

EATING THE LOTUS:
NEW CRITICAL APPROACHES TO
NEOCLASSICAL SCULPTURE

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation uses object-based case studies to explore how works by Emma Stebbins and Harriet Hosmer—and by extension, the broader field of American neoclassical sculptors—were influenced by the complex visual and historical field of Rome, 1852–1878. This project models different ways of reading and responding to sculptures which are complex works of classical translation, reference, and response, through an object-first and experience-based approach. I discuss four sculptures in three case studies: Hosmer's *Daphne and Medusa* (1853, 1853/4), Stebbins's *The Lotus-Eater* (1857/60), and Hosmer's *Pompeian Sentinel* (1876/8). These case studies have been chosen for their rich, multivalent relationships to previous artistic models, texts, and visual spaces in Rome (both the modern city and the ancient empire). I bring together methodological and critical approaches that have not been previously used for American neoclassical scholarship, especially Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's definition of 'camp' and weak theory. I utilize literary models of classical reception, allusion, and intertext, theories of objects in relation to time and to other objects, ecological models, and archaeological theories. My object-first approach draws heavily on first-hand observation of sites in Rome and its surrounding areas, especially Pompeii. Within this thesis, I emphasize this first-hand experience along with the importance of travel to these sites as part of my research method through the strategic use of the first person and an emphasis on the intellectual, emotional responses to sites that I had. This reinforces my dissertation's aim of enlivening the scholarly discourse around neoclassical scholarship as well as engaging in academic honesty, rather than upholding a dispassionate empiricism that does not reflect the methodological and critical approach of this project. These will be theoretically rich, chronologically complex, and emotionally engaged readings of these works, that embrace the multivalent, anachronic potentials of neoclassical sculpture.

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Finally, I am extremely grateful to Jason Edwards and Kate Nichols, for their thoughtful engagement with this thesis and their generous feedback during the viva.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

CHAPTER ONE
AN INTRODUCTION

IT NEVER ENTERED INTO MY HEAD THAT ANYBODY COULD BE SO CONTENT ON THIS EARTH, AS I AM HERE. I WOULDN'T LIVE ANYWHERE ELSE BUT IN ROME, IF YOU WOULD GIVE ME THE GATES OF PARADISE AND ALL THE APOSTLES THROWN IN. I CAN LEARN MORE AND DO MORE HERE, IN ONE YEAR, THAN I COULD IN AMERICA IN TEN.

HARRIET HOSMER TO CORNELIA CROW
APRIL 22, 1853

MAKING NEOCLASSICISM WEIRD AGAIN

Let us set aside, once and for all, the opening passage of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Marble Faun*, and the weeping Dorothea in Chapter XX of George Eliot's *Middlemarch*. The Rome of this dissertation does not, in Hawthorne's words, put the reader in a state of

a vague sense of ponderous remembrances; a perception of such weight and density in a bygone life, of which this spot was the centre, that the present moment is pressed down or crowded out, and our individual affairs and interests are but half as real here as elsewhere.¹

The artists in this project were not Dorothea, not girls

who had been brought up in English and Swiss Puritanism, fed on meagre Protestant histories and on art chiefly of the hand-screen sort.²

¹ Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun; or, the Romance of Monte Beni* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860), vol. 1, 16.

² George Eliot, *Middlemarch* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1871), 349.

This dissertation excavates the works of Harriet Hosmer (1830–1908) and Emma Stebbins (1815–1886), American sculptors who never married men (especially not men like Eliot’s Casaubon), and whose urbane, liberal educations in Boston and New York—and professional drives—prepared them better for the overload described in *Middlemarch*. Their Rome, palimpsestic, rich, and expansive, is not the Rome “where all that was living and warm-blooded seemed sunk in the deep degeneracy of a superstition divorced from reverence; the dimmer but yet eager Titanic life gazing and struggling on walls and ceilings; the long vistas of white forms whose marble eyes seemed to hold the monotonous light of an alien world.”³ Rather than seeing Rome, 1852–1878, as alienating, overwhelming, and psychotropic, a modern world at odds with the rubble of millennia just lying around, this project will explore the engagement with the forms and content of Rome—ancient and modern, city and empire, and the spaces between—that were instrumental in the development of Hosmer and Stebbins’s finished works.

The overarching thrust of this dissertation is that these works, by these women, represent a sustained, multifaceted, and intelligent engagement with the visual environments of Rome. And not just the immediately contextual and available Rome of 1852–1878, but Rome the ancient, renaissance, and baroque, and more. Far from being naïve or subconscious reactions to biographical events or straightforwardly illustrative or sentimental, the works I will be discussing are the products of educated, sophisticated, serious artists and should be treated as such. This project is formal and intertextual, and I hope pleasurable as well—I have deeply enjoyed researching and writing it, especially the time spent studying the works of art first hand where possible. If reading this is half as enjoyable as writing it was, then I believe that one element of my project will be fulfilled—to enervate, enliven, and enrich the study of neoclassical sculpture and to free the works from the ever-tightening shackles of the immediate social context.

³ Eliot, *Middlemarch*, 350.

I will note early, since I've just done it several times, that I have written this dissertation in large part in the first person.⁴ This is for two main reasons, the first being that many of the conclusions were necessarily drawn from first-hand experiences with the works of art, and time spent in real spaces—Rome and its museums, Pompeii, Watertown, Massachusetts, etc., and separating the personal voice from those experiences both deadens the prose and connotes a false empiricism or impartiality. These personal experiences in spaces and encounters with the work of art were necessary given, as I shall discuss further, the lacunae in the textual records surrounding the case study pieces, and the need to explore with an artist's eye as much as possible the visual field of material that was drawn on during the work's development. The second reason for the use of the first person is a corollary of the first and the problem of a false impartiality or empiricism. Because of the minimal availability of primary source materials, I often do not have primary materials, letters, or smoking gun evidence, so I use the first person to show my work—here is how I found this, this was the experience I had that provided this insight, this is the order in which material was approached, etc. A third reason, no less important but less methodological, is that this dissertation is explicitly a labour of love—my love for this sculpture, and the desire to share and engender that in others—and depersonalizing it for the surface effect of impartiality would seem to me to undermine the entire project.

