.

Lynd Ward's Novels in Woodcuts: The Cinematic Subtext

Christina Weyl

The American graphic artist Lynd Ward (1905-1985) is known for his book illustrations and six woodcut novels published between 1929 and 1937. Strong critical reception makes Ward one of the most esteemed graphic storytellers of the twentieth century. The woodcut novel format, where the story progresses only through images, flourished after World War I through the efforts of Belgian artist Frans Masereel (1889-1972), and it experienced great popularity during the 1930s. Ward was the first American to publish a woodcut novel in the United States, and his books saturated American culture so deeply that Susan Sontag cited Ward in her 1964 essay, "Notes on 'Camp.'"[1] This paper investigates silent film's impact on Ward's novels, looking at intersections of narrative tools and parallel plot lines in Ward's first and last woodcut novels—*Gods' Man* (1929) and *Vertigo* (1937).[2] Ward effectively engaged the audience "reading" his woodcut novels by evoking familiar devices from silent movies.

Growing up in the early twentieth century, Ward's youth and young adulthood coincided with the silent picture's golden age. With his family living within or near two major urban centers, Chicago and New York City, Ward had access to many movie theaters. Before the consolidation of the movie industry in Hollywood in the 1930s, over one hundred studios based primarily in California, New York, and Florida made silent movies.[3] Between 1912 and 1920 alone, these studios released over 5,200 feature-length films and 31,300 shorter titles, the one-, two-, and three-reel movies.[4] These statistics do not include foreign movie studios—dominated by Germany's Universum Film AG (UFA)—which exported films internationally with translated intertitles. Although it is impossible to say with certainty which movies Ward watched, he was an avid moviegoer and his woodcut novels borrowed plot elements and strategies of melodrama from silent movies.[5]

In 1974, reflecting on the creative process behind *Gods' Man*, Ward developed a cinematic metaphor. After first isolating "some aspect of the human condition" for the overarching plot, Ward envisioned the main figures and located them within time and place.[6] Ward then described the ensuing narrative action taking on the attributes of a movie:

> It is in many ways a tiny motion picture projected inside the cranium. In the early stages, what takes place is not too clear, nor does it last very long. The machine soon runs out of film. But gradually, in succeeding days, as film is run again and again, more events take place, the story moves from stage to stage—and soon…a critical process begins to operate in which things are tried out and, if they do not work, are discarded. Different characters are brought in, new events are developed, and whatever does not hold up is abandoned, until a complete narrative is achieved.[7]

This essay originated as a seminar paper for Dr. Colin Eisler's Spring 2011 colloquium, "Silent Narratives," at the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University. Under the advisement of Dr. Joan Marter and Dr. Andres Zervigón at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, the paper was expanded into a master's essay. Many thanks are due to the faculty and graduate students at Florida State University for their helpful suggestions, and to the editorial staff of *Athanor*.

1 Sontag cites Ward in section 4 of her essay as one of several "random examples" of Camp, but misspells Ward's name and book title: "Lynn [*sic*] Ward's novel in woodcuts, *God's* [*sic*] *Man*." Susan Sontag, "Notes on 'Camp,'" *Partisan Review* 31, no. 4 (Fall 1964): 517.

2 In total, Ward wrote six woodcut novels. In addition to *Gods' Man* (1929) and *Vertigo* (1937), the other four titles are: *Mad Man's Drum* (1930); *Wild Pilgrimage* (1932); *Prelude to a Million Years* (1933); and *Song Without Words* (1936).

3 Michael S. Shull, *Radicalism in American Silent Films, 1909-1929: A Filmography and History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2000), 7.

4 Ben Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and Its Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 4.

5 According to the artist's daughter, Robin Ward Savage, Ward and his wife May McNeer had a lifelong love of the movies. During his undergraduate years at Columbia College, Ward worked as the art editor of *The Columbia Jester*, a semi-monthly student newspaper, and received free tickets to the theater. Ward attended these movies with McNeer, his soon-to-be wife, who was also a student at Columbia's School of Journalism. As parents, Ward and McNeer often took their daughters to the movies. Robin Ward Savage, interview by Christina Weyl, 5 January 2012.

6 Lynd Ward, "On 'Gods' Man,'" in *Lynd Ward: Six Novels in Woodcuts*, ed. Art Spiegelman (New York: Library of America, 2010), 1:780-81. Ward's text first appeared in Lynd Ward, *Storyteller Without Words: The Wood Engravings of Lynd Ward* (New York: Abrams, 1974).

7 Ward, "On 'Gods' Man,'" 781.

Beyond enunciating a general debt to cinematic action, Ward acknowledged the impression that *silent* film made upon his storytelling:

> …this process…all takes place silently. I hear no sound; there is never a word spoken…this may have its roots in the fact that my generation is the one that grew up with silent motion pictures…in which so much was communicated in visual terms alone, where facial expression, gesture, and movement of the whole body were so completely the language of telling a story…[8]

Ward thereby closely aligned his artistic project of woodcut novels with silent cinema, one of the most popular forms of entertainment in America during the early twentieth century.

Despite the centrality of cinema, art historians have not fully explored silent film's effects on the narrative structure of Ward's novels. David Beronä, a scholar of wordless novels, credits silent cinema as a one of three key factors influencing woodcut novels in the 1930s.[9] Beronä suggests that wordless books built upon silent film's popularity by mimicking its visual qualities. He writes: "For a public already familiar with black-and-white pictures that told a story, wordless books offered the public…silent cinema in a portable book that they could 'watch' at their leisure."[10] Beyond suggesting this general debt to silent film, Beronä and other critics have not cited direct parallels between specific film titles and Ward's wordless novels.[11] Like many artists of the era, Ward's creative efforts should be viewed in light of the powerful influence of cinema.[12]

This paper explores two cinematic subtexts found in Ward's *Gods' Man* and *Vertigo*: first, parallel themes and plotlines with silent films; and second, the appearance of melodrama. Plot overlaps include one between *Gods' Man* and a 1926 production of *Faust*. Labor conflict between workers and industrialists and the tensions between country and city life appear often in Ward's woodcut novels, mirroring popular storylines in silent movies. Melodrama, defined as a mode of expression in theatrical or cinematic performance typified by over-the-top emotions and extreme physical activity, also makes a significant appearance in Ward's woodcut novels.

Not a monolithic concept, theories of melodrama are most effective when scholars locate melodrama within time and place. Film scholar Thomas Singer proposes five elements commonly found in melodrama of the silent film era in *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and Its Contents* (2001). Singer's first concept, pathos, may be defined as when the audience feels pain from witnessing a character experience an undeserved injustice, while simultaneously identifying with the victim's misfortune, leading to self-pity. Singer's second concept, overwrought emotion, is defined as "heightened states of emotive urgency, tension, and tribulation."[13] Thirdly, moral polarization opposes the extremes of good and evil; melodramatic silent movies present the hero as all good and the villain as entirely wicked. The fourth concept is non-classical narrative structure that describes melodrama's tolerance for unexpected plot twists and implausible turns-of-event. Finally, sensationalism is an "emphasis on action, violence, thrills, awesome sights, and spectacles of physical peril."[14] Singer advocates the application of these terms according to a "cluster concept." All five may be present to signify melodrama, but at least two—moral polarization and sensationalism—are requisite for silent film melodrama.

