ATHANOR XXXVIII

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF ART HISTORY

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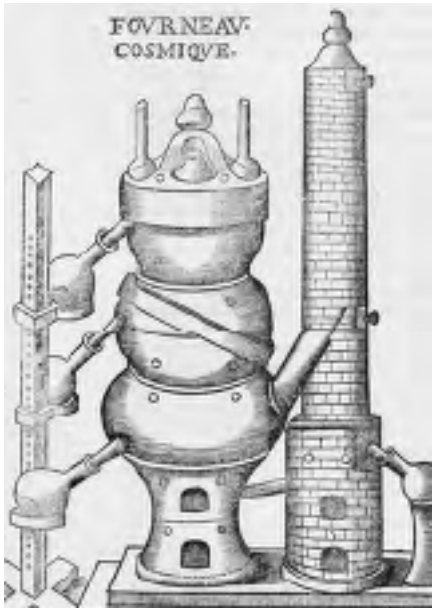

Cosmic over or Athanor from Annibal Barlet, *Le Vray Cours de Physique*, Paris, 1653.

L.C. #81-68863

Cover: Crucified Christ, ca. 1300, walrus ivory with traces of paint and gilding, 7 9/16 x 2 1/16 x 1 3/8 in., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, USA. Photo Credit: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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Günther Stamm Prize for Excellence

Mia Hafer was awarded the Günther Stamm Prize for Excellence for "Indices in Ivory: Aspiring Affective Piety with a Walrus Ivory Christ" presented at the 2021 Art History Graduate Student Symposium.

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CAITLIN MIMS
Editor in Chief

HAYLEE GLASEL
Assistant Editor

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Indices in Ivory: Inspiring Affective Piety with a Walrus Ivory Christ

Mia Hafer

The *Crucified Christ* (Figure 1), now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, captures both Christ's serene acceptance of death and the graphic reality of mortality in a way rarely seen in medieval ivory carvings. Crafted by a Parisian artisan working in either England or Cologne around 1300, the seven-inch-tall statue now stands devoid of its arms and the small crucifix to which it was originally attached.[1] Christ is depicted with his head falling slightly forward, the smooth S-curve of his body emphasizing his youthful form and artfully crossed legs. Scant remains of gold leaf on Christ's hair and beard encircle the figure's face in a heavenly light, emphasizing Christ's calm dignity which was maintained even in death. Remnants of red paint accentuate Christ's side wound and trail downward, mimicking the appearance of a trickle of dried blood. What makes this piece notable, however, is not the style in which it was carved, but the medium itself—walrus ivory. I argue that the material of the *Crucified Christ*, as manipulated by the sculptor, lends itself to affective contemplation, shaping the viewer's devotional experience. By examining how sight, light, touch, and theology shaped a viewer's perception of the work, I demonstrate how such pieces served to close the gap between the absent divine and the affective devotee.

Walrus Ivory in Context

Throughout the Middle Ages ivory was a coveted luxury material, its preciousness only increased by fluctuations in its availability. As Peter Barnet and Sarah Guérin's recent studies on elephant tusks have pointed out, the Gothic era trade in elephant ivory was far from stable. By the eighth century, Muslim conquest of critical trade routes through North Africa, such as those within the Swahili corridor, halted the movement of elephant tusks into Europe, making the medium scarce on the continent until the twelfth century.[2] Recent scholarship has linked this limited accessibility to the rise of walrus ivory, as Norse traders from the eleventh century onwards began shipping walrus tusks from Greenland to ports in England and Cologne.[3] By the late 1200s trade between Africa and Europe resumed, again allowing for the shipment of elephant tusks to northern France, as well as to the same English and German ports that continued to receive walrus goods.[4] By 1300 both types of ivory were circulating within the European market simultaneously, becoming readily available to carvers of small devotional objects like the *Crucified Christ*.

Though scholars such as Kristen A. Seaver have acknowledged the importance of walrus ivory for Viking and Scandinavian material culture, medievalists have paid minimal attention to the semiotic potential and strategic usage of the medium in the Gothic era. [5] This could be both due to the imprecision of primary sources that discuss walrus ivory, as well as a conflation of "ivory" terms in the period. Early Scandinavian sources refer to walrus ivory by the Latin word *eburneas*, a label that denotes the color ivory white, as well as the material itself. As of yet scholars have been unable to discover any words used to refer distinctly to walrus or elephant ivory in medieval Europe, raising the possibility that there was no clear linguistic distinction between the two ivory types.[6]

While there was no etymological distinction between the two ivories, the visual difference between the two tusk types suggests that medieval artisans could have recognized a variety of different ivories. Sourced from Atlantic walruses, the tusks are relatively short compared to their elephant counterparts.[7] Whereas African elephant tusks could weigh up to one hundred and fifty pounds and measure ten-feet long, the oblong teeth of a walrus extend to a maximum of forty inches with a four-inch diameter. While elephant tusks contain more carving material, the continued difficulties faced when trans-

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1 *Crucified Christ,* ca. 1300*,* Northern European, walrus ivory with traces of paint and gilding, 7 9/16 x 2 1/16 x 1 3/8 in., the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2005.274.

2 For more information on the Swahili corridor see Peter Barnet, "Gothic Sculpture in Ivory: An Introduction," in *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age,* ed. Peter Barnet, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 4–5. For information on the fall and later renewal of the ivory trade in Europe see Sarah Guerin, *Gothic Ivories: Calouste Gulbenkian Collection*, (London: Scala Arts & Heritage Publishers, 2015), 41.

3 Kirsten A. Seaver, "Desirable Teeth: The Medieval Trade in Arctic and African Ivory," in *Journal of Global History* (2009): 277.

4 Margaret Gibson, *The Liverpool Ivories: Late Antique and Medieval Ivory and Bone Carving in Liverpool Museum and the Walker Art Gallery*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1994), 69.

5 For more information on the medieval walrus ivory trade see Seaver, "Desirable Teeth." For an overview on older theories on the relationship between the elephant and walrus ivory trade see Else Rosedahl, "L'ivoire de morse et les colonies norroises du Groenland," *Proxima Thule: Revue d'E´ tudes Nordiques* 3, (1998): 9–48. For information on how early collecting practices may have hindered the recognition of non-French ivories and, by extension, walrus ivory objects which were considered of lesser quality by early scholars, see Nina Rowe, "Pocket Crucifixions: Jesus, Jews, and Ownership in Fourteenth-Century Ivories," *Studies in Iconography* 32 (2011): 81–120.

6 It should be noted that medieval viewers may also not have connected ivory directly back to its source animal. Medieval bestiaries that discuss elephants make no reference to ivory in relation to the animal, only addressing the tusks as a means of defense. Walruses are also absent entirely from bestiaries. Thus the division between types of ivory in the medieval mind from a natural history perspective may be far less than originally assumed. Seaver, "Desirable Teeth," 4, 274. For more information on medieval bestiaries see Christian Heck and Rémy Cordonnier, *The Grand Medieval Bestiary: Animals in Illuminated Manuscripts,* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2011).

7 Seaver, "Desirable Teeth," 274.

porting the medium between continents made walrus ivory a much more reliable import for the Gothic craftsperson.[8] Once received in Europe, both types of tusks were immediately put to use, as the same cities that acquired shipments of ivory also arose as major production centers for the material. However, due to the unreliable nature of the ivory trade in relation to other mediums, there were no workshops that specialized exclusively in ivory carving. Instead, texts such as the thirteenth century *Livre des métiers*, or Book of Trades, written by the French official Etienne Boileau, suggest that guilds were divided not by material usage, but by the objects they produced.[9] Boileau identified seven guilds permitted to work with ivory, bone, and wood, including the *ymagiers tailleurs*, or sculptors of images.[10] This flexibility in material usage suggests that by the thirteenth century both walrus and elephant tusks likely joined a collection of other non-stone carving mediums within a singular carving workshop.

From the twelfth century onward, guilds began focusing on the creation of small handheld objects, a change that coincided with shifting court and devotional culture across Europe. The luxury status of ivory made it a desirable medium for aristocratic works like mirror backs and combs, while its pristine color and subtle glow made it a popular choice for handheld devotional statuettes and small triptychs.[11] At this time, many carving workshops in places like Paris also began to sell their pieces on-site, allowing potential patrons to choose from a variety of price points and mediums.[12] While pieces carved in wood or bone may have been intended for the average medieval consumer, the cost of importing walrus tusks would have increased the price of the resulting sculptures, likely reserving such works for aristocratic or elite monastic patrons. In such displays, walrus ivory objects stood alongside similar elite objects in other materials, serving not as a substitute for elephant ivory, as often claimed by previous scholars discussing the medium, but as an alternative *option*. In a marketplace where artisans used both varieties of ivory and presented them in a singular location, the question becomes: how would a fourteenth century viewer differentiate between the two types and would this distinction have mattered to devotees? To answer this, I will first examine the affordances of walrus ivory as a medium before exploring how the material's visual impact may have increased its desirability in the age of affective piety.

Though from different faunal sources, both walrus and elephant tusks share many compositional similarities. Both ivories are composed of a layer of hard, brittle cementum on the outside of the tooth and an inner dentine center. The softer dentine layer is what makes ivory a valuable carving material, as it sheers evenly in all directions when carved. Like its elephant counterpart, walrus ivory is semi-translucent when carved; the transparency of the medium is further increased by the number of minute channels running through the tusk.[13] Both ivories acquire a pearly sheen and natural warmth when exposed to one's skin, though walrus ivory is described as slightly oilier to the touch.[14] Unlike elephant ivory, however, walrus tusks have not one but two distinct layers of dentine (Figure 2). The external layer is smooth and milky white, distinguishable from elephant tusk samples only due to its lack of the "cone-within-cone" striation pattern.[15] The second layer of dentine—which will be referred to as secondary dentine for the remainder of this paper—is variable in texture and color.[16] It is this secondary dentine that was exposed on the front of the *Crucified Christ,* granting the piece an unnerving realism and affective potential unmatched by similar works made in elephant ivory.

Understanding the Medium: Material Manipulation

The realism of the *Crucified Christ* is made possible by the traces of growth that remain evident within the ivory itself, a ghostly reminder of the living creature from which it was sourced. Composed of microscopic channels that housed neural and vascular connections for the growing tooth, the medium's secondary dentine is colored with wavering lines of brown and red pigmentation, the remnants of these lifegiving passageways.[17] It is this damasked patterning that the artisan of the *Crucified Christ* exposed to create a deathly pallor in his figure. The red streaks within the tusk's inner dentine are evident on Christ's torso and feet (Figure 3), mimicking the red of his painted side wound and hinting at the many tortures experienced by the holy man.[18] The brown tracks that creep across Christ's body seemingly mimic the sight of blood settling and

8 For information on walrus tusk size and how walrus ivory pieces can be sectioned together to create larger works see Elizabeth C. Parker and Charles T. Little, *The Cloisters Cross: Its Art and Meaning*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), 17. For information on the average size and composition of elephant tusks see Barnet, "Gothic Sculpture in Ivory, 5.

9 Elizabeth Sears, "Ivory and Ivory Workers in Medieval Paris," in *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age,* ed. Peter Barnet, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 19.

10 Sears, "Ivory and Ivory Workers," 20–22.

11 For more information on the types of ivory objects created during this time period see Paul Williamson, Glyn Davies, and James Stevenson, *Medieval Ivory Carvings: 1200-1550 : Victoria and Albert Museum*, (London: V&A Publishing, 2014).

12 Sarah Guérin, *Gothic Ivories: Calouste Gulbenkian Collection*, (London: Scala Arts & Heritage Publishers, 2015), 42. For additional evidence that ivory works were sold often "off of the rack" to patrons who visited workshops rather than just by commission see Nina Rowe, "Pocket Crucifixions," 90–94.

13 Raymond H. Lafontaine and Patricia A. Wood, "The Stabilization of Ivory against Relative Humidity Fluctuations," *Studies in Conservation* 27, no. 3 (1982): 109–111.

14 Nancy Marie Brown, *Ivory Viking: The Mystery of the Most Famous Chessmen in the World and the Woman Who Made Them,* (New York: St. Martin, 2015), 28–9.

15 Lyubov Smirnova, *Comb-Making in Medieval Novgorod (950-1450)*, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), 15.

16 Lafontaine, and Wood, "The Stabilization of Ivory against Relative Humidity," 109–17.

17 Olaus J Murie, "Ecology and Biology of the Pacific Walrus" in *Natural History of the King Rail,* ed. Brooke, Meanley, (Washington: Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, 1969), 73–4.

18 There is a mixture of painted red streaks on the *Crucified Christ* along with red coloration within the material itself. A close examination of the figure allows one to identify paint due to its raised texture. Other discoloration, however, appears to be within the material itself, a marker of walrus ivory most evident is tusks sourced from younger animals.

congealing in the veins of the lifeless figure.[19] Stretching across his bare body and legs, this darkened layer contrasts with the white of Christ's clothing and face (Figure 4), which are carved out of the tusk's creamy primary dentine. A side view of the *Crucified Christ* (Figure 5) heightens the emotional impact of this material shift, showing a clear division between the two dentines. The abrupt transition between these two portions of the tusk captures Christ in a liminal space, creating the impression that, in an instant, time could spring forward to envelope his entire form in either the divine glow of life and resurrection or the sallowness of his mortal demise. While perhaps the most stunning example, the *Crucified Christ* is not the only piece that used the expressive potential of walrus ivory's inner dentine. The carver of the *Oslo Corpus* (Figure 6), now in the collection of the Oslo Kunstindustrimuseet, also revealed the secondary dentine layer on Christ's legs and torso, while carving his face out of the medium's pristine outer surface.[20] Though the *Oslo Corpus* is the only direct comparanda for the *Crucified Christ,* numerous other medieval objects hint at a larger awareness of walrus ivory's artistic possibilities. The artisan of the Cleveland Museum of Art's *Plaques from a Portable Altar: Christ and the Apostles* (Figures 7 and 8) carved into the tusk's variegated interior for the background of each panel, creating the impression that the Apostles are seated against a rich marble wall. The increased transparency of the secondary dentine surrounding Christ enthroned on the center plaque likewise creates the sense of a pulsing, heavenly glow around Christ. The carver's manipulation of walrus ivory in these instances suggests that the exposed inner dentine on the *Crucified Christ* was not incidental. A closer examination of the work shows the level of precision and familiarity with the material that was required to create such a powerful devotional work.

Unlike elephant tusks, which had to be split vertically along their inner nerve channel before being divided into smaller pieces (Figure 9), walrus tusks could be cut into horizontal sections that were carved in the round—a practice that presented a new challenge for those working with the medium. [21] The secondary dentine within walrus tusks can vary wildly depending on the material's source animal, as the inner layer is gradually replaced by primary dentine as a walrus ages. Rather than running uniformly along the length of the tooth, secondary dentine can at times be more heavily concentrated on one side and can end abruptly in samples taken from adult animals.[22] To create the *Crucified Christ* the carver in question would have not only needed to be aware of this variability, but also develop a strategy for estimating the inner dentine's growth. A side view of the *Crucified Christ* demonstrates that the craftsperson positioned their carving to follow the slight curve of the tusk. The feet of the figure appear to be crafted out of the portion closest to the tusk's distal end where the layer of secondary dentine was the thinnest, as the characteristic discoloration only appears on the top of Christ's feet. The artisan likely then removed the exterior dentine on the portion allotted for Christ's chest, using the damasked material on both the figure's torso and feet to estimate the dentine's overall diagonal growth, as indicated by the dotted green lines in Figure 10. This technique would have allowed the carver to ensure that both the clothing and face of Christ projected outward enough from the tusk's center so as to be composed only of the tooth's pristine primary dentine.

The precision of such a task is evident when viewing the *Crucified Christ* from the back (Figure 11), which shows a shift in color that indicates that most of Christ's hair was carved out of the secondary dentine. The fact that the majority of Christ's head appears to be composed of this layer suggests that the craftsperson was within millimeters of exposing the inner dentine on Christ's face as well. Though paint and gilding was added to the surface of the *Crucified Christ* the craftsperson made no attempt to hide or obscure the natural patterning of the dentine itself. Rather, the trickle of red paint on the figure's side and clothing is used to emphasize the small indent representing Christ's side wound, the addition serving to simultaneously draw attention to both the blood exiting Christ's body and the once life-sustaining substance that has begun to clot beneath the figure's skin. The gilding on the work is likewise scantily used, applied only to the edges of Christ's garment and to his hair and crown, the glittering material encircling the pristine white of the work's outer dentine. The skill required for carving such a piece and the sensitivity paid to the natural characteristics of the medium implies that it was likely one of many walrus ivory objects created within the workshop in question. Though patrons could have purchased a similar elephant ivory piece, the choice to undertake such a complex carving process to create the *Crucified Christ* speaks to the desirability of such figures in the age of affective piety.

Materiality and Meaning in Medieval Objects

To understand the impact of the *Crucified Christ* on affective devotees, contemporary scholars must not only examine the composition of walrus tusks but also the medium's larger function and symbolic meaning. Medieval viewers often saw matter itself and the object it made up as inherently alive, capable of asserting its agency on the world around it.[23] In the medieval mind a work's medium was perceived as instilling the object with a sense of life, one which impacted both the image and its viewers. Following the twelfth century's explosion of interest in ancient philosophy and the natural world, medieval people were increasingly exposed to sources like lapidaries, world encyclopedias, and the religious texts or sermons that incorporated their teaching. This instilled viewers with an understanding of the inherent devotional properties

19 For more information on the interior makeup and growth patterns of walrus tusks see Murie, "Ecology and Biology," 73–95.

20 I am currently unaware of any direct literature on this piece, though it is included as a comparison objects in Williamson, Davies, and Stevenson, *Medieval Ivory Carvings*.

21 For more information on the preparation of elephant tusks see Guérin, *Gothic Ivories*, 41.

22 Murie, "Ecology and Biology," 74, 87–9.

23 Henning Laugerud, Salvador Ryan, and Laura Katrine Skinnebach, "Intro," in *The Materiality of Devotion in Late Medieval Europe,* eds. Henning Laugerud, Salvador Ryan, and Laura Katrine Skinnebach, (Portland: Four Courts Press, 2016), 3.

attributed to specific mediums by contemporary scholars and theologians, further encouraging worshippers to reflect more deeply on the makeup of an object and its greater spiritual significance.[24] Thus, the base elements of a work could be understood as stimulating, and at times simulating, a larger conversation about the nature of the world and its connection to divinity.

Though medieval walrus ivory has received little scholarly attention, an investigation of other organic materials can help shed light on the possible significance of the material to an affective devotee. Formerly living mediums, such as ivory, wood, and parchment, could instill new vitality into representations of Christ, a sense of being that took on different meanings based on the inherent qualities of the substance used.[25] Materials like wood and parchment continuously reasserted their connection to life, demanding that artisans recognize both the will of the medium and the shared similarities between the resulting work and the viewers themselves. An examination of the materiality and semiotics of wood and parchment, as well as what is assumed to be elephant ivory, can better ground the reception of walrus tusks by affective devotees of the time.

To recognize the significance of walrus ivory in the age of affective devotion, it is critical to understand the religious trend itself. Affective piety was a twelfth century movement that focused on creating intensely personal moments between the divine and the devout, interactions often facilitated by objects and their overt materiality. Theologians at the time encouraged placing oneself into the narrative of the Passion in order to better identify with Christ's sacrifice. To facilitate such mental reimagining, craftspeople began focusing on creating isolated representations of Christ on the cross. These works encouraged viewers to reflect upon Christ's suffering and the humanity that made his death possible.[26] By gazing upon an image of Christ's crucified body and placing oneself within the holy event, the pious forged a highly emotional connection to their redeemer. Such images not only allowed for an increased sense of intimacy with the divine, but also emphasized Christ's bodily nature. His position as savior hinged upon his earthly body, which was not only sacrificed for humanity, but also served as a symbol that God truly understood human temptation and suffering. For many, this union with the heavenly could be achieved by meditating upon physical works.[27]

The materials of such devotional objects often played a critical role in viewers' meditative experience. Medieval artisans often intentionally asserted the materiality of their creations, making the medium of a work fundamental to devotees perception of the piece overall. Medieval theologians regularly described base materials as being imbued with Christological significance, each substance reflecting the divine light of creation through its inherent qualities. Artisans often crafted devotional objects out of numerous precious mediums. Their presence not only added a visual lavishness to the works but created a layering of deep semiotic meaning on a single object.[28] While precious metals and stones could convey complex theological messages to the pious, organic materials like wood, parchment, and ivory instilled images with a seemingly continued life with which viewers could identify.

Wood was considered living long after the tree it originated from was felled. Isidore of Seville described wood as "fertile and capable of becoming" and believed that it generated living worms.[29] In order to work with the medium, artisans had to adjust their approach based on the species of tree in question.[30] As Michael Baxandall points out in his discussion of limewood sculptures, craftspeople also often responded to the "lines of disposition and experience" on a trunk, incorporating elements like knots and growth patterns into their completed works.[31] This practice becomes evident when examining the face of St. Jerome from the piece *St. Augustine (or St. Ambrose) and St. Jerome,* where the carver has used the natural growth rings of the wood to emphasize both the suppleness of Jerome's cheeks and the deep wrinkles of his brow (Figure 12). Such familiarity also ensured that workers remained aware of the continuously shifting nature of their medium. Constantly changing positions in response to humidity changes, wooden pieces seemed to have a secret life all their own, rendered motionless only under the human gaze.

Like wood, parchment was rich with somatic potential due to the continued life attributed to the medium. Created from the skin of sheep or calves, parchment often retained visible remnants of the living beings it once enveloped. For theologians who saw Christ as the "Word made flesh" (John 1:14), the inscription of the word of God onto physical skin was particularly powerful. This led to an explosion of sermons and theological treaties that equated Christ's body to a book, likening his skin to parchment and the wounds he received during the Passion to rubricated text on the page's surface.[32] Christ's flesh was likewise described as a legal charter between divin-

24 Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe*, (New York: Zone Books, 2011), 18.

25 Herbert L. Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 20.

26 Salvador Ryan, "Christ the Wounded Lover and Affective Piety in Late Medieval Ireland and Beyond," in *The Materiality of Devotion in Late Medieval Europe,* eds. Henning Laugerud, Salvador Ryan, and Laura Katrine Skinnebach, (Portland: Four Courts Press, 2016), 71. For more information on affective piety see Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

27 Laura Katrine Skinnebach, "Transfiguration: Change and Comprehension in Late Medieval Devotional Perception," in *The Materiality of Devotion in Late Medieval Europe,* eds. Henning Laugerud, Salvador Ryan, and Laura Katrine Skinnebach, (Portland: Four Courts Press, 2016), 94–5.

28 Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art*, 10.

29 Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiorum sive originum libri*, XX, ed. W. M. Lindsay, Oxford, 1911, vol. 2, 321-3, book 19, section 19.3–6.

30 For more information on the nature of different woods and the requirements for carving see Nicholas Penny, "The Structure and Decoration of Larger Wooden Sculpture" and "Varieties of Smaller Wooden Sculpture," in *The Materials of Sculpture,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 123–152.

31 Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 32–33.

32 Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, "The Social Life of a Manuscript Metaphor," in *The Social Life of Illumination: Manuscripts, Images, and Communities in the Late Middle Ages,* eds. Joyce Coleman, Mark Cruse, and Kathryn A. Smith, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 17.

ity and humanity, one signed with his blood.[33] His suffering on the cross was equated with the preparation of parchment, which was stretched on a wooden frame, burnished, and then left under the hot sun for days during production.[34] Such analogies of the book as flesh were only heightened as a manuscript was used. The buildup of oils and grime from the user's hand emphasized pores and vein tracks of the former skin; a marker of use clearly seen on examples like *The Tower of Babel* page from a manuscript from the collection of the British Library (Figure 13).[35] Upon encountering such traces viewers were made increasingly aware of the similarities between themselves and the material, the phantom remnants of life encountered on their very own flesh.

Medieval scholars also believed that ivory contained a variety of symbolic meanings. Pliny the Elder believed ivory had purifying properties, a nature reflected in the tusk's pure white color and his claim that it could be used to remove facial blemishes.[36] The twelfth century scholar Guibert of Nogent expanded upon this belief, using ivory to connect Christ to his precursor in the Old Testament, Solomon, stating: "The wisdom of God the Father . . . that is Solomon, made for himself a throne of ivory, that is the seat in the Virgin, because [Christ] would not be placed in anything unchaste."[37] The lack of distinction between elephant and walrus tusks at the time raises the possibility that such meaning was given to walrus ivory as well. In this context the multivalent meaning of the *Crucified Christ* would have been heightened, possibly further surpassing that of its elephant counterpart as the symbolism associated with ivory was combined with a worshipper's reaction to both Christ's form and the associations with real death that walrus ivory evoked.

For viewers of the *Crucified Christ*, the experience of such an object was constructed both by the meaning inherent in the material and devotees' experience when encountering the work. Though the original setting for the piece has been lost, the statue was likely attached to either a standing or hanging cross removed from the larger Passion narrative. If conceived as a singular figure, the *Crucified Christ* would have stood without the mourners and torturers who were with him in his last moments, their presence indicated only by the wounds that adorn his body. As viewers kneeled in prayer before the work, likely in a private chapel or home prayer niche, they themselves replaced the grieving Virgin Mary and Saint John, reenacting the anguish of those who witnessed Christ's passing. During such an act of meditation, affective devotees were able to not only reimagine the larger story of Christ's death, but re-experience the torment, pain, and deep sense of loss that accompanied Christ's sacrifice.

This reimagining of the Passion was likely heightened by the realistic depiction of death created through the secondary dentine within the piece, a realism that may have drawn upon viewers' own experience with mortality. At a time when individuals often died in their homes surrounded by family, and where the bodies of executed criminals were left to rot in public, it is likely that a medieval Christian would have been aware of the impact of death on the body.[38] Stirred by the sight of the discolored *Crucified Christ,* such memories would trigger the same sense of horror—and perhaps even spectacle—felt by those who witnessed Christ's crucifixion. It likewise could call to mind an affective devotee's own feelings of sadness and loss following a loved one's demise, allowing them to identify both with the suffering of Christ during the Passion and the grief felt by those left behind. This mimetic connection to the narrative was further heightened by the theological discourse surrounding the concept of sight and light, as well as a viewer's physical interaction with the *Crucified Christ*.

Sight, Light, and Envisioning the Divine through Walrus Ivory

Rather than serving as a distraction during meditation, physical images were believed to be fundamental to devotees' affective reimagining of the Passion, serving to turn viewers' minds towards thoughts of God while providing clues as to the larger events they were envisioning.[39] Sermons of the time were filled with the language of sight, encouraging devotees to "see" or "behold" Christ's final moments as if they took place before their eyes.[40] Though such wording implies an active role on the part of worshippers, by the 1300s new treaties of sight cast the object, rather than the onlooker, as the active force within such an interaction.

A wave of translations in the twelfth century introduced medieval theologians to the classical writings of Aristotle and his model of intromission laid out in his work *Parva Naturalia*. The rediscovered Aristotelian theory claimed that objects released "species" into the air that then impressed themselves upon the eyes' glacial humors.[41] As Suzannah Biernoff states, this belief presents the eye not as an organ that obtains images, but one that instead becomes the visible object whose impression it receives.[42] Such images were believed to move through the five cells of the brain, including the *cogitativa* used for imagination, before finally impressing themselves upon dev-

33 Siegfried Wenzel, ed. and trans., *Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth Century Preacher's Handbook*, (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1989), 213.