The three case studies were chosen not for their canonical status in the artists' oeuvres or the body of nineteenth-century sculpture—for example, I'm not going to be talking about Hosmer's *Sleeping Faun* of 1864/5 (Fig. 1) and its relationship to the *Barberini Faun* (Fig. 2). Instead, my case studies have been chosen because of the richness of their engagements with the wealth of historical art in Rome—often overlooked—and for the ways in which they seem to connect with various aspects of the Roman visual field, various

⁴ For an extended discussion on the use of the first person especially in classical scholarship, see: Judith P. Hallett and Thomas van Nortwick, ed., *Compromising Traditions: The Personal Voice in Classical Scholarship* (London: Routledge, 1997).

methodological and theoretical readings. The sculptures have several characteristics in common beyond their artists and their styles: three of the four works are firsts—the first professional sculptures by an American woman, and the first male nude by an American woman sculptor. They all refer to at least one source that has not been previously recognized—and not always antique sculpture. Two of the works are lost, and exist in the record only through single photographs and a minimal amount of archival material. All four works have little presence in the scholarship on the artists—the final case study goes entirely unmentioned in the most recent text on the American women sculptors in Rome.⁵ And finally, all four engage with a facet of classicism or classical history. These engagements model ways of thinking through works outside the scope of this project, or bring to light new evidence for broadening the scope of materials considered part of the formal vocabulary of neoclassicism.

There are formal and thematic connections beyond antiquity for all of the case studies: there are touchstones from the Renaissance up to the middle 1860s. In the first case study, the relationships between Hosmer's *Daphne* (1853) (Fig. 27) and *Medusa* (1853/4) (Fig. 28) and Gianlorenzo Bernini's works (Fig. 29–30) of the same subject are dug into, explored, and expanded to touch on questions of originality, *paragone*, and Johann Joachim Winckelmann's classicism. This then redirects focus towards antique sources previously unrecognized as key to the formal development of the work—antique works not only formally related but thematically similar and in the immediate proximity of the Bernini sculptures in question. The next case study, on Emma Stebbins's *Lotus Eater* (1857) (Fig. 55), begins with a straightforward chronological correction and then explores the sculpture's thematic connections with the historical figure of Antinous and his large corpus of portraits in Rome. This problematizes the idea of neoclassical referencing as a one-to-one recycling of forms, for no one Antinous portrait is a perfect match

⁵ Melissa Dabakis, *A Sisterhood of Sculptors* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2014).

to Stebbins's *Lotus Eater*. It also engages with concepts of anachronic object chains and substitutions, ecologies or families of images, and impossible connections—how, for example, reading the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus (untranslated until 1931, and not a popular text for ladies) might offer insights into the nineteenth-century image of Antinous.⁶ The final case study takes a delightfully morbid, and even more literary turn, with Hosmer's lost *Pompeian Sentinel* (ca. 1876-8) (Fig. 90). The *Sentinel*, a monumental wax and plaster figure, is never explicitly connected to Edward Bulwer Lytton in the existing archival materials and only tangentially in modern scholarship, nor has it been positioned in its fictive post in Pompeii—until now.⁷ This case study explores the archaeological facts and literary fictions of the Pompeian Sentinel, and then draws the material parallels to the plaster bodies of Pompeii. It further problematizes writing about the lost work via a photograph, analogized to Pompeii, the bodies, and the matrix of the lava.

The following chapters are by no means intended to be the end of the discussion on these works, nor are they intended to mark these two out as special cases in the corpus of women artists, neoclassical sculptors, or Americans. Indeed, my theory and methods chapter concludes this dissertation as a way of turning the discussion outwards, forwards, and backwards. It expands upon the potentials for these theoretical and critical approaches outside the work of queer/American/women sculptors in Rome, 1852-1878. It also allows me to emphasize that these methods have far more to do with the works than with the artists. I have chosen these works as the best examples for thinking through the artists' uses of reference material, processes, and problems with materiality. Here, Sedgwick's "weak theory" is an especially useful way of thinking about my method—I chose objects and methods that worked well together to produce interesting, dynamic, and new

⁶ Nonnus, trans. WHD Rouse. *Nonnus. Dionysiaca* vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA.: Loeb Classical Library, 1940).

⁷ Edward Bulwer Lytton, *The Last Days of Pompeii* (London: Richard Bentley, 1834; ed. 1850, London: George Routledge and Sons, 1895). All further citations from 1895 edition.

readings.⁸ A strong, paranoid theory or method would only have reproduced readings which emphasized the biographical and oppositional elements of the sculptures— Hosmer’s perceived proto-feminist celebration of women in the *Medusa*, via Lacan and Freud, for example, seeing both castration anxiety and a celebration of the breast in the same work.⁹

Instead, the methods I use are not universally applicable, and the only predetermined outcome was that something interesting should happen—if something interesting didn’t happen, it meant I hadn’t come up with a good match of method or theory to object, and began again with my thinking and looking. An early reading of the *Medusa*, for example, prioritized visceral menstrual and sexual reproduction metaphors; while it produced an effect, I found that it wasn’t a particularly meaningful or interesting reading. It was simply deliberately shocking, and furthermore reproduced a reductively biological (and unnecessarily binary) reading of the work as well as a gendered dichotomy between how I would have discussed the same work by a male artist. Though this argument was supportable, and could have been very interesting, it ran counter to what this project is aiming to do because of those sexual, gendered, reproductive angles. Instead, what I hope for this project in the long term is that it can form the foundation for expanding the discussion around neoclassical sculpture in general.

THE EROTIC FRIGIDAIRE:

NEOCLASSICISM AND THE ARTIST’S HIGHER FACULTIES

Unsurprisingly, one of the drives behind this project was a frustration with the literature on the work of American sculptors generally and women artists in particular, about which more later. I came to sculpture studies through object

⁸ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading, Reparative Reading, or, You’re So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Essay is About You,” *Touching Feeling* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992) 123–152.

⁹ Dabakis, *Sisterhood*, 51.

encounters and through a life-long interest in mythologies. I have always been primarily interested in the formal elements of the work of art, iconographies and narratives, and its interplay or intertext with the works surrounding it but also far-flung works with which it shares a subject or a form. The formal strictures of neoclassicism combined with its erudite, often referential character—not to be confused with a reverential character, which works like Hosmer’s *Puck* (modelled 1854) and *Will o’the Wisp* (modelled 1858) most certainly do not have—make for a stylistic body which is far more varied than it is often given credit for.

The corpus of American neoclassical sculpture is massive, however, and thus I had to scale the project back a bit from “American neoclassical sculpture” before I even began. I had completed a master’s thesis on Hiram Powers, and so needed a bit of emotional space between myself and the venerable patriarch of American sculpture (though he comes in as a bit of a whipping boy-cum-exemplar of how we write about sculptors). I decided to work on the female sculptors because someone needed to do something interesting with them, and that someone ought to be me. I was interested in the group commonly and derisively referred to as “the White Marmorean Flock;”¹⁰ this is, however, the only time I will reference that group name, as it draws false connections and equivalencies between the professional sculptors and those women who dabbled, as well as ascribing a sisterhood amongst the artists where there was none.

The theoretical models I felt would be the most productive had not yet been used in relation to American neoclassical sculpture. First, Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood’s anachronic theories from *Anachronic Renaissance*¹¹ (2010) introduced me to a theoretical language that reflected how I had instinctively approached neoclassical sculpture, especially in relation to

¹⁰ Henry James, *William Wetmore Story and his Friends* vol. 1 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co, 1903) 247.