Ward's first woodcut novel, *Gods' Man*, published in 1929, presents the melodramatic story of an artist who makes a Faustian "deal with the devil" for creative talent, fame, and financial success that ultimately leads to his demise.[15] The 139 wood engravings in *Gods' Man* exhibit four melodramatic elements: pathos, overwrought emotion, moral polarization, and sensationalism. Their manifestations in Ward's novel are traceable to specific silent films and to general storylines from the era.

After graduating from Columbia College in 1926, Ward earned a one-year scholarship to study at Leipzig's National

[8] Ibid.

[9] The other two key elements cited are the revival of wood block cutting by German Expressionists and the rise of comic strips. David A. Beronä, *Wordless Books: The Original Graphic Novels* (New York: Abrams, 2008), 10, 12.

[10] Ibid., 12.

[11] Another major critic of Ward's wordless novels, Art Spiegelman—the artist behind *Maus*—plays down silent cinema in his introduction to the Library of America's recent two-volume compilation of Ward's woodcut novels. While conceding silent film was a "direct catalyst for the wordless book," he argues that Ward's novels had more narrative restrictions than silent film, their plot lines deprived of intertitles or music to shape drama. See Art Spiegelman, "Reading Pictures: A Few Thousand Words on Six Books Without Any," in *Six Novels in Woodcuts* (see note 6), 1:xiii.

[12] Rockwell Kent (1882-1971), one of Ward's closest contemporaries in woodcut book illustration, had a lifelong fascination with Hollywood and tried tirelessly to write movie scripts, serve as art director for films, or design movie advertisements and posters. See Jake Milgram Wien, "Rockwell Kent and Hollywood," *American Art Journal* 42, no. 3/4 (2002): 2-20. Many other American artists active in the early twentieth century are known to have connections with cinema. See chapters on Charles Demuth, Edward Hopper, Everett Shinn, and John Sloan in Patricia McDonnell, *On the Edge of Your Seat: Popular Theater and Film in Early Twentieth-Century American Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002).

[13] Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity*, 45.

[14] Ibid., 48.

[15] *Gods' Man* was published by Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith, New York, and Jonathan Cape Ltd., London, in October 1929. In addition to Cape & Harrison's trade edition printed from electrotypes of Ward's blocks, a deluxe edition of 409 copies signed and numbered by Ward and printed from his original woodblocks came out at the same time.

Academy of Graphic Arts and Bookmaking.[16] There, he learned the fundamentals of lithography, intaglio, and woodblock printing.[17] Lacking basic German, Ward and his wife, children's book author May McNeer (1902-1994), spent most of their free time perusing bookshops in Leipzig's old city.[18] In this now-famous "origin story," Ward found a copy of Masereel's *The Sun*—a sixty-three block woodcut novel published in 1919—and this discovery is largely credited with spurring Ward to create his first wordless book.

In the layout of the original editions of *Gods' Man* and Ward's five later woodcut novels, only one wood block was printed on the double-page spread, appearing on the right side.[19] Ward opens the novel with an artist navigating a small boat through a terrible storm. Reaching shore, the artist walks, portfolio under arm, to a distant city. The artist avoids assault by a burly innkeeper when the dark, pointy hand of the Faustian devil-figure intervenes on his behalf (Figure 1). The artist then signs a contract with the devil for a paintbrush that guarantees fame and fortune (Figure 2). With the brush, the artist is discovered by an art dealer who sets up the artist with a studio, arranges for an exhibition, and introduces him to a beautiful woman. The artist soon finds that his female companion does not love him but is metaphorically branded by money. Dejected, the artist attacks one of his lover's other male customers, is chased out of the city by a mob, and almost plummets to his death (Figure 3). In the idyllic countryside, a goat shepherdess nourishes the artist back to health, becoming his wife and mother to his son (Figure 4). The devil reappears eventually to remind the artist of his contractual obligations. After leading the artist up a mountain peak, the devil reveals himself to be the Grim Reaper, causing the artist to fall off the cliff to his death.

F.W. Murnau's *Faust*, a silent film directed for UFA in 1926, also made a big impression on Ward and influenced the storyline of *Gods' Man*.[20] Ward transposed Goethe's story of *Faust* into the plight of the artist, a condition near and dear to the young Ward.[21] The reviewer of *Gods' Man* for *The Burlington Magazine* hardly missed the parallel with Murnau's *Faust*:

> I strongly suspect that the cinema has been the source of inspiration… Indeed, the technique of the film is most closely paralleled throughout, and this variant on the Dr. Faustus theme is staged against sets borrowed from the earlier Ufa [*sic*] productions.[22]

There are striking visual elements that Ward borrowed from Murnau's staging of *Faust*. Mirroring action in the film, the devil presents the artist with a contract as Mephisto did for Faust (Figures 2 and 5). Tension between good and evil permeates *Gods' Man*, mimicking the moral polarization present in Murnau's film. The devil wears a sinister black top hat, scarf, and long dark cape, all strikingly similar to features of Mephisto (Figure 2). Faust and the artist, in contrast, have lighter features which juxtapose their relative virtue (Figure 4). Similarly, the women with whom the artist and Faust interact are coded as morally good or bad. Richard Dyer, a scholar of whiteness studies, has remarked on the moral opposition created in movies with women's hair color: brunette signifies evil and blond represents goodness.[23] Both the Duchess of Parma, the object of Faust's infatuation when under Mephisto's spell, and the artist's mistress have dark, "evil" hair. While Gretchen, Faust's true love, and the artist's wife share "good," blond hair (Figure 4).

Borrowing a common binary from silent movies, *Gods' Man* creates moral contrast between the country as good and the city as evil. In Murnau's next film, *Sunrise* (1927) made in the United States for the Fox Film Corporation, the sinister, dark-haired Woman of the City on vacation in a country town tempts her lover, a local farmer, to kill his virtuous blond-haired wife and mother of his child. As a representation of urban evil, she evokes concern that rapid industrialization and city culture will terminate the peaceful, traditional ways of country life. Similarly, the artist in *Gods' Man* begins his journey outside the city as a novice and uncorrupted painter. In the city where several scenes of towering skyscrapers in *Gods' Man* are reminiscent of Fritz Lang's iconic film, *Metropolis* (1927), the artist is tainted by the devil and falls for a prostitute. Back in the country, the artist's life is good again until the devil's reappearance.

Ward's depiction of overwrought emotions conveys another aspect of cinematic melodrama. Ward keeps expres-

16 The school's name in German is Staatliche Akademie für graphische Kunst und Buchgewerbe.

17 Gil Williams, "Interview with Lynd Ward," *Bibliognost: The Book Collector's Little Magazine* 2, no. 2 (May 1976): 7.

18 May McNeer, "Lynd Ward," *Bibliognost: The Book Collector's Little Magazine* 2, no. 2 (May 1976): 18.

19 The one-image-per-page layout creates anticipation at having to turn the page to discover the next plot development. Spiegelman discusses the process of flipping back and forth between the pages in Ward's book to decipher the plot. See Spiegelman, "Reading Pictures," 1:xvi.

20 It is uncertain whether Ward saw *Faust* when it was released to German theaters in the fall of 1926 with German intertitles or viewed the film upon returning to America in the summer of 1927. *Faust* premiered in New York at the Capitol Theater on Broadway and 51st Street on 5 December 1926. See "Display Ad 131: Faust," *New York Times*, 5 December 1926.

21 The young artist's struggle was very familiar to Ward. He later recalled, "this was a time when my days were devoted for the most part to trudging from one publisher's office to another, a portfolio under my arm, hoping that what I had…would persuade some editor…to let me do a jacket drawing for a book…or even a full set of illustrations." See Ward, "On 'Gods' Man,'" 784–85.