34 Hennessy, "Social Life," 18.

35 Sarah Kay, *Animal Skins and the Reading of the Self in Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 3.

36 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History,* 28.24, eds. John Bostock and H.T. Riley, (London: Taylor and Francis, 1855).

37 Guibert of Nogent, *Liber de Laude Sanctae mariae*, Caput III, in *PL*, vol. 156, col. 542A. Cited in Sarah Guérin, "Meaningful Spectacles: Gothic Ivories Staging the Divine," in *Art Bulletin,* 95, 1, (March 2013): 62.

38 For more information on how familiar medieval viewers may have been with death see Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation,* (London: British Museum Press, 2001).

39 Michael Camille, *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 22.

40 For a discussion of this linguistic trend see Sarah McNamer, "The Genealogy of a Genera," in *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 56—86.

41 Camille, *Gothic Art*, 23. For more on medieval theories of vision see David C. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from Al-Kindi to Kepler*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.

42 Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages,* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 73.

otees' *vis memorativa*, or their memory storehouse.[43] When viewed in light of such beliefs, the *Crucified Christ* can be understood as possessing agency in its own right, both physically engaging with, and changing, its pious viewers. As the image of the *Crucified Christ* impressed itself upon worshippers' eyes the Passion narrative was further enlivened, this time not by the agency of the object but by devotees' reimagining of the scene. As they attempted to insert themselves within the larger story, viewers drew from their *vis memorativa* to recreate the story both based on their knowledge of the Passion and their recollection of personal life events. This recreation, however, is shaped not only by one's memories but by the indices within the *Crucified Christ* itself, markers which draw upon both Christ's final moments and the tortures he endured before his death.

A closer look at the figure reveals signs of torment that go far beyond his painted side wound. The discoloration within the secondary dentine beneath Christ's chin resembles a line of darkened bruises, drawing viewers' minds towards thoughts of Christ's flagellation and the pain that accompanied it. The glossy sheen of the walrus ivory evokes the sense of a fresh layer of sweat forming on Christ's weakened body as he baked under the hot sun, begging his tormentors for a drink only to be offered gal and vinegar. The figure's red flecked and darkened feet allude to the dusty road Christ trekked along barefoot as he carried the cross to Golgotha, as well as the blood that gushed forth as his feet were nailed to the wood of the cross. Such indices visually recreate the actions inflicted upon Christ's body, encouraging viewers to identify with the anguished human presented before them. As light interacts with such a piece, however, both the divine and human natures of Christ become equally evident for onlookers.

For medieval viewers light not only illuminated the devotional objects before them, but it also served to symbolically connect the devout to the divine. The Gothic era embraced light as the visible manifestation of God, inspired both by Christ's title as "light of the world" and by theologians, such as Robert Grosseteste, who argued that all light served as a model for acquiring holy knowledge and moral truths.[44] Grosseteste acknowledged, however, that there were limitations to such understanding as earlier laid out by Augustine in his treaties on the hierarchy of vision *De Genesi ad litteram*, as light only reveals what the corporeal eye is capable of capturing, that of the corporeal world.[45] This constant struggle between the visible and the unseen, between divine knowledge and the physical form, is only heightened by the material nature of the *Crucified Christ* and the intimate devotional environment where it was placed.

Positioned on a small private altar, the *Crucified Christ* would have been lit largely by the use of flickering candlelight. As pointed out by Bissera Pentcheva, the movement of a viewer or any air currents within an interior space would have caused a candle's flame to oscillate, casting constantly shifting shadows onto the works such as the *Crucified Christ.*[46] As the numerous minute channels within the semi-translucent ivory refracted the light moving through the object, it would have created the impression of a heavenly glow emanating from the figure itself.[47] When combined with the instability of candle light, however, this creates not a sustained glow but a flickering of life and presence. Continuously shifting from one moment to the next, the ever-changing nature of candlelight creates the impression that Christ himself is moving, seemingly shifting his head or taking a breath in the brief moments between the flaring of the flame at its highest and the dimming that directly follows.

The play of light on the *Crucified Christ* not only instills the piece with a sense of life, it likewise serves to underscore the figure's humanity. The shadows that fall across such works during a candle's dimming further darken the discoloration within the ivory as the glow of the material fades with the fleeting light.[48] It is in such instances that the object and narrative are joined in viewers' minds; the tracks of clotted veins seemingly spreading across Christ's body as it shifts from the radiance of the living divine to the pallor of a lifeless cadaver. This constant move between light and dark, life and death, emphasizes the two pivotal moments within Christian doctrine: the moment Christ is proven to be truly human and the instant he is revealed to be one with God.

When viewed in light of Grosseteste's treaties on sight and divinity, the duel nature captured by the *Crucified Christ* is further highlighted. Fascinated with the perfection of the holy body, Grosseteste argued in his work *De dotibus* that there were four elements that separated the divine form from the corporeal: clarity (*claritas*), subtlety or elusiveness (*subtilitas*), agility (*agilitas*), and impassibility (*impassibilitas*). Each category was seen as contrasting what Grosseteste dubbed the "possibility, darkness or obscurity, slowness and gross materiality" of the human body.[49] Viewed in the relation to these categories, the *Crucified Christ* can be understood as visually bridging the gap between the corporeal and the spiritual, inspiring deeper affective meditation on the body and Christ's role in the Trinity.

Each of Grosseteste's categories is based on an act he deemed to be impossible for the physical body. He defined *claritas* as the luminousness and transparency of the divine, the holy light which such forms project. The glow of light passing through the walrus ivory of the *Crucified Christ* encircles the piece with a radiant shine that appears more celestial than human, allowing the work to meet the definition of *claritas*. Grosseteste's second category, *subtilitas*, deals not with

43 Camille, *Gothic Art,* 23.

44 Augustine of Hippo, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, trans. and ed. John Hammond Taylor, (New York: Newman Press, 1982).

45 Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment,* 67—8.

46 Bissera V. Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon," *Art Bulletin,* 88, no. 4 (Dec., 2006): 631. For more information on how the use of incense may have further heightened the sensorial experience of medieval devotion see Susan A. Harvey, "St. Ephrem on the Scent of Salvation," *Journal of Theological Studies,* 48, no. 1 (1998): 109—28.

47 Murie, "Ecology and Biology," 89.

48 Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art,* 175—6.

49 Robert Grosseteste, *De dotibus*, 92–3, 102–9. Reproduced within Servus Gieben, "Robert Grosseteste and the Immaculate Conception: With the Text of the Sermon Tota Pulchra Es," in *Collectanea franciscana,* xxviii (1958): 221–7.

light but with form itself, as it speaks to the divine's ability to escape their gross corporeal form.[50] As the *Crucified Christ* shines with the light moving through its seemingly solid-state, the very boundaries of the work become blurred, as if the divide between the work and the holiness it represents is fading from sight. This play on light could be interpreted as almost a "decorporealization" of sorts, one in which Christ's physical figure appears moments away from transcending the earthly realm.

Grosseteste defines his third category, *agilitas,* as the ability to exist between states, one that the *Crucified Christ* inherently embodies through its materiality. The sculptor's manipulation of the walrus ivory medium captures Christ in a liminal space, suspending him between life and death, continuously re-enlivened by candlelight only to then fade along with the candle's flame. Yet the final category of the glorified divine soul, *impassibilitas*, is one that the *Crucified Christ* cannot quite reach. *Impassibilitas*, considered by Grosseteste to be the most noble condition, refers to a state of being free from the burdens of the body, a superiority of the spiritual over the material.[51] For those reflecting upon Christ's lifeless form, this final category is not clearly met; as viewers examine the hints of life and resurrection captured by Christ's pristine, unblemished face and the luminosity of the work, Christ's freedom from the corporeal is called into question. Rather than a true image of the divine body, the *Crucified Christ* is a being in flux, rendered both human and supernatural. The work's inability to overcome its overt physicality, its *thingness,* further draws the object back into the worldly realm as viewers touch the piece in an attempt to close the distance between themselves and their absent savior. It is Christ's dual role as both human and divine that devotees were encouraged to meditate upon during their affective devotion. In this sense the *Crucified Christ* performs what Alfred Gell saw as the duty of an art object, locating Christ's agency as ultimately both human and supernatural.[52]

Touching the Divine: Understanding Tactile Interaction and the Crucified Christ

The flourishing of personal devotional objects that coincided with the rise of affective piety not only led to an increased emphasis on the act of viewing a work but also on tactile engagement with such pieces as well. Touch was of particular importance to Christians who maintained that God had become a man and had lived on earth, where he was within the physical realm.[53] The handheld nature of the *Crucified Christ* likely encouraged such viewers to physically engage with the work, as did the fact that the sculpture was carved entirely in the round. The consistent level of detailed craftsmanship even on the piece's back serves to further heighten the realism of the object and thus the affective reimagining it encouraged. By physically engaging with the object devotees could imagine touching the Son of God himself, momentarily compressing the gap between themselves and Christ.

Though the walrus ivory *Crucified Christ* does not evoke the softness and give of the human body, the physicality of the material still has a substantial impact on the devotional experience. To understand the importance of touch in regards to affective piety, scholars must examine the object in question as far more than just a placeholder for a distant divinity, but as a work capable of spiritually acting upon its beholder.[54] Through touch viewers not only momentarily bridged the physical gap between themselves and God, they likewise compressed the time that separated them from Christ's lifetime. As devotees placed their hands upon the cold, hard body of the lifeless Christ, they symbolically took the place of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus who removed Christ from the cross. As worshipers touched the ivory, however, the high collagen content within the medium slowly diffused the heat from the viewers' hands, the warmth spreading throughout the entirety of the medium and giving the impression of a life regained. This temperature change, combined with the continued glow of the figure, hints at the narrative still to come, Christ's Resurrection left unwitnessed by human eyes.

Yet, while physically interacting with the *Crucified Christ* allowed viewers to imagine themselves within the larger Crucifixion scene, this act likewise served to reinforce the very time and space that devotees momentarily surpassed. As devotees touched the object it exerted pressure back, reminding them both of their own bodily state that separates them from divinity and the work's status as a placeholder for the absent Christ.[55] As Michael Yonan argues, to recognize the thingness of an object is to also admit "that it can never entirely be absorbed into one's consciousness…it remains forever external, always at odds and foreign, and insistently beyond the realm of pure comprehension."[56] Thus the *Crucified Christ's* insistent materiality reasserts the need for prayer and devotion on the part of viewers, emphasizing that only through meditation upon such pieces and the God they represent can the pious better understand the splendor and mystery of the divine.

Conclusion

Through their manipulation of the medium of walrus ivory, the sculptor of the *Crucified Christ* grants the work the ability to spark the imagination and "recreate the experience of deeply felt moments."[57] Though stylistically similar to many

50 Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment,* 37–8.

51 Joseph Goering, "The *De Dotibus* of Robert Grosseteste*," Medieval Studies,* 44 (1982): 98; Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment,* 37—8. For more information on Grosseteste's theological treaties see Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253,* (Cambridge, 1940, repr. 1971).

52 Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, (New York: Clarendon Press, 1998), 18.

53 Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art,* 70.

54 Elina Gertsman, "Matter Matters," in *Feeling Things: Objects and Emotions Throughout History*, eds. Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway, and Sarah Randalls, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 29.

55 Susan Stewart, "From the Museum of Touch," in *Material Memories,* eds. Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward, and Jeremy Aynsley, (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 31.

56 Michael Yonan, "Toward a Fusion of Art History and Material Culture Studies," *West 86th,* 18, no. 2 (2011): 11.

57 Jules David Prown, "The Truth of Material Culture," in *American Artifacts: Essays in Material Culture*, eds. Jules David Prown and Kenneth Haltman (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000), 6.

works made of elephant tusk, the use of walrus ivory instills the piece with a powerful agency, one that encourages a reciprocal relationship between observer and object that, in many ways, surpasses that of its elephant counterparts. Through the indices within the ivory—the darkened secondary dentine made visible by the carver's skill—the piece is able to reshape viewers' devotional experiences, one constantly reimagined as each new hint of the Passion narrative is discovered and each past memory evoked. As worshippers explore both the hints of death and promise of revival on the *Crucified Christ's* surface, they are encouraged to reflect not only upon Christ's loss and Resurrection but also their own mortality and the ultimate goal of their prayers as well. By meditating upon the former markers of life evident within the walrus ivory and their own experiences of suffering, loss, and ultimate joy, the pious were brought one step closer to both understanding their savior and reaching him in the afterlife.

University of Kansas

Figure 1. (*facing page*) *Crucified Christ*, Northern European, ca. 1300, walrus ivory with traces of paint and gilding dimensions: 7 9/16 x 2 1/16 x 1 3/8 in., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2005.274.

Figure 2. (*above)* Detail of the inner layers of elephant and walrus ivory. Left: Elephant dentine from a cross section of a gaming piece. Right: Walrus ivory tusk cross section preserving a thin outer layer of cementum, a uniform layer of dense primary dentine, and an inner layer of secondary dentine. Right: From the bottom of *Game Piece with Hercules Throwing Diomedes to His Man-Eating Horses*, German, ca. 1150, elephant ivory, diam. 2 3/4 x 13/16 in., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 16.106. Left: Thomas Kenneth Penniman, *Pictures of Ivory and Other Animal Teeth, Bone and Antler, with a Brief Commentary on their use in Identification*, (Oxford: University of Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, 1952).

Figure 3. (*above left*) Detail of the torso of the *Crucified Christ*, Northern European, ca. 1300, walrus ivory with traces of paint and gilding, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2005.274.

Figure 4. (*below left*) Detail of the face of the *Crucified Christ*, Northern European, ca. 1300, walrus ivory with traces of paint and gilding, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2005.274.

Figure 5. (*right*) Detail of a side view of the *Crucified Christ*, Northern European, ca. 1300, walrus ivory with traces of paint and gilding, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2005.274.

Figure 6. *Oslo Corpus*, c. 1200, walrus ivory, Nasjonalmuseet, Oslo, OK-10314.

Figure 7. (*above*) Detail of two Apostles from the *Plaque from a Portable Altar: Christ and the Apostles*, Germany, 1050-1100, walrus ivory, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, 1922.307.

Figure 8. (*below*) Detail of Christ in a Mandorla, from the *Plaque from a Portable Altar: Christ and the Apostles*, Germany, 1050-1100, walrus ivory, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, 1922.307.

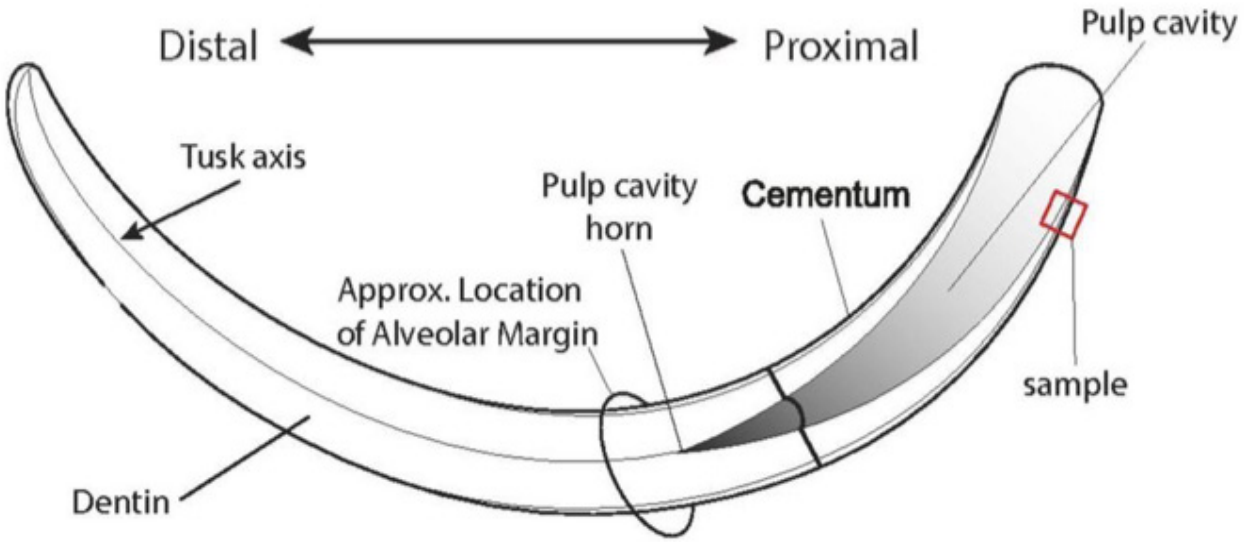

Figure 9. (above) Diagram of the interior structure of an elephant tusk. The pulp cavity of the tusk is considered to be uncarvable due to its soft nature. The line on the tusk's axis indicates where the nerve within the tusk runs, and also where the craftsmen would split the tooth in preparation for carving. Like the pulp cavity, the material surrounding this nerve channel must likewise be removed due to its soft nature. Credit to the National Academy of Sciences, Published within Cerling, Thure E., Janet E. Barnette, Lesley A. Chesson, Iain Douglas-Hamilton, Kathleen S. Gobush, Kevin T. Uno, Samuel K. Wasser, and Xiaomei Xu. 2016. "Radiocarbon dating of seized ivory confirms rapid decline in African elephant populations and provides insight into illegal trade". *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*. 113 (47): 13330-13335.

Figure 10. (*above left*) Detail of the approximate distribution of the secondary dentine within the *Crucified Christ*, Northern European, ca. 1300, walrus ivory with traces of paint and gilding, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2005.274.

Figure 11. (*below left*) Detail of the shift between primary and secondary dentine within the hair of the *Crucified Christ,* Northern European, ca. 1300, walrus ivory with traces of paint and gilding, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2005.274.

Figure 12. (*right*) Detail of the face of St. Jerome from *St. Augustine (or St. Ambrose) and St. Jerome*, German, early 16th century, oak, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 16.32.225.

Figure 13. Signs of usage on the flesh side of the *The Tower of Babel*, British Library, London, Il Tesoro: Yates Thompson MS 28, f. 51r.

Reexamining Syncretism in Late Antique Iconography of a Vault Mosaic

Sonia Dixon

Late Antiquity, third to seventh centuries, is a period recognized for the continuity and change of Roman culture despite a new religion and political instability.[1] This continuity allowed space for syncretism: an amalgamation of different art, religion, and culture in the Empire.[2] Ják Elsner explains that fourth-century Rome was a complex city juxtaposing "pagan polytheism and institutional Christianity."[3] Christian themes appropriating pagan iconographies demonstrate the visual syncretism of the period creating multivalent interpretations. In the following pages, I discuss the understanding of a vault mosaic featuring a charioteer or solar figure within the necropolis in Vatican City, Rome, Italy. Scholars generally agree that syncretism was part of Roman visual culture, however, I suggest it is not often taken into consideration when studying this mosaic. I argue for a more nuanced interpretation to better understand the iconography's meaning.

For this paper, I use material culture from Rome and Constantinople that dates from the first to fourth centuries in order to contextualize the mosaic with other syncretic works of art and to demonstrate multiple readings of artworks. I begin with an examination of the decorative programs of the necropolis including the room with the vault mosaic. Next, I briefly investigate iconographies of the ascension to demonstrate a concern with the afterlife by different audiences. Then, I analyze visual evidence of continuity and change in meaning of imperial iconography on material culture during the reign of Constantine I (r. 306–337) to show more examples of syncretic art by a single patron. My methodological approach decenters Christianity—a point to which I will return—seeking a more accurate contextualization of Late Antique material culture.

The necropolis now lies underneath Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome (Figure 1). Originally, it was an open-air cemetery that ran parallel to the Via Cornelia and the Circus of Caligula, also known as the Circus of Nero.[4] I first put the necropolis in context. In its original state, individual burial chambers were built from the first to early fourth centuries and included cremation and inhumation burial practices.[5] The site is a palimpsest layered with varied sacralities over time; the *Liber Pontificalis* claims that a temple dedicated to Apollo once stood in this location.[6] Adjacent to it was the circus, a place identified with Christian persecution and associated with Saint Peter's martyrdom.[7] In the mid-fourth century, it is also where the Roman Emperor Constantine built Saint Peter's Basilica to honor the apostle.[8] The current state of Saint Peter's originates from the sixteenth-century construction of the basilica and now sits on top of the necropolis.

My focus for this paper is the vault mosaic found in Tomb M, built in the second century (Figure 2).[9] The room originally functioned for a pagan burial, evident by a niche, which once held a container with cremated ashes.[10] Non-figural frescoes decorate the lower register of the room, while a mosaic decorative program with narrative scenes adorns the upper level of the three walls and the barrel vault.[11] The aniconic frescos in the lower register were part of the room's original second-century construction. According to scholars, this room was transformed in the third century from a pagan to a Christian tomb based on the iconographies of the upper walls.[12] Scholarship interprets the transformation as either a new family purchased the tomb and installed the mosaics, or the original family converted to Christianity, then added the decorative program.[13] It is the only redecorated room in the necropolis. The mosaiced program visible today was added in the third century.[14] The walls depict three of the most common Christian scenes in Late Antiquity: the Good Shepherd—now lost—on the west wall, the Fisherman on the north wall, and Jonah on the east

1 I use the dates established in Peter Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity*, The Carl Newell Jackson Lectures (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978).

2 Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100-450*, Oxford History of Art (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 211–21.

3 Jaś Elsner, "Inventing Christian Rome: The Role of Early Christian Art," in *Rome the Cosmopolis*, eds. G. Woolf and C. Edwards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 76.

4 Jocelyn Toynbee and John Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (London: Patheon Books, 1957), 24; Margherita Guarducci, *The Tomb of St. Peter: The New Discoveries in the Sacred Grottoes of the Vatican,* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1960), 52; Pietro Zander, *The Necropolis under St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican* (Naples: De Rosa, 2009), 6–7; and Paolo Liverani, Giandomenico Spinola, and Pietro Zander, *The Vatican Necropoles. Rome's City of the Dead* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 14.

5 The site features burial pits, urns, and sarcophagi. Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *Shrine of St. Peter*, 30; Liverani, Spinola, and Zander, *Vatican Necropoles*, 24.

6 I use the term palimpsest as discussed in Nadja Aksamija, Clark Maines, and Phillip B. Wagoner, eds., *Palimpsests: Buildings, Sites, Time*, vol. 4, Architectural Crossroads (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017); James T. Shotwell, ed., *The Book of the Popes (Liber Pontificales)*, trans. Louise Ropes Loomis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1916), 5.

7 Liverani, Spinola, and Zander, *Vatican Necropoles*, 18.

8 Liverani, Spinola, and Zander, *Vatican Necropoles*, 20.

9 Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *Shrine of St. Peter*, 72.

10 A pagan-style dedicatory inscription, now lost, also suggests a pagan owner. The inscription was found and copied in 1574; it is now lost. During this period, Christians only practiced inhumation, while pagans practiced both cremation and inhumation. Some scholarship does not recognize that pagans practiced inhumation, but there is evidence that they did. Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *Vatican Excavations*, 72.

11 According to scholarship, the wall with the doorway does not feature a mosaic scene.

12 Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *Vatican Excavations*, 29.

13 Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *Vatican Excavations*, 72.

14 Scholars date the mosaic by the subject matter and the treatment of the tesserae. Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *Vatican Excavations*, 72.

wall (Figures 3 and 4).[15] Although these scenes represent standard Christian iconography of salvific imagery, elements of all three were used before Christianity with a secular purpose or for a pagan cult.[16]

The most well-known image from this tomb is that of the charioteer on the vault measuring 78 x 64 3/16 inches (198 x 163 cm).[17] A 1574 construction project damaged parts of the decoration, but the image remains clear; it features a figure wearing a tunic with a billowing cloak, holding an orb in their left hand (Figure 5).[18] The figure rides in a chariot, apparent by the two horses and remaining wheel.[19] The horses face left as the figure looks to the right.

Scholarship generally interprets the charioteer as Christian in two ways. First, scholars identify the figure as Christ.[20] Second, the mosaic scenes on the walls have a Christian reading and thus seemingly require a Christian interpretation of the figure—neglecting the iconographies' non-Christian origins.[21] Most frequently, scholars identify the vault image as Christ as Helios—Christ with attributes of the Greek solar deity Helios or Sol.[22] The non-Christian solar identification is accepted because Late Antiquity, especially the third century, is a period of religious syncretism, and as a result, has iconographical syncretism in art.[23]

Even with this acknowledgement, the image is normally identified as Christian. This identification needs to be re-examined since the interpretation often prioritizes Christianity over multivalency. I suggest that the mosaic can only be properly viewed in the context of the period, and that to do this, we must decenter Christianity from the discussion of Late Antique art. Deemphasizing Christianity—without removing it from the narrative—allows agency to paganism or other religions that persisted during Late Antiquity. This approach, as argued by seminal scholar of Late Antiquity Peter Brown, results in a more accurate contextualization of the period and its art.[24]

Brown describes the Late Antique period as a "shaken kaleidoscope."[25] Roman culture persisted, but the new religion of Christianity shifted the political and religious climate.[26] Scholars often emphasize Late Antiquity as a period of change and continuity. I argue the third to seventh centuries shifted more than they changed. I suggest this distinction recognizes the slow Christianization within the Empire. For instance, evidence demonstrates that paganism continued into at least the sixth century.[27] In Late Antiquity, traditional Roman and Christian cults were both polytheistic and monotheistic; not all Christians only practiced Christianity. Some Christians incorporated existing religions into Christianity, which contributed to syncretic art. In 2018, Javier Martínez Jiménez, Isaac Sastre de Diego, and Carlos Tejerizo García convincingly argue that Christianization was a slow 200-year process beginning in the third century with the establishment of the tetrarchy.[28] The shift must remain in the forefront of scholarship for this period. I suggest the state of the problem arises when scholarship overprivileges a single Christian meaning.

Another tomb in the necropolis provides evidence of the coexistence of multiple religions in the Roman Empire. Tomb Z dates to the second century and is known as the Tomb of the Egyptians.[29] It features a fresco of the Egyptian goddess Hathor and sun god Horus and a sarcophagus with Dionysus.[30] In the third century, a Christian woman was buried in this space, as is evident by her dedicatory slab showing a palm leaf and dove.[31] I suggest the insertion of a Christian tomb in a space with existing pagan iconographies is not unusual for the period. This addition shows individuals were more concerned

15 An undated photograph suggests the west wall's decoration is lost. Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *Vatican Excavations*, 74.

16 Generally, scholarship does not accept that the Jonah scene has pagan origins, however, I suggest including the sea creature, *ketos*, connects the narrative scene to pagan imagery. The pagan imagery of the ketos represented "watery chaos," which can refer to Jonah's journey. Snyder suggests the presence of the ketos symbolizes Christians living among non-believers. See Graydon F. Snyder, *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life before Constantine* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1985).

17 Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), 522, cat. 467.

18 Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *Vatican Excavations*, 72; Jonathan Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 327; and Guarducci, *Tomb of St. Peter*, 60–61.