¹¹ Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (Zone Books: New York, 2010).

its referential character. Concepts of inherence and presence from Rupert Shepherd and Robert Maniura's *Presence: The Inherence of the Prototype Within Images and Other Objects*¹² (2006) were balanced by models of classical receptions such as the works of Charles Martindale (1993; 2006) and Stephen Hinds, specifically *Allusion and Intertext* (1998).¹³ I will also be foregrounding a visualization method or exercise from Sunil Manghani's *Image Studies* (2013),¹⁴ the image ecology, which I perceive as laying the visual and object-based groundwork for approaching the critical theories. These three sets of theoretical models, or methods, or modes of thought, are interconnected, intertwined, and mutually supportive in this project—the anachronic readings are supported by the allusive and intertextual readings of the content, which in turn are developed through the artists' receptions and reuses of antiquity in its various forms. In a different order, the reception of the classical models by the artists and their subsequent reuse of those forms and texts required a level of presence of the prototype for the reuse to be recognized or meaningful; this reuse and repurposing of the received antique material creates the anachronic conditions of the modern work. The productive intertextuality and interplay of these three theoretical areas that developed the final case study criterion. In other words, I chose case studies that could be weird, rich, and fun, rather than those which fit into a cultural-history chronology or which would yield a solid, case-closed conclusion.

When I first arrived at York, I intended this to be a dissertation on the social contexts of the works, or the self-fashioning of the artists through metaphors of creation— for example, reading *Medusa* by Hosmer as a statement about the potentials of sculpture and women's making, rather than

¹² Robert Maniura and Rupert Shepherd, *Presence: The Inherence of the Prototype Within Images and Other Objects* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2006)

¹³ Charles Martindale, *Redeeming the Text: Latin poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993); Charles Martindale and Richard F. Thomas, et. al., *Classics and the Uses of Reception* (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Pub. 2006); Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹⁴ Sunil Manghani, *Image Studies: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2013).

a reading relating to her sexuality. However, after the inaugural York Summer Theory Institute in May of 2015, convened by Whitney Davis, and several events organized by Jason Edwards on Sedgwick,¹⁵ I was able to grasp a language of theory and method that had previously eluded me, and I shifted my focus, reconsidering the approaches used in conjunction with the extensive research travel.¹⁶ Because of those events, this became an object-based dissertation using deep readings of the works, theories of time and intertextuality, and an eye towards a reparative, pleasurable experience of looking at, thinking about, and writing art. I am not making the claim that the theories and methods that I use in this project are applicable to every work or period, but that they are weak theories which in specific cases yield exciting, productive, and interesting—and sometimes unpredictable—readings. These weak theories are in part responsible for the selection of my case studies. I established the boundaries of the set from which to draw my material: queer or non-heteronormative American women sculptors in Rome who were active 1850–1900 and whose work was largely “ideal” or classically inflected. Then, the selection of my methodological and theoretical structures allowed for the final choices, by eliminating works that did not seem to yield rich results when I applied these theoretical and methodological pressures.

First, the case study object references a/multiple work(s) of sculpture from antiquity in ways that are both thematic and formal, but previously unreferenced or unexplored. Second, the object displays or contains chronological complexity—anachronicity, such as will be discussed further in a moment—and a relationship to a visual environment in Rome or its surroundings. Third, the methodological approach that the case study would

¹⁵ York Summer Theory Institute “Art History and the Parameters of Image Studies,” 8–12 June 2015; *Between Men at Thirty*, City University of New York Graduate Centre (23 October 2015), videod proceedings available <https://vimeo.com/162842850>; *Reparative Reading at 21*, University of York (reading groups 31 January and 7 February, symposium 14 February 2017).

¹⁶ I am extremely grateful to the cohort of YSTI 2015, including Dr. Meg Boulton, Ciaran Rua O’Neill, and Nicholas Shaddick, who have been hugely influential in my thinking and supportive in the development of this work.

model needed to be distinct from the others. This meant that interesting case studies were cut for redundancy. For example, I cut a proposed chapter on Hosmer's *Beatrice Cenci* (1857) and the Stefano Maderno sculpture of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (1599–1600) because although it was an exciting and original piece of research, its methodological approach too closely mirrored the *Medusa* and *Daphne* chapter, which had more to offer outside the discussion of simply Hosmer's use of non-classical references. Another important piece of work that ended up not being included is Edmonia Lewis's *The Morning of Freedom (Forever Free)* (1867) (Fig. 3) and its relationship to the Ludovisi Gaul and His Wife, now in the Palazzo Altemps (Fig. 4), Rome, and to the Exodus narratives.¹⁷ This material would have radically reimagined readings of this important piece of sculpture as well as Lewis's working method. However, it did not fit well with any of the theoretical approaches I am aiming to model, and it in many ways relied on an ascription of the artist's biography and identity to the content of the sculpture that sat at odds with the aims of this project. It is with regret that I do not include Lewis as a standalone case study, but her work emphasized Catholic sources and American poetic texts that did not draw on the Roman environment in the same way.

So what is neoclassicism, and why have I chosen the work of Stebbins and Hosmer to do this, rather than the American men, or even Canova, Thorvaldsen, or Gibson? One reason is the frustration I mentioned before about the literature regarding the American women artists in particular: well before beginning my dissertation, when I was beginning to formulate a project proposal and taking advantage of the Art Institute of Chicago's library, I read

¹⁷ The best book on Lewis is Kirsten Pai Buick, *Child of the Fire: Mary Edmonia Lewis and the Problem of Art History's Black and Indian Subject* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010). Lewis is also discussed in Dabakis, *Sisterhood*, esp. 166–175, in relation to abolition and slavery narratives; Charmaine Nelson focusses on Lewis' *Death of Cleopatra* in *The Color of Stone: Sculpting the Black Female Subject in Nineteenth-Century America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 159–83. Harry Henderson and Albert Henderson's *The Indomitable Spirit of Edmonia Lewis* (Esquiline Hill Press, 2013), is self-published, and questionable in tone, often writing fetishistically about Lewis's small physical size and pruriently about the possibility of sexual assault during her trial at Oberlin. It is not recommended.

the 1991 biography of Harriet Hosmer by Dolly Sherwood (about which more later). I believe that writing about the women artists as emblematic of the whole field of American neoclassicists makes it clear that these methods and modes of thought are not something exceptional to the women, nor are the women ghettoized or somehow pale reflections of the male artists—instead, the women represent the whole, and the male artists can be studied using these methods at a later date. Furthermore, I came to sculpture studies and American neoclassicism in particular because I find something incredibly compelling in the works, formally and narratively. But Sherwood, very early in the book, says this about neoclassicism and Hosmer's personality:

When certain aspects of Harriet Hosmer's personality are considered, the neoclassic idiom seems oddly alien to her nature. How could a woman who cared so little for rules and regulations immerse herself in so academic an interpretation of art? Why would one so vivacious and animated wish to represent in her works the Greek ideals of repose and serenity, characteristics often lacking in her own demeanour? How could she embrace the Greek ideals of restraint and forbearance when she herself was so outspoken, forthright, and combative, sometimes spoiling for a fight?¹⁸

Sherwood conflates the supposed surface serenity of neoclassical sculpture to an internal, intellectual staidness; neoclassicism, to her, and to many others, is intellectually and artistically dull. Sherwood further conflates the internal life and personality of the artist with the formal conditions of the work of art—something which is especially problematic with female artists and their oeuvre, but which misunderstands neoclassicism as a style or movement. This is especially problematic in the work of women, as it implies that a woman artist's work is necessarily about her own life and psyche. Rather than being a style of copying by rote and suppression of feeling or emotion—despite the apparent sedate quality of many of the sculptures—neoclassical sculpture is internally dynamic and complex.