22 E. P., "Review: God's Man," *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 56, no. 327 (June 1930): 328.

23 Richard Dyer, *White* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 62–63.

sions of the artist and the devil consistent—their motivations already signaled by moral coding—but exaggerates facial features of secondary characters like the art dealer, innkeeper, policeman, military officer, and female companion. The innkeeper, for example, clenches his right hand into a fist and contorts his face to convey his annoyance when the artist cannot pay for his food and lodging except for an exchange with artwork (Figure 1).

The presence of sensationalism represents the final parallel with silent film melodrama. The opening sequence in *Gods' Man* begins with the artist battling against a gale, a plot device seen in many silent movies such as Murnau's *Sunrise*. Later sensational aspects include the artist's leap from a cliff, after being run out of town by an angry mob (Figure 3). Although the jump would ordinarily end with death, Ward allows the artist to survive, miraculously.

Borrowing narrative devices enabled *Gods' Man* to connect with the public and become readable "cinema." Noting the link between movies and woodcut novels, a 1929 *New York Times* reviewer suggested that the black-and-white wordless book could translate cinematic experiences into daily life. He commented:

> If people are sick of wading through words and words and words to get to a story, to explore situations, to be stirred, why not bring the method of the moving picture theatre to their homes by presenting them with a series of pictures that will convey a dramatic story in book form?[24]

Considering that *Gods' Man* was released the week of the 1929 stock market crash, the reviewer's words reveal a sense of urgency. Movie attendance dropped 40 percent between 1929 and 1932 because Americans had less money for leisure activities.[25] Although copies of *Gods' Man* sold for $2.50—well above the average price of movie admission—the book offered American audiences a way to experience the thrills of cinema over and over again from home and share copies among family and friends. It achieved huge popularity, selling over 20,000 copies at the height of the Great Depression.[26]

Vertigo, Ward's last woodcut novel published in 1937 by Random House, represents not only his most successful pictorial narrative but also his cinematic masterpiece. Though not naming movies directly, Ralph Pearson, reviewer from *Forum and Century*, expressed his delight in sitting down for an hour to enjoy *Vertigo*: "I have just had an extraordinary experience. I have *seen* a book."[27] A three-part story, *Vertigo* dwells on the plight of three characters—the Girl, the Boy, and an Elderly Gentleman—during the economically challenging years between 1929 and 1935. Honing melodramatic techniques from earlier woodcut novels, the emotional expressions of *Vertigo*'s characters are Ward's most complex. He also uses sensational activity at the end of each section to enhance the novel's drama. *Vertigo*'s moral polarization is nuanced, heightening the pathos felt by its reader-viewer.

There are several structural parallels between *Vertigo* and silent film. The three characters' stories parallel a three-episode serial film from the 1910s, a movie type that coincidentally experienced a revival during the Depression era as movie theaters struggled to get repeat patrons.[28] Each section of *Vertigo* has its own self-contained narrative storyline, but characters and plots merge in all three. In the case of the Elderly Gentleman, he never comes face-to-face with either the Boy or the Girl, but the symbols of his company and events depicted in his narrative match plot developments in the other two sections.[29] *Vertigo*'s second structural similarity comes with Ward's inclusion of section headings with time markers, which were commonly employed in silent films to advance the story across time. Although his other novels use section dividers, *Vertigo* is the only novel by Ward that gives these panels temporal properties. The three sections note the passage of different intervals: years for the Girl, months for the Elderly Gentleman, and days for the Boy.[30]

Ward uses the novel's 230 wood engravings—roughly double the number in *Gods' Man* —to flesh out his protagonists' emotional reactions to their hardships. Ward discussed his emphasis on overwrought emotions in a commentary about *Vertigo*:

> I was anxious to make as explicit a statement as possible. To accomplish that I broke down the action into many small steps, using several small blocks to bring the reader in close to a character so that the facial expression would register more effectively the emotional response of that character to what was happening, thereby involving the reader's own emotions more completely.[31]

[24] "Telling a Story in Woodcuts," *New York Times*, 8 December 1929, BR4.

[25] Ralph G. Giordano, *Fun and Games in Twentieth-Century America: A Historical Guide to Leisure* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 95.

[26] "Chronology," in *Six Novels in Woodcuts* (see note 6), 1:805.

[27] Ralph M. Pearson, "The Artist's Point of View: Lynd Ward 'Writes' a New Book in Pictures," *Forum and Century* 98, no. 6 (December 1937): 333. Emphasis in the original text.

[28] For the revival of serial films during the Depression, see David E. Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920-1940: How Americans Lived Through the "Roaring Twenties" and the Great Depression* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2004), 102. Singer discusses the history of serial films, which were most popular from roughly 1912-14 to 1920, in Chapter 7 of *Melodrama and Modernity*.

[29] Art Spiegelman points out this aspect of *Vertigo*'s character-triangle in an interview with the Library of America. See Art Spiegelman, "The Library of America Interviews Art Spiegelman about Lynd Ward," 2010, 7. See http://www.loa.org/interviews.

[30] The Girl's story spans 1929 to 1935; the Elderly Gentleman, January to December; and the Boy, Monday to Sunday.

With so many close-ups, Ward externalizes his characters' internal musings and psychological stresses. For example, Ward begins the Girl's story with a scene of her happiness and contentment; the Girl smiles happily when she playfully lifts her father's hat off his head while he unassumingly reads the newspaper (Figure 6). By 1930 and the beginning of the Great Depression, the Girl's face is ashen and grave as she holds her head with her right hand in a melancholy posture and stares out of the open window (Figure 7). Similarly, Ward begins the Boy's story on Monday with him looking unkempt (Figure 8). His furrowed eyes stare indiscriminately at nothing despite the advertising signage surrounding him. By Wednesday, the Boy flexes his biceps, a slight grin on his face, to sell himself as a temporary day laborer. The care with which Ward treats these close-ups signals his realization that overwrought emotions are crucial to successful narrative.

Like *Gods' Man*, *Vertigo* depends on sensational plot twists to captivate the reader's attention. In the Girl's section, Ward lays out her bright future but soon shatters her dreams with several tragedies. This section begins with the Girl's graduation from high school and a whirlwind romance with the Boy, leading to a mock-engagement. This date mimics the staging of John Sims's courtship with Mary in King Vidor's 1928 silent film, *The Crowd*: the two characters meet for the first time after work, go to Coney Island, and find themselves so in love that John proposes on their ride back to Manhattan. In fact, a sign that John sees in the subway—"You furnish the girl, we'll furnish the home"—is echoed directly above the head of the unemployed Boy (Figures 8 and 9). Unlike John and Mary Sims, the promise of a home and marital bliss is cut short for the Boy and Girl by the stock market crash. Ward next presents the Girl with another tragic situation, the near-death of her father by suicide. Ward allows readers to see the father's downward spiral and teases with the possibility that the Girl might intervene. In one block, she stands in the entryway, hand holding the doorknob, watching her father with the gun barrel to his face (Figure 10). Could she say something to stop him or grab the gun away before it is too late? In the following blocks, Ward reveals that the father did not die, but instead will be blind for the rest of his life. Ward ends the section with a cliffhanger: the Girl is simply waiting in line for government relief. Upon turning the page and realizing the Girl's story is over, Ward's readers are left with lingering questions. What will become of the Girl and her father? Will she find a job? Will the Boy return to save them?