19 In the original design, four horses pulled the chariot. Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 522.

20 Toynbee and Perkins, *Vatican Excavations*, 74.

21 For scholars who identify the vault image as Christ based on the subject-matter on the walls, see Guarducci, *Tomb of St. Peter*, 78; Toynbee and Perkins, *Vatican Excavations*, 74; and Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 522. Not all scholars accept a clear Christian reading of the figure. Brubaker suggests the ceiling figure may represent Constantine. Leslie Brubaker, "God or Emperor? Imperial Legacies in Byzantine Christian Visual Culture," in *Imperial Lineages and Legacies in the Eastern Mediterranean: Recording the Imprint of Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman Rule*, ed. Rhoads Murphey, vol. 18, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies (New York: Routledge, 2017), 84. See also Bardill, *Constantine*, 327. Eastmond states no details reveal that the figure is Christ, but he suggests the wall mosaics determine a Christian context. Anthony Eastmond, *The Glory of Byzantium and Early Christendom* (New York: Phaidon Press, 2013), 14.

22 Some scholarship uses the solar deity Apollo, rather than Helios.

23 Bardill, *Constantine*, 327.

24 Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (November 1971): 80–101; Brown, *Late Antiquity*.

25 Peter Brown, "Art and Society," in *Age of Spirituality*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 22.

26 For further discussion on this topic, see Brown, "Art and Society"; Brown, "Holy Man"; and Jaś Elsner, "Late Antique Art: The Problem of the Concept and the Cumulative Aesthetic," in *Approaching Late Antiquity: The Transformation from Early to Late Empire*, eds. Simon Swain and Mark Edward, repr., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

27 Bowersock provides evidence of the continuation of paganism within the Roman Empire. G. W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*, Jerome Lectures 18 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990).

28 The tetrarchy was a government system established by Diocletian in 293 that comprised of two *caesars* and two *augusti*. Javier Martínez Jiménez, Isaac Sastre de Diego, and Carlos Tejerizo García, "The Settings of Late Roman Hispania," in *The Iberian Peninsula between 300 and 850: An Archaeological Perspective* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 47–66.

29 Zander, *Necropolis*, 36.

30 Zander, *Necropolis*, 36–38.

31 The palm and dove are standard Christian iconographies. Zander, *Necropolis*, 38.

with their personal faith and afterlife than their proximity to what contemporary scholars separate as opposing religions. There is no evidence of altering or concealing the original fresco when the Christian was buried here.

The Ascension

An iconography that directly relates to the afterlife is that of the ascension. This iconography is not reserved for one religion or group of people. For this paper I identify two types: one for the imperial and the other for the non-imperial. Imperial ascension guarantees that an emperor becomes a god, preserving their legacy. Non-imperial ascension provides salvation for an individual in their afterlife. Generally, the visual expression of an ascension is represented by two distinct iconographies. The first example is found on the marble base of the Column of Antoninus Pius (Figure 6). The monument was dedicated in 161 and rests in Campus Martius. One side of the base depicts the emperor and his wife Faustina with a *genius*, as eagles flank the couple. The scene of the ascension in this example is in the form of an apotheosis. An apotheosis is an imperial funerary ceremonial when Roman emperors become gods.[32]

The second example of an ascension iconography is found in Tomb B of Fannia Redempta at the necropolis (Figure 7). The room dates to the second century and includes a poorly preserved depiction of a charioteer in a *quadriga* in the central medallion of the cross vault.[33] Four smaller medallions depict busts of the seasons.[34] The iconography of Tomb B is similar to that of Tomb M, which was mosaiced in the following century. Unlike Tomb M, scholars only recognize Tomb B's ceiling decoration as non-Christian; however, the vault mosaic in Tomb M appears as an ascension.[35]

Iconographies of the ascension are syncretic. I suggest the understanding of syncretic images depends on the media, the context of the image, and the interpretation by the viewer. Placement on a tomb's vault in the same necropolis, such as Tomb B or M, does not require a single interpretation.

Constantine I

Multivalency in Late Antiquity is further evident in art commissioned by Constantine I. I focus on Constantine to further demonstrate the extent of Late Antique syncretism and the issues with overprivileging Christian narratives. I turn now to the emperor and begin with a brief biography. Constantine first ruled as a member of the tetrarchy in 306.[36] In 312, he became the sole emperor of the western Roman Empire.[37] Soon after he issued the Edict of Milan in 313.[38] The edict did not, as often represented, make Christianity the state religion, but rather made this newer religion legal and the persecution of its followers illegal.[39] Then in 324, Constantine became the sole Roman Emperor.[40] Today, he is best known as the first Christian emperor, but the account of his conversion was written after his death by the bishop Eusebius, who wished to improve his own standing in the new church.[41] In short, we have no evidence of Constantine's personal religion. Coins issued by Constantine are frequently cited in scholarship as evidence of the emperor's support of Christianity within the empire, however, the coins also reflect the religious syncretism of the period.

Constantine had a silver medallion minted in 313 in present day Pavia, Italy, and issued it in 315 to celebrate his *decennalia* (Figure 8).[42] The obverse features the bust of Constantine with a horse, shield, and scepter. His helmet bears the Chi-Rho, a monogram of two superimposed Greek letters, which begin the word Christ.[43] The obverse inscription reads, "Emperor Constantine Pious and Fortunate Augustus."[44] The reverse shows a depiction of an imperial ceremony, possibly that of the victory at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in Rome on October 28, 312.[45] The reverse inscription translates to, "conservation of the state."[46] If analyzed alone, this medallion seems to support Constantine as a Christian ruler, however, further examination of art commissioned by Constantine shows otherwise.

In 313, Constantine had a gold *solidus* minted (Figure 9). The obverse features two profile busts. In the foreground is a depiction of Constantine in military garb. In front of him rests a shield with an image of a charioteer in a *quadriga*. The figure behind the emperor is the deity Sol, who bears a

32 A more detailed description of "apotheosis" can be found in the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. See "Apotheosis," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, eds. Alexander Kazhdan and Anthony Cutler, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

33 Fannia Redempta refers to the woman buried in the space known through an epitaph dedicated by her husband Aurelius Hermes. Zander refers to the central image as "a sun chariot." Zander, *Necropolis*, 49.

34 Zander, *Necropolis*, 50.

35 They suggest later owners covered the solar figure with a decorated disc, possibly to conceal pagan imagery. Toynbee and Perkins, *Vatican Excavations*, 44.

36 Noel Lenski, "The Reign of Constantine," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. Noel Lenski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 61–62.

37 Lenski, "Reign of Constantine," 68–70.

38 Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, 48.2–12.

39 Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, 48.2–12.

40 Raymond Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 81–87.

41 For a closer examination of Eusebius, see Jan Willem Drijvers, "Eusebius' 'Vita Constantini' and the Construction of the Image of Maxentius," in *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*, eds. Hagit Amirav and R. B. ter Haar Romeny, Late Antique History and Religion (Louvain: Peeters, 2007), 11–27.

42 Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 66.

43 In Greek, "Χριστός."

44 IMP[ERATOR] CONSTANTINVS P[IVS] F[ELIX] AVG[VSTVS].

45 It is standard for Roman imperial coins to feature a military scene on the reverse. For more on the battle see: Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, trans. Averil Cameron and Stuart George Hall, Clarendon Ancient History Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, 44.5–6; and Raymond Van Dam, *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

46 SALVS REI PVBLICAE.

radiate crown. The obverse inscription reads, "Unconquered Constantine, Maximus Augustus," a title given to him by the Senate in 312.[47] This coin commemorates Constantine's arrival in Milan and his declaration of the Edict of Milan.

Three elements on the obverse of this *solidus* reference salvation. First, the deity Sol insures and provides military salvation for Roman emperors and is a continuation of a Roman imperial tradition. Second, Sol's full epithet is Sol Invictus, meaning unconquered or invincible. I suggest the word Invictus in this case applies to both Sol and Constantine. Third, the depiction of the ascension on the shield emphasizes the salvific meaning. The inscription on the reverse reads, "the auspicious entry of our Augusti."[48] The plural form of *augustus* alludes to the tetrarchy that remained established at the time of mint. The coin was minted in 313, but not issued until 315, a year after the dissolution of the tetrarchy. The reverse features a typical *adventus*, the ceremonial entrance of the emperor into a city. The emperor on horseback is preceded by the personification of victory and followed by that of virtue.

Constantine's silver medallion and gold *solidus* were minted in the same location and in the same year. The medallion features a Christogram, while the *solidus* features Sol. According to the general perception and presentation in scholarship, the two objects feature iconography from two separate religions: Roman paganism and Christianity. Constantine was aware of the growing aristocratic class adopting the newer religion. This group had great influence in the empire so it was necessary for Constantine to appease them. At the same time, the Senate remained largely pagan.[49]

On May 11, 330, Constantine officially moved his capital from Rome to Constantinople (present-day Istanbul, Turkey).[50] He continued the imperial tradition of erecting imperial monuments such as the porphyry column in the new capital's forum.[51] As with the other objects linked to Constantine, this column visually expresses Roman imperial rule and divinity. According to descriptions, the column originally supported a bronze statue of a figure wearing a seven-point radiate crown holding a spear and possibly an orb.[52] Reconstructions of the statue vary in composition, but all feature the radiate crown. Scholars contest the identification of this figure as representing either Constantine or a solar deity. I suggest that the radiate crown provides one clear meaning—this is a salvific figure. I propose that Constantine may have intended a conflated interpretation of the figure, like that seen on his *solidus* with Sol Invictus.

The iconography of a figure with a radiate crown begins long before Constantine came to power. This particular crown is an attribute of a solar deity and of Roman emperors.[53] Tiberius minted a bronze coin for the first Roman emperor Augustus (r. 27 BCE–14 CE) in the year 15 (Figure 10).[54] It features a profile bust of Caesar Augustus wearing a radiate crown. The obverse inscription reads, "divine Augustus."[55] The coin was minted after his death, as is evident by the word *divus,* an honorific title the senate granted to Roman emperors, that refers to his divinity in the afterlife.

Following this tradition, a gold *solidus* was issued in 337 and minted in Constantinople (Figure 11). The sons of Constantine struck the coin after his death in the same year. The commemorative coin features a profile bust of a veiled Constantine, indicating that he is dead. The inscription reads, "deified Constantine father of the emperors."[56] Constantine was granted the same honorific title *divus*. He does not wear a radiate crown on the coin, but the tradition of using the term divine continues. On the reverse we see the familiar iconography of a charioteer and *quadriga* flying upwards. Constantine ascends and extends an arm to, what appears to be, a hand protruding from the sky. I suggest this coin demonstrates syncretic art in Late Antiquity. The hand could be interpreted in a variety of ways. One may interpret the iconography of the posthumous coin as Christian, but it is posthumous and, as with Eusebius's work on the emperor's life, we are dealing with identity placed on Constantine after his death. Although scholarship often refers to Constantine as the first Christian emperor, his posthumous coin does not support this. His last coin depicts a standard imperial Roman iconography of an apotheosis. Scholarship also points to the building of Old Saint Peter's Basilica, the Holy Sepulcher, and the Chi-Rho monogram on his medallion as evidence of his Christian identity, while neglecting to mention the pagan temples he also erected.[57] I suggest that the situation in the fourth century was more complex. Constantine had to balance his role as emperor with a religiously fluid empire that included pagans and monotheistic and polytheistic Christians. Furthermore, iconography in the mid-third and fourth centuries had a slippery slope of interpretation. Constantine commissioned multivalent works, such as his coin with Sol or the porphyry column in Constantinople, with syncretic figures who bear a radiate crown.[58] It is unclear if the emperor, or a solar deity, is depicted. The image may also depict a conflation of the two. I suggest this is not

47 INVICTVS CONSTANTIVS MAX[IMVS] AVG[VSTVS]. Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, 44.11.

48 FELIX ADVENTVS AVGG[VSTORVM] NN[OSTRORVM].

49 Van Dam, *Roman Revolution*, 39.

50 Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 17.

51 Only the column and base survive, both in very poor condition.

52 Bassett, *Urban Image*, 71.

53 Elsner states that Constantine followed Augustus's use of iconography of the radiate crown, which demonstrates Augustus's affiliation to Apollo. Ja□ Elsner, "Perspectives in Art," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. Noel Emmanuel Lenski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 264. Augustus's affiliation to solar divinity does not rest on the coin alone. Augustus erected an obelisk, from Heliopolis, Egypt, to coordinate with the solar calendar in 10 BCE. Bardill, *Constantine*, 42.

54 Bardill, *Constantine*, 47.

55 DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER.

56 DIVVS CONSTANTINVS AVG[VSTVS] PATER AVGG[VSTORVM].

57 Bassett argues that Constantine consciously continued a civic tradition when building his new capital rather than the new religion. Bassett, *Urban Image*, 34–36; Elsner, "Perspectives in Art," 255.

58 Elsner argues that his commissioned works demonstrate Constantine's strategy of following tradition while providing innovation. Elsner, "Perspectives in Art," 255.

limited to works relating to an emperor.

Conclusion

Returning to the necropolis, the figure in the vault mosaic found in Tomb M should be viewed through the same lens. The scenes on the tomb's lower walls cannot unequivocally determine the identification of the vault mosaic as Christian. I argue for a reading that is more encompassing—one that removes an emphasis on Christianity and allows space for multiple readings. I suggest that the ceiling image provides a visible concern for the afterlife and desire for salvation, whether through Christ, or Helios, or Sol, or a divine emperor; this depends on the viewer. A viewer could also interpret the figure as more than one person at the same time, a similar approach to the solar figure used by Constantine on different media.

Interpretation of syncretic art during Late Antiquity is multifactorial. The interpretation depends on who enters the space and when. As I have discussed, religion was not as confined as we recognize today. This is especially true in the third century when Tomb M's decorative program was erected. The reading of the image could also shift over time as Christianity did not bring immediate changes the Roman Empire. The syncretic identity of the figure in the vault provides multiple readings of salvation for the faithful, which reflects its historical context as it was erected during a time of shifts and instability.

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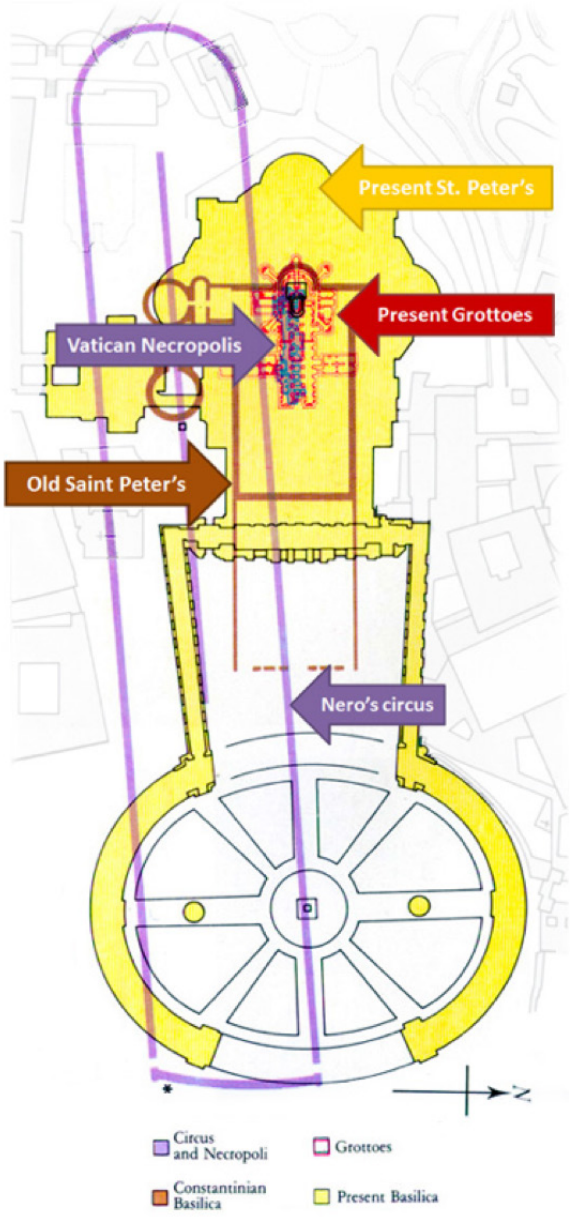

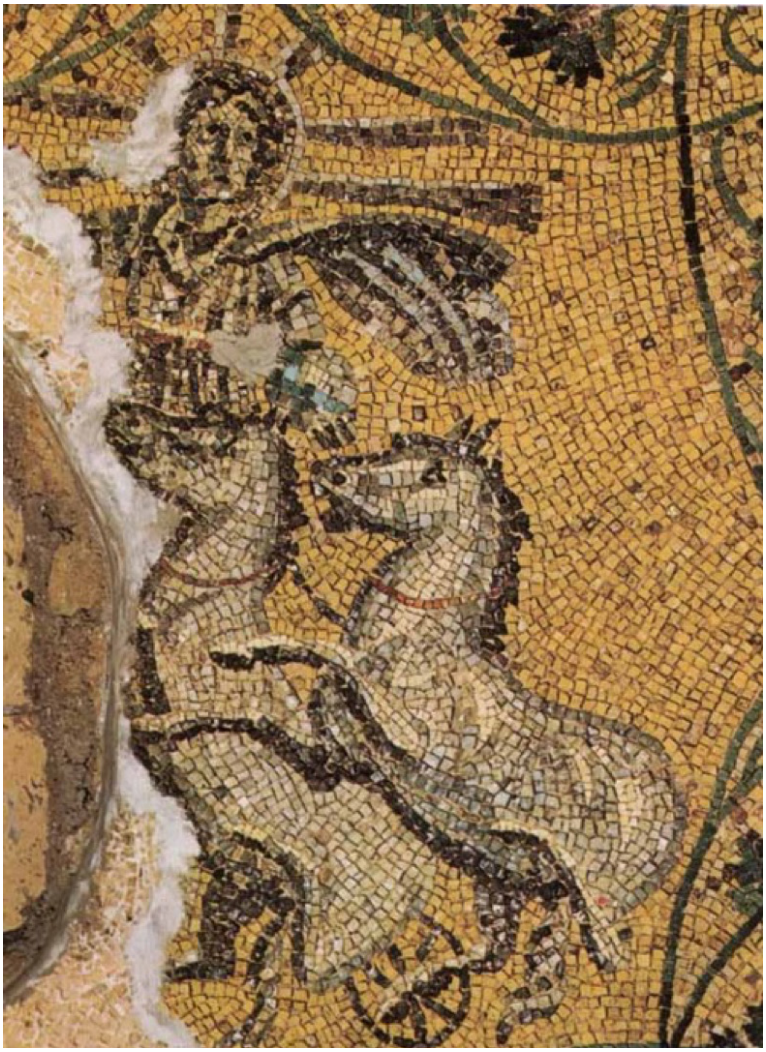

Figure 1. *(left)* Layered plan of the Vatican Hill. Photo credit: Maxwell School of Syracuse University.

Figure 2. *(right) Ceiling mosaic of Tomb M*, 3rd century, tesserae, 78 x 64 3/16 inches (198 x 163 cm). Photo credit: Wikimedia.

Figure 3. The wall on the left, the west wall, appears heavily damaged. *The Fisherman* on the north wall, Vatican Necropolis. After Zander, *The Necropolis under St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican*.

Figure 4. *Jonah* on the east wall. Vatican Necropolis. After Zander, *The Necropolis under St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican*.

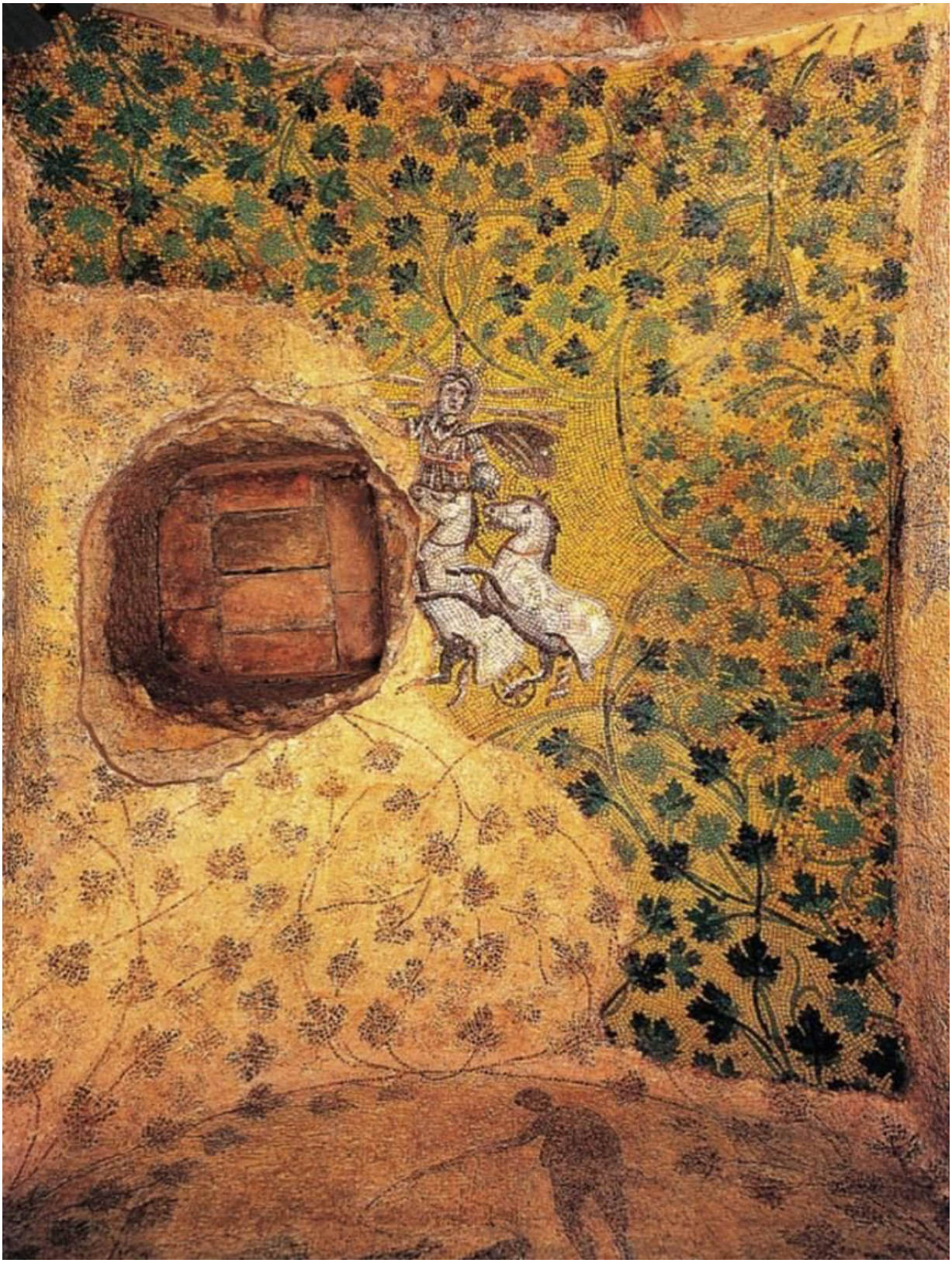

Figure 5. This photograph shows the 1574 damage and the lost tesserae with the underdrawing. Photo credit: Wikimedia.

Figure 6. (*facing page, above*) Base of the *Column of Antoninus Pius*, ca. 161-180 CE, marble, height: 97.25 in (247.02 cm). Image source: Charles S. Rhyne from Reed College Digital Collections.

Figure 7. (*facing page, below*) *Tomb B*, Fannia Redempta, Vatican Necropolis. After Gee, "Cult and Circus *In Vaticanum*."

Figure 8. *Medallion (electrotype) of Constantine I*, minted in 313 CE, issued 315 CE, bronze, diameter 24 millimeters. British Museum, 2012,4159.1.

Figure 9. *Coin of Constantine I*, minted in 313 CE, gold, diameter 4 cm. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet de médailles (RIC, VII, 111).

Figure 10. *Coin of Augustus*, minted in Rome ca. 15 CE, copper alloy, diameter 27 millimeters. British Museum, R.6413.

Figure 11. *Solidus of Constantine I*, minted in 337 CE, gold, weight 4.42 grams. British Museum, 1986,0610.1.

Sight, Sound, and Silence at the Oratorio of San Bernardino in Clusone

Angelica Verduci

At the top of a hill in the medieval town of Clusone (Bergamo, northern Italy), a steep staircase leads into the porch of the seventeenth-century Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta. Moving towards the left, the beholder is led to the quiet courtyard of the fourteenth-century Oratorio of San Bernardino, only to be suddenly overwhelmed by a spellbinding mural painting, which is depicted on the eastern outer façade of the edifice (Figures 1 and 2).[1] From the top down, a gigantic skeleton, royally attired, embodies Death, who stages its triumph on an open tomb. Written scrolls flutter in the air and announce that Death is the harbinger of a universal fate to which everyone is subdued.[2] On Death's sides, two smaller skeletons point a bow and a rifle at a mixed crowd of people, some in distress and some already deceased. Below, a long procession of skeletons invites their living counterparts to a deadly dance. Above the viewer's eye level, a fragmentary depiction of the Hellmouth is still discernible on the left, while a group of men, hooded and garbed in white, appears at the bottom far right.[3]

Executed between 1484 and 1485, this *Triumph of Death and Dance of Death* fresco is the creation of a local artist known as Giacomo Borlone de Buschis, who painted these macabre scenes at the request of the *Battuti* or *disciplini Bianchi* of Santa Maria Maddalena of Clusone.[4] This lay congregation once made use of the Oratorio of San Bernardino as their oratory or *scola*, a place of gathering and prayers where they regularly practiced voluntary and ritual self-flagellation as an act of penitence, aimed both to simulate the Passion of Christ and to expiate sins. The *disciplina*—or flogging—was accompanied by prayers and recitation of *laude*, which were vernacular songs in praise of the Virgin Mary, Christ, or the saints.[5] Some, like the poem "Io son per nome chiamata morte" (I am called death by name), consisted of exhortations to a moral life. This *lauda*, structured as a dialogue between the personification of Death and a *disciplino*, was meant to elicit meditation on Death's ubiquitous and equalizing power that overcomes the vanities of earthly life.[6] The *Bianchi* of Clusone likely performed this song during their devotional rituals, as they had some of its verses integrated into the outside wall painting of their *scola*. Ferdinando Neri is the scholar who has discovered this connection between the *lauda* "Io sono per

Special thanks to my advisor, Dr. Elina Gertsman, and to Dr. Arthur Russell for their insightful feedback and unconditional support. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Kyle Killian and the organizers of the 37th Annual Art History Graduate Student Symposium at Florida State University for inviting me to present my research. The content of this article is derived from my current dissertation project, tentatively entitled "*Mors Triumphans* in Medieval Italian Murals: From Allegory to Performance." Lastly, I thank my parents for serving as zealous travel companions when visiting the site of Clusone. This article is dedicated to my family and to Alberto Buttò.

1 The Oratorio dei Disciplini di San Bernardino was founded in 1350. A church originally dedicated to Santa Maria Annunciata was annexed to the south end of the oratory in 1451. The following year, the whole architectural complex—church and oratory—was entitled to San Bernardino from Siena, hence the name Oratorio of San Bernardino. Bernardino was one of the most famous mendicant preachers of the late Middle Ages. In 1411, he visited Clusone and performed sermons centered on an exhortation to penitence and reverence to Christ and the Virgin, ideals embraced by the *disciplini Bianchi* of Clusone as well. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that the *disciplini* honored San Bernardino by entitling their church and oratory to him. See Arsenio Frugoni, "I temi della morte nell'affresco della Chiesa dei Disciplini in Clusone," *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e archivio muratoriano* 69 (1957): 178, note 1; Luigi Olmo, *Memorie storiche di Clusone e della Valle Seriana Superiore* (Tipografia S. Alessandro, 1906), 66; and Valerio Terraroli, "Il ciclo dei temi macabri a Clusone: problemi critici e iconografici," *Arte Lombarda*, nuova serie 90/91 (1989): 15.