¹⁸ Dolly Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer, American Sculptor 1830–1908* (Columbia University of Missouri Press, 1991), 63.

Counter to that, criticisms of neoclassicism might be seen as a misunderstanding of that emotional expression, in that the work appears to *not* reflect the artist's subconscious, emotions, or passions through form or facture in a way that is immediately legible to a post-modern audience. Alex Potts writes on these misconceptions as well: "The association between Neoclassical aesthetic ideals and death is familiar enough nowadays. It is one of the clichés of our culture that the cold marble forms of the pure classical nude, supposedly embodying an ideal beyond the measure of time and mortal alteration, is redolent of a deathly coldness."¹⁹ But that was not the response of contemporary audiences, and it is not how I respond to neoclassical sculpture; the white marble is not the whited sepulchre, nor is it the cold dead body. Instead, it is a lively and responsive form, which allows the viewer to bring to bear their own experiences and make their own connections, valuing an intellectual *and* emotional response—witness the outpouring of poetic responses to Powers's *Greek Slave*.

I will be writing of neoclassical sculpture throughout this dissertation as a receptive, rather than reproductive, style. In many places, the reference material will not be antique but later, even modern. However, it is the receptive, relational, intertextual and intermediative qualities of the sculpture, in conjunction with the affiliation to an external aesthetic of "classicism" that makes them "neoclassical," not a rote copying of antique models. Nor should they be seen as essentially conservative, as Chandler Rathfon Post categorizes Hosmer along with William Wetmore Story, Randolph Rogers, William Rinehart, and the massed others: "Of the more Italianate group in this transitional period, it is hardly necessary to mention more than the names of the leading sculptors and their principle works, since the style of all is much the same, and all of them settled in Italy."²⁰ Instead, I see neoclassical

¹⁹ Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (Yale University Press, 2000), 3.

²⁰ Chandler Rathfon Post, *A history of European and American Sculpture: From the Early Christian Period to the Present Day*, 2 Vol. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921), Vol 2, 83.

sculpture along the same lines as Hugh Honour, writing about neoclassicism primarily in France in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries:

It is difficult for us now to see Neo-classicism as a youthful, fiery, rebellious movement. The name itself is a stumbling block. It was invented in the mid nineteenth century as a pejorative term for what was then thought to be a lifeless, chilly, and impersonal 'antique revival' style expressed in still-born imitations of Graeco-Roman sculpture: and these negative connotations still cling to it. (One still reads today of Canova's smooth and icy marbles, of the 'erotic frigidaire'.)²¹

And:

The sharp distinction drawn by Neo-Classical artists between the 'copy' and the 'imitation followed from their idealistic conception of classical art. To copy nature led inevitably to such base products as Dutch genre and still life painting, while to copy the antique resulted in a 'marble style' typical of artists who, according to Fuseli, were content to be the lame transcribers of the dead letter instead of the spirit of the ancients. Imitation on the other hand, involved the artist's higher faculties, especially his inventive powers. So far from having anything of the 'servility' of the copy, the practice of imitation was, according to Reynolds, 'a perpetual exercise of the mind, a continual invention.'²²

Though not writing about the American neoclassical sculptors, Honour recognizes and does not denigrate the intellectual and artistic rigour that was key to the broad neoclassical style. William Gerdtts, too, recognized the wide range of materials that the Americans drew on and the variation within their styles.²³ I recognize that to the disinterested or ill-prepared eye, the Neoclassical statue can appear repetitive, dated, or dull—or even ancient, as I recall that a copy of the head of Canova's *Paris* (1808–12) was often mistaken for an ancient Greek female head at one small regional museum where I worked. But a good neoclassical work can be the inverse of Winckelmann's description of Greek sculpture, once its relational qualities—not its apparent

²¹ Hugh Honour, *Neoclassicism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), 16.

²² Honour, *Neoclassicism*, 107.

²³ William Gerdtts, *American Neo-classic Sculpture: The Marble Resurrection* (New York: Viking Press, 1973).

repetitive and reductive qualities—are recognized and valued: “Just as the depths of the sea always remain calm, however much the surface might rage,”²⁴ the external appearance of neoclassical sculpture might appear calm and measured—even “deathly still”²⁵—the internal and intertextual connections are complex and constantly shifting like the surface of a roiling sea.

So neoclassical sculpture, and for the purposes of this dissertation, especially American neoclassical sculpture by women in Rome, 1852–1878, is a body of sculptural works which is not defined necessarily by its one to one reproductive relationship to an antique model, but instead by its allegiance to a *beau idéal* as set out by Winckelmann—about which more in the individual case studies—and its focus on restraint, modelling, moderation, and content. The costume or trappings of antiquity—draperies, togas, nudity—are less neoclassical in nature than they are set dressing. The reputation for serenity in these works will be challenged—none of the works in this project are serene, not even the *Daphne*. And though one work is especially deathly, it will be seen that this deathliness is not an accidental or negative quality produced by a lack of intellectual consideration—its deathliness is purposeful and complex. Neoclassicism will no longer be a pejorative term, nor merely political, but be reconsidered as a critical and theoretically rich style, term, and movement.

Scholarship on the cultural moment of neoclassicism in the Anglo-American world has privileged (pun intended) study of wealthy white men as importers, purchasers, curators, and scholars of antiquity as forming the neoclassical taste in Britain and America. Furthermore, it often struggles to define ‘neoclassicism’ or structures its definitions within a chronological, media- or use-specific context. Vicky Coltman’s *Fabricating the Antique* (2006) problematizes ‘neoclassicism’ as having an “identity problem,” and lists other scholars’ characterisation of subclasses of neoclassicism: “Modern scholarship

²⁴ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Thoughts on the Imitation of Greek Works*. Translated by David Carter (First published Dresden and Leipzig: Im Verlag der Waltherischen Handlung, 1755; this edition, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 42.