Turning to *Vertigo*'s moral polarization, Ward creates more ambiguous character types. Silent films from the pre-Red Scare period of 1909-17 depict industrialists wearing full formal attire and spending their money profligately while ordering wage cuts.[32] D.W. Griffith presented this industrialist type in *Intolerance* (1916) as Jenkins, whose sister convinces him to cut wages to make up for her charity commitments. Ward portrays an industrialist in *Vertigo*'s Elderly Gentleman. In March, he orders a twenty-percent wage cut after his company's greedy board reports declining profits. Yet, the Elderly Gentleman is not as one-sided as Jenkins. Ward shows him to be a philanthropist and volunteer, handing out food to the needy. Given these revelations, it is hard for readers to hold the Elderly Gentleman accountable for the Girl's father's suicide attempt or the Boy's desperate situation. A larger sinister force is at play in *Vertigo*: the Great Depression, itself.

As demonstrated by examples from *Gods' Man* and *Vertigo*, Ward revolutionized book arts by borrowing narrative devices from silent cinema to make his woodcut novels more legible to American audiences. Ward's wordless novels perhaps excelled between 1929 and 1937 because the silent film was not yet extinct in American culture and maintained a strong nostalgic association with the "good times" of the previous decades. Even after the advent of talkies in 1927, filmmakers continued to produce and release silent movies into the 1930s as theaters transitioned from silent-film to sound capabilities.[33] During the Depression, in fact, silent films were a cheaper entertainment option for cash-strapped audiences.[34] Since Ward's woodcut novels built on the popularity of silent movie melodrama, it follows that the great popularity of the wordless novel died out in the 1930s with silent film. Yet, Ward's legacy of woodcut novels lives on today as an inspiration to artists of contemporary graphic novels.[35]

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

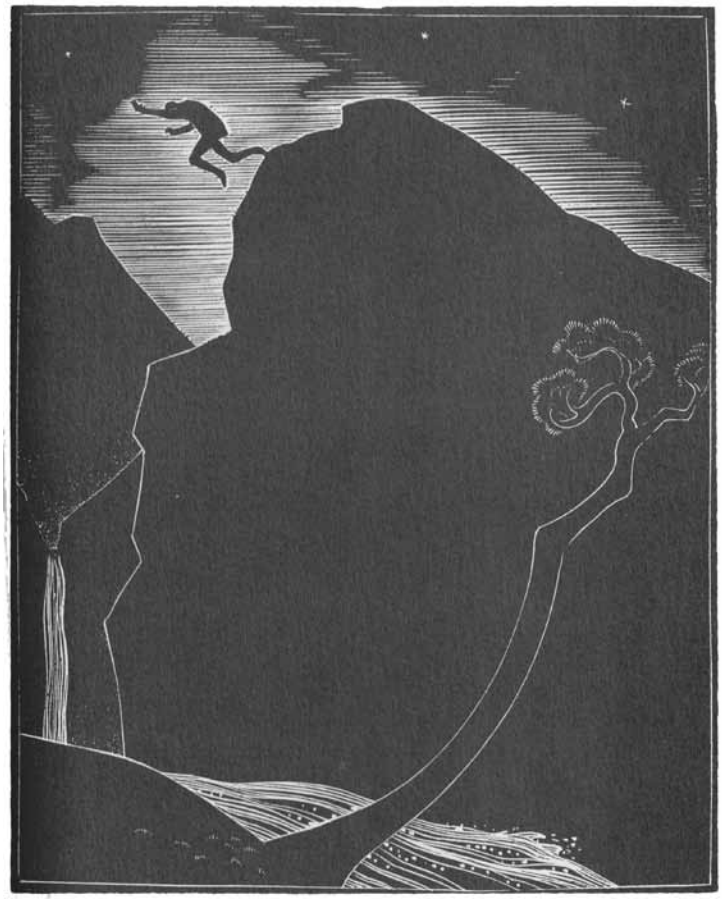
[31] Lynd Ward, "On 'Vertigo,'" in *Six Novels in Woodcuts* (see note 6), 2:655. Ward's text first appeared in Ward, *Storyteller Without Words*.

[32] Michael Slade Shull's 2000 study focuses on films with radical political content, such as labor conflict between workers and industrialists and portrayals of radical women "agitators" and female sexuality. For discussion of "evil" industrialists, see Shull, *Radicalism in American Silent Films*, 29.

[33] Charlie Chaplin is, of course, the most famous example of a Hollywood director doggedly making silent movies well after their heyday, releasing *City Lights* in 1931 and *Modern Times* in 1936.

[34] William M. Drew, *The Last Silent Picture Show: Silent Films on American Screens in the 1930s* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 78.

[35] The Pennsylvania Center for the Book at Pennsylvania State University awarded its first Lynd Ward Graphic Novel Prize in 2011 to Adam Hines and his book *Duncan the Wonder Dog* (Richmond, VA: AdHouse Books, 2010).



[*top left*] Figure 1. Lynd Ward, illustration from *Gods' Man*, 1929, wood engraving, 12.6 x 10.1 cm, by permission of Robin Ward Savage and Nanda Weedon Ward.

[*top right*] Figure 2. Lynd Ward, illustration from *Gods' Man*, 1929, wood engraving, 12.7 x 7.7 cm by permission of Robin Ward Savage and Nanda Weedon Ward.

[*left*] Figure 3. Lynd Ward, illustration from *Gods' Man*, 1929, wood engraving, 12.7 x 10.2 cm, by permission of Robin Ward Savage and Nanda Weedon Ward.

Figure 4. Lynd Ward, illustration from *Gods' Man*, 1929, wood engraving, 10.2 x 10.2 cm, by permission of Robin Ward Savage and Nanda Weedon Ward.

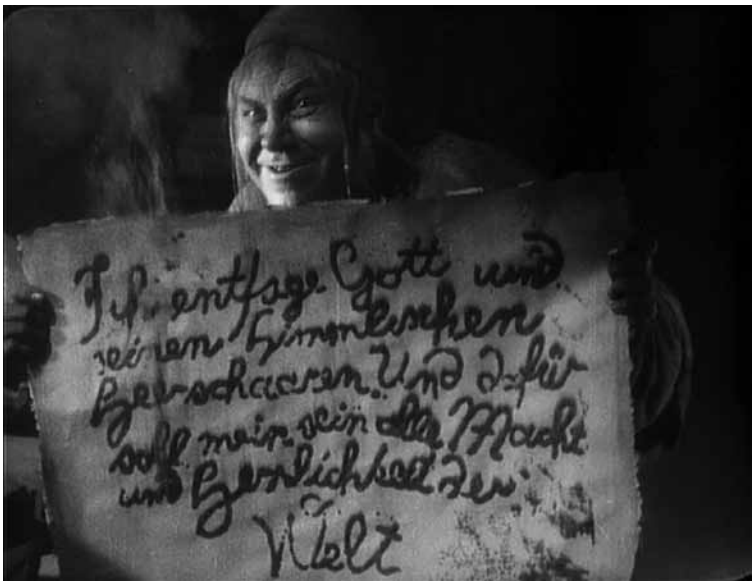


Figure 5. Film still of Emil Jannings as Mephistopheles from F. W. Murnau's *Faust*, 1926, courtesy of Kino Lorber.

Figure 6. Lynd Ward, illustration from *Vertigo*, 1937, wood engraving, 8.7 x 9 cm, by permission of Robin Ward Savage and Nanda Weedon Ward.