2 I will discuss the specific content of these scrolls in the following pages.

3 The lower part of the mural has been considerably damaged throughout the centuries as a result of architectural alterations to the Oratorio of San Bernardino. At first, the edifice's entrance on the bottom left was walled up and replaced by a new door sometime during the second half of the sixteenth century. Then, another access was created to the second story by means of an opening, which was connected to the ground by an external stairway; this was leaned against the wall painting in 1673 and later torn down in 1860. See Terraroli, "Il ciclo dei temi macabri a Clusone," 16.

4 The bibliography on the Triumph of Death and Dance of Death fresco in Clusone is extensive. The most helpful resources on this subject are: Frugoni, "I temi della morte nell'affresco della Chiesa dei Disciplini in Clusone," 175–212; Chiara Frugoni and Simone Facchinetti, *Senza misericordia: il Trionfo della Morte e la Danza macabra a Clusone* (Turin: Einaudi, 2016); Valentina Rapino, *Morte in Trionfo: gli affreschi dell'oratorio dei disciplini di Clusone* (Milan: Edizioni San Paolo, 2013); Giacomo Scandella, "Danza macabra di Clusone e danze macabre europee: i personaggi a confronto," in *La signora del mondo: atti del convegno internazionale di studi sulla Danza macabra e il Trionfo della morte*, Clusone Auditorium comunale 30 luglio-1 agosto 1999, eds. Giosuè Bonetti and Matteo Rabaglio (Clusone, 2003), 163–178; Terraroli, "Il ciclo dei temi macabri a Clusone," 15–41; Mauro Zanchi, *Il Theatrum Mortis nel nome della vita eterna: L'Oratorio dei Disciplini a Clusone* (Clusone: Ferrari, 2005).

5 Frugoni and Facchinetti, *Senza misericordia*, 180. The confraternity of the *disciplini* in Clusone—also called *Bianchi* or *Battuti*—was inspired by the mendicant movement of the *flagellanti* (flagellants), founded by the ascetic Raniero Fasani (d. 1281) in Perugia in 1260. In the area of Clusone and Bergamo, Venturino de Apibus (1304–1346) was the preacher who gave an institutional shape to the movement of the *disciplini*, whose *regola* or *statuto* was codified in Latin in 1336. This set of rules established the principal social missions to be carried out by the *confratelli* (lay brothers)—including assistance for the poor, the redistribution of goods, the visit and cure of the sick, and the attendance of funerals. The *disciplini* were internally divided into sects, distinguishable by the color of their robes. The *Bianchi*, such as those in Clusone, adopted a white tunic as a uniform, with hood and sleeves embellished by a red cross. This garment displayed a wide opening at the back, which was meant to facilitate self-flagellation. See Daniel Ethan Bornstein, *The Bianchi of 1399: Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Carlo Fornari, "I Disciplinati: una lunga storia di impegno religioso, artistico, sociale," *Storia del mondo* 45 (2007): http://www.storiadelmondo.com/45/fornari.disciplinati.pdf; Frugoni and Facchinetti, *Senza misericordia,* 39; L. K. Little, *Libertà, carità, fraternità. Confraternite laiche a Bergamo nell'età del Comune* (Bergamo, 1988); Ellen Schiferl, "Corporate Identity and Equality: Confraternity Members in Italian Paintings, c. 1340-1510," *Notes in the History of Art* 8, no. 2 (1989): 12; Zanchi, *Il Theatrum Mortis,* 11, note 12.

6 *Lauda* (plural *laude*) and *disciplino* (plural *disciplini*).

nome chiamata morte" and its painted verses in the fresco.[7] Recently, Chiara Frugoni has reiterated this *lauda*-fresco relationship, also briefly mentioning that the *disciplini* might have gathered in front of the *Triumph of Death and Dance of Death* mural to read and recite "Io sono per nome chiamata morte." [8] Building on these observations, my contribution in this article is to specifically explore the performative ways in which the *Bianchi* could have interacted with the images on the façade of their oratory while reciting the *lauda* "Io sono per nome chiamata morte" aloud. My in-depth analysis of several passages from this vernacular poem confirms that the narrative in the fresco was modeled on the content of this text.

I argue that, by incorporating and engaging with images that foreground the senses of sight and hearing, the iconography of the Clusone fresco becomes a multi-sensory meditation on "Io son per nome chiamata morte." In particular, I posit that the conversation between Death and the *disciplino*, as conveyed in this *lauda,* is primarily envisioned in the representation of *Mors triumphans* standing on the uncovered sarcophagus at the top of the fresco. Death in triumph not only defiantly faces its onlookers—the *Bianchi*—by establishing eye contact with them but it also opens its jaw in a sign of speech. The words pronounced by Death, reported on two of the four scrolls at the top of the Clusone painting, correspond to those voiced by the personification of Death in "Io son per some chiamata morte." I thus suggest that these verses inscribed in the fresco would have functioned as a memory prompt for each *disciplino*, who, in turn, would have recalled and recited aloud the other lines from the same *lauda*, thus activating a dialogue with Death.[9]

By the time the *confratelli* (lay brothers) of Clusone commissioned their macabre mural, "Io son per nome chiamata morte" was already circulating with some regional dialect variations within Italy. It first spread orally and was later transcribed into collections of *laude* named *laudari*.[10] Today, we can still read the full text of this vernacular song in MA66, a *laudario* dated to the early sixteenth century and preserved at the Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai in Bergamo.[11] "Io son per nome chiamata morte" is a *lauda pro defunctis*. This means that it was conceived to be performed as a *contrasto*, a dialogue between two allegorical figures—Death and a living sinner—to be sung during gatherings and funerary rituals of confraternities like the *Bianchi*.[12] Overall, the whole *contrasto* is organized into three major thematic sections: a verbal exchange between Death and the sinner, whose role is played by the *disciplino* (vv. 1–120); a long monologue spoken by Death (vv. 121–189); and a speech addressed by the *disciplino* to his other lay brothers (vv. 190–218). These 218 verses are also divided into forty-four groups of four lines, called *quarantine*, which stand out on the pages of MA66 by means of bolded capital letters. These visual markers were intended to instruct the reader about the shift to a new quartina, thus facilitating the process of memorization.[13] Similarly, an earlier and shorter version of "Io son per nome chiamata morte" is contained in *Leggende agiografiche,* a fifteenth-century manuscript used to memorize poems for recitation. The dialogue is made up of 116 lines arranged in twenty-nine *quarantine*, each one flagged by a red rubric that instructs the reader on which verses are to be recited by *la morte* (Death) or by *lo pecatore* (the sinner).[14]

A striking connection between the text of "Io son per nome chiamata morte" in MA66 and the images of the Clusone fresco hints that this vernacular poem was part of the repertory of such *laude* recited by the *Bianchi* during burial rites. In fact, the lay brothers had the exact four opening verses and the twelfth *quartina* of "Io son per nome chiamata morte" depicted on the scroll held by Death in its right hand and on the one at its far left. In this order, they report:

> *E[o] sonto p[er] nome chiamata morte ferisco a chi / tocharà la sorte. No[n] è homo chosì forte che da / mi no po schampare.*
>
> I am called Death by name I hurt those / whose fate has been chosen. There is no man so strong who / can escape from me.[15]
>
> *Chi è fundato in la iusti[tiae] / E lo alto Dio non discha[ro tiene] / La morte a lui non ne vi[en con dolore] / poyche in vita eterna [lo mena assai meliore].*
>
> Who is grounded in justice / And obeys God who is above / to him Death does not come as a pain / as he will be sent in a better place.

7 Ferdinando Neri, ed., *Fabrilia: ricerche di storia letteraria* (Torino: Chiantore, 1930), 52, note 2.

8 Frugoni, *Senza misericordia*, 113.

9 On flagellants, art, and performance, see the recent publication by Andrew H. Chen, *Flagellant Confraternities and Italian Art, 1260-1610: Ritual and Experience* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).

10 Frugoni and Facchinetti, *Senza misericordia*, 91; and Claudio Ciociola, *"Visibile parlare": agenda* (Cassino: Università degli Studi di Cassino, 1992), 103.

11 Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, *Laudario*, sec. XVI, segn. MA66. The full text of "Io son per nome chiamata morte" has been transcribed in Matteo Rabaglio, *Di questa falce nessuno fugge. Parole, riti e immagini sulla morte* (Bergamo: Sistema bibliotecario urbano, 1995), 144–148. The text of the *lauda* is also accessible from Frugoni and Facchinetti, *Senza misericordia,*133–138.

12 Frugoni and Facchinetti, *Senza misericordia*, 93; and Gaia Trotta, "Danze Macabre Italiane e teatro della memoria," *Teatro e Storia* 24 (2002-2003): 363.

13 *Quartina* (plural *quartine*). Frugoni and Facchinetti, *Senza misericordia,* 93.

14 Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Antonio Suardi, *Leggende agiografiche*, 1492-1493, Cassaforte 3.03, ff.108r-111v.) https://www.bdl.servizirl.it/vufind/Record/BDL-OGGETTO-2391.
This short version of the *lauda* "Io sono per nome chiamata morte" is titled "Desputacione che fa la Morte contro lo peccatore." For more information on the Suardi manuscript and its content see Antonio Previtali, *Leggende agiografiche ovvero storie illustrate di santi, diavoli e cavalieri: note introduttive al Codice Suardi* (S. Omobono Terme: Centro Studi Valle Imagna, 2005).

15 Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

The inclusion of these verses from "Io son per nome chiamata morte" in the fresco suggests that this text was well-known and possibly performed by the flagellants of Clusone. Indeed, the recitation of a *lauda* such as this one perfectly aligns with the context of funerary offices fulfilled by the *confratelli* within the outside space of their Oratorio of San Bernardino. As specified in the congregation's *regola* (rule) or *statuto* (statute), not only was each devotional ritual accompanied by flogging and recitation of *laude*, but the *disciplini* as a group had to take charge of burials and celebrations of the mass in honor of their deceased brothers.[16] The *scola* was built on the edges of the cemetery that once surrounded the church of Santa Maria Assunta.[17] Thus, the macabre mural on the façade once looked out on the tombs of the confraternity members. In the liminal space of the courtyard, inhabited both by the living and the silent dead, the flagellants of Clusone saw and probably even talked to Death. While standing on top of the graves, they carried out their funerary practices, maybe simultaneously reciting that dialogue contained in "Io son per nome chiamata morte," in front of the imposing figure of Death painted on the external façade of their oratory.[18] When delivering this *constrasto* aloud, the *confratelli*'s sight would have been guided through the fresco—from the top down—where the major passages from the poem were both "readable" as images and verbally summarized in the full set of four scrolls depicted on Death's sides (Figures 3, 4, and 5). From left to right, these read:

Scroll I: *O[gn]ia omo more e questo m[ondo lass]a chi / ofende a Dio amaram[ent]e passa 1484*

Every man dies and leaves this world who / offends God bitterly passes away 1484

Scroll II: *E[o] sonto p[er] nome chiamata morte ferisco a chi / tocharà la sorte. No[n] è homo chosì forte che da / mi no po schampare.*

I am called Death by name I hurt those / whose fate has been chosen. There is no man so strong who / can escape from me.

Scroll III: *E[o] sonto la morte piena de equaleza sole voi / ve volio e non vostra richeza. E digna sonto / da portar corona p[er]ché signorezi ogn[i]a p[er]sona.*

I am Death, full of equality I want only you / and not your wealth. And I am worthy / to wear a crown because I am the ruler of everyone.

Scroll IV: *Chi è fundato in la iusti[tiae] / E lo alto Dio non discha[ro tiene] / La morte a lui non ne vi[en con dolore] / poyche in vita eterna [lo mena assai meliore].*

Who is grounded in justice / And obeys God who is above / to him Death does not come as a pain / as he will be sent in a better place.

Overall, the message carried by these vernacular lines is straightforward. Death evenly assaults, subjugates, and triumphs over everyone who, after dying, is sent to Hell or Heaven in accordance with bad or good deeds. The four scrolls inscribed on the mural painting functioned as captions to the themes represented on the eastern wall of the Oratorio of San Bernardino, but also serve as visual references for each *disciplino*: they guided his gaze throughout the recitation of the *lauda* and helped him easily reconstruct his dialogue with Death. In the following pages, a selection and translation of relevant lines from the three sections of "Io son per nome chiamata morte" will show how painted images in the fresco correspond to the spoken words from this text, creating remarkable references to sight and sound conveyed both in the fresco and in the *lauda* itself.

The first part of the vernacular poem reports the lively conversation between Death and the *disciplino* (vv. 1–120). Death introduces itself and utters that nobody can escape from it (vv. 1–4: "Io son per nome chiamata morte / ferischo a chi tocha la sorte / non è homo sì forte / che da mi possa scampare").[19] Furthermore, it announces: "I am founded on

16 Zanchi, *Il Theatrum Mortis*, 10–11. On the *regola* of the *disciplini Bianchi* see also Carlo Agazzi, "Una gloriosa confraternita bergamasca, i Disciplini di Santa Maria Maddalena," *Bergomum, Bollettino della civica biblioteca, studi di storia dell'arte* XXVIII (1934), no.1 and no. 3: 15-38 and 201–232. The *regola* of the congregation from 1336 is recorded on a parchment manuscript in Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, X14, BCAM, AB 37.

17 Antonio Previtali, "La scuola dei disciplini di Clusone nei secoli XV e XVI," in *Il Trionfo della morte e le danze macabre*, ed. Clara Forte (Clusone, 1997), 319; and Nicola Morali and Giacomo Scandella, *Santa Maria Assunta di Clusone storia e arte* (Clusone: Ferrari editrice, 2005), 31.

18 On similar interactions between flagellants and images of *Triumph of Death* and *Dance of Death* see Chen, *Flagellant Confraternities,* 85; and Fiorella Cichi and Liliana De Venuto, *Il movimento dei Battuti e le Danze Macabre della Val Rendena* (Calliano: Manfrini, 1993). Mara Nerbano has written in length on the *lauda pro defunctis* and funerary rituals carried out by the *disciplini* in their devotional spaces. In particular, the scholar has interestingly pointed out that some confraternities of *disciplini* in Perugia (Umbria) articulated their funerary rituals in a very performative way, using costumes and objects appropriate to the theme conveyed in the *laude pro defunctis*. For instance, archival documents of the inventories of the confraternities of *disciplini* of San Domenico and San Agostino include skeletons, skulls, sickles, and black mantels of Death among those items owned by the *discipline*. We do not have any object or costume of Death that might have belonged to the *Bianchi* of Clusone. However, Nerbano's research seems to strengthen the possibility that even in Clusone, the *lauda* "Io sono per nome chiamata morte," a *contrasto* between Death and the living, might have been performed by the *disciplini*, who might have used some similar objects and costumes such as those owned by their *confratelli* in Perugia, or who might have simply looked at that majestic image of Death painted on the fresco as the other actor of the dialogue. See Mara Nerbano, "Confraternite disciplinate e spazi della devozione," in *Brotherhood and Boundaries-Fraternità e barriere*, eds. Stefania Pastore, Andriano Prosperi, and Nicholas Terpstra (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2011), 39.

19 This is also the same text reported in scroll II in the fresco at Clusone.

justice / no gold no silver no gifts / will take me away from the path towards truth" (vv. 25–28: "In la iusticia ho facto mio fundamento / né oro né argento né nullo presento / non me porà far fare partimento / da la via de la veritate.") When starting to recite the first verses of the *lauda*, the attention of the *disciplini* would have been captured by the majestic image of *Mors triumphans* visualized at the top of the fresco along the central axis of the composition (Figure 6).[20] Death is attired in its finest regal outfit: it wears a sumptuous gold crown; the ossified shoulders are concealed by a luxurious damasked mantel, embellished with pearls and lined in green silk; and a precious brooch secures the edges of the cloak in proximity to the thorax. I believe that the choice of representing Death with its gaping mouth and facing the viewer advocates the intention of the *Bianchi* to imagine that those opening lines they were reciting actually came directly out from the mouth of Death, who was beginning the dialogue with them. Death's words are faithfully translated into the images of the fresco. Around the open tomb, a bishop, a pope, and a Venetian doge proffer cups and trays brimful of golden and silver coins in vain. A king and a Jew offer a crown and a ring, respectively. However, no bartering between Death and the men is allowed. Death cannot be bribed; rather, it scorns the jewels and money uselessly gifted by the wealthy people gathered at its feet. The deadly ruler is unconcerned with the imploring gazes and gestures of the multitude kneeling around it. Additionally, this victorious and regal skeleton has turned a deaf ear to its crowd's unsuccessful prayers and pleas; instead, it has cruelly reaped several victims, piled all around the coffin.

Likewise, there is no room for a dialogue between the triumphant Death and the three horsemen depicted on the upper left side of the mural painting (Figure 7). The representation of these three knights escaping from Death is an adaptation of the *Encounter of the Three Living and the Three Dead* imagery.[21] This morbid meeting, inspired by a late medieval tale, narrates the story of three young men—sometimes cast as kings and sometimes as aristocrats—who, during a hunt, bump into three corpses affected by different stages of decay. These dead bodies—conceived as former noblemen themselves—start a conversation with the three living to inform them that life is fleeting, that the human body will be affected by decomposition, and that wealth is ultimately useless.[22] Sometimes this moral message is reported on a scroll held by a hermit who stands between the two groups, as in the fourteenth-century fresco from the Abbey of Santa Maria of Vezzolano near Asti (Figure 8).[23] This mural painting shows the three noble horsemen in a moment of panic: one turns his back to the viewer and looks up to the falcon that has escaped from his arm; the second knight pulls back and acts as he is about to move his fingers towards his nose to plug it; the third man hides his face in his hands. Their distraught gestures are dictated by the scary vision of three emaciated cadavers; two of them stand inside an open grave, whilst one is moving out of it to walk towards the three living. In fact, these cadavers reveal themselves not to punish, physically touch, or attack the living; rather, to advise them. Indeed, their encounter aims at a didactic outcome; the manifestation of the three decayed corpses is designed to prompt the living to think about the caducity of life and vanity of luxuries and richness. This gruesome meeting specifically creates a space for meditation on death, its effects, and its victory over time. The hermit, who holds a scroll and points towards the three putrefying bodies, is the mediator to this appointment, the only actor of the scene that speaks while the living and the dead are supposed to listen. In the Clusone scene, though, the hermit is replaced by an empty area, a space filled with silence, a void which denotes the absence of any fruitful talk between the three horsemen and the three skeletons—here replacing the three cadavers.[24] In fact, Death—the triplicated skeleton at the top of the sarcophagus—only "speaks" with the Three Living through a physical attack, by firing fatal bolts. From the right, an arrow is plunged in the chest of the blond horseman, whose body is dumped on the back of his steed. The second knight looks up at another bolt that is about to hit his dead companion's falcon. The third man, horrified, flees on his horse, which rears in terror.

In front of these visions of carnage and deadly danger, the *disciplino* replies: "Your appearance makes me tremble… You are so cruel as you kill everyone in the world / you drag down powerless and powerful ones / there is no man so happy / that you will ever forgive" (vv. 7–8: "Riguardo il tuo aspecto

20 The *Triumph of Death* in late medieval Italian wall painting is a woefully understudied topic. The most helpful resources on this subject are Liliane Brion-Guerry, *Le thème du "Triomphe de la mort" dans la peinture italienne* (Paris: Librairie Orientale et Amèricaine, 1950); and Pierroberto Scaramella, "The Italy of Triumphs and of Contrasts," in *Humana Fragilitas: The Themes of Death in Europe from the 13th Century to the 18th Century*, eds. Pierroberto Scaramella and Alberto Tenenti (Clusone, 2002), 25–98.

21 Frugoni, "I temi della morte," 201, and Terraroli, "Il ciclo dei temi macabri a Clusone," 18.

22 For further information of the *Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead* in late medieval art see Christian Kiening, "Le double décomposé: rencontre avec des vivants et des morts à la fin du Moyen Age," *Annales* 50, no. 5 (1995): 1157–90; Marco Piccat, "Mixed Encounters: The Three Living and the Three Dead in Italian Art," in *Mixed Metaphors: The Danse Macabre in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Sophie Oosterwijk and Stefanie Knoll (Cambridge, 2011), 155–168; Chiara Settis Frugoni, "Il tema dell'Incontro dei tre vivi e dei tre morti nella tradizione medievale italiana," *Atti dell'Accademia dei Lincei. Memorie. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* CCCLXVI (1967): 145–251; and *Vifs nous sommes, morts nous serons: la rencontre des trois morts et des trois vifs dans la peinture murale en France*, complied by the Groupe de recherches sur le peintures murals (Vendòme: Êditions du Cherche-Lune, 2001).

23 On the role of the hermit see Piccat, "Mixed Encounters,"159; and Settis Frugoni, "Il tema dell'Incontro,"168.

24 On violence in the encounter of the *Three Living and the Three Dead* see Elina Gertsman, "The Gap of Death: Passive Violence in the Encounter of Between the Three Dead and the Three Living," in *Beholding Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Allie Terry-Fritsch and Erin Felicia Labbie (Routledge, 2012), 85–104.

/ Tuto me fai tremare"; vv. 21–24: "Tu sei crudele che spogli il mondo / picholi e grandi tu meni al fundo / non è homo sí iocundo / a chi tu vogli perdonare.") Death is brutal as it entrusts the massacre to the scrawny emissaries set on its sides (Figure 9). One is a skeletal archer who has already reaped two preys—a man in red with an arrow stuck in his throat and the horseman of the Three Living and the Three Dead encounter, mortally wounded in his chest. This dreadful executioner is insatiable; three further bolts are ready to be shot from the bow. Its companion is the skinny sniper who bears on its shoulder a kind of musket—a weapon popular in Clusone at the time the fresco was painted.[25] It is ready to fire towards a populous group of cardinals, archbishops, and monks. The sorrowful lay brother also confesses to Death that "the world is just a swindle/ a smelling carrion that smells as nothing else can smell …" (vv. 113–114: "Ora cognosco che'l mondo è una truffa / charogna puzolente che passa ogni puza.") These lines are echoed in the figures of a pope and an emperor, trampled by Death. Their faces are pale and gaunt, and their bodies only deceptively intact. Snakes slither out from within these two corpses, to join the toads and scorpions that colonize the edges of the tomb.

After witnessing these hideous demises, the *disciplino*, puzzled, asks the ruthless sovereign: "I beg you to tell me the truth / how a man can escape from you / I see everything dying / and you do not spare anything" (vv. 37–40: "Io ti prego che tu me dichi il vero / como poría mai l'omo da ti fuzire. / Tute le cosse io vezo morire / e nulla lassi perseverare.") Death responds to its listener that even though nobody can get away from death, men can live in different places after life: heaven or hell. Death replies using the same message reported in scroll IV, stating that those that are grounded in justice and obey God will be sent to heaven (vv. 45–48: "Chi è fundato in la iusticia / e a l'alto Dio obedischa / la morte a lui si è vita / poi che in vita eterna va habitare.") Conversely, Death proclaims that hell is the destination of those men that enjoy life by dedicating themselves to earthly vanities—such as the three horsemen enjoying hunting (vv. 91–96: "Quando se crede di stare in festa / alora lo vedi cadere in terra morto. / Io son quella che l'ha ferito / ma si instesso s'ha occiso.")[26] The *disciplino*'s uncertainty of what will happen to him is emphasized by the fact that he does not see himself among the mass of decimated people, nor protected under the mantle of Death**.** As convincingly suggested by Chiara Frugoni, when looking up at this triumphant ruler, the lay brother would have recalled in his memory the image of the *Madonna della Misericordia* (Virgin of Mercy) painted inside the Oratorio of San Bernardino (Figure 10).[27] This fresco shows two angels crowning Mary, who gently stretches her arms to unfold her cloak and shield several supplicant *Bianchi*. Like this benevolent Madonna, *Mors triumphans* is crowned, extends its arms, and wears a similar green mantel (Figure 9). Nonetheless, Death's cape is not outspread, but rather flows down flat along its back. This visual clue conveys an unambiguous message: the negation of protection and shelter on the part of Death, an uncompassionate harbinger who is unwilling to dispense mercy in the same manner as the Virgin.

In order to not fear Death and to aim for salvation in the afterlife, the *confratelli* addressed prayers and pleas to Mary. They also lived their life as morally correct as possible, dedicating themselves to charity and expiations of their sins—and those of others—through the act of flagellation.[28] This explains the choice to have themselves depicted on the opposite side of the scene with hell and capital sins, in the bottom right of the fresco (Figure 11). Here, the *Bianchi* appear wearing their customary white tunics marked by red crosses on the hoods and forearms. The flagellants kneel in gestures of prayer and are shielded under what looks like a purple frame. The group of *disciplini* is led by a *confratello*, whose head is uncovered and surrounded with a bright halo. This saintly figure turns back to his lay brothers to invite them to point their gazes towards the right. Here, Valerio Terraroli has identified the detail of the bottom part of a throne on which the Virgin might have been sitting.[29] The damage to this portion of the mural makes it impossible to establish the original setting of this narrative. However, by taking a close look, we can still identify a fragment of a green and purple drapery which recalls the outfit of the *Mary of Mercy* crowned by the angels, discussed above.[30] In this portion of the fresco, we might imagine the pious *confratelli* reciting prayers and singing hymns in praise of the Queen of Heaven. We do not see the *disciplini*'s mouths open, as their heads are capped by the hoods, but these hoods certainly let the eyes and ears be uncovered to see and to hear. Interestingly, in the *lauda* "Io son per nome chiamata morte," throughout the conversation with the *disciplino*, Death often mentions heaven as the destination for the righteous and describes it as the realm in which the just will "hear an angelic chant" (v. 55: "odendo lo angelico canto.") A depiction of heaven as a place where one can "hear an angelic chant" might have been translated into this scene of the *Bianchi* and the Virgin, thus creating a visual contrast with images of sounds represented on the opposite pictorial segment of hell (Figure 12). There, the celestial hymns are replaced by curses and shouts from the naked and chained female allegories of three of the capital sins. From left to right, *Superbia* (Pride) is likely swearing against the demon who is pushing her inside the Hellmouth with a sharpened pitchfork. *Avaritia* (Avarice) covers her eyes and yells desperately into the flames with her companion *Ira* (Anger), who looks up to the sky to address her vain prayers

25 Frugoni and Facchinetti, *Senza misericordia*, 75.

26 When he thinks about being in celebration / then you see him falling down dead/ I am the one who wounded him/ but indeed he has killed himself on his own/ Because of his sins/ you see him go to Hell.

27 Frugoni and Facchinetti, *Senza misericordia*, 84. This painting of *Mary of Mercy* has been dated to around 1470 and has been attributed to Giacomo Busca, the same artist of the *Triumph of Death and Dance of Death* of the Clusone fresco, also responsible for the Passion cycle depicted inside the Church of Santa Maria annexed to the Oratorio of San Bernardino.

28 Frugoni and Facchinetti, *Senza misericordia*, 40.

29 Terraroli, "Il ciclo dei temi macabri a Clusone," 36.

30 Even though the drapery of the *Mary of Mercy* depicted inside the Oratorio of San Bernardino features a much brighter red, it could be possible that the fragment of drapery in the lower right portion of the fresco might have underwent alteration and discoloring, turning the original bright red into a darker purple tone. See Terraroli, "Il ciclo dei temi macabri a Clusone," 16.

aloud.