²⁵ Potts, *Flesh*, 3.

has attempted to elicit further meanings by referring to instances of ‘high Neoclassicism,’ ‘orthodox neoclassicism,’ ‘uncompromisingly virilised neo-classicism,’ ‘a truly classical neo-classicism,’ and ‘the neo-classical bandwagon,’ to cite only a few examples. Such refinements seem to indicate a desire to recognize instances of neoclassicism more meaningfully and usefully than the label at present allows for. They also give weight to the suggestion that neoclassicism was not a monolithic enterprise but a pluralistic one.”²⁶ Further, her book “focuses on the material culture that Layard and Michaelis found problematic. The imitation antique objects and interiors elite British drawing rooms and the ancient artifacts collected during the forty-year period between 1760–1800,”²⁷ that is, the appropriation of multiple antiquities, fragmentary, and kaleidoscopically distributed or reused within the contexts of wealthy white British mens’ homes. Her definition of neoclassicism, then, is reliant on the white elite male education of classicism in public schools: “Neoclassicism, in turn, was not the random collector’s piece or the decorative background ... it was the application of this formative style of thought onto the material culture of the ancients.”²⁸ Though many of the class issues are relevant—Hosmer and Stebbins both hailed from the comfortable upper middle class into the lower wealthy elite of the East Coast—they were still a later generation of *middle* class women, so the intellectual grounding was different, as will be discussed briefly during Hosmer’s biography. Furthermore, Coltman’s *Fabricating the Antique* and *Classical Sculpture and the Culture of Collecting in Britain* (2009) focus primarily on collectors and collections in Britain, rather than sculptors in Italy, with the exceptions being restoration,²⁹ and Joseph Nollekens. This project’s focus, on the other hand, is on the artistic, specifically sculptor’s first hand experience of antiquity, and its reuse or

²⁶ Vicky Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 8.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 36.

²⁹ Vicky Coltman, *Classical Sculpture and the Culture of Collecting in Britain since 1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 84–116; 273–280.

reinterpretation as an intellectual project, viewed through contemporary lenses of camp, and it has its own definition of neoclassicism.

Another key text for the study of neoclassicism in Hosmer and Stebbins' moment is Charmaine Nelson's *The Color of Stone* (2007). This text, which addresses and boldly challenges the presumption of neoclassicism's utter whiteness, focuses on the question of the black female subject in nineteenth-century American sculptural practice and reception. This focusses strongly on Edmonia Lewis, who unfortunately does not feature in this thesis, as well as the subjects of other artists who sculpted slaves, African subjects, and Cleopatra. With regards to neoclassicism, however, she does not define it apart from its whiteness and its use of marble, nor does she substantially address the issue of antiquity beyond Lewis's reproduction of a bust of Augustus (ca. 1873)³⁰ or the general availability in Rome of antique works. Nelson's methodology and challenge to the field of art history and neoclassical studies deserves further consideration in later work; the limits of space however in this project have prevented the inclusion of a wider discussion of Hosmer's racial politics and use of the African-American body and slavery motifs in her work, especially in *Zenobia* (1859) and the never-realized Abraham Lincoln memorial (1866).

Rather than discussing the training Hosmer and Stebbins received from their teachers and artistic forebears, I will be speaking of their intellectual inheritance as a legacy. This legacy should not be seen as a teleological chain of development in style, but more as a trust fund or deposit, from which the necessary materials can be withdrawn as needed. It should further be seen as developing from Gibson's studies with both Canova and Thorvaldsen, and the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century museum and gallery practices seen in major public collections of the time. Hosmer's training with Gibson appears to have followed the conventions of his own studies under Canova and generally accepted practice; she began by making copies of highly regarded antiquities

³⁰ Nelson, *Color of Stone*, 42.

in clay, and was allowed to begin developing her own original works after Gibson was satisfied with her proficiency in copying. Stebbins, in turn, worked with Paul Akers in the same fashion after arriving in Rome. Hosmer was also working with Gibson soon after the 1851 Great Exhibition, where he not only displayed works but was also on the jury for the class of sculpture, responsible for laying out the conditions for acceptance, judging, and most broadly, what constituted good, original sculpture of the period. These qualities, laid out in the *Reports from the Juries* (1852), are not as clearly structured as when Winckelmann wrote about exactly how the breasts on sculptures of Venuses should look versus those of Amazons (to be discussed in Chapter Two), but are clear enough to suggest the outlines of what a good example of modern sculpture should involve:

In forming their judgement upon works in the highest branch of art coming within their jurisdiction, the Jury have principally looked for the embodiment of ideas, thought, feeling, and passion; not for the mere imitation of nature, however true in detail or admirable in execution. They have looked for originality of invention, less or more happily expressed in that style which has for twenty-three centuries been the wonder of every civilized people, and the standard of excellence to which artists of the highest order have endeavoured to attain. Wherever indications of originality, chastened by a successful adaptation of this style, have been met with, the Jury have acknowledged a corresponding amount of merit; and it is this originality of conception, improved by such style, which the Jury have recognized by the honours placed at their disposal.³¹

So a work should be naturalistic, but the naturalism should be tempered through the example set by classical sculpture; there should be content (“idea, thought, feeling, and passion”) not just skilful naturalistic carving, and it should be original in its presentation of this content—within

³¹ *Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, Reports by the Juries on the Subjects in the Thirty Classes into which the Exhibition was Divided*, Volume 2 (London: Spicer Brothers, 1852), 684.

the boundaries of decorous classicizing. These qualifiers are vague enough to include almost anything, except maybe Bernini (too much unchastened naturalism, too much originality, less than happily expressed with a deficiency of that style, etc.). While of course the official line, written for public consumption, can't fully encompass what entails originality, good taste, a chastened successful adaptation, and excellence, this passage gives a broad sense—written shortly before Hosmer's arrival in Rome, with the input of her teacher—of the prevailing view of what a good modern sculpture should be.

Gibson's training and time in Rome developed his style and the principles he conveyed to her. Though Francis Chantrey would snipe to him that a year in Italy was enough, and three years enough to ruin any man,³² Gibson's whole career was spent in Rome (1817 until his death in 1866). His official biography—the preface of which thanks Hosmer for her input—discusses his training with and influence by both Canova and Thorvaldsen.³³ If I were interested in reproducing nationalistically flavoured discussions on neoclassical artists, I might write about Gibson's blend of the warm, sensual Italian Canova and cool, intellectual Danish Thorvaldsen³⁴ as a tasteful British synthesis, transmitted to Hosmer to refine further through her American flair and spirit.³⁵ However, works from all parties involved display all these characteristics in different combinations, depending on the subject, audience, and stage of their career; furthermore, in today's social and political climate it is important to question what agenda is being pushed and who benefits from repeating and reinforcing racially, ethnically, and economically inflected nationalistic discussions of art. Instead, it behoves us to consider all of these artists as primarily cosmopolitan, working in a variety of modes for a variety of

³² Lady Eastlake, ed., *Life of John Gibson, R.A., Sculptor* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1870), 55.