Figure 7. Lynd Ward, illustration from *Vertigo*, 1937, wood engraving, 9 x 9 cm, by permission of Robin Ward Savage and Nanda Weedon Ward.


YOU FURNISH THE GIRL
WE'LL FURNISH
THE HOME
1935 HANDICAP
MIDLAND SEPT.
SHE LIKES YOU
TO SMOKE
PUFFS
A BROKEN HEART
IF YOU WANT TO FIX
TO THE
BEST
INNER

[*facing page*] Figure 8. Lynd Ward, illustration from *Vertigo*, 1937, wood engraving, 12.7 x 9 cm, by permission of Robin Ward Savage and Nanda Weedon Ward.

[*above*] Figure 9. Film still from King Vidor's *The Crowd*, 1928, used by permission. *The Crowd* © Turner Entertainment Co., Warner Bros. Entertainment Company. All Rights Reserved.

[*right*] Figure 10. Lynd Ward, illustration from *Vertigo*, 1937, wood engraving, 9 x 5.8 cm, by permission of Robin Ward Savage and Nanda Weedon Ward.

Vision and Visuality in Franco's *Valley of the Fallen*

Maite Barragán

The Spanish Civil War ended in 1939. The Republicans had fought to maintain the democratically elected government but lost to the Nationalists, conservatives who rebelled against what they saw as an anti-Catholic and dangerously liberal regime. At the end of three years of bitter conflict, Generalísimo Francisco Franco, leader of the Nationalists, took power as dictator. The war had served to expose the myth of Spain as a unified nation and had made visible the country's fragmented population by revealing a state divided along severely opposed political lines. During the 35 years of his reign, Franco took on the task of constructing a truly unified state, one that fit his own personal definition of Spain. Today, the *Holy Cross of the Valley of the Fallen* exists as a reminder of that vision (Figure 1). Since its conception in 1939, Franco declared it to be a monument intended to help heal the wounds left by the Civil War, and the inscription inside the basilica dedicates it to the "Fallen, for God and for Spain."[1] Today, Spain is a modern democracy, yet the monument remains as an unassailable relic of the dictatorship.

The *Valley of the Fallen* is a monumental architectural complex consisting of a basilica and a Benedictine monastery. Situated fifty kilometers outside Spain's capital, the colossal construction took twenty years to complete. The basilica was quarried to transverse the mountain peak and is rooted in the Guadarrama Sierra. The landscape remains the focal point; the basilica seems to grow from the terrain as a 492-foot tall cross crowns the complex and marks the way for visitors who journey to the Sierra (Figure 2). The Christian symbol of the cross brands the location with undeniable religious significance: Catholicism is made to literally stand upon Spanish soil as true and unequivocally part of the Spanish land. The awe-inspiring cross can be seen from a distance, creating a panoptical impression that speaks of the power of the Catholic Church under the Franco regime. As visitors arrive at the basilica's expansive entrance, they are embraced by an enormous semicircular colonnade. Comparable to the practice of other Fascist regimes, the use of monumentality in architecture was an attempt to create spectacle, although in the *Valley* it retains a uniquely Spanish flavor.[2] The use of Catholicism in Fascist aesthetics is distinctive to the first phase of *Franquismo*, which diverged from other Fascist regimes in maintaining a clear connection with the Catholic Church, giving it a prominent role in the official government.[3]

The Monument is protected under the umbrella of National Patrimony, a title that grants it public funding. Protected status has meant that keen attention has been directed to its history throughout the years. Scholars and the general public have made a point of bringing to light the problematic details of its construction. For example, political prisoners from the war were used as workers in the construction. At least fourteen of these died in the task, but some contend that the number was much higher. Additionally, the crypt within the basilica holds over 30,000 bodies of Republican and Nationalist soldiers, victims of the armed conflict. These bodies were taken from mass graves, usually without permission, to fill the crypt. Today, many whose relatives are buried here wish to exhume the bodies and give them what they believe to be a more proper burial. At the crux of the controversy is the fact that José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the founder of the *Falange*, the Fascist Party in Spain, is buried in the apse. His body lies in a place of honor, next to the altar under a golden mosaic dome, adding to the political volatility of the construction. In 1975, the year Franco died, he, too, was buried in the basilica. Thus, it has been said that the construction acts as a grandiose mausoleum for Franco, on the understanding that the religious space is also a political statement.[4]

With the amount of attention that the Monument re-

I would like to thank my professors Dr. Gerald Silk and Dr. Susanna Gold for their help in editing this paper, and my Temple colleagues and the Florida State University Art History Department for their valuable feedback.

1 This dedication was prevalent during the Franco era. Many churches around Spain had added a small plaque commemorating people who had died during the war. After the transition to democracy, many of these were removed and only a few are left today.

2 Although different authoritarian regimes in the 1930s preferred different aesthetics, one clear connection amongst them is the monumental scale of their architecture. See Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Art Under a Dictatorship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 117.

3 José Calleja, *El Valle de los Caídos* (Madrid: Espasa, 2009), 92-93.

4 It must be noted that not all the workers were prisoners. This is an aspect that is often brought up during discussions of the Monument. The issue of the number of bodies buried in the crypt is problematic since it is not at all certain how many bodies are there and only a small percentage is actually identified. The skepticism that only fourteen people died is based on information from a worker at the *Valley* whom Calleja interviewed. Ibid., 111-116, 189, 190-191.

ceives in the news and historical studies, it is surprising that very little attention has been given to it from an art historical perspective. Perhaps this is because an art historical focus has the inherent danger of finding artistic worth and value in a remnant of the Fascist period. Recent historical scholarship has helped the Spanish people understand the polemics of the construction. Since the dictatorship had censored the press, these critical studies of the strategies Franco took to assure his power could not have been published under the Franco regime.[5]

The *Valley*'s contentious status makes it difficult to separate the Monument from Spain's ongoing debate of Civil War history versus memory. In 2007 the passing of the *Law of Historical Memory* tried to deal with the unresolved issues from Spain's transition from dictatorship to democracy. When the law passed, it resolved many of the longstanding points of contention: one of them directly addressed the very existence of an official narrative of history.[6] Under Franco there was an intended suppression of the Republicans' version of history, a reality that is still being discussed today. Aware of these different coexisting narratives, the Spanish people are still torn as to how deal with the *Valley* as a concrete artifact created in the aftermath of a war which some saw as necessary and others saw as an attack upon democracy. Public and private implications of memory and social history exist as a current polemic that must be dealt with to produce an objective study of the *Valley of the Fallen*. By studying the visual properties of the Monument, its Fascist didacticism is clearly revealed, as is the danger that exists when historical studies do not take symbolism and visuality into account.

The *Valley of the Fallen* employs national history to support Franco's ideal vision of the state, a state he saw poised to reignite the Golden Age of Spain.[7] Its location, style, and even the rhetoric used by Franco and his supporters indicate that it is not merely a basilica constructed under the regime, but a concerted attempt at rewriting and establishing a historical narrative. *Franquismo*, the particular brand of Fascism that developed under Franco, did not have a systematic or defined aesthetic, so this particular monument was of Franco's own creation. In constant contact with the architects and artists responsible for the *Valley*, he proposed models to be emulated, so that the project came to reflect his deliberate and personal input. It is the only such example of this magnitude that Franco ever took on, remaining a focus of his attention throughout the long period of its construction.[8] Acting as the project director, Franco appears as the true heir to Spanish power inherited from the royal family, fulfilling the ideals of a unified nation-state. In 1959, he stated that while the *Escorial Palace* was a monument to Spain's grand past, the *Valley* was to be a point of departure for the future of Spain.[9] The modern visitor inevitably participates in this vision, as the Spanish media, the government, and the general population have yet to coalesce in regards to their view of the importance of the *Valley* monument. However, an analysis of Franco's choices of location, style, iconography, and his sources offers insight as to how the architecture's narrative unfolds as an experience for visitors.