So far, throughout the recitation of the dialogue between the *disciplino* and Death, the images and the painted texts, in conjunction with the words spoken, intend to guide the *disciplino*'s gaze all around the fresco. It is worth noting that the second part of the *lauda* stresses how Death further invites the lay brother to carefully look at what is represented on the painting. In the long monologue spoken by Death (vv. 121–189), each *quartina* begins with the word "Vedi" which can be literally translated as "You, look [at this]." For instance, Death cries: "You, look at many popes and emperors / dukes, marquis, and great lords…you, look at that one who has placed hope only in earthly things and who relies only on his power... you, look at that one who lives in fortress / castles, gold and beauty: / death comes for him and shoots arrows towards him / God knows where that one will be sent to live after life" (vv. 125–140: "Vedi molti papi e imperadori / duchi, marchesi e grandi signori...Vedi colui che nel mondo ha posto speranza / e che se confida nella sua possanza...Vedi colui che se confida in forteza / in chastelli, in oro et in bellezza / vene la morte e sí lo sagitta / Dio sa dove va quella anima ad habitare.") Through this monologue, Death wants its beholder to see its slaughter and potent attack once again. The *disciplino*'s eyes are thus redirected one more time to the details of *Mors triumphans*' numerous reaped victims at the top of the composition. By using the second singular person of the imperative mode, Death demands that each single lay brother listens to its words and carefully looks at these words made into images. Death, by insistently calling out its listener, wants to make sure that he can firmly memorize and retain these images in his memory.[31]

While looking at the middle section of the fresco, the *disciplino* also notices himself participating in a long and grim parade of smiling skeletons, who grab their upset living counterparts by arms and hands (Figure 13). This is a dance of death, a gruesome scene based on the idea that death is universal and unites everyone, no matter their social status and age. This intimate physical encounter between the living and the dead is the meeting of the individual with his own double.[32] Images like these were popular in fifteenth-century Europe and were known in the Italian peninsula, especially through prints.[33] A few painted examples of this macabre iconography are attested in northern Italy and some are connected to the movement of the *disciplini*.[34] Usually, this morbid dance involves the major exponents of both ecclesiastical and secular ranks. Yet, the *danse macabre* in Clusone is unique not only because it unfolds a laymen-only procession, but also because it is the only extant instance of this imagery which includes a *disciplino*.[35] Beginning from the left, we glimpse a group of women squeezed tightly together inside a space defined by an arched door. Right before this entrance is a beautiful young lady, carried arm in arm by two skeletons. She wears an elegant damask dress and holds a portable mirror to admire her reflection. What she stares at is not her pretty face, rather it is a skeletal appearance, a prefiguration of what her face will look like when she is dead. This woman is actually an allegorical representation of *Vanitas*. Placed at the beginning of the dance of death and nearby the *disciplino*, *Vanitas* reminds the *Bianchi* of that same message announced in the *lauda* "Io son per nome chiamata morte": earthly life, physical appearance, and richness are useless, ephemeral, and vain before Death. Furthermore, this warning seems to be reiterated by the skeleton standing behind the *disciplino* (Figure 14). This skeleton—another replication of the completely stripped of flesh skeletal *Mors triumphans* at the top of the fresco—is looming over the hooded *flagellante*, as it is about to whisper into his uncovered ear that Death is inevitable and comes for everyone, for the *Bianchi* too.

This depiction of a flagellant in the Dance register functions as a *memento mori* for the lay congregation of San Bernardino and it ultimately creates a connection to the third and last part of the *lauda* "Io son per nome chiamata morte" (vv. 190–218), in which a *confratello* gives a passionate piece of advice to his other brothers: "You, who are reading and listening … / read and listen [to this], as what you are reading and listening can be good for you /… this lauda is sacred / and is sung to God. / However, I beg you, as you are sinners as me / that you will always pray God / in order to be forgiven

31 On late medieval memory, images, and words see Lina Bolzoni, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from Its Origins to St. Bernardino da Siena* (Ashgate, 2004); Mary J. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Mary J. Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, eds., *The Medieval Craft of Memory. An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

32 For a comprehensive study on late medieval *Dance of Death* mural paintings see Elina Gertsman, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages: Image, Text, Performance* (Turnhout, 2010).

33 On late medieval Italian Dance of Death mural paintings see Giosuè Bonetti and Matteo Rabagalio, eds., "'Vedi molti papi e imperadori...'. La danza macabra di Cassiglio," in *Lo scheletro e il professore. Senso e addomesticamento della morte nella tradizione culturale europea, Atti delle giornate di studio, Archivio di Stato di Bergamo, 15-16 novembre 1997* (Clusone, 1999), 97–112; Antonio Previtali, *Ognia Omo More. Immagini macabre della cultura bergamasca dal XV al XX secolo* (Clusone: Circolo culturale Baradello, 1998); Fulvio Sina, "L'impiego delle pubblicazioni a tema macabro d'oltralpe quale fonte di ispirazione nell'arte italiana del XV e XVI secolo: la 'Danza Macabra' in San Silvestro ad Iseo," in *"Noi spregieremo adunque li denari...": danze macabre, trionfi e dogma della morte,"* ed. Mino Scandella (Pisogne, 2002), 57–66; and Pietro Vigo, *Le danze macabre in Italia* (Bergamo: Arnaldo Forni, 1901).

34 Fifteenth-century frescos of the *Dance of Death* from northern Italy include those at San Lazzaro in Como (early fifteenth century, destroyed), San Bartolomeo in Cassiglio, San Silvestro in Iseo, San Martino in Saluzzo, San Peyre in Macra, Oratorio dei Bianchi, Monegheria (Teglio). Later examples from the first half of the sixteenth century include Santa Maria in Binda in Nosate, Santo Stefano in Carisolo, and San Vigilio in Pinzolo.

35 Giacomo Scandella, "Danza Macabra di Clusone,"170. A detailed description of each couple of the *Dance of Death* goes beyond the purpose of this research. For a comprehensive analysis of this dance see Frugoni and Facchinetti, *Senza misericordia*, 103–132.

by Him for any bad deeds committed in His respect / [pray to God] in order to be saved for good deeds / [do this] as we have the opportunity to meditate on Death" (vv. 206–218: "Tu che lezi e chi ascolti... / leze e ascolta che 'l te poria zovare / ...Questa laude è tuta sancta / la qual è a Dio e gloria si canta. / Però vi prego per mi peccatore / che vogliate sempre Dio pregare / che me perdoni ogni offesa a lui facta / che'l mi conceda gratia de ben fare / a ciò che possiamo la morte contemplare.") These last verses of the *lauda* strengthen the relationship of images to the senses of sight and sound, which are encapsulated in both the fresco and the poem "Io son per nome chiamata morte." This vernacular song, translated and manifested into images within the fresco, was clearly meant to be read in the painted texts reported on the mural, to be listened to and sung, but also to be contemplated. This latter verb originates from the Latin term *contemplare* and it means "looking carefully, gazing hard at." The Clusone fresco, thus, functioned as a painted *lauda*, a multi-sensory meditation of the *lauda*, a place of memory where the flagellants could have recalled multiple times the message encompassed in the *lauda*, imprinted in their mind through the observation of those verses depicted and recited too.

Today, the courtyard of the Oratorio of San Bernardino, once enlivened by the sound of voices, prayers, chants, and scourges of the *disciplini Bianchi*, is now a silent space. The macabre fresco, despite being touched by various and careless damages throughout the centuries, remains visible on the outer façade of the oratory and still retains its function. It invites the onlookers to get close, to scrutinize the images of the fresco, to read the text of those scrolls ruffling in the air next to Death, to visualize and to reenact that encounter the flagellants of Clusone frequently had with Death.

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Figure 1. (*above*) Oratorio dei Disciplini di San Bernardino, view from the courtyard, 1350, Clusone, Italy. Photo credit: Angelica Verduci.

Figure 3. (*below*) Giacomo Borlone de Buschis, *Scroll I* (detail of *Triumph of Death and Dance of Death*), 1484-1485, fresco, Oratorio dei Disciplini di San Bernardino, eastern outer façade, Clusone, Italy. Photo credit: Domenico Verduci.

Figure 2. Giacomo Borlone de Buschis, T*riumph of Death and Dance of Death*, 1484-1485, fresco, Oratorio dei Disciplini di San Bernardino, eastern outer façade, Clusone, Italy. Photo credit: Domenico Verduci.

Figure 4. (*above*) Giacomo Borlone de Buschis, *Scroll II* (detail of *Triumph of Death and Dance of Death*), 1484-1485, fresco, Oratorio dei Disciplini di San Bernardino, eastern outer façade, Clusone, Italy. Photo credit: Domenico Verduci.

Figure 5. (*below*) Giacomo Borlone de Buschis, *Scrolls III* and *IV* (detail of *Triumph of Death and Dance of Death*), 1484-1485, fresco, Oratorio dei Disciplini di San Bernardino, eastern outer façade, Clusone, Italy. Photo credit: Domenico Verduci.

Figure 6. (*above*) Giacomo Borlone de Buschis, *Death in Triumph* (detail of *Triumph of Death and Dance of Death*), 1484-1485, fresco, Oratorio dei Disciplini di San Bernardino, eastern outer façade, Clusone, Italy. Photo credit: Angelica Verduci.

Figure 7. (*below*) Giacomo Borlone de Buschis, *The Encounter of the Three Living and the Three Dead* (detail of *Triumph of Death and Dance of Death*), 1484-1485, fresco, Oratorio dei Disciplini di San Bernardino, eastern outer façade, Clusone, Italy. Photo credit: Angelica Verduci.

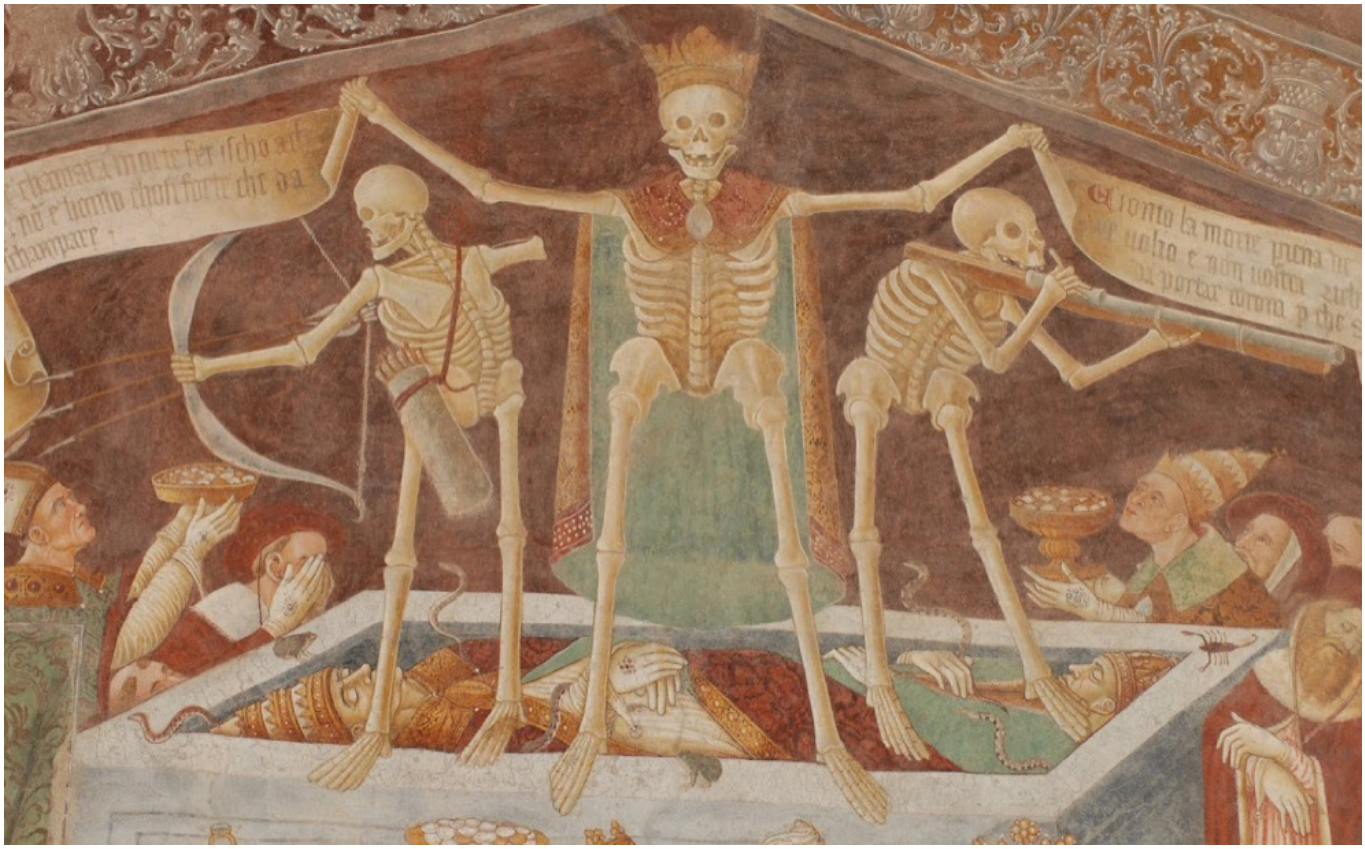


Figure 8. (*above*) *The Encounter of the Three Living and the Three Dead*, second half of the XIV century, fresco, Cloister of the Abbey of Santa Maria of Vezzolano near Asti, Italy. Photo credit: https://commons.wikimedia.org

Figure 9. (*below*) Giacomo Borlone de Buschis, *Death in Triumph with its Skeletal Emissaries* (detail of *Triumph of Death and Dance of Death*), 1484-1485, fresco, Oratorio dei Disciplini di San Bernardino, eastern outer façade, Clusone, Italy. Photo credit: Angelica Verduci.

Figure 10. Giacomo Borlone de Buschis, *Mary of Mercy*, ca. 1470-1471, fresco, Oratorio dei Disciplini di San Bernardino, interior, now Museo della basilica, Clusone, Italy. Photo credit: Angelica Verduci.

Figure 11. (*above*) Giacomo Borlone de Buschis, *Group of Disciplini* (detail of *Triumph of Death and Dance of Death*), 1484-1485, fresco, Oratorio dei Disciplini di San Bernardino, eastern outer façade, Clusone, Italy. Photo credit: Angelica Verduci.

Figure 13. (*below*) Giacomo Borlone de Buschis, *The Dance of Death* (detail of *Triumph of Death and Dance of Death*), 1484-1485, fresco, Oratorio dei Disciplini di San Bernardino, eastern outer façade, Clusone, Italy. Photo credit: Domenico Verduci.

Figure 12. (*left*) Giacomo Borlone de Buschis, *The Hellmouth, Superbia, Avaritia, and Ira* (detail of *Triumph of Death and Dance of Death*), 1484-1485, fresco, Oratorio dei Disciplini di San Bernardino, eastern outer façade, Clusone, Italy. Photo credit: Angelica Verduci.

Figure 14. (*right*) Giacomo Borlone de Buschis, *Vanitas and a disciplino* (detail of *Triumph of Death and Dance of Death*), 1484-1485, fresco, Oratorio dei Disciplini di San Bernardino, eastern outer façade, Clusone, Italy. Photo credit: Angelica Verduci.

At the Center of the Globe: Empiricism and Empire in Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux's *Fontaine des Quatres-Parties-du-Monde*

Hoyon Mephokee

In 1874, Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux's (1827-1875) *Les Quatre Parties du monde soutenant la sphère céleste (The Four Parts of the World Supporting the Celestial Sphere),* also referred to as the *Fontaine des quatre-parties-du-monde (Fountain of the Four Parts of the World)*, was installed at the southern end of the Luxembourg Gardens in Paris (Figure 1). The monumental bronze sculpture was commissioned by Jean-Antoine-Gabriel Davioud in 1867 to be the centerpiece of a new fountain and is accompanied by equestrian figures designed by Emmanuel Fremiet.[1] The commission was a part of a massive public works project to renovate and reshape Paris, initiated during the Second French Empire by Emperor Napoléon III in 1853 and executed by Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann. Although the Second Empire's war against Prussia and subsequent collapse in 1870 temporarily halted Carpeaux's progress, work on the monument resumed in 1872 when Napoléon III's successors in the Third Republic adopted the project. In 1874, shortly before Carpeaux's death, the *Fontaine* was installed at the Luxembourg Gardens, where it stands today.

Carpeaux's sculptural group comprises four nude female figures, who represent the continents of Europe, America, Africa, and Asia (Figures 2-5). Each allegorical figure is distinguished from the others via a combination of ethnographically verisimilar physiognomy and, to a far lesser extent, external accoutrements. Facing North towards the Luxembourg Palace and its gardens, Europe is cast as racially white; America faces East and is presented as an Indigenous American, depicted with a headdress and earrings; placed directly across Europe and facing South towards the Paris Observatory is Africa, who is depicted as a Black African with earrings and broken shackles on her right ankle—a sign of her recent emancipation from slavery; and facing West is Asia, personified as a vaguely east Asian woman with braided hair. Even as they are united through their placement on even ground and the similarities of their classicizing body types, their physiognomic features differentiate them from one another in a way that upholds a racial hierarchy.[2] Together, these figures support an armillary sphere, a spherical grid that represents celestial longitude and latitude. A globe is placed at the center of this frame, around which revolves a band adorned with the symbols of the Western zodiac.[3]

There is a physical and symbolic alignment between scientific and imperial power inherent to the monument's composition that is also mirrored in its site. Placed between the Luxembourg Palace and the Paris Observatory, Carpeaux's piece has been interchangeably referred to as the *Fontaine du Luxembourg (The Fountain of the Luxembourg)* and the *Fontaine de l'Observatoire (The Fountain of the Observatory)*. These sites lie on the Paris meridian, an imaginary north-to-south line that runs through the city that, until the early twentieth century, served as a cartographic, geographic, and navigational reference. While the Luxembourg Palace and its gardens are typically thought of as separate from the Paris Observatory and Paris meridian, the *Fontaine* spatially unites and activates these sites of political and historical significance.

By interrogating the *Fontaine's* site and iconography vis-à-vis the Second French Empire, this paper demonstrates that the monument celebrated science as constitutive of French statecraft and empire-building and signaled the institutional relationship of science and politics that justified and supported French colonialism. Thus, the *Fontaine* reveals itself to be a powerful expression and agent of Napoléon III's regime, as well as an embodiment of its contradictions; beneath the façade of objective and unbiased scientific empiricism, the Second Empire outwardly championed progressive ideals as it built and sustained itself on imperial and racial conservatism.

It makes sense to examine the *Fontaine* within the politics of the Second Empire, given how intimately Carpeaux's career was tied to that of Napoléon III's. As an academic artist in late nineteenth-century France, Carpeaux's career was built around the state infrastructure, from his formal education at the École des Beaux-Arts and his training in Italy, funded by the Grand Prix de Rome, to his professional practice. As sculptors were dependent upon government support, sculptural production and practice were largely circumscribed to subjects and styles that conformed to government ideologies.[4] Carpeaux demonstrated a profound awareness of the role of sculpture in state policy and propaganda and actively pursued opportunities to produce works to fulfill such roles, such as his

I would like to express my gratitude to the Florida State University Department of Art History for the opportunity to present and publish my research, as well as to Dr. Juliet Bellow, whose insights and guidance were critical to this project and its afterlives.

1 Davioud's contributions to the Parisian landscape include the *Fontaine Saint-Michel de Paris* and the former *Palais du Trocadéro*.

2 Anne Middleton Wagner, *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Sculptor of the Second Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 266.

3 The zodiac band was designed by Eugène Legrain, who was one of Carpeaux's students. Although these signs are placed in the correct order in terms of both their celestial positions and the dates associated with them, this order is reversed. While Lisa Salay Miller examines the significance of this feature, it seems that Carpeaux had little control over the design of the zodiac band. What is significant, and what this paper deals with, is the synergistic relationship, writ large, between the cosmic imagery of the sphere and of the monument's site, as well as the racial iconography of the continents. Lisa Salay Miller, "Carpeaux's *America*: Art and Sculptural Politics," in *Art and the Native American: Perceptions, Reality, and Influences*, eds. Mary Louise Krumrine and Susan Clare Scott (Philadelphia, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 196 to 223.

4 Albert Boime, *Hollow Icons: The Politics of Sculpture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1987), 4.

Le Prince Impérial et son Chien Néro (The Imperial Prince and his dog Nero) of 1865 (Figure 6).

The fact that Carpeaux's career is so closely identified with Napoléon III's government makes it all the more surprising that the *Fontaine*, a major public monument at the heart of Paris, has received little scholarly attention. The early scholarship on Carpeaux focuses less on the politics of his works and more on their style and relationship to his life—especially the two-volume biography penned in 1934 and 1935 by Louise Clément-Carpeaux, the artist's daughter, aptly titled *La Verité sur l'oeuvre et la vie de J.-B. Carpeaux (The Truth about the Works and Life of J.B. Carpeaux)*. Similarly, Ernest Chesneau's 1880 *Le Statuaire J.-B. Carpeaux : sa vie et son oeuvre (The Statuary of J.B. Carpeaux: His Life and Works)* and André Mabille de Poncheville's 1921 *Carpeaux inconnu, ou, la tradition recueillie (Carpeaux Unknown, or, the Collected Traditions)* present Carpeaux as a Michelangeloesque, larger-than-life artist by focusing on his large-scale monumental Salon pieces.[5]

The later twentieth century situated Carpeaux's oeuvre more fully in relation to the politics of the Second Empire. Anne Wagner's 1986 *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Sculptor of the Second Empire* is the only English-language monograph on the artist to date, and its publication dramatically shifted the focus of Carpeaux towards governmental institutions and Napoléon III's politics. Although the *Fontaine* appears only briefly in its conclusion, Wagner's text provides a valuable starting point from which to examine the work. She identifies in the *Fontaine* an unorthodox materiality and sensuousness that is indicative of Carpeaux's eagerness to break from sculptural conventions. His bodies, despite being classicized, effectively reject the kind of idealized forms favored by the Académie in favor of a more realist type that is particular to their subjects even when, as in this case, the subjects are allegorical. The palpable physicality and ethnographic realism of the four figures of the *Fontaine* lend the monument well to the postcolonial approach taken by this paper.

The cursory scholarly attention given to the *Fontaine* is mirrored in Albert Boime's 1987 *Hollow Icons: The Politics of Sculpture in Nineteenth-Century France*, in which he began a brief but important discussion of its racial iconography in relation to French imperial politics.[6] Boime specifically notes that the figure of Europe seems to bear the celestial sphere with comparative ease. Suggesting that the armillary sphere visually subjugates the other three non-European figures, Boime argues that the *Fontaine* reflected the colonial aspirations of the Second Empire by invoking French histories of astronomy, navigation, and imperialist expansion. Stating that the monument "translated the cosmic function of the site into an imperialist dream of world domination," he reframed the conversation by suggesting the importance of the monument's site to our understanding of the *Fontaine* and Second Empire colonial politics writ large.[7]

This study builds upon these arguments by synthesizing art-historical and historical research in a socio-historical and postcolonial examination of the *Fontaine*. It first traces the history and development of the Second Empire to show the regime relied on two pillars to prolong its tenuous grip on power: a large-scale urban and infrastructure renewal project that was centered around Paris and a foreign policy program that began with a subtle form of cultural imperialism and mutated into stark colonialist expansionism. These two pillars were designed to unite the French populace and signal to them and their neighbors the modern, effective, and powerful nature of Napoléon III's regime. By attending to the *Fontaine's* commission and site, this paper reads the sculpture as a site-specific object that illuminates the importance of the sciences and their institutionalization to Napoléon III's regime. Not only did they provide the principles for the construction of Paris from an outdated city into one organized to exert control, but they also produced the colonial attitudes that ideologically supported and practically enabled French overseas expansion. This paper then focuses on the monument's racial iconography, outlining how the monument expressed these conservative ideas on race and resonated with the Second Empire's colonial agenda. Lastly, it suggests that the mechanisms by which the *Fontaine* succeeded within the politics of the Second Empire may have allowed it to, not only survive the dramatic transition between the Second Empire and the Third Republic, but also become adopted by Napoléon III's successors. Indeed, considering the monument as a political and cultural nexus between these disparate regimes suggests the existence of a remarkable, and perhaps unexpected, degree of ideological and cultural continuity between them.

Napoléon III and the Problem of Uninherited Power

The complexities of the *Fontaine* are inherently tied to those of Napoléon III's regime, which were a product of a confluence of factors and contexts surrounding the Emperor's youth and rise to power. As the Bonapartes were forced into exile upon Napoléon I's removal from power, Charles-Louis Napoléon Bonaparte, also known as Louis-Napoléon, spent his youth exiled from France. Even before he became Emperor of the French, Louis-Napoléon's political career and philosophy on statecraft were deeply impacted by the events of, and ripples from, his uncle's reign. As the de facto heir to the Bonaparte dynasty, Louis-Napoléon firmly believed that it was his destiny to return to his native France and restore the Napoleonic state that his uncle had first established in 1804.[8] This

5 A 2012 exhibition at the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Valenciennes titled *Michel-Ange au siècle de Carpeaux* and its accompanying catalog are prime examples of this trend continuing well into the twenty-first century. Mehdi Korchane ed., *Michel-Ange au siècle de Carpeaux* (Cinsello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana).

6 Boime, *Hollow Icons*, 78-83.

7 As scholarship on Carpeaux has grown slowly, so has the application of critical approaches to his oeuvre. While texts like the *Passions of Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux*, edited by James Draper and Édouard Papet, Charmaine A. Nelson's Representing the Black Female Subject in Western Art, and Francisco Bethencourt's *Racisms: From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century* address the Fontaine and its racial imagery at one point or another and to varying degrees, the monument remains relatively underexamined. Consequently, so does its socio-historical and postcolonial complexities vis-à-vis Napoléon III's empire. Boime, *Hollow Icons*, 78.

8 Roger Price, *Documents on The Second French Empire, 1852-1870* (London, UK: Palgrave, 2015), 16.

personal destiny was rooted in his upbringing, through which he understood his duty as being "first to the Napoleonic dynasty, and then to France."[9]

Hearing of the February Revolution of 1848, the collapse of the French monarchy, and the establishment of a new and fragile Republic, Louis-Napoléon returned to France in hopes of heading the Second French Republic as its inaugural president. Focusing on appealing to both the political left and right, he launched his presidential campaign by exploiting popular Bonapartist sentiments among a populace weary of revolution and looking to return France to a perceived bygone era of glory and prosperity.[10] In December of 1848, he won the election from overwhelming support from the peasantry and began his tenure as the president of the Republic.[11]

From the beginning of his reign, Louis-Napoléon made efforts to prolong his grip on power. The continuing turmoil within France and the administration of the Second Republic offered a prime opportunity for him to campaign for an amendment to the constitution, which limited his presidency to a single term. However, the constitutional revision did not receive the three-quarters majority vote that was required of it in the National Assembly. Louis-Napoléon was nonetheless in an advantageous position to mount a coup d'état through the considerable power he wielded over the army and law enforcement. On December 2, 1851, he seized power and, the following year, officially reinstated the French Empire, crowning himself Napoléon III, Emperor of the French.