³³ *Ibid.*, Preface, n.p.

³⁴ Flemming Friborg, review of *Warm Flesh, Cold Marble*, by David Bindman, *CAA Reviews*, October 22, 2015; David Bindman, *Warm Flesh, Cold Marble: Canova, Thorvaldsen, and Their Critics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

³⁵ My thanks to Amy Harris for her insight and thoughtful suggestions regarding questions of nationalism and national identity for cosmopolitan sculptors of the nineteenth century.

audiences, with commonalities of style and interest that that are not dependent on gender or nationality but reflect chosen affinities and contemporary taste. Hosmer and Stebbins benefited from the expertise gained by Gibson under Canova and Thorvaldsen, then his long career and time spent in the artistic hotbed of Rome and Italy—long an international community, rather than a walled garden of pure Anglo-American artists. Even Powers, who boasted of learning only enough Italian to order his workmen around and whose reputation was based on his stolid American-ness, was validated through his contact with Thorvaldsen early in his career in Florence, indicating that the connoisseurship and approval of the European masters was a necessary component of modern Anglo-American artistic training and promotion.³⁶ Press in Hosmer's early career (frankly, throughout her career) emphasized her connection to Gibson, whose status as the leading British/European sculptor in Rome served to validate her work just as Thorvaldsen's mythic thumbprint in the clay of Powers's *Eve Tempted* validated his.

In 1852, at the age of twenty-two, Hosmer set off for Rome with actress Charlotte Cushman, Cushman's partner Matilda Hays and maid Sallie Mercer, and Dr Hosmer. They arrived in Rome that November, having stopped briefly in London, where Hosmer reunited with Fanny Kemble, an influential figure from her time at boarding school.³⁷ This stopover, perhaps one made for logistical purposes in travelling, or to visit friends and maybe do a bit of shopping, also offered Hosmer the chance to visit the British Museum and see with her own two eager eyes the Greek masterpieces from the Parthenon, the

³⁶ A very brief selection of articles which refer to this visit and approval: Thomas Shay Arthur, "Thorwaldsen's Visit to Powers, the Sculptor," *Arthur's Ladies' Magazine of Elegant Literature and the Fine Arts*; Philadelphia (Oct 1845), 192; "Statue of John C. Calhoun by Hiram Powers," *The International Monthly Magazine of Literature, Science and Art*; New York 3.1 (Apr 1, 1851), 8; E. Anna Lewis, "Art and Artists of America," *Graham's American Monthly Magazine of Literature, Art, and Fashion*; Philadelphia XLVII.5 (Nov 1855), 397. More references appear in Powers's obituary, indicating that Thorvaldsen's blessing continued to have relevance for American audiences into the 1870s.

³⁷ Carr, *Harriet Hosmer*, 21; 23.

Townley Marbles. She had already made a copy of the Townley *Clytie* in plaster during her preliminary sculpture studies in Boston, now she could see it in the marble flesh (Fig. 5). Strangely, the sculptures of the Parthenon seem to have made little impression on her—but the Townley figure of the girl playing knucklebones (Fig. 6) may have been on her mind when she began *Oenone* (Fig. 7) in 1854, two years later. That is, despite the presence of Greek originals, Hosmer seems to have been drawn primarily to the Roman works in the British Museum and elsewhere. Here it seems reasonable to note that her *Sleeping Faun*, far from being a straightforward revision of the *Barberini Faun*, may draw more on the Satirical images like the *Falling Satyr* (Fig. 8) and bronzes from Herculaneum held in Naples (Figs. 9–10). It is also important to note that throughout her career, her visual touchstones seem to have more consistently been Roman copies and Roman inventions, rather than the Pure Greek Genius scholarship would have her drawing on. This early trip to the British Museum may have featured as part of that.

Another factor may have been that the Roman works or “copies” were often more complete (restored), and more abundant in Rome. By considering the works in relation to a discursive mode, à la Winckelmann’s High versus Beautiful styles as I will discuss in Chapter Two, Hosmer could disregard the copy status of a work in favour of its thematic, discursive content and complete forms. Her allegiance to a functional, place-based and experiential sense of the antiquity of objects, rather than a politically and socially implicated and inflected Greek Ideal, could have allowed her to return to works that had might have been demoted in the grand scheme of art historical canonicity. Works which were dynamic, interesting, or meaningful to her, as well as relatively complete, answered the practical need of a sculptor—a matter of artistic pragmatism over idealism. And although Hosmer occasionally signed letters to Gibson Lesbia,³⁸ there is a well-documented tendency in the earlier and contemporary American society of *belles lettres*

³⁸ Harriet Hosmer to John Gibson, June 28, c. 1860. Royal Academy of Arts Archive, John Gibson, RA, papers c. 1822–1866, GI/1/186.

and politics to identify with the Roman Republic and moral imperial figures,³⁹ over the Greek exemplars—we even named a city after Cincinnatus. Her American education might also have given the Roman antiquities a greater degree of shine, not only as a method of differentiating herself from her Greco-British teacher but also because her self-promotion as an artist was tied to her status as an American woman; the Roman references might be seen as underlining this.

Furthermore, Hosmer sold multiple copies of her works, and was capable of making variations on a theme; see for example her 1854 *Puck* (Fig. 11), which sold dozens of copies including one to the Prince of Wales, and the two variations of *Will o' the Wisp* from 1856 and 1858, now in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston and the Massachusetts Historical Society (Figs. 12–13). She ran a workshop of multiple artisans who did much of the actual copy-work (Fig. 14). It is highly improbable, therefore, that she was not sensitive to questions of the hand of the artist in the multiples and reworkings, especially in the transmutations and translations between media, scale, and sites across the ancient world. As I discuss later, the museums of Rome were chock-a-block with repetitions of the same form and object families, often in the same rooms and spaces as one another. Hosmer's reuse and return to Roman works of sculpture in Rome should not be seen as a lack of awareness of the available Greek antiquities, but a selection of materials that gave her what she wanted and needed as a professional artist, no matter how Greek Gibson was.

By primarily considering neoclassical sculpture as an intertextual, referential mode of art making, rather than emphasizing its antique properties, we recognize the “higher faculties” involved in producing these works. This also reopens the field of discussion away from a highly contextual social history or biography (which is next up), and avoids a type of source recognition that leads into dead ends or closed answers. An intertextual, anachronic, interdisciplinary neoclassicism embraces the weirdness, drama,

³⁹ Winterer, *Mirror of Antiquity*.

and complexity of the works themselves and their interrelations. This kind of work does not require a biographical reading of the finished work; it is object and space based, and sculpture scholars could utilize these methods in the medieval period, or prehistory. Sculpture, a form of art that intrudes into the human space and moves forward in time as we do, is *weird*. Sculptural works simultaneously present a seemingly frozen moment of time, while moving with us, but looking backwards, sideways, or forwards. Sculpture does not necessarily present a dead moment, or a deathlessly still one—not even when the subject is shown as dead, or dying. Neoclassicism as a multi-chronic, anachronic, and relational mode of representation is especially weird, and this project is not going to wash its hands of that weirdness.