Physically, the complex is a visual display of the version of national history—at many times inaccurate—that Franco pursued and tried to establish as the singular narrative. The colossus rivals in size St. Peter's basilica in Vatican City and recreates Baroque theatricality for visitors who are engulfed by the monumental order utilized.[10]

Despite the dramatic impact of the Monument, scale is its most overwhelming feature. There is nothing truly innovative about the Monument's design: a sober structure built in granite, the only exterior decoration immediately visible is the set of reliefs depicting the coat of arms flanking the entrance (Figure 3). This coat of arms is particularly emblematic to the Franco era. It appeared in the national flag, and today the menacing eagle behind the coat of arms is understood as a Fascist allusion. In reality, the coat of arms together with the eagle has historical significance because it was the Catholic Queen Isabel's personal emblem. Displayed here, it underscores the connection of a sovereign Catholic government in Spain.[11]

As the visitor looks up, colossal sculptures are visible: a Pietá above the entrance, the Four Evangelists on the base of the enormous cross, and the Four Virtues above the Four Evangelists. Strong and sharply-cut features are used to portray strength in these symbolic pillars of the Catholic faith (Figure 2). These traditional Christian figures would have been familiar to those visitors with a basic Catholic upbringing, one that Franco made sure was part of the state education. Since the *Valley* monument was intended primarily for Spaniards, the exterior decorative reliefs placed on equal footing the Fascist government and the longstanding national Catholic tradition represented in the form of the sculptures.

5 José María Calleja, Tário Rubio, and Julián Casanovas are scholars currently investigating the history of the construction of the *Valley of the Fallen*.

6 The preamble states that it is not the legislator's responsibility to "implement a collective memory," but the law tried to make right some of the wrongs that were never dealt with during the transition to democracy. Among the many issues, the *Valley of the Fallen* comes up as a special case. Finally in 2007, political manifestations were prohibited on the site. Spain, House of Representatives, *Ley de Memoria Histórica, 52/2007, Boletín Oficial del Estado, 2007.*

7 Spain's Golden Age is comprised of the 16th and 17th centuries. During this period Spain was an imperial and world power and great cultural developments occurred. This is the era of the Inquisition, but also of classical Spanish art, literature, philosophy, and architecture.

8 Alexandre Cirici, *La Estética Del Franquismo*, Colección Punto y línea (Barcelona: Editorial G. Gili, 1977), 12, 112–113.

9 Ibid., 113, 115.

10 Saint Peter's Basilica in Vatican City measures 624 feet in length; the Valley measures 860 feet in length.

11 I would like to thank Dr. Jack Freiberg of Florida State University for bringing this fact to my attention.

Inside the dimly lit basilica, the drama intensifies (Figure 4). The smooth dark floor acts as a reflective pool creating a somber atmosphere. A grille separates the vestibule, marking a stage in the visitor's entry. The visitor walks through successive spaces, each with a different floor elevation, noting the few decorative elements in the large and coherent space. The journey terminates at the altar, the only area that is well lit. Pews are absent from the entire nave except for the last section in front of the altar. The absence of pews denotes that the Monument is to be walked through and experienced and is thus significantly different from orthodox church appointments. Franco chose to not adhere to any traditional style, but instead created what he called a new imperial style.[12] Meant to complement the "new Spain" of his regime, this style emphasizes size over ornamentation and uses classic semi-circular arches and heavy undecorated stone.

The so-called imperial style shows the Dictator wrestling with a twentieth-century aesthetic predicament: that churches constructed in modern architectural styles were generally criticized for not inspiring devotion. The streamlined simplicity of modern architecture has been said to diminish the worship experience, and new materials are often regarded as not rich or noble enough for a religious context. Yet, it would have been anachronistic to revive the Gothic style traditionally associated with Catholic churches. An imperial style retains the dignified and Spartan sense of a memorial, and simplified forms distance it from an overwrought Gothic style.[13]

Within the sober interior, the few decorative elements include sculptures and lighting fixtures, yet these are clearly bellicose in tone. Angels with swords, said to represent the angels that guard the gates to paradise, appear in niches (Figure 5). Made of bronze from cannons used during the war, they are said to symbolize the war's end.[14] The swords the angels carry and the lighting fixtures composed of symmetrical helmeted angels seem out of place in a monument where the objective is to "heal a wounded nation."[15] To understand the significance of these decorative elements, it is important to point out that the Civil War was initiated by a military revolt led by Franco, who unlike other Fascist rulers, was a general, not the leader of a political party. This iconography of militarized religiosity is made even clearer in the six chapels adjoined to the nave. Each chapel is dedicated to a patron Virgin, something common in Spain, a country known for its Marian devotion. Three are protectors of different military sectors. These are: Our Lady of Loreto, the Immaculate Conception, and Our Lady of Mount Carmel, the patronesses of the air forces, ground forces, and marine forces, respectively (Figure 6); Our Lady of Africa, Our Lady of Mercy, and Our Lady of the Pillar are patronesses or symbols of Spanish imperial expansion in the Mediterranean, the Orient, and the Atlantic.[16] These holy defenders of the Spanish armed forces and the nation's imperial enterprise encourage visitors to view the divine grace of God protecting Spain's military.

A military uprising was responsible for the initiation of the war. Because the basilica is dedicated to those who died in the war, the implied connection is that the task taken on by the rebellious military represented God's will. The revolt, which was initially purely political, was called a crusade from early on as the Nationalists and their supporters aggrandized the magnitude of their task. Strong support came from members of the Catholic clergy who expounded the ideas of the Civil War as a holy war in many of their writings.[17] Nationalism, the cause and name-giver to Franco's faction, was different in Spain than in other countries, since it united Catholic sentiment with the concept of the Spanish nation.[18] Thus, the Nationalists' revolt was by consequence a Catholic revolt. Franco's own chosen title, "*Caudillo* by the grace of God," demonstrates the inherent character of being "chosen" to lead the country. A *caudillo* is the head of troops in a war, consonant with the fact that as war leader, Franco became the legitimate power once the war ended, albeit retaining militancy in his ruling title.[19] In the phrase "by the grace of God," we see Franco's role as the chosen leader for an appointed task in which God takes an active interest in ultimate victory. The sculptures of the warrior angels, however, indicate that the war has yet to end. Standing armed and impassive, they leave the visitor questioning the sense of closure the *Valley* supposedly offers. As a monument dedicated to the end of the struggle, the *Valley of the Fallen* does not present a satisfactory conclusion, but rather one of steady alertness and awareness of conflicts yet to come.

Spain and Catholicism in this context are revealed to be fully engaged in the battle against outside forces, such as Communism and Bolshevism. Franco interred left-wing

12 Daniel Sueiro, *La verdadera historia* (Madrid: Sedmay Ediciones, 1977), 21.

13 Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *Sacred Power, Sacred Space: An Introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 161.