Because his mandate from the French people was largely illusory, Napoléon III was forced to continually reinforce his legitimacy as France's rightful ruler in order to preserve a façade of republicanism and stave off further revolution. He understood that his popularity lay in his ability to position himself as the embodiment of revolutionary ideals and worked to emphasize this in his messaging throughout his reign. For example, following the dissolution of the National Assembly during his 1851 coup, he claimed that his sole duty was "to preserve the Republic and save the country by invoking the solemn judgment of the only sovereign [he recognized] in France, the people."[12] At the same time, however, he emulated the First Empire, employing several policies that his uncle had executed to maintain stability and preserve the public order.[13] He clamped down on all aspects of participatory democracy, such as by outlawing political parties and by deploying law enforcement to censor free speech and suppress opposition, especially from the urban working classes.[14] Throughout his rule, Napoléon III's approach to governance was a constant juggling act of drawing from Napoléon I enough to capitalize on his uncle's legacy while maintaining a safe distance from the perceived flaws of the First Empire. As the regime grew, however, so too did Napoléon III's emulation of past regimes, including the re-creation of his capital and his reliance on racist ideologies to support his quest for French hegemonic rule.

Mapping the *Fontaine*

Domestically, Napoléon III deployed the machinery of his government to support his right to rule, including through public art, public works projects, and urban planning, so as to produce a total and all-encompassing environment that could project his legitimacy and power. His project to beautify and revitalize Paris, carried out by Baron Haussmann, is particularly important as it reshaped the political and cultural heart of his empire and provided Carpeaux with a network of symbolic spaces within which to construct his monument.

While Haussmannization is often discussed as a distinctly modern phenomenon and as an emblem of France's assertion of its status as a modern nation, it was also designed to recall axial city planning forms adopted by French absolutist monarchs in the seventeenth century, most notably exemplified by Louis XIV's palace and gardens at Versailles (Figure 7). Described by Spiro Kostof as a "Grand Manner" of Baroque urban design, these principles were largely developed in Italy with the intent to reinforce a hierarchy in which the ruler was supreme and absolute.[15] The hallmarks of this style include scientific and mathematically informed elements, such as straight streets, architectural uniformity and standardization, a rectilinear urban layout, ceremonial axes, and spatial expansiveness that convey a rationality of order that "presupposes an unentangled decision-making process."[16] As such, while it is true that Haussmann's changes to the medieval city expressed Napoléon III's empire as a modern and effective one, they also placed the regime in direct and explicit conversation with the tradition of French absolutism. What Kostof calls "the urbanism of dominion" is evident, for example, in the convergence of twelve streets at the Arc de Triomphe in Paris.[17]

The *Fontaine* was placed at a particularly meaningful node within this charged urban geometry: it lays on the Paris meridian and along an axis demarcated by buildings that embody French scientific and political authority, with the Paris Observatory on one end and the Luxembourg Gardens on the other. By activating these sites, the *Fontaine* visually signaled the importance of the sciences to Napoléon III's control over France and his global ambitions.

The Paris meridian traces its roots to 1667 with the building of the Paris Observatory under the authority of Louis XIV. The sciences that these institutions were engaged in were linked to navigation and its applications to trade, warfare, and

9 Price, *Second French Empire*, 44.

10 Price, *Second French Empire*, 16.

11 Price, *Second French Empire*, 18.

12 Price, *Second French Empire*, 8.

13 Christina Carroll, "Imperial Ideologies in the Second Empire: The Mexican Expedition and the Royaume Arabe," *French Historical Studies* 42, no. 1 (February 2019): 71.

14 Price, *Documents on The Second French Empire*, 146-153.

15 Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Throughout History* (Boston, MA: Little Brown, 1991), 215.

16 Kostof, *City Shaped*, 230-275.

17 Kostof, *City Shaped*, 271.

transportation.[18] As geographic positioning required knowledge of a standard "home" meridian and the development of a meridian required the work of astronomers and geodesists, the Paris Observatory became critical in determining the Paris meridian for the French state. Furthermore, the establishment of a Paris meridian also had domestic applications, such as in railway travel, as it allowed for standardized measurements of time and space within the country, effectively eliminating the confusion of having local and regional variations in practices of measurement.[19] The meridian connected the city to the world and placed it longitudinally at zero degrees, effectively making France, and more importantly, Paris, a global reference point for space and time. The *Fontaine* is thus situated along a line that connects Paris, the political, economic, and cultural heart of Napoléon III's empire, to the global macrocosm.

The Paris Observatory also played a central role in developing a number of scientific disciplines including astronomy, geodesy, horology, and metrology. As the science of measurement, metrology is itself at the heart of the work of observatories and an expression of political power. By measuring and mapping its territory, the French government not only claimed what it saw as existing within its borders but also contributed to the creation of a distinct and unified "French space."[20] In many ways, geography and geographical education reshaped France from an inert place to an intentional shared and collective social, political, cultural, and economic space.[21]

In addition to giving France the scientific and philosophical means to "create" itself, the Observatory, in developing cosmography and the observatory sciences, also allowed France to define and measure its colonial interests. The work of the institution is inherently colonial, as colonialism operated not simply through political, military, and economic domination, but also, in a Foucauldian sense, through academic, intellectual, and scientific intervention into and mastery of the natural world.

The sciences also fueled a French exceptionalism and racial supremacism that justified these pursuits. The development of social sciences, such as anthropology, also took the white French (and European) race as the standard from which to study all other races, resulting inevitably in a French conception of racial superiority that justified French colonial intervention and involvement in America, Africa, and Asia. These disciplines and sciences—natural, physical, and social—must be viewed not as separate or discrete but as two parts of a whole that is the French institution of science.[22] The placement of the *Fontaine* attests to the union of the sciences with state politics and its importance to Napoléon III, in both how it enabled the French to go overseas to colonize and how it generated nationalistic sentiments and recalled the history of French exceptionalism.

The colonial nature of the *Fontaine's* site is difficult to ignore when considering the monument's placement in the Luxembourg Gardens and the specific evocation of botany and the plant sciences. Beginning in the fifteenth century, a "Green Wave" brought Europeans into contact with flora from distant territories.[23] As the observatory, earth, and naval sciences developed, increasing cross-cultural contact allowed the French to diversify their knowledge of, and access to, global plant life. The resulting development of horticulture as a distinct field of study in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is a testament to the colonial roots of the discipline.[24] The very act of cultivating nature and creating spaces for such a purpose is itself an expression of power. This celebration of the role of the sciences in advancing colonial policies is important, given the influence that botany and horticulture enjoyed over the French state, especially beginning in the 1830s when horticultural societies and publications began to increase in number and membership. While small, these organizations were actively collecting plants and animals, displaying them at expositions, and setting up botanical gardens and agricultural programs in territories like Saigon.[25]

With the aid of Haussmann, Napoléon III recreated Paris in such a way to augment the connection between these sites of political, scientific, and historical significance. Through the *Fontaine* and its activation of this network of spaces, the emperor was able to tap into a complex history of authoritarian and legitimate French rulership and its reliance on the institutionalization of the sciences to highlight state power and pursue domestic and international goals.

The Fontaine as Colonial Iconography

In addition to its site, the *Fontaine's* iconography—above all, its four allegorical figures—communicated Napoléon III's ambitions as a global hegemon and created meaning within the political and cultural context of Napoléon III's empire. There are colonial politics inherent to the racial iconography of the four continents supporting a celestial sphere that are compounded when considering the visual and compositional choices that Carpeaux made when producing this work. Specifically, this paper examines the figures of Africa and America to suggest that the *Fontaine* operates by both expressing the underlying racist ideologies that drove French colonialism and reflecting Napoléon III's aspirations for a global and multina-

18 Guy Boistel, "Training Seafarers in Astronomy: Methods, Naval Schools, and Naval Observatories in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century France," in *The Heavens on Earth: Observatories and Astronomy in Nineteenth-Century Science and Culture,* eds. David Aubin, Charlotte Bigg, and H. Otto Sibum (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 149.

19 Charles Withers, "International Standards? Metrology and the Regulation of Space and Time, 1787-1884," in *Zero Degrees: Geographies of the Prime Meridian* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 107.

20 Dana Kristofor Lindaman, *Becoming French: Mapping the Geographies of French Identity*, 1871-1914 (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2016), 5.

21 Lindaman, *Becoming French*, 6.

22 Maurice Crosland, *Science Under Control: The French Academy of Sciences, 1795-1914* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 12.

23 Colta Ives, *Public Parks, Private Gardens: Paris to Provence* (New York, NY: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2018), 3.

24 Ives, *Public Parks, Private Gardens*, 4.

25 Frederick Quinn, *The French Overseas Empire* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2000), 167.

tional French Empire.

The complexities of the monument's iconography expose the difficult positions that military conquest and colonial expansion occupied in Napoléon III's politics. He began his reign refraining from direct military intervention and focusing on a more ideological form of imperialism by fashioning himself as the defender of nationalities in Europe and, by extension, the defender of peace on the continent.[26] Indeed, in his 1839 *Des idées napoléoniennes*, Napoléon III praised his uncle's vision of a European confederation with France at its helm. He argued that circumstances had forced his uncle to advance too rapidly in warfare and that he would have been successful had he more time to focus on the subtle intricacies of empire-building.[27] Napoléon III's international engagements were, therefore, designed to signal to his neighbors that his only goals were to spread freedom and ensure peace in Europe. Notably, he actively supported nationalist independence movements within Europe, such as in 1859, when he sent troops to Italy to aid in Victor Emmanuel II's campaign against the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In this initial phase of the Second Empire, Napoléon III defined his government as one that integrated revolutionary principles with imperialism to spread its progressive ideology to its European neighbors.[28]

However, by the time that Carpeaux received the commission for the *Fontaine*, support for and confidence in the Second Empire had sharply declined. Issues including fears of war with Prussia and the high taxes that the emperor demanded to finance his public works projects raised serious concerns over Napoléon III's ability to rule. In the face of growing public frustration with the regime and an increasingly fracturing political and social climate, the emperor took steps to associate his empire with legacies of past regimes and aggressively pursued colonialism to consolidate his power and increase his popularity. Envisioning his empire as the heir to that of the Romans, he recast the Second Empire as a multinational colonial empire. Citing his uncle's writing once more, Napoléon III saw war and imperialism as necessary to consolidate the increasingly fracturing and divided climate of his empire and argued that "in the aftermath of revolution, an external war was necessary… to amalgamate the remains of all the parties."[29] Having undergone a period of internal conflict and distrust, France required an external enemy against whom to recalibrate its identity and unite its citizens. For Napoléon III, who vowed against taking unnecessary and aggressive actions against his European neighbors, colonialism offered a solution: since he could not expand his empire within Europe, he would do so overseas.

This more explicitly colonialist and expansionary vision for the Second Empire began in the 1860s, during which Napoléon III re-envisioned his empire as the heir to that of the Romans and recast his regime as a multinational colonial empire. Drawing from the legacy of the Romans, he sought to reunite those he saw as sharing with France a common *latinité*—a Roman cultural heritage—beginning in 1862, when he attempted to establish Ferdinand Maximilian as the emperor of Mexico. Unlike Italy, where the French military was sent to support an independence movement, Mexico was an independent state that the emperor invaded and one where he instituted a new ruler and a new form of government.[30]

Commissioned in the final years of the Second Empire, the iconography of the *Fontaine* embodies both phases of French imperialism. It forces the incompatible central ideals of both the earlier and later periods of Napoléon III's regime to co-exist within a single sculptural program. The result is a work that is contradictory and unstable in meaning: one that espouses self-governance and egalitarianism as well as white supremacy and French exceptionalism.

While the iconography of a grouping of figures supporting a sphere is hardly new, an analysis of Carpeaux's treatment of this motif exposes contradictions inherent to the *Fontaine's* visual program.[31] Beginning in the sixteenth century, allegorical figures of the four continents began to populate the title cartouches and borders of European maps of the world.[32] As these figures are understood to pictorialize a European conception of the ordering of the races, the most well-known manifestations of the allegory were literal and visual top-down hierarchies. First published in 1507, Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, the first significant printed atlas of the world, presents a notable example (Figure 8). Relying primarily on external signifiers of race to distinguish these racial types from one another, the frontispiece of Ortelius's work visually places Europe at the top of the racial hierarchy, with Asia and Africa occupying spaces below, and with America located at the bottom.

Sculptural works like Francesco Bertos's *Allegorical Groups Representing the Four Continents* series, produced between 1710 and 1725, and Aimé-Jules Dalou's 1867 *Caryatids: The Four Continents* show how separating the continents and races from one another in a series of sculptures allows the hierarchy inherent to this allegory to become externally located (Figures 9-13). Bertos's and Dalou's series include four autonomous sculptural groups, each standing for a continent; the hierarchical relationships between these allegorical figures exist not within the objects themselves, but rather be-

26 Carroll, "Imperial Ideologies," 71.

27 William E. Echard, *Napoleon III and the Concert of Europe* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 3.

28 Echard, *Napoleon III and the Concert of Europe*, 73.

29 Price, *French Second Empire*, 406.

30 Carroll, 75.

31 Dirk Kocks has put forth a number of precedents of this theme of an arrangement of figures supporting a sphere. Dirk Kocks, "La Fontaine de l'Observatoire von Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Zur Ikonographie der Kosmos-Vorstellung im 19. Jahrhundert," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 38 (1976): 131 to 144.

32 Alex Zukas, "Class, Imperial Space, and Allegorical Figures of the Continents on Early-Modern World Maps," *Environment, Space, Place* 10, 2 (Fall 2018): 29.

tween them.[33]

However, in the *Fontaine*, Carpeaux presents a confounding and contradictory image by combining the various allegorical figures into a single sculptural group, applying to it the motif of figures supporting a sphere, and privileging ethnographic realism and physiognomy at the expense of external markers of race. Placing these types on even ground, Carpeaux creates a visually equalizing composition and negates hierarchy in a sculptural group that is inherently hierarchical. The result is a difficult composition and unstable iconography that reflects well Napoléon III's failure to reconcile his aspirations with the realities of his reign.

Given the importance of science to Napoléon III's public image, it makes sense for Carpeaux to have produced a monument for the Second Empire in a naturalist style that privileges ethnographic and anatomical verisimilitude, as described by Anne Wagner. This preoccupation is significantly apparent in not only the removal of external signifiers of race but also in Carpeaux's desire to patinate his sculptural group, evidenced in a letter addressed to fellow sculptor Victor Bernard. In it, he asked,

> … how can I be allowed to patinate my group as I dreamed, with the coloring of the races? I entrust you with this mission, that of proving [to Davioud] how much shape and line will be distinguished by the hue. I can see from here the dreadful green wax caking on the shape and the suppleness of the details.[34]

While the idea was ultimately rejected, it nonetheless connects the monument to the ways that sculpture in the nineteenth century served as a site in which color, race, representation, and otherness intersected with one another.

Notably, polychrome sculptures, such as those of Charles-Henri-Joseph Cordier, were seen not in artistic terms but rather as scientific objects that belonged in natural history and anthropology museums (Figure 14).[35] His works reveal the political dimensions of the medium that confirmed the racial difference and inferiority of non-European cultures and peoples, thus supporting France's colonization efforts. Cordier used contrasting materials and hues to differentiate clothing from skin tone: the dark onyx marble that he used throughout his career can be read as a marker of race, especially given how the whiteness of the marble used in classical Greco-Roman sculptures similarly operated as a signifier of racial whiteness. These images also essentialized race and took a reductive view of Black individuals that saw them as ethnographic types. At least in the late nineteenth century, polychromy was the sculptural interest in ethnographic realism and accuracy taken to its ideological and aesthetic extreme. The politics of medium and representation, as well as Carpeaux's arrangement and depiction of the allegory of the continents, make Carpeaux's allegorical figures compelling subjects of postcolonial study.

However, Napoléon III's interventions in North Africa make it strange that this figure is distinctly not northern African—Algerian, Egyptian, or otherwise—but one whose physiognomy more closely aligns her to sub-Saharan Africa and one who has been recently freed from slavery, as indicated by the broken shackles on her ankle. It is fascinating that Carpeaux would depict this figure in such a way, especially given that he received the commission for the *Fontaine* roughly two decades after the abolition of slavery and in a time when North Africa featured prominently in Napoléon III's colonial program and the French collective consciousness.

Examining European conceptions of Blackness and the way that the African continent was understood vis-à-vis Europe and the Orient suggests why Carpeaux decided to produce this image of Africa and place her directly across from the figure of Europe. Charmaine A. Nelson discusses how, while colonial discourse, as Edward Said analyzed it, sought to homogenize and distinguish racial types through geography, the vast physical, cultural, linguistic, and geographical differences between northern and sub-Saharan Africa presented a challenge.[36] The African continent, therefore, disrupted European racial ideology, which sought to reduce and essentialize racial types. The solution was to theorize Blackness as existing at varying degrees of proximity to whiteness, such that physical and geographical distance came to stand for moral, intellectual, and racial distance. The further away from the racial center of Europe a body was, the more divergent it was in its color, physiognomy, and anatomy, with "total blackness" as its most extreme Other.[37]

Furthermore, Christopher L. Miller proposes that the "Black African" occupies an ambiguous space vis-à-vis Europe and the Orient, as it existed beyond this binary.[38] Miller suggests that the almost obsessive European preoccupation with the color black reflects and plays a role in this characterization of Africa and its peoples. Drawing from Charles Baudelaire, Miller discusses how Blackness is associated with the unknown and the absent and how "black is to color as zero is to infinity."[39] If black is, as Baudelaire suggests, meaningless and solitary zero, then light and color are positive values.[40] As Cohen writes, "the Africans' color drew much attention

33 A project carried out at the University of Vienna cataloged the allegory as it appeared on immovable media, such as fresco, in the Southern Holy Roman Empire between the late-sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, and provides a comprehensive database of examples of this theme. Marion Romberg, "Continent Allegories in the Baroque Age – A Database," accessed April 17, 2020, http://www.journal18.org/issue5/continent-allegories-in-the-baroque-age-a-database/.

34 Edouard-Désiré Fromentin, "Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Essai biographique, la vie, l'œuvre du statuaire valenciennois d'après sa correspondence," *Valentina* 19 (June 1997): 174.

35 Laure de Margerie, Facing the Other: Charles Cordier (1827-1905), *Ethnographic Sculptor*, trans. Laurel Hirsch, Lenora Ammon, Claire Palmieri (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, 2004), 20.

36 Charmaine A. Nelson, *Representing the Black Female Subject in Western Art* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2010), 120.

37 Nelson, *Representing the Black Female Subject*, 164.

38 Christopher L. Miller, *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

39 C. Miller, *Blank Darkness*, 80.

40 C. Miller, *Blank Darkness*, 88.

because of the shock that Europeans experienced in seeing people of dark skin."[41] The implied Blackness in the figure of Africa and the placement of this figure opposite Europe insist upon a racial difference that is ideologically and politically motivated. To depict an identifiably Arab figure to stand for the African continent and to place this figure anywhere but the furthest point away from the figure of Europe would have been to forgo the opportunity to depict a racial type that was the most distant from that of Europe.

Carpeaux's decision to depict the figure of Africa with broken shackles points to the complex relationship that the Second Empire had with Black Africans. The fractured shackles may have been designed to mitigate the negative and inferior connotations of racial Blackness by presenting the figure of Africa as liberated and by alluding to the status of Black individuals as productive members of French society and the French economy post-abolition.[42] In contemporaneous French consciousness, however, Blackness was unavoidably entangled with the history of slavery and the debates surrounding its abolition, which were bound to the myth of the noble savage. Abolitionists supported their cause by invoking this trope, which characterized Indigenous non-white populations as happy, uncorrupted by modern life, and living in perfect harmony with nature. This myth argued that the presumed simplicity of the African did not warrant abasement, but rather praise.[43] However, they were nonetheless "savage"—Abbé Raynal, for instance, discussed the virtues of Africans while cautioning that the defense of their humanity may lead to an exaggeration of their qualities.[44] Furthermore, the sciences contributed to the noble savage myth by suggesting that Africans were closer to the primates than Europeans were. The African's ability to live freely in nature was proof of this association, while the European's life in civilization was proof that he was far from animality.[45]

The endurance of these ideas is also evident in Carpeaux's 1868 *Pourquoi naître esclave?* (Figure 15). This bust was created from his study of a live model in preparation for the full-length figure that would become a part of the *Fontaine*. Carpeaux's bust depicts an ethnographically and racially verisimilar Black female through physiognomy and phrenology. She turns to the left and looks up as ropes bind her arms and bare chest. The bust exhibited at the Salon includes the inscription "*pourquoi naître esclave ?*" or "why born a slave?" at its base.[46] It was reproduced to be sold to private buyers in a number of versions, mediums, and dimensions, including terra cotta, bronze, polychrome plaster, and marble; many editions did not include the original inscription.[47] The result is an instability of meaning: the sculpture could either communicate an abolitionist message through the inscription that challenges the institution of slavery or tamp down this message by omitting the inscription. Carpeaux could avoid committing the bust to a singular meaning and appease a wide range of viewers and buyers.

Through this duality of meaning, Carpeaux's *Pourquoi naître esclave?* can be thought of as simultaneously promoting and disavowing abolition and, by extension, French colonialism. More significantly, the work, being the forerunner of the allegorical figure of Africa, explicitly ties the *Fontaine* to a broader discourse of slavery and abolition. Consequently, Carpeaux's allegorical figure overtly expresses the conservative ideologies that, while they may have supported the end to abolition, nonetheless reinforced the supremacy of racial whiteness by defining what it was not: Blackness.

If the figure of Africa expresses the racist ideologies that enabled colonialism, then the allegory of America reflects Napoléon III's project to unite the *latinité* world under the French flag—a significant colonial project that was designed to restore the emperor to the status of a global hegemon. Although Lisa Miller argues that Carpeaux's allegory of America does not stem from the myth of the noble savage, Carpeaux's choice to depict this figure almost identically as he did the allegory of Europe suggests otherwise. [48] Indeed, while Carpeaux's figure of America takes on the image of an Indigenous American woman, there is little about her physiognomy that differentiates her from the figure of Europe.[49] The figure is identifiable almost entirely through external signifiers—the earrings and headdress—that signal her racial difference and delineate her as distinctly non-white. The image of America as a vaguely Indigenous person has a two-fold significance in how the continent and its inhabitants occupied European consciousness and in the figure's relationship to Napoléon III's ambitions in Central America.

A cornerstone of the ideologies that fueled this cam-

41 William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530-1880* (Bloomington, IL: Indiana University Press, 1980), 13.

42 Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, "Still Thinking About Olympia's Maid," *Art Bulletin* 97, no. 4 (December 2015): 430-451.

43 Cohen, *French Encounter*, 71.

44 Cohen, *French Encounter,* 72.

45 Cohen, *French Encounter*, 89.

46 Although the scholarship seems to disagree on whether the bust exhibited at the Salon was a bronze or marble, Louis Auvray's 1869 *Exposition des beaux-arts : Salon de 1869* indicates that a bronze was displayed. Part of this confusion likely stems from Ernest Chesneau's *Le Statuaire J.-B. Carpeaux: sa vie et son œuvre*, written after the death of the artist, in which the author misremembers the bust as being of marble. Being among the major primary biographical sources on Carpeaux, it is possible that Chesneau's text established the tradition of mislabeling the bust exhibited at the Salon as being made in bronze.

47 A catalog of sculptures by the *Atelier J.-B. Carpeaux* lists under "Busts: portraits, decorative compositions" an almost half-size reduction of the original Pourquoi naître esclave? bust with the inscription included. Reductions without the inscription have also been produced, including a porcelain version produced by the Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres. Furthermore, lifesize casts of the bust with and without the inscription exist in collections globally. *Catalogue de Sculptures Originales: terres cuites, platres, Bronzes, groups statuettes, bustes, Médallions, Esquisses* (Paris: Galerié Manzi-Joyant, 1913), 24.

48 L. Miller, *Carpeaux's America*, 200.

49 L. Miller, *Carpeaux's America*, 199.

paign was the myth of the noble savage, translated to the New World and adapted to support Napoléon III's attempts to install a puppet monarch overseas. Many of the ways that Africans were characterized were applied to Indigenous Americans, who were portrayed as naked, happy, content, and uncorrupted from living in a temperate landscape that yielded all of their needs.[50] In 1845, Charles Baudelaire, upon seeing a group of the Ojibwa brought to France by George Catlin, lauded the "free character and the noble expression of these splendid fellows" and noted that, "with their fine attitudes and their ease of movement, these savages make antique sculpture comprehensible."[51] However, the source of their nobility was also the source of their potential downfall—while they were uncorrupted by civilization, they were also removed from the Gospel and were, therefore, prey to the devil.[52] As such, they were positioned well to receive "the gift of civilization" from the colonial powers of Europe. This trope and the way that Europeans saw Indigenous American populations have strong parallels to both Carpeaux's monument and the way that Napoléon III framed his conquest of Central America.

The faux-egalitarian presentation of the races, therefore, becomes clear when examining how the French saw themselves vis-à-vis the Mexicans and how Napoléon III used France's Roman heritage to elevate his empire. Like the inhabitants of France and Mexico, Carpeaux's figures are, to borrow a phrase, separate but equal. There is something unmistakably regal and noble about Europe that does not seem present in America. While Europe looks upward, her facial features indicating the relative ease with which she supports the sphere, America exerts herself, as evident in her furrowed eyebrows and contorted body. Should America shed the external signifiers of its racial difference and embrace European governance, as Napoléon III and his predecessors hoped it would, it would be less "savage" and more "civilized." In presenting Europe and America in these ways, Carpeaux reflected the Second Empire that Napoléon III re-imagined: one that was powerful in its mastery of the New World, something that his predecessors had failed to do, but one that was also glorious and noble in its loyalty to its Roman heritage. Thus, the politics of race, primitivism, and colonialism that undergirds Napoléon III's 1861-1867 latinité campaign in Central America manifest in Carpeaux's allegory of Africa, as well as in the physiognomic similarities that Carpeaux's America shares with Europe.

A Monument for the French Colonial Empire

Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux's *Les Quatre parties du monde soutenant la sphère céleste* offers a comprehensive window into Second Empire colonial politics. Physically and ideologically placed in the heart of his new empire, the *Fontaine*—its site and iconography—is a powerful expression of the ideologies and goals of the Second Empire, as well as a reminder to the French populace of the supposed greatness of the Napoleonic State that the emperor had promised to revive. The Second Empire's birth from the ashes of the Second Republic was tenuous, and Napoléon III's illegitimate seizure of power haunted him for the remainder of his tenure as emperor of the French. By tracing the development of Napoléon III's domestic and foreign affairs policies, we see how this illegitimacy became a prevailing driving force behind much of the decisions that he made during his leadership, from how he reshaped his capital city to his extensive plans for global domination. By foregrounding science, progress, and objectivity and combining these themes with French dominance and racial superiority, Carpeaux's monument attempts to justify the beliefs and aspirations that Napoléon III had for his state. While located in Paris, the *Fontaine* nonetheless connects the heart of the Napoleonic State to the global macrocosm in its placement along the Paris meridian and between the Luxembourg Palace and the Paris Observatory. Through the commission and creation of the *Fontaine*, Carpeaux revealed himself be a powerful agent of the Second Empire, as the *Fontaine* celebrated the union of empiricism and empire.