“HERE IS AN ARTIST WHO IS A WOMAN, IF THAT IS WHAT WE WANT”

During my time as a PhD researcher, I often joked that this project was the rejection of feminist praxis as feminist praxis in art history, but that is only partially a joke. This work would absolutely not have been possible without the feminist art and social histories that precede it, which I draw on heavily for many of my sources and which led the charge in bringing artists like Hosmer and Stebbins back to prominence. But because of their presumed biologies, there has been a hard emphasis on Hosmer’s and Stebbins’s biographies in the readings of their work, which are often shoehorned or shallow in order to make it fit the facts.⁴⁰ Indeed, I have tried very hard not to reproduce or to be

⁴⁰ Dabakis, *Sisterhood*, 49–51; Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 81–83. See also, Alicia Faxon: “The experience of death for Hosmer was a reality; she had cause to associate death and dying with women in her family and to see mortality in connection with femininity.” This is in reference to her mother and sister dying—ignoring that her two brothers also died, and that so did the children, wives, and friends of male artists. Faxon also refers to Medusa as representing “the theme of deprivation in death and a transformation of a woman, perhaps to repel death.” Faxon notes that Hosmer’s work, with its preponderance of women “victimized by family and society” reflected her “political beliefs,” which do not seem to have developed into a contemporary understanding of feminism until the 1870s or 1880s—certainly not in the early 1850s. “Images of Women in the Sculpture of Harriet Hosmer,” *Women’s Art Journal* 2, No. 1 (Spring-Summer, 1981), 26–29. Susan Waller ascribes Hosmer’s architectonic,

shoehorned into a Women's Art History cubbyhole, because that would mean the wider implications of this project for neoclassicism and sculpture studies might easily be missed. As I will discuss later in this introduction, much of that same feminist scholarship has done these artists a disservice in comparison to their male counterparts. In this project, but I would argue in the larger field of scholarship, biography is a necessary tool to establish questions of access, dating, and so on, but not an interpretative tool for reading works that have no formal or textual evidence to support an autobiographical reading.

While this project could not have materialized without the foundations of feminist art history, it will not directly engage with much feminist art historical theory. This project is not challenging ideas of canonicity—Hosmer and Stebbins have both been included in the canon, as it is, of American Neoclassical sculptors since the 1970s—nor the intersecting challenges to a concept of Genius led by considerations of class, gender, and race. Instead, I am arguing that they are emblematic of their canon. The groundbreaking work of Griselda Pollock, Rozsika Parker, and Deborah Cherry, among others, in deconstructing the canon,⁴¹ not necessarily to add women to it but to problematize its entire nature, allows me in turn to work within the canon. I am also arguing that, like Pollock does in places in *Differencing the Canon* (1999), these artists' biographies should not stand as the primary givers of 'meaning' to their work.⁴² But *Differencing the Canon's* critical approach is primarily Freudian, emphasizing a discourse which is too heavily focused on

columnar treatment of *Zenobia* to her own "celibacy" and rejection of heterosexual marriage. Susan Waller, "The Artist, the Writer, and the Queen: Hosmer, Jameson, and 'Zenobia,' *Women's Art Journal* 4, No. 1 (Spring – Summer 1983), 23. Jane Mayo Roos also notes that Hosmer called her sculptures her "children" and suggests that "the subjects of these sculptures reflect directly her preoccupation with the complexities and inequities of the female state," and describes her early work as full of "repeated references to women who are oppressed or betrayed." "Another Look at Henry James and the 'White, Marmorean Flock,' *Women's Art Journal* 4, No. 1, (Spring-Summer, 1983), 31.

⁴¹ See for example, Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon* (New York: Routledge, 1999); Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses* (First published London: Harper Collins, 1981, this ed., London: I.B. Tauris, 2013); Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850–1900* (London: Routledge, 2000).

⁴² Pollock, *Differencing*, 105–108.

topoi of castration, phallogentrism, and Lacanian ‘lack’ for this project, which looks not at a paranoid prescriptivism of psychoanalysis but a reparative, excavatory, conservationist assemblage. Further, while I will utilize a matrixial construction elsewhere in this project, I am not referring to the maternal matrix, or “realigning subjectivity from under the solitary sway of the Phallus as sovereign signifier,”⁴³ but rather a visualization of objects and their valences of content, form, meanings, relationalities, and so on, in a fictive, boundariless field external to human time and constrictions of human space. And while an interesting project might well be to discuss Hosmer with Pollock’s concern with the Maternal, given the loss of her mother at an early age, that is not *this* project, which is concerned with the deployment of and engagement with antiquity, not biography.

Deborah Cherry’s 2000 *Beyond the Frame* includes an extensive study of Hosmer’s *Zenobia*.⁴⁴ The chapter’s subtitle, “A Question of Authority,” succinctly summarises its argument and structure: the challenges to Hosmer’s status as author—her *authority*, in Pollock’s construction⁴⁵—of the *Zenobia*. This work, along with previous scholarship on Hosmer, provides a foundation for my study to operate from a position of stable authority over her work. That is, I do not need to rehearse the contemporary challenges to her (or Stebbins’s) authorship of design, form, or intellectual content. This is because Cherry has done an excellent job and I do not need to retread that specific path. Conversely, as with Pollock, I am not pursuing avenues of gendered critique or pushing *against* a phallogentric, sexed or gendered idea of genius and the canon, sexual politics in a wider social context, or issues of power as primary areas of investigation. To mix some metaphors, because of their work, I am able to kick off from a more favourable starting block, even as I tread a different path.

⁴³ Pollock, *Differencing*, 33

⁴⁴ Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, 101–141.

⁴⁵ Pollock, *Differencing*, 107.

The scholarly literature on Hosmer and Stebbins is not extensive, is primarily biographical, and is often deeply steeped in psychoanalytic and social art history. This has been true since the lives of the artists; see even the title of this section and the repetition of the artists' biographies nearly verbatim between contemporary articles cited later.⁴⁶ The most recent book which touches on both artists and their contemporaries, Dabakis's *Sisterhood of Sculptors*, is useful for a broad overview of the works produced by the disparate array of female sculptors, the political events, and other forms of artistic production (novels, primarily) that might have been of interest to the artists. However, I find her analysis of the works of art substantially lacking and often read through counterproductive methods, emphasizing surface readings coloured by psychoanalysis, biography, and male influencers. For example, the discussion of Hosmer's *Sleeping Faun* dedicates nearly three pages to Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun*,⁴⁷ then when the sculpture itself is discussed, it is described as belonging to the Praxitelean school, but simultaneously based entirely and unproblematically on the Barberini Faun—which is not Praxitelean at all, but a Roman copy of a Hellenistic conception.

Other ancient references are likewise described inaccurately or vaguely—Hosmer's *Daphne* is described as a “fifth-century ideal” and in the “Greek Severe Style.”⁴⁸ She writes of the *Medusa* that the “young maiden turns away from the viewer with a gaze of profound melancholy,”⁴⁹ diminishing the affective impact and dynamism of the sculpture which I have experienced first-hand and which is discussed further in the next chapter. *Medusa* looks sharply upwards in a display of emotion that borders on inappropriate for a mid-century neoclassical ideal head, and which does not deny a Bernini-esque drama but simply inverts its direction of torque. Dabakis also suggests that Hosmer knew “at least two other” versions of a Medusa in Rome; in the

⁴⁶ The Editor [J.H. Agnew and W.H. Bidwell], “Harriet G. Hosmer,” *The Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature* (1844–1898); New York 14, Iss. 2, (Aug 1871), 245.

⁴⁷ Dabakis, *Sisterhood*, 106–11.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 51.

Vatican alone, where the Canova *Perseus* stands, there are at least six other major images of the Gorgon in sculpture or mosaic, including the four heads from Hadrian's Villa in the Braccio Nuovo and the central mosaic in the Sala Rotonda, as well as the omnipresent gorgoneion on breastplates, sarcophagi, cineraria, and architectural elements. The *Pompeian Sentinel* is not mentioned at all; Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater* again is read entirely as a product of Hawthorne's influence.⁵⁰

It seems clear to me that while Dabakis has thoroughly researched the social contexts and ephemera of the nineteenth century, she did not spend sufficient time in Italy, or attempt to process the material as an artist would. She reproduces a biography and socially driven survey of the women, without emphasizing their artistry and erudition. Her lack of specificity with not only the antique objects but the antique texts—the basic mythological narratives—are clear in her discussion of the *Medusa*, where she associates a doorknocker that may or may not have had anything to do with Hosmer with the story of Medusa, despite having zero attributes of the Gorgon (Fig. 15).⁵¹ There is no such thing as a vegetal gorgon without snakes, and this particular doorknocker is mass produced Georgian tat, which has been in production in Britain since the mid-eighteenth century and is still available new today. It is so widely available that there are at least five on doors in York alone, another four in areas of Rome where Hosmer spent a great deal of time, and it can be purchased from antiques stores for less than £30. There is a house, a few doors down on the same Via Gregoriana, that still bears the wrought-iron insignia *H.H.* and snake door handles; this is undoubtedly Hosmer's metallic mark on the external fabric of her home and a serious instance of an artist claiming their permanent space. But the desire to associate the material culture of a house, with no evidence that it was put there by Hosmer's hand, with the biographical reading of the Medusa narrative as a self-fashioning, proto-

⁵⁰ Dabakis, *Sisterhood*, 104–6.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

feminist, gendered and sexuality-reinforcing marker of identity, forces this false reading in order to fit the narrative.

There have been two major biographies of Hosmer in the last thirty years; I shall start with the better one. Kate Culkin's *Harriet Hosmer: A Cultural Biography* is an excellent scholarly biography, with brilliant archival work and not just a reproduction of the same cultural myths about the artist that have been reproduced since she was alive.⁵² After Cornelia Crow Carr's *Harriet Hosmer, Letters and Memories*,⁵³ published in 1912, it is the most cited work for Hosmer's biography in this dissertation. It is not, however, a primarily art historical text, and the discussion of the works is usually brief, though clever. The exception is the *Pompeian Sentinel*, where her discussion reproduces the fallacy with which my chapter is concerned. However, because Culkin is neither an art historian nor an archaeologist, this is forgivable and her reading of the work is still well informed. A personal frustration with this text is that, as with the next book under discussion, is that she calls Hosmer "Harriet" throughout. Culkin expresses her struggle with this in the introduction, saying that after living with her for so long, it felt impersonal to call her Hosmer.⁵⁴ This is something I understand, as I also feel the historian's familiarity with the subject, but despite the often-personal tone of this writing, I will still refer to her as Hosmer, giving her the professional respect her career entitled her to. "Harriet," however, is preferable to the intimate and juvenile "Hattie" used by Dolly Sherwood in her chatty 1991 biography, *Harriet Hosmer, American Sculptor (1830–1908)*. Poor Dolly comes in for quite a bit of criticism throughout this project, because of this chattiness and her rampant homophobia.⁵⁵ Again, this is not an especially art historical text—Sherwood is a cultural historian and biographer rather than an art historian, and therefore the art criticism and formal analysis is lacking.

⁵² Kate Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer, a Cultural Biography* (Boston: University Massachusetts Press, 2010).

⁵³ Cornelia Crow Carr, ed., *Harriet Hosmer, Letters and Memories* (New York: Moffat, Yard, and Co., 1912).

⁵⁴ Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer*, 5.

⁵⁵ Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 41–2; 165–70.

There is also Patricia Cronin's book, *Harriet Hosmer, Lost and Found*,⁵⁶ which was the author's version of an artistic project-cum-catalogue raisonné in watercolour. Like the book of poems written based on Hosmer's life and works by Carole Oles,⁵⁷ this has formed no part of my consideration. This dissertation, through my chosen case studies and methodologies, is designed to reconstruct the intellectual and artistic paths that might have been taken in the production of the finished works of art and to suggest future avenues of interpretation and readings. This is done by using the evidence of the finished work and contextual materials in the city of Rome and the materials distributed by the ancient Empire—by boots on the ground in Rome and in Naples and in Pompeii, by trying to look with the eye of a sculptor and an intellectual rather than a modern social historian, and to be flexible, creative, and reparative. The twenty-first century rediscovery, of a sort, of these artists by feminist artists and contemporary scholars has privileged deterministic narratives of gender and sex. This is certainly a valid project, and one which is deeply meaningful to many people—including Cronin, whose *Portrait of a Marriage* is a moving homage to Hosmer and Louisa Ashburton as well as a touching pre-emptive memorial to Cronin and her own partner. However, I have found through my engagement with people outside scholarship that these deeply felt, yet paranoid and reactionary impulses to cling to historical figures whose perceived traumas and oppressions matched their own can lead to, again, reproductive, predetermined conclusions about the works of art and what they might mean or have meant; by moving away from biographical readings and identifications of the self (the artist's, mine) with the work, I hope to create space for those identifications where someone else wants to find them while opening new avenues of investigation and wells of meaning. I want to revel in the fragmentary, partial nature of the works, the archive, and the field of materials on which these works were built, not reproduce paranoid readings about lack of access or overcoming.

⁵⁶