14 El Valle de los Caídos, "Basílica del Valle de los caídos: Abadía de la Santa Cruz - El monumento paso a paso," accessed 10 December 2011, http://www.valledeloscaidos.es/monumento/paso.

15 Sueiro, *La verdadera historia*, 188.

16 Our Lady of Africa may also be related to the fact that the coup that started the war first occurred in Spain's Northern African holdings. This is another interpretation but still related to colonialism and fits perfectly well with the overall idea of the chapel's symbolic meanings. The summary of what the Virgins symbolize is from Cirici, *La Estetica del Franquismo*, 113-115.

17 Sueiro, *La verdadera historia*, 10–11.

18 Juan Beneyto Pérez, *La Identidad Del Franquismo: Del Alzamiento a La Constitución*, Colección E.E. 22 (Madrid: Gráficas Espejo, 1979), 26, 34, 38–39.

19 The term *caudillo* has different significance in Latin American history. Beneyto explains the particularities of the term in ibid., 67-80.

Republicans and right-wing Nationalists in the crypt with a clear intent on integrating both sides towards a representation of forced unity. Both camps are perceived to receive the same treatment in order that Franco be able to state that it is a monument intended as atonement for the war. However, the subjugation of the Republican combatants is crystallized: their bodies are located in a monument that prescribes Franco's standards and they operate in a contrived performance of peace that the *Valley* presents for the divided population. The most essential task Franco had at hand during this early period of his regime, at the same moment that the *Valley* was being constructed, was to eliminate the ideological divides that fragmented the Spanish people. With authoritarian suppression, he was successful in eliminating public, if not private and personal, dissent. The "new Spain" disregards past differences to make way for a unified and powerful ideal of nationhood.

This apparent contradiction of giving equal treatment to Republicans and Nationalists is not as paradoxical as it first appears. The Civil War was the path for Franco's vision of Spain to become a reality. The crypt can contain anyone who fought in the War; the Civil War, as Crusade, was destined to occur so that the differing forces could battle for what Spain was to be.[20] Nationalists won, and Franco's ideals were set as the standard under which the country must unite and practice peace. Franco managed to recreate in the *Valley*'s crypt the most literal sense of integration possible.

The chosen geographic location achieves symbolic importance as well, since the *Valley* is placed close to royal sites, such as the *Pedraza Castle*, *La Granja*, or the renowned *Escorial Palace*. Situated in the Guadarrama Mountains, near the geographic center of Spain, in the region of Castile, Franco's selection of the site indicates his desire to equate the royal constructions with his own. Even today, visitors are encouraged to see the *Escorial* and the *Valley* on package tour combinations, blurring the differences of timeline and intent between the Renaissance palace and the modern monument.

Franco's personal ideals are also exposed by virtue of his placement which speaks of the regime's imposition of a standard nationalism. The Guadarrama Mountains in Castile are close to the capital, Madrid. Strategically chosen, the capital's location helped monarchs exert power more easily throughout the country. The Castilian region is also significant because it provided the standard for the culture that was exported throughout the Spanish empire from the 1500s onward. Unity in the Golden Age of Spain existed because the language exported to the Americas and the legal institutions were all Castilian.[21] Basque, Catalonian, and Galician regions that exhibited multiple nationalisms were customarily not supported in or outside of Spain. In fact, during the twentieth century under Franco, a strong repression of these traditions and their dialects occurred in favor of Castilian culture and language.[22] Indeed, the Spanish language is equivalent to the Castilian dialect. In order to truly unify and strengthen the dictatorship and guide the country once more towards imperial greatness, Franco forcefully attempted to eliminate the differences that existed among the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula.

Franco clearly understood the importance that the royal palaces had in the artistic and historical tradition of Spain. When decorating the nave, he opted to place tapestries from *La Granja*, a royal estate, to add color to the otherwise austere structure. This decoration is the most direct example of Franco borrowing from Spanish royalty; but he pushed for other unlikely correspondences with royal settings, and the *Escorial Palace* offered Franco the best model to emulate.[23] Famous for its sobriety and subdued splendor, the kingly estate is a key monument in Spanish history. It is often considered a proclamation to the fanatical Catholicism of King Philip II (reigned 1556-1598) because it houses his collection of over 7,000 holy relics. The Hieronymite monastery attached to it, along with its center of studies focused on matters of the faith during the time of the Counter-Reformation, assured that King Philip II would be remembered as a defender of Catholicism.[24] The *Valley* appears once more as a reissue of monarchical ideas, revived and reformed. The complex performs many of the same activities as the *Escorial*, and the rhetoric traditionally used to describe it works to compensate the absolute differences between the two monuments.

Franco constructed a Benedictine abbey next to the basilica. The abbey currently uses the basilica, and the monks help care for it. The abbey also held a center intended to promote scholarship on social and religious studies meant to help guide the nation in the post-war process. The reasoning behind the study center in the *Escorial* was to protect the Catholic religion, which in Phillip II's period was under attack by the ongoing Protestant Reformation in Northern Europe. Although Spain retained its Catholic status in the twentieth century, the attacks on the Catholic faith were seen as coming from Communism. When the Republican government tried to sever ties with the Catholic Church in Rome to create a secular state, the Nationalists opposed the reforms. During the Civil War, the Nationalists were backed by the Catholic

20 Michael Richards, "From War Culture to Civil Society: Francoism, Social Change and Memories of the Spanish Civil War," *History and Memory* 14 (2002): 94-99.

21 For information on how the Spanish Empire in the 16th and 17th centuries was organized and ruled, see Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 64–65, 199–200.

22 Stanley Payne, "Catalan and Basque Nationalism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 6, no. 1 (January 1971): 48–50.

23 Sueiro, *La verdadera historia*, 11, 126.

24 For more information about these long-standing views on the *Escorial*, its religious and educational goals, and fresh interpretations, see Henry Kamen, *The Escorial: Art and Power in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 200–202, 205–207.

Church in both Spain and Rome because they promised to maintain the Church's influential position in Spain. Under Franco, the government re-established the Catholic Church as the official church of the state. The Counter-Reformation provided guidelines by which the monarch could preserve Catholicism. Franco's role was not to uphold the Church's dogmas; instead, as the protector of traditional Catholicism, he used religion to bolster his own power.

The basilica, unlike the *Escorial*, never housed holy relics, but rhetoric was employed to support ideas of religious significance in the battle and its resulting victims. The War was called a crusade and those who died for the Nationalist cause were called martyrs. In Catholic religion a person who is killed for upholding his religious beliefs is a martyr. Although the War clearly had political roots, the issue is semantically simplified so as to be viewed primarily as a religious conflict.[25] Thus, the resulting deaths are seen as the products of a holy war. Franco explained that he wanted for people to frequent the *Valley* and turn it into a pilgrimage site.[26] Once more, the rhetoric indicates how he manipulated history to convert the location into a significant and sacred place. A pilgrimage entails a journey with a specific destination to participate in the experience of relics. In the case of the *Valley*, it is the so-called martyrs' bodies in the crypt and the two graves that are considered relics. Pilgrimage would imply a desired participation or experience of these graves, and the idea of the relic is promoted within the specially created space, particularly in the area of the altar where the bodies of Franco and Primo de Rivera are found. In this space there is a recreation of an ambulatory path for the visitor, a well-known architectural type in pilgrimage sites.