However, considering the *Fontaine's* installation by the Third Republic raises questions regarding the politics of Napoléon III's administration and that of his successors. The monument's straddling of two regimes, the latter that defined itself against the former, is the result of the Third Republic's adoption of Haussmann's work and its related projects. While in 1870, Napoléon III dismissed Haussmann in an unsuccessful attempt to appease his critics, the widespread unpopularity of the empire, combined with the stresses of war against Prussia, ensured the emperor's removal from office that very year. The Third Republic nonetheless employed his staff and completed his projects.[53] Among these was the *Fontaine*, for which Carpeaux was instructed to make minor adjustments before its installation in 1874: to decrease the space between the figures of Africa and Asia and remove a support peg placed at the center of the plinth.[54]

It is curious that the Third Republic adopted the *Fontaine*, given Carpeaux's deep connections to the Second Empire. While it would have made fiscal sense to continue funding the *Fontaine*, rather than to commission an entirely new project, the fact that Carpeaux was not given more dramatic recommendations to alter his composition suggests that the Third Republic saw in this monument a racial and colonial politics that it could capitalize on. Adopting Haussmann's project and retrofitting Carpeaux's sculptural group into its republican iconography, the Third Republic revealed how, like its predecessor, it relied on colonial policy and imagery to assert a concept of French identity in its pursuit of legitimacy and stability. That the Third Republic would retrofit the *Fon-*

50 L. Miller, *Carpeaux's America*, 200.

51 Charles Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846," in *Oeuvres completes des Baudelaire* (Paris: Éditions de la Nouvelle revue française, 1918): 903-904.

52 Francisco Bethencourt,"Hierarchies of Continents and Peoples," in *Racisms: From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 108.

53 Peter Soppelsa, "How Haussmann's Hegemony Haunted the Early Third Republic," in *Is Paris Still the Capital of the Nineteenth Century? Essays on Art and Modernity, 1850-1900,* eds. Hollis Clayson and André Dombrowski (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 38.

54 Extract from meeting minutes of the Commission des Beaux-Arts signed by Michaud, secretary of the Commission, January 15, 1872, Item 10, Fontaine du Luxembourg Dossier, Archives Municipales de Valenciennes, Valenciennes, France.

taine into its iconography suggests that, despite its disavowal of Napoléon III and his regime, the two are united in profound and meaningful ways. Visually uniting what have been considered to be disparate regimes, the *Fontaine* may be thought of as a monument for not only Napoléon III's regime, but also as one for the French colonial Empire. Through its highly charged site and iconography, as well as its celebration of a complicated and problematic history, Carpeaux's *Fontaine* enables a critical reconsideration and discourse on the legacy of nineteenth-century French sculpture.

American University

Figure 1: Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, *Les Quatre parties du monde soutenant la sphère céleste (The Four Parts of the World Supporting the Celestial Sphere)*, bronze, 280 x 177 x 145 cm. Personal photograph by the author.

Figure 2: Carpeaux, *Europe*, from *Les Quatre parties du monde soutenant la sphère céleste*, 1872, varnished plaster model, 280 x 177 x 145 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Figure 3: Carpeaux, *Americ*a, from *Les Quatre parties du monde soutenant la sphère céleste*, 1872, varnished plaster model, 280 x 177 x 145 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Personal photograph by the author.

Figure 4: Carpeaux, *Africa*, from *Les Quatre parties du monde soutenant la sphère céleste*, 1872, varnished plaster model, 280 x 177 x 145 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Figure 5: Carpeaux, *Asia*, from *Les Quatre parties du monde soutenant la sphère céleste*, 1872, varnished plaster model, 280 x 177 x 145 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Personal photograph by the author.

Figure 6: Carpeaux, *Le Prince Impérial et son chien Néro (The Imperial Prince and his dog Nero)*, 1865, marble, 140 x 65.4 x 61.5 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

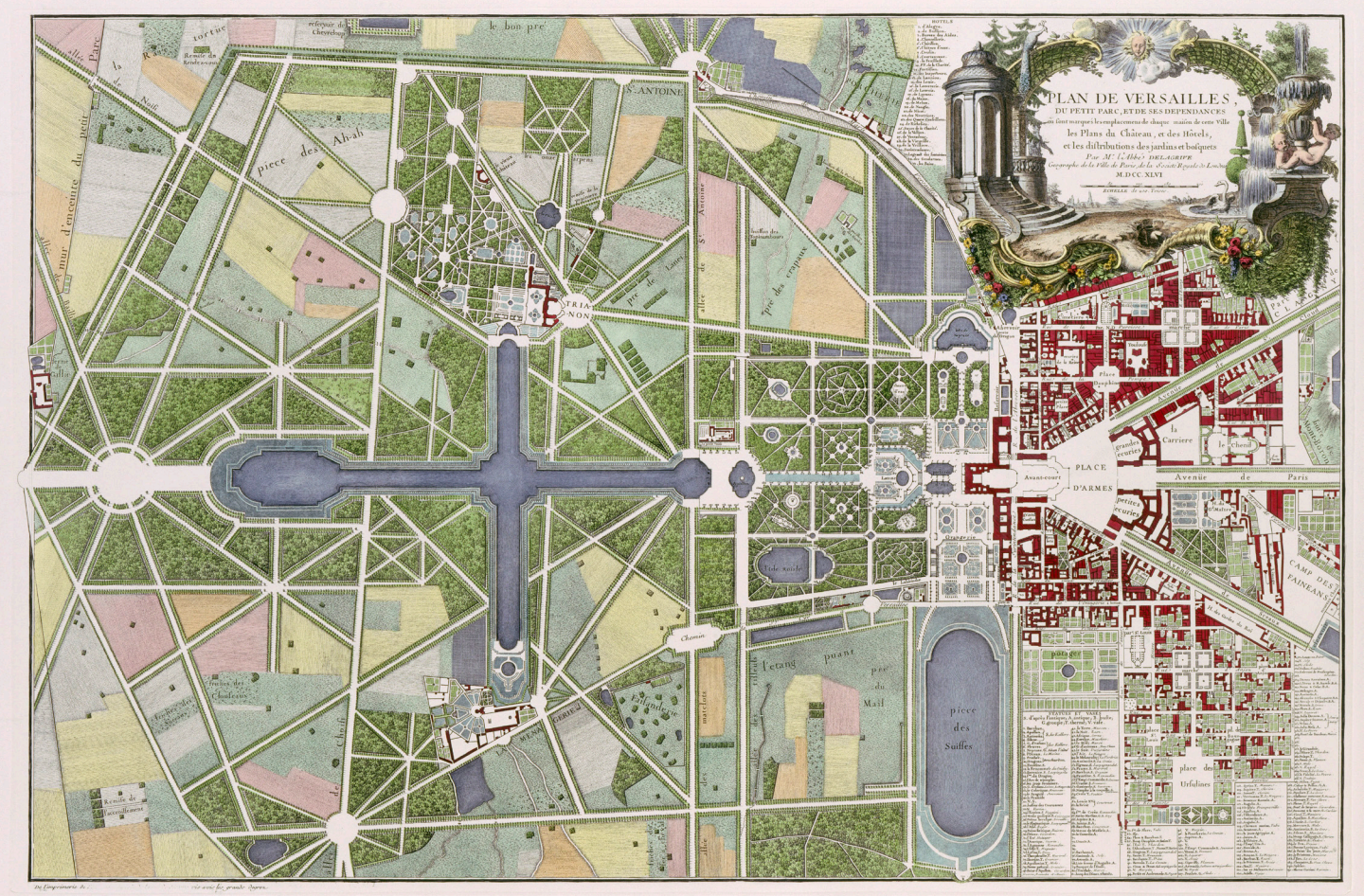


Figure 7: Jean-Almar Piganiol de La Force, *Nouvelle description des chateaux et parcs de Versailles et de Marly : contenant une explication historique de toutes les peintures, tableaux, statues, vases & ornemens qui s'y voient : leurs dimensions : & les noms des peintres, des sculpteurs & des graveurs qui les ont faits*, 1724, drawing. The Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Figure 8: Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum: Title-page with Four Figures which Embody the Four Known Continents*, 1570, print, 37 x 23 cm. Norman B. Leventhal Map Center, Boston Public Library, Boston.

Figure 9: Francesco Bertos, *Allegorical Groups Representing the Four Continents: Europe*, 1710-25, bronze, 63.5 x 45 x 36.7 cm. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

Figure 10: Bertos, *Allegorical Groups Representing the Four Continents: America*, 1710-25, bronze, 69 x 38 x 44.9 cm. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

Figure 11: Bertos, Allegorical Groups Representing the Four Continents: Africa*,* 1710-25, bronze, 64.5 x 46 x 32.7 cm, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

Figure 12: Bertos, *Allegorical Groups Representing the Four Continents: Asia,* 1710-25, bronze, 63.8 x 34.8 x 43 cm, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

Figure 13: Aimé-Jules Dalou, *Caryatids: The Four Continents*, 1867, patinated plaster. Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Figure 14: Charles Cordier, *Woman from the French Colonies (Originally called La Capresse des Colonies)*, 1861. Algerian onyx-marble, bronze, and gilt bronze, enamel, amethyst; white marble socle. 105.1 x 46.4 x 46.4 x 29.8 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 15: Carpeaux, *Pourquoi naître esclave ?*, 1868, terra cotta, 58.4 x 55.9 x 45.7 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Embodying Violence, Manipulating Space: The Irony of Vallotton's Police States

Jordan Hillman

"Turbulent antitheses, contrasts, —clashes": this is how Michel Zévaco of *Le Courrier français* characterized the graphic work of Félix Vallotton, a new contributor to the illustrated Parisian weekly in 1894.[1] The militant journalist and anarchist activist was not alone in recognizing the violent pictorial tendencies of the Swiss-born artist, who had relocated to the French capital in 1882 at age seventeen.[2] A month earlier in his literary column "Lettre de Genève" in the *Gazette de Lausanne*—a daily journal published in Vallotton's hometown for which the artist had worked as the Parisian correspondent since 1890—Gaspard Vallette remarked, "M. Vallotton's art does not insinuate with delicate or scholarly nuances. It forcibly implants itself and takes possession […with] a healthy strength and an invigorating bitterness." [3] Vallotton's creative spirit indeed culled an acerbic, morbid pleasure from observing the harsh realities of urban experience and translating them into striking and incisive graphic form. [4] Nowhere was this vitriol more apparent than in the many depictions of police officers that Vallotton produced around 1900. By appropriating and upending authoritative visual and compositional devices, the artist pictured the Parisian police in ways that actively and violently challenged their potency as a force of law and order.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the visual and experiential character of the French capital was being reshaped as the urban street took on renewed social significance. Though considered a politically charged site of demonstration and insurrection since the Revolution, widespread social protests in the 1890s exacerbated the perceived danger of proletarian crowds. [5] Propelled by heightened tensions between the bourgeois establishment and increasingly radical social reformers, the anarchist movement also reached a fever pitch around 1895. Attacks and bombings in service of the cause—notably, the assassination of Sadi Carnot, President of the Republic, a year earlier—shook the political foundations of France and precipitated a need for more efficient and ubiquitous law enforcement.[6]

The arch of anarchism's rise in France coincided with Vallotton's arrival there and the height of his illustrious graphic career working for popular and fine art ventures alike. Playing out publicly—and violently—in the street, and privately within the circles of avant-garde artists and writers with whom Vallotton was closely associated, its anti-authoritarian ideals clearly informed the artist's attitude towards his adopted country.[7] His illustrations for leftist organs like *L'Assiette au beurre*, *Le Rire*, and *Le Cri de Paris*, as well as his contributions to books and limited-edition albums, expressed stark, often caustic, views on the state of life in modern Paris. Moreover, though Vallotton was not as active as some of his close friends and collaborators, such as Théophile Steinlen, Félix Fénéon, and Lucien Pissarro, he was a known supporter of anarchist hostility toward the uneven power structures in France.[8] Vallotton's work for Jean Grave, a driving force in the international anarchist movement and editor of the journal *Les Temps nouveaux*, attests to his sympathies.[9] Moreover, a woodcut he produced in 1892 entitled *L'Anarchiste* (Figure 1) clearly channels the artist's own revulsion of authority through its titular figure, who turns his back and recoils from the long-fingered hands of the law as four policemen haul him into their clutches. In the rear of the scene storefronts are partially visible, and Patrick McGuinness has suggested that the cropped sign of the "*Librairie-Papeterie*" at far left hints at the significant relationship between anarchist action and intellectual, literary, and artistic coteries.[10] Vallotton further includes two *bourgeois* spectators who watch as the arrest unfolds, wary of whatever the *anarchiste* seems to be extracting from his pocket, an act that reveals the contingency of vision and order in the urban spaces of Paris.

Like his fellow Nabi artists, with whom he began exhibiting in 1893, Vallotton was undeniably drawn to the chaotic, crowd-filled streets in the French capital.[11] Deliberately diverse in style and execution, the members of the Nabi were

1 "Tourbillonnantes antithèses, contrastes, — heurts." Michel Zévaco, "Nos collaborateurs. — Félix Vallotton," *Le Courrier français,* 25 March 1894, 8.

2 Zévaco founded the anarchist weekly *Gueux* in 1892 and wrote for others, including Sébastien Faure's *Libertaire* and the anarchist newspaper *La Renaissance*.

3 "L'art de M. Vallotton ne s'insinue pas par des nuances délicates ou savantes. Il s'implante de force et prend possession…Il a une robustesse qui est saine et une amertume qui est tonique." V (Gaspard Vallette), "Lettre de Genève," *Gazette de Lausanne*, 22 February 1894, 3.

4 "Il ne se regale que d'amertume." Jules Renard, *Les oeuvres completes de Jules Renard: 1864-1910*, Vol. 14 (Paris: F. Bernouard, 1927), 1150. On 16 December 1904, Jules Renard wrote of his friend in his journal, "He only enjoys bitterness."

5 See Howard G. Lay, "'Beau Geste!' (On the Readability of Terrorism)." *Yale French Studies* 101, Fragments of Revolution (2001): 79-100; Richard D. Sonn, *Anarchism and Cultural Politics in Fin de Siècle France*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989); and George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Liberation Ideas and Movements* (New York: New American Library, 1962).

6 Sadi Carnot died on 25 June 1894 from stab wounds inflicted by Geronimo Casserio, an Italian anarchist, after delivering a speech in Lyon, France the day before.

7 Vallotton became a naturalized French citizen in 1900.

8 In 1894, Vallotton painted a portrait of Fénéon, an art critic and known anarchist who was jailed on suspicion of participating in the bombing by militant anarchists of the *Restaurant Foyet*, a popular haunt of politicians.

9 Vallotton contributed a design, *La Débâcle,* to supplement *Les Temps nouveaux* on 17 November 1900. It was reproduced as a lithograph in an album published by the journal in 1903.

10 Patrick McGuinness, "Vallotton and *fin-de-siècle* France," in *Félix Vallotton: The Painter of Disquiet* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2019): 23-24, Exhibition Catalogue.

11 Vallotton first exhibited with the Nabis in Paris in 1893 at Le Barc de Boutteville where he showed four of the five woodcuts that he would submit to the exhibition organized in Toulouse the following year.

unanimously committed to experimentation: they disavowed illusions of depth, stressed the continuities between art and design, and favored subjective expression over objective representation. The streets of Paris provided an ideal atmosphere for exploring such notions of individual experience within the ever-changing, visually stimulating, and politically uncertain world of modernity. [12]

On the one hand, then, Vallotton clearly shared more with the Nabis than a mere fascination with the urban spaces of Paris; he also shared their ambivalent relationship to illusionism. Influenced by artist and journalist Maurice Denis's credo that "a picture…[was] essentially a flat surface covered with colors assembled in a certain order," as well as by the profusion of Japanese prints in France, members of the Nabis grappled with the two-dimensionality of the picture plane.[13] The resulting compositions often played with the notion of surface depth through uplifted horizons, the cutting of silhouetted shapes devoid of modelling, and the decorative arrangement of forms. In Vallotton's prints, such anomalies were accompanied by a visual language of flat planes of color and abbreviated forms that was largely revered by critics: Vallette's "Lettre de Genève" celebrated Vallotton's "almost supernatural power of simplification which acutely strikes the mind."[14] Vallotton's poet friend and fellow Swiss expat, Mathias Morhardt, described it as "a breadth, a nobility, a simplicity of conception which does not seem [to him] to have been equaled."[15] Pointing to two of Vallotton's earliest woodcuts, the editor of the revue *L'art et l'idée*, Octave Uzanne, further exclaimed that in these "brutal xylographs we find a reduction to one-tenth: they are only silhouettes that appear cut almost in Chinese shadows, but do you not see what intensity of life and of reality is enlivened by the unique spirit of the engraving?"[16] The "intense, impenetrable, uncompromising blacks" of Vallotton's designs pointed to the artist's skillful manipulation of the relief-printmaking process that produced precise, high contrast, visually arresting images of Parisian street-life.[17] Indeed, he developed this innovative, often politically charged pictorial shorthand through his close contact with vanguard caricaturists, avant-garde artists, and leftist supporters in Montmartre, including Steinlen, another transplant from Lausanne who settled in Paris the year before Vallotton.[18]

Unlike his Nabi counterparts, however, Vallotton's anarchist sympathies often made him a more skeptical, ambivalent, and critical observer.[19] It was on those terms that Octave Mirbeau singled Vallotton out from the group, writing in the preface to the catalogue for an exhibition of the artist's work at the Galerie Druet that, "like those who have seen a lot, read a lot, think a lot, he is pessimistic. But there is nothing aggressive about this pessimism, nothing arbitrarily negative. This righteous man does not want to deceive himself […] and he seeks in all things, in good faith, the truth."[20] Like Morhardt and others, Mirbeau identified Vallotton's concern for authenticity as integral to his artistic identity. As Zévaco poetically described, "there is a frankness in his compositions that sometimes touches brutality, yet it remains seductive like the cry of a mind eager to see and know everything."[21] Despite his penchant for bitterness and wit, his realist impulse prevented him from resorting to "the too-easy grotesque, [or]…exaggerat[ing] to the point of caricature"; instead, "[the] irony [of his art] is expressed exclusively through the composition of the forms."[22]

The candor and irony of Vallotton's art has not been lost on art historians, though much of the scholarship has tended to focus on his uneasy relationship to the Nabis and his later painting career, which became the artist's primary focus after 1899.[23] When studies have addressed his graphic work, it has typically been in the context of his virtuosic handling of the woodcut medium or his prolific illustrations for the popular

12 For more on Vallotton and his relationship to the Nabis see Nathalia Brodskaia, *Félix Vallotton: le nabi étranger* (New York: Parkstone Press Ltd., 1996); *Le très singulier Vallotton* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2001); and *Félix Vallotton: Le feu sous la glace* (Paris: Flammarion, 2013).

13 Maurice Denis, "Définition du néo-traditionnisme," *Art et critique* 65 (23 August 1890): 556-58.

14 "Il y a dans cet art une force presque surnaturelle de simplification qui frappe vivement l'esprit." Vallette, "Lettre de Genève," 3.

15 "C'est d'une largeur, d'une noblesse, d'une simplicité de conception qui ne me semblent pas avoir été égalées aujourd'hui…" Mathias Morhardt, "Les artistes vaudois à Paris. M, Félix Vallotton," *Gazette de Lausanne*, 24 March 1893.

16 "Remarquez cette Foule à Paris ou bien Un enterrement en province, ces deux xylographes brutales dont on trouve ici la réduction au dixième : ce ne sont que des silhouettes qui apparaissent taillées presque en ombres chinoises, mais n'y voyez-vous pas quelle intensité de vie et de réalité égayée par l'humour spécial de la gravure ?" Octave Uzanne, "La renaissance de la gravure sur bois–Une néo-xylographe : M. Félix Vallotton," *L'art et l'idée,* February 1892.

17 Octave Uzanne, *Badauderies parsiennes: Les rassemblements; Physiologies de la Rue* (Paris: H. Floury, 1896): IV.

18 In the 1890s, Vallotton was often associated with Steinlen and other artists with anarchist-socialist views. See Sasha M. Newman, Marina Ducrey, Richard S. Field, Deborah L. Goodman, Margrit Hahnloser-Ingold, John Klein, and Rudolf Koella, *Félix Vallotton*, edited by Lesley K. Baier (New Haven and New York: Yale University Art Gallery and Abbeville Press, 1991): 21, 72.

19 Vallotton was known within the group as the "Nabi Étranger" or "Foreign Nabi" both for his Swiss nationality and for his discordant artistic politics.

20 "Comme ceux qui ont beaucoup vu, beaucoup lu, beaucoup réfléchi, il est pessimiste. Mais ce pessimisme n'a rien d'agressif, rien d'arbitrairement négateur. Cet homme juste ne veut pas se leurrer dans le pire, comme d'autres dans le mieux, et il cherche en toutes choses, de bonne foi, la vérité." Octave Mirbeau, "Preface," in *Catalogue de l'exposition Vallotton*, Druot Gallery, Paris, 1022 Janvier 1910.

21 "Il y a dans ses compositions une franchise d'allure qui touche parfois la brutalité, mais demeure séduisante comme le cri d'un esprit avide de tout voir et savoir." Zévaco, "Nos Collaborateurs."

22 "ne recourt jamais au trop facile grotesque, ne s'exagère nulle part jusqu'à la caricature… son ironie ne s'exprime exclusivement que par la composition des formes…" Thadée Natanson, *La Revue blanche*, 15 April 1893.

23 For more on Vallotton's painting career, see Christoph Becker, ed., *Félix Vallotton: Idyll on the Edge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Nathalia Brodskaïa, *Félix Vallotton: The Nabi from Switzerland* (New York: Parkstone Press International, 2013); Katherine Kuenzli, *The Nabis and Intimate Modernism: Painting and the Decorative at the Fin-de-Siècle* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010); and *Félix Vallotton: The Painter of Disquiet* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2019), Exhibition Catalogue. See note 10 regarding his association with the Nabis.

press.[24] Recently, however, scholars like Richard Thomson and Bridget Alsdorf have undertaken more sustained examinations of Vallotton's graphic interest in violence and the law. In a chapter titled, "Picturing and Policing the Crowd," Thomson considered Vallotton among a slew of other artists whose pictures registered the nineteenth-century crowd and attempts to control it. Thomson mobilizes psychological theory to read Vallotton's masses as fragmented, yet unanimously repressed by the threat of the state.[25] Alsdorf takes up a similar thread in her examination of Vallotton's expression of vision as violent through his semi-autobiographical novel, *La Vie meurtrière*. She focuses on the ethical dilemma of vision as related to witnessing accidents and random violence in modern Paris and postulates that such witnessing engenders a level of responsibility that implicates bystanders in the act. [26] Building on and diverging from these studies, I argue that the seeming violence of Vallotton's spatial interventions in his police prints—the transposition of space into form and back again—works not as hyperbole but rather as an astute expression of the unpredictable and shifting experiences with police in the streets of Paris.

As Morhardt wrote in a review of the 1893 *Salon des indépendants*, Vallotton was "an indefatigable walker, who in the streets of Paris has encountered a thousand burlesque or painful, tragic or ridiculous episodes, which he interpreted with the same sincerity, the same cult of truth, and with a very keen sense of the picturesque crowds."[27] His graphic submissions to an exhibition in Toulouse the following year generated a similar response. Organized by the newspaper *La Dépêche de Toulouse*, the exhibition aimed to promote "independent artists" whose "curious works" were then relatively unfamiliar beyond the urban environs of Paris.[28] A notice, published in *La Dépêche* five days before, further explained its impetus: "We thought it would be interesting to make [these young painters] known to the public of our region […] Undoubtedly, the efforts of the new school have not yet resulted in a definitive formula, but these efforts nonetheless mark an interesting stage in the story of French art."[29] Vallotton's works proved especially compelling on this front. A critic for the provincial newspaper praised the artist's "frank originality" and perceived in Vallotton's woodcuts the "process of the old masters […] rediscovered by an artist very much enamored with modernism and applied by him to the spectacles of the present-day street." [30] Indeed, it was in the street that Vallotton's avant-garde modes of expression and uncanny perception met, which meant, within the shifting political milieu, a continued pictorial confrontation with the growing number of police officers who occupied it. When commissioned to produce an original lithograph for the limited-edition catalogue that would accompany the exposition in Toulouse, Vallotton's choice of subject—a closely cropped encounter between a citizen and a police officer on a cobbled street—only affirmed his preoccupation with the everyday realities and urban experiences of modern Paris and the role of police within them (Figure 2). Moreover, the man's status as a laborer, signified by his smock and doffed cap, coupled with his precarious footing on the uptilted street, point to Vallotton's keen awareness of the volatile relationship between socioeconomic status and policing in the period.

Forty years earlier, steps were already being taken to mitigate political instability and working-class rebellion through a confluence of infrastructural and legislative action in Paris. Driven by Emperor Napoléon III's desire to secure his new and precarious imperial power in the wake of his 1851 coup-d'état, reforms were introduced to restructure, bureaucratize, and nationalize the French police force. Notably, the existing system of legal and administrative jurisdictions, or *préfectures,* was overlain with a superstructure of political police granted sovereign authority to localize and manifest governmental control. This secondary force became the eyes and ears of the state, allowing it to "foresee and direct, to take the initiative in all matters, and properly to govern France."[31] Coupled with Baron Haussmann's complete overhaul of the city's medieval plan which called for the demolition of neighborhoods hous-

24 On Vallotton and the press, see Patricia Eckert Boyer, ed., *The Nabis and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988); Jean-Paul Morel, *Vallotton: Dessinateur de presse et graveur* (Laussanne: Éditions Favre, 2002); and *Vallotton, dessinateur de la presse* (Paris: Chêne, 1979).

25 See Richard Thomson, "Picturing and Policing the Crowd," in *The Troubled Republic Visual Culture and Social Debate in France, 1889-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

26 See Bridget Alsdorf, "Félix Vallotton's Murderous Life," *Art Bulletin* 97, no. 2 (May 2015): 210-228.

27 "…un promeneur infatigable qui, dans les rues de Paris, a ren- contré mille épisodes burlesques ou doulou- reux, tragiques ou ridicules, qu'il a interprêtés avec la même sincérité, avec le même culte de la vérité, et avec un sentiment très vif du pittoresque des foules." Mathias Morhardt, "Les artistes vaudois à Paris. M, Félix Vallotton."

28 "peintres indépendants […] les oeuvres si curieuses." "Nos Expositions," *La Dêpeche de Toulouse*, 17 May 1894.

29 "Nous avons pensé qu'il serait intéressant de les faire connaître au public de notre region, dont l'esprit si affiné est si largement ouvert aux choses délicates et précieuses de l'art. Sans doute, les efforts de la nouvelle école n'ont pas encore abouti à une définitive formule, mais ses efforts marqueront à coup sûr une étape intéressante dans l'histoire de l'art français." "Nos Expositions," *La Dêpeche de Toulouse*, 17 May 1894. The use of "new school" implicitly refers to the Nabis, whose members made up the majority of the fourteen artists invited to exhibit.

30 "Je ne saurais trop recommender aux amateurs d'estampes ces planches d'une si franche originalité." Homodei, "Les oeuvres," *La Dêpeche de Toulouse*, 22 May 1894; "De M. Vallotton je louerai san réserves les originales gravures sur bois. C'est le procéde des vieux maîtres de la gravure, de Marc-Antoine et de Albert Dürer, trouvé par un artiste très épris de modernisme et accommodé par lui aux spectacles de la rue actuelle." Homodei, "Les oeuvres." In criticism, Vallotton is repeatedly compared to the fifteenth century masters of woodcut. See also Morhardt, "Les artistes vaudois à Paris. M, Félix Vallotton," 2; S. de Felice, "Exposition d'Yverdon," *Gazette de Lausanne*, 24 Septembre 1894; and Raymond Bouyer, "Les graveurs sur bois de fil au canif," *L'estampe et l'affiche*, 15 December 1899.

31 *Le Moniteur Universel*, 31 January 1851, 161, quoted in Howard C. Payne, "Police Science: An Early Concept of the Modern Police State in Nineteenth Century France," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 43, no. 3 (1952): 379.

ing the "dangerous classes" and the widening of boulevards to prevent the construction of barricades and to allow the easy deployment of troops, modern Paris became a city structured on the principle of public order.[32]

Despite such measures, urban space was not so easily defined nor controlled. In the devastating aftermath of the Paris Commune in 1871 and amid concerns of increasing industrialization and urbanization, the discontentment of citizens frequently played out publicly in the streets. Their active and visible resistance to the government of the Third Republic and the bourgeois establishment it engendered ultimately resulted in the state's 1892 authorization of more than a thousand additional policemen in Paris.[33] Not only were they highly visible in the city thanks to the implementation of a standard uniform—which consisted of a dark buttoned coat, flat-brimmed cap, knee-high black boots, and a *bâton blanc*—clandestine police surveillance and undercover work were also well-known to Parisian citizens.

Confronted with more officers than ever in the street, but also in official bulletins, police memoirs, journals, and photographic albums published by the state, Vallotton sought to challenge the pervasive reality and image of social control by the forces of order. In Paris, Toulouse, and several other venues and publications, Vallotton presented graphic works that represented more than a visual analog for the police encounters he witnessed in the capital; rather, he provided an impression of the experience. He did this by exploiting the very same visual strategies of domination adopted by the police themselves. Vallotton's use of unusual points-of-view and high horizon lines, for example, co-opted the specular authority over urban space presumed to belong to the police, who patrolled the city on horseback or surveilled from elevated vantage points. Moreover, that power was seemingly consecrated from above within the hierarchy of the French government, making the police the most visible and visualized representation of state authority. Yet in contrast to the official portrayal of the police as orderly and regimented (Figure 3), Vallotton's prints were destabilizing and turbulent, flattened and cropped. Whether officers appeared as participants in the scene or only as forces beyond the frame, Vallotton's violently distorted and truncated pictorial spaces thus translated the actual urban spaces he represented into powerful commentaries on police and social life in Paris. He also developed compositional devices, such as pronounced graphic voids and the transposition of horizontal and vertical planes, that gave form to the instabilities of police authority and the dynamics of its visibility and invisibility in city streets. By embodying such modes of spatial control in his compositions, Vallotton's police prints forcefully expose the contradictions of policing in this period and demonstrate how, rather than maintaining order, police intervention often had the opposite effect.

Beyond the visual jolt of the images themselves, Vallotton's modality of engagement with the street constituted a secondary layer of dissension and irony, as it was in these pictures that the artist took his experiments with compositional flattening and perspectival disruption to extremes. In these works—which frequently thwart, tear up, and collapse completely the structuring elements of the street—Vallotton depicts chaotic demonstrations, state efforts to construct and maintain public order, and varied encounters with officers that challenge the nature and efficacy of the police force and amplify the problematic incidents with authority witnessed in this period.

Of the works Vallotton submitted to the exhibition in Toulouse, three envisioned the street, but it is *La Charge* (Figure 4) that most brutally wields the graphic potential of the medium.[34] The incendiary charge of the print's title is palpably felt in his depiction of policemen engaged in a violent encounter with the crowd rendered as an amorphous mass of black, differentiated only by buttons, batons, and cropped visages formed from the paper's reserves. In the print, an elevated viewpoint flattens the image, and the arrangement of bodies on the sheet produces a patterned effect. Simplified figures with caricatural features are crammed into the picture's lower register; above, others are forcibly scattered across the printed surface. The gridded lines of the cobblestone street have been obliterated, creating a space devoid of any architectural elements. Despite this, Vallotton partially renders the implied three-dimensional space of the composition. He uses diminution to suggest that the much larger figures at the bottom of the frame are closer to the viewer than those smaller figures at the top. Moreover, he articulates the plane of the street by positioning a man at far left lying completely flat on his back and another crawling away just right of center, the white soles of his shoes indicating the foreshortened nature of his body in space. This hint at spatial recession is ultimately contradicted, however, by the rising ground plane, which allows for the figures in the supposed distance to be visible at all; should Vallotton have composed the scene head-on, the already injured and fallen men would be entirely obscured by the attacking officers. A dark border printed around the plate's

32 In nineteenth-century France, the "dangerous classes" referred to the poor, members of some racial and ethnic minorities, sex workers, and criminals. Large-scale riots and insurrections in the 1830s as a result of industrial development, a changing economic situation, and growing class consciousness led the working classes to be deliberately subsumed into the "dangerous classes." See Louis Chevalier, *Laboring Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1973); Haussmannization has also been the subject of numerous studies. See David P. Jordan, *Transforming Paris: The Life and Labors of Baron Haussmann* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Peter Soppelsa, "How Haussmann's Hegemony Haunted the Early Third Republic," in *Is Paris Still the Capital of the Nineteenth Century?* (New York: Routledge, 2016): 35-52; and Rupert Christiansen, *City of Light: The Making of Modern Paris* (New York: Basic Books, 2018).

33 The Third Republic was installed in France in 1870 following the Siege of Paris, which culminated in Napoléon III's disastrous defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and led to the establishment of the Paris Commune.

34 In his historical study of the police and public order in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Paris, Quentin Deluermoz dedicated a section to the use of images in this sociopolitical construction. Of Vallotton's *La Charge,* Deluermoz says that its heightened visual confusion perfectly captures the fear of proliferating officers and the violent clashes that ensued in Parisian streets during this period. See Quentin Deluermoz, *Policiers dans la Ville: La construction d'un ordre public à Paris, 1854-1914* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2012). Bridget Alsdort's recent essay further argued that in *La Charge*, Vallotton placed the viewer in an "uncomfortable position of political fence-sitting and ethical doubt." See Bridget Alsdorf, "Vallotton, Fénéon, and the Legacy of the Commune in Fin-de-siècle France," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 49, nos. 3 & 4 (Spring-Summer 2021): 273.

edge emphasizes the limits and control imposed by the artist over the imagined street, activated and violently cropped by the policemen forcefully swinging their *bâtons blancs*.

Two prints that bookended Vallotton's decade-long engagement with the image of the policeman further illustrate how physical, legislative, and visual conceptions of space became for the artist a means through which urban order could be facilitated, maintained, and ultimately disrupted.[35] *La Foule à Paris* (Figure 5), produced in 1892, depicts a policeman at the lower left corner, his outstretched arms forming an obtuse angle around a compressed mass of citizens.[36] His left arm is aligned with the diagonal recession of the street while his right extends parallel to the paper's surface, holding in the obviously proletarian throng. That Vallotton inscribed his monogram on the policeman's dark uniform announces the artist's authoritative role in visually ordering the street. His precipitously rising ground plane works against this by upending the street itself, which threatens to spill the crowd out of the frame and the control of the officer. A pair of disembodied feet dangling from the upper left corner serve as a further reminder of the street's potential instability. Through this interplay, Vallotton reveals the ways in which urban space is multiply—if ineffectually—constructed in relation to the police.

The policeman in Vallotton's *L'Affaire Crainquebille* (Figure 6) signifies a similar paradox. Published in the Parisian literary and satiric journal *Le Canard sauvage* in April 1903, Vallotton positions a policeman on a Paris street at the far-right edge of the composition, his back aligned with the picture's frame. The officer's dark uniform is accentuated by the wide expanse of open space that surrounds him. Vallotton fills the void with sketchy, crayon-like scratches that heighten the sense of motion created as the working-class crowd flees quickly in the opposite direction of a man whom the caption claims "spreads terror." The scattering crowd is seen from different points of view simultaneously: from behind, in profile, and head-on, heightening the sense of confusion and manipulating the viewer's response to this chaotic urban scene. Empty space radiates outward from the policeman, further widening the physical and judicial distance between the officer and these citizens as they escape the frame of both the picture and the law. There are no signs of outward brutality, yet the crowd disperses; here, the policeman's presence alone is capable of altering the street from a site teeming with life to an emerging void overseen only by authority.

In *Le Canard sauvage* this two-page illustration accompanied Jules Renard's parodic column "Au Théâtre" in the April 4th issue. The title refers to a three-act play by Anatole France, adapted from his short novel of the same name, that was staged at the Théâtre de la Renaissance that March.[37] *L'Affaire Crainquebille* tells the tale of a street merchant who is arrested after a verbal misunderstanding with a police officer, and who, upon his release from jail, finds that his record has left a permanent stain on his reputation. He decides he must return to prison in order to survive. After soliciting a second arrest to no avail by actually insulting an officer in the same manner in which he was previously accused, Crainquebille ultimately resigns to his fate and drowns himself in the Seine. France's story mocks the law through its narrative of justice gone awry: Crainquebille's comically sad experience underscores the inherent biases and prejudices of the French judicial system. At the same time, the title points to the story's central irony: that France aligns the trivial incident of the lowly Crainquebille with the serious drama of *l'affaire Dreyfus*, a contemporary scandal that divided the nation over the fate of the Jewish army captain Alfred Dreyfus who had been falsely accused of treason.[38]

Vallotton's lithograph, like France's story, operates in a critical space between reality and representation. A nameless, nearly faceless, police officer stands his post, yet the recognizable silhouette of his uniform operates as an obvious sign of his authority. The velocity with which the figures disperse, and the anxiety that Vallotton's caption instills, suggest an exaggerated sense of fear; perhaps it is the proletarian status of this crowd that renders the officer all the more frightening. Here, however, the potential threat has reversed: no longer is the disorderly crowd the source of anxiety. Instead, it is the figure of order who poses the threat. This was, to some extent, the officer's role in the last decades of the nineteenth century: the modern force was largely centered around the maintenance of social order, often through modes of surveillance, intimidation, and intervention. Vallotton thus not only acutely registers these ironies in the new police system, but also the nature of its contradictory and condemnatory public criticism.

Attitudes toward the police during this period were indeed complex. An essay entitled "The Parisian Police" published in *The English Illustrated Magazine* by A. Shadwell in 1892 explained: "It seems impossible for [the police] to please the public. When we want them, they are our best friends, to whom we turn with the utmost confidence, when we do not, we join in treating them as a common enemy."[39] Competing categorizations of the police as absent or overly present, too lenient or unnecessarily harsh thus occupied the Parisian cultural imagination. Read in this context, the graphic punch of Vallotton's policed Paris takes on a more critical tone. The growing space that fans outward from the officer in *L'Affaire Crainquebille* visualizes the distance between the moral and

35 Thomson states that, in nineteenth-century Paris, "the city served as a metaphor for order, the moral authority of which was embodied by the police." However, as the work of Vallotton and others attests to, that order was by no means guaranteed, morally or otherwise. Thomson, *Troubled Republic*, 108.

36 *La Foule* is one of the prints that Uzanne referred to in his article. He reproduced it in the prologue to his 1896 anthology, *Badauderies parsiennes: Les rassemblements; Physiologies de la Rue,* a collection of stories illustrated by varied artists that celebrates both the typologies of the street and the revival of the woodcut, of which Uzanne saw Vallotton as the leader.

37 Anatole France, *L'affaire Crainquebille* (Paris : E. Pelletan, 1901).

38 For more on the Dreyfus Affair see Tom Conner, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Rise of the French Public Intellectual* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, Inc., 2014); Norman L. Kleeblatt, *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth, Justice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); and James D. Redwood, "The Conspiracy of Law and the State in Anatole France's 'Crainquebille'; or Law and Literature Comes of Age," *Loyola University Chicago Law Journa*l 24, no. 2/3 (Winter 1993): 179-210.

39 A. Shadwell, "The Parisian Police," in *The English Illustrated Magazine* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1892), 904.

ethical expectations of police behavior and their actual conduct in the urban sphere, a space that is likewise indicated by the contrast between this officer's detached surveillance and the hands-on exertion of force in *La Foule à Paris* and *La Charge*.

Indeed, in other images, this detachment is made complete by Vallotton's erasure of the policeman from the image entirely while still acknowledging the ways in which his palpable presence continues to activate those around him. Such is the case for *La Manifestation* (Figure 7), which depicts the characteristically frantic aftermath of one of late nineteenth-century Paris's many demonstrations. Writing in the *Gazette de Lausanne* shortly after its publication, Morhardt described the print:

> Imagine a very wide boulevard. The crowd flees in a fan shape, into the distance, exhibiting diverse attitudes which evoke…memories of scenes that we've often witnessed over the last five years. However, nobody pursues the crowd. Yet it scatters in frantic flight. Near the front just one bloke…turns around, and his expressive silhouette indicates that he expects the regulation kicking from the police, which is the very ethos of these demonstrations.[40]

Published in 1893 in the first edition of André Marty's *L'Estampe originale*, and exhibited the same year at the *Salon des indépendants, La Manifestation* likewise appeared during the height of both the labor strikes and the anarchist bombings in Paris. Yet, as Morhardt describes, La Manifestation includes no police presence whatsoever, only an implication of their likely proximity to the scene. This was further acknowledged by Julius Meier-Graefe in his 1898 illustrated biography of the artist, in which his entry for the print points out that Vallotton audaciously chose a point of view that "left out of the picture… the principal thing, the police, who do not show themselves but whose effect is nonetheless felt."[41] This absence is made present through Vallotton's elevated angle of view, which seems to embody the vantage point of mounted police at the charge. In so doing, Vallotton forces the viewer to identify with the officers who loom above the crowd even as members thumb their noses or fling insults in their direction. The seeming ambivalence of the menacing perspective coupled with the frenzied nature of the crowd's dispersal echoes the terror inspired by Vallotton's policeman in *L'Affaire Crainquebille.* Richard Thomson has suggested that, in light of the splintering crowd bound together only by "the ungiving structure of the street," the practicalities of crowd control by command or violence are the true subjects of *La Manifestation*.[42] Yet, as I have argued, Vallotton's interventions in the street are also violent: he upends, tears up, and collapses completely the gridded elements of Thomson's ungiving street in ways that disorient and displace the policeman, the crowd, and therefore the viewer.

Vallotton's two-frame cartoon for Jules Renard's "Au Voleur" (Figure 8) takes this on directly, offering multiple positions from which the same street might be encountered. Both describe the ruckus caused by the story's main character, Cham, who finds amusement in playing "thief," and who judges his own performance by the number of policemen who end up in his pursuit. In the left image, only the legs of the faux criminal are visible, a spotted dog and three officers hot on his heels. The print opens towards the picture plane, with various types—haberdashers, butchers, grain sellers—fanning out across the page. The space of the street is made strange here by the conflicting directionalities of motion and the visual confusion between street and sidewalk. United by the reserves of the paper, the only demarcation of space is the cursory sketch of a curb at upper left. Vallotton's monogram, prominent in the otherwise empty lower right corner, suggests the ways in which absence can become a kind of charged materialization through artistic agency.

Indeed, the artist's role in this purposeful absence is visualized in the second illustration, where Vallotton's signature itself becomes a void, a piece of fabric torn from the back of a man's dark coat to reveal the letters "FV." In this frame, the chase is also reversed, shown instead from the rear. But the rupture of time and space between the two frames of the story disjoints the scene and disorients the viewer, making it difficult to determine where they are now positioned relative to the crowd. The small boy from the lower right corner of the first frame, for example, is now found at the upper right of the second, pushed back in space yet still recognizable from behind by his costume and coiffure. However, the policemen are nowhere in sight; again, Vallotton's removal of the officers from the frame only serves to highlight their former presence.

Vallotton's bold distillations of actuality, rendered though dramatic cropping and disorienting spatial distortions, refuse ideological resolution, registering the ironies of a world shaped by, and filtered through, the law. This is bolstered by a refusal of optical resolution, as graphic void oscillates between blank page, abstract design, and built environment. Returning to his lithograph in *Le Canard sauvage*, we see Vallotton using the volatile nature of the Parisian street to destabilize the very notion of authority itself. While the crowd aptly navigates their way through the scene, the still policeman seems to hover in midair with nothing to anchor him. Vallotton dissolves the solid ground beneath the officer's feet, revealing the only blank space in an otherwise roughly shaded composition. As in many of his police prints, the artist thereby effectively inverts or erases the elements of the street that feign order, exposing gaps in its structural logic, both physical and legislative. I posit that through these violent interventions, Vallotton gives visual

40 "La Manifestation ne plaira guère qu'aux Parisiens. Je crois qu'elle leur plaira beaucoup. Imaginez un boulevard très large. La foule s'enfuit en éventail, très loin, dans les attitudes les plus diverses et qui évoquent d'une façon surprenante le souvenir des scènes que nous avons eues depuis cinq ans si souvent devant les yeux. Personne ne poursuit, d'ailleurs, cette foule. Elle s'écrase cependant en une fuite éperdue. Seul, au premier plan, un bonhomme, à moitié accroupi, tourne le dos, et son expressive silhouette atteste qu'il attend le coup de pied réglementaire des gardiens de la paix, ce qui est la philosophie même des manifestations." Mathias Morhardt, "Les artistes vaudois à Paris. M. Félix Vallotton.»

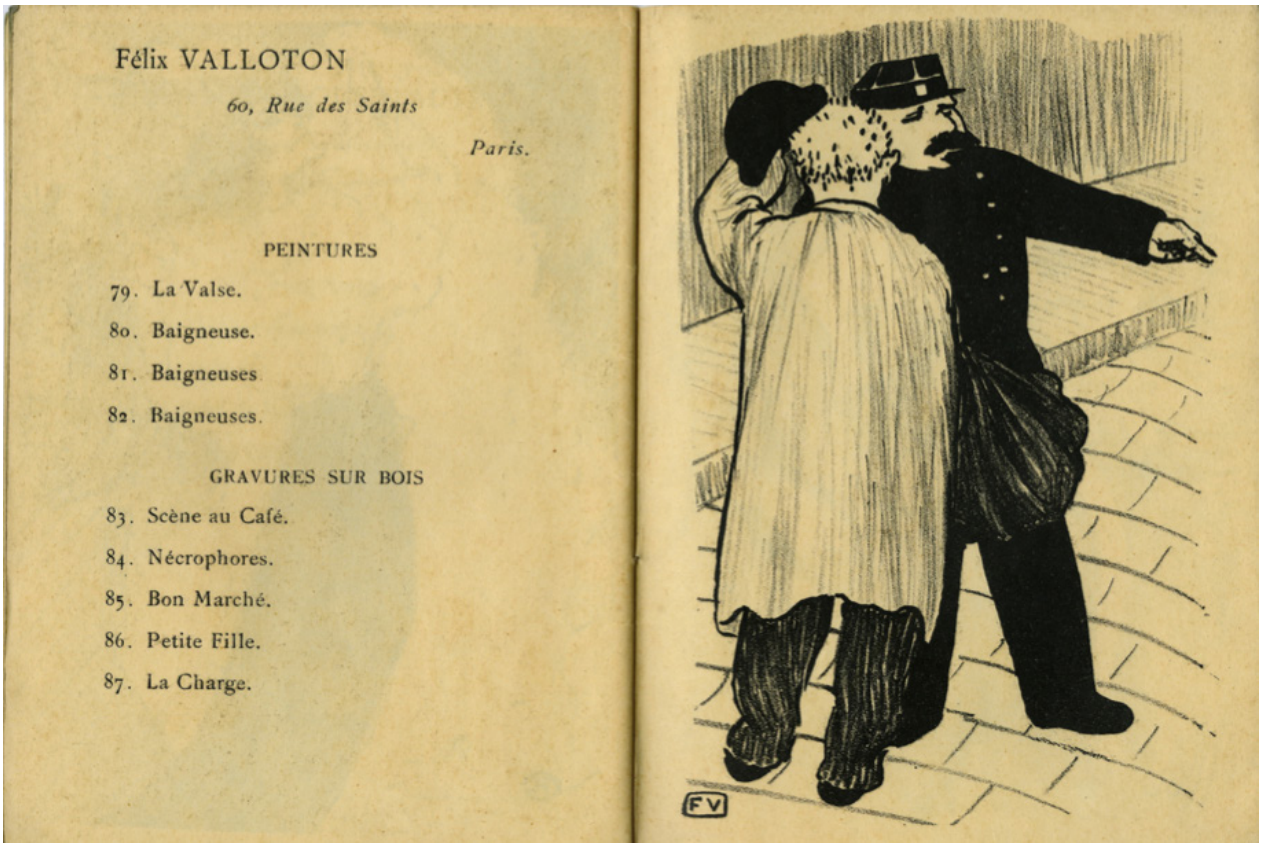
41 Julius Meier-Graefe, *Félix Vallotton, Biographie* (Paris: Edmond Sagot and Berlin: J.A. Stargardt, 1898), 33.

42 Thomson, *Troubled Republic*, 110.

form to the inherent disconnects that occurred between law and its enforcement in the unpredictable streets of late-nineteenth century Paris. Although rendered as blank or disjointed spaces by the artist, these visual voids in the urban fabric are not devoid of meaning; rather, they function for Vallotton as charged synaptic junctures where exchanges between the police and the policed—in reality and in artistic re-imaginings—were continuously negotiated, complicated, and misunderstood. Exploiting such confusion, Vallotton's prints of police called attention to the instabilities of urban space and of its control at the turn of the century.

University of Delaware

Figure 1. Félix Vallotton, *L'Anarchiste*, 1892, woodcut, 6.7 x 9.8 in (17.1 x 25 cm). Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Félix VALLOTON

60, Rue des Saints

Paris.

PEINTURES

79. La Valse.
80. Baigneuse.
81. Baigneuses
82. Baigneuses.

GRAVURES SUR BOIS

83. Scène au Café.
84. Nécrophores.
85. Bon Marché.
86. Petite Fille.
87. La Charge.

Figure 2. Félix Vallotton, *Le Renseignement (The Inquiry)*, published in "Exhibition of *La Dépêche of Toulouse*. Catalogue illustrated with 17 original lithographs. Price 1 Franc. (Printed by Edw, Ancourt, 83 Faubourg Saint-Denis, Paris),"1894, lithograph, 7.3 x 5.4 in (18.5 x 13.8 cm). MAH Musée d'art et d'histoire, Ville de Genève.

Figure 3. *Boutiques parisiennes, Commissariat de police, 7e arr.* (Parisian Boutiques : Police Station, 7th arr.),1905-1915, silver gelatin print on barite paper, 3.5 x 5.4 in (8.9 x 13.8 cm). Ville de Paris/ Bibliothèque historique.

Figure 4. Félix Vallotton, *La Charge* (The Charge), 1893, woodcut, 7.9 x 10.2 in (20 x 26 cm). Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 5. Félix Vallotton, *La Foule à Paris* (Paris Crowd), 1892, woodcut, 5.5 x 7.7 in (13.9 x 19.5 cm). Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 6. Félix Vallotton, "*L'Affaire Crainquebille: Un mâle qui répand la terreur*" ("The Crainquebille Affair: A man who spreads terror"), in *Le Canard Sauvage* (Paris) 3 (4-10 April 1903), lithograph, 12.4 x 9.5 in (31.5 x 24 cm). Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 7. Félix Vallotton, *La Manifestation*, 1893, woodcut on cream wove paper, 8 x 12.6 in (20.3 x 32 cm). Bibliothèque nationale de France.

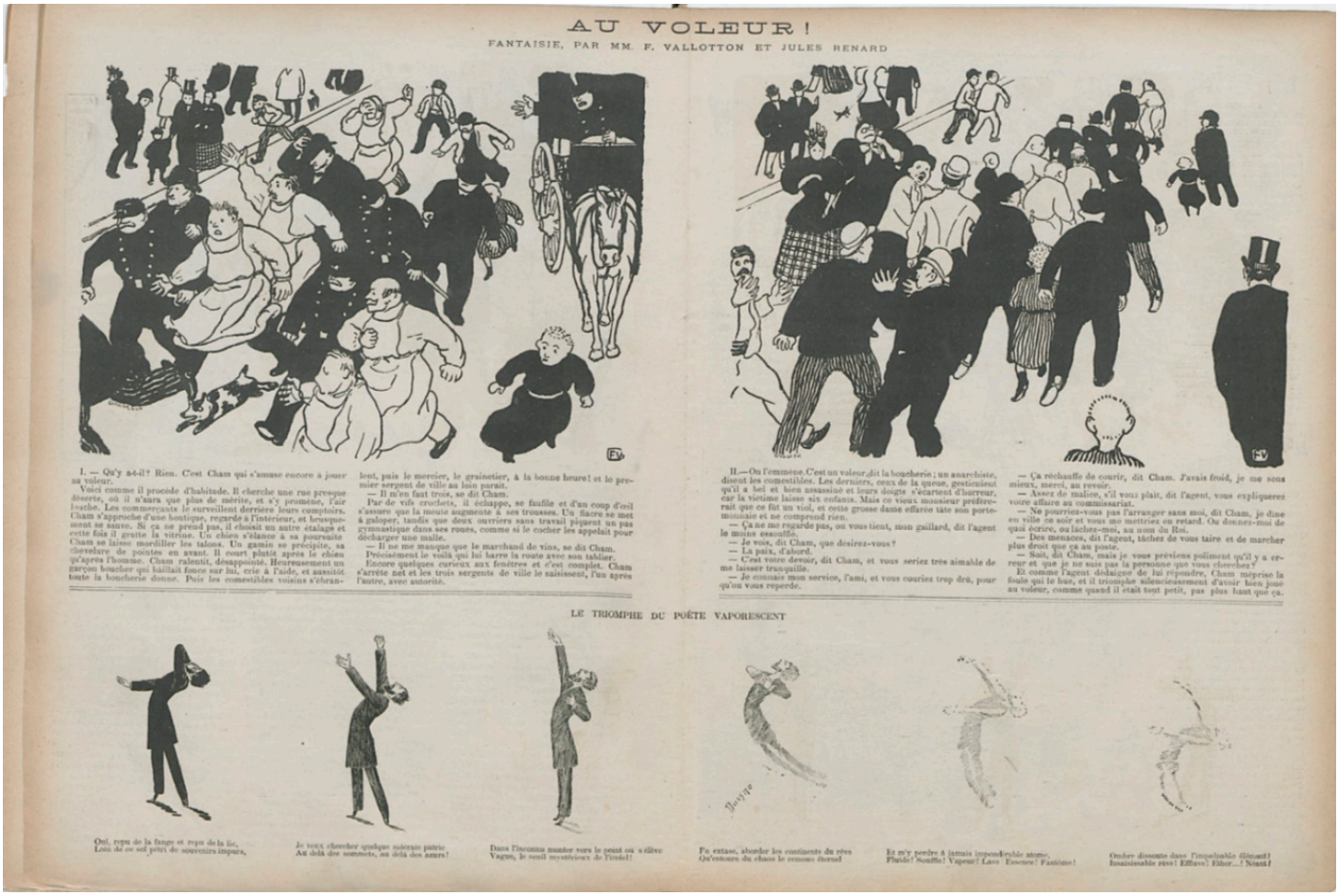


Figure 8. Félix Vallotton,"*Au Voleur!*" (Thief!) with text by Jules Renard, in *Le Rire*,16 March 1895, chromotypograph, 12.1 x 18.7 in (30.8 x 47.6 cm). Bibliothèque nationale de France.