The pilgrimage to this site is eased and modernized by the inclusion of wide roads leading up to the *Valley*, thus making it a tourist site along with the *Escorial Palace*. There is also a cable car that goes up the base of the 492-foot tall cross. These modern additions are far from the tourist experience of medieval cathedrals and demonstrate that Franco was very much interested in public participation. This participation, in turn, would result in public acceptance of the *Valley* as another of the numerous tourist locations like those frequented in Spain since it combines religiosity and historicity in the same way as the most famous pilgrimage site of the country, which is the medieval *Santiago of Compostela* cathedral in the north.

"One motherland, one state, one *caudillo*" was a popular slogan of the Franco period that encapsulated the goal of the dictatorship of achieving a strong country, a product of a homogenous population. Another slogan of the period connects the contemporaneous visitor to his idealized history: "to the Empire, by God." Franco envisioned himself as leading Spain to its rightful destiny. The *Valley*, as the product of the Spanish Civil War, embodies the pinnacle of the Dictator's vision of a new Golden Age in a state unified under Catholicism.[27]

Temple University

[25] The Catholic Church has beatified and canonized victims from the Spanish Civil War *en masse* because it considers them martyrs. In 2007, 498 victims were beatified. This makes them official martyrs; the rhetoric, however, has spread to all Nationalist victims of the war. For more information on the rhetoric used, see Víctor Pérez Díaz, *The Return of Civil Society: The Emergence of Democratic Spain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 131.

[26] Sueiro, *La verdadera historia*, 15.

[27] I've recently found that Noel Valis has taken into account many of the issues and made similar connections as those that I've brought up in my paper. See Noel Valis, "Civil War Ghosts Entombed: Lessons of the Valley of the Fallen" in *Teaching Representations of the Spanish Civil War*, ed. Noel Valis (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2007), 425–235.

Also, at the moment that I am writing, the question of what to do with Franco's body is unresolved. The Spanish government put the question to a committee that decided that since Franco did not die during the Civil War he does not need to be buried there because it doesn't fit with the Monument's prescriptions. The body would be returned to Franco's family if this decision is ratified, but it is at the moment being left up to the Catholic Church to decide, since this is a Catholic basilica.

Recently, I requested permission to use photographs of the *Valley of the Fallen* from the Monument's official website. The request could not be granted unless I signed a written document which affirmed that the article would not portray the Catholic Church of Spain or the Monument in a negative light.

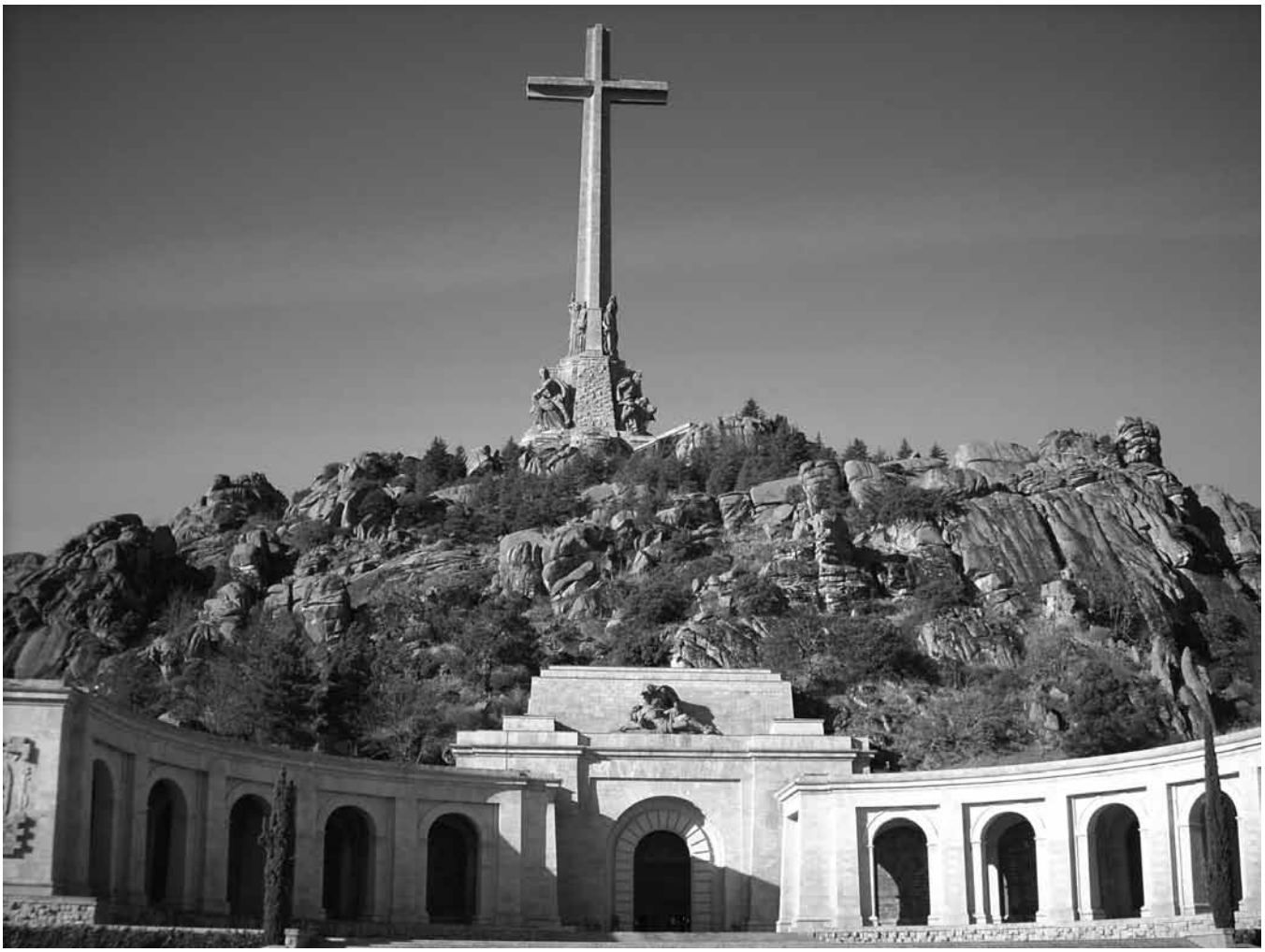


Figure 1. Pedro Muguruza and Diego Méndez, *Valley of the Fallen*, 1940-1959, Sierra of Guadarrama, Spain. Photo credit: Pablo Forcén Soler.

[*far left*] Figure 2. Cross by Diego Méndez and sculptures by Juan de Ávalos, *Valley of the Fallen*, 1940-1959, Sierra of Guadarrama, Spain. Photo credit: Maite Barragán.

[*right*] Figure 3. This relief flanks each side of the colonnade. ??? depicts the coat of arms that is today recognized as the one used during the dictatorship. Pedro Muguruza and Diego Méndez, *Valley of the Fallen*, 1940-1959, Sierra of Guadarrama, Spain. Photo credit: Maite Barragán.

Figure 4. Basilica interior, Pedro Muguruza and Diego Méndez, *Valley of the Fallen*, 1940-1959, Sierra of Guadarrama, Spain. Photo credit: Håkan Svensson © GNU Documentation License.

[*right*] Figure 5. Carlos Ferreira, *Angel with Sword*, bronze, *Valley of the Fallen*, Spain. Photo credit: Lilian Durero for *Clamor Republicano*.

[*far right*] Figure 6. Ramón Mateu, *Our Lady of Loreto Chapel*, alabaster, *Valley of the Fallen*. Photo credit: Håkan Svensson © GNU Documentation License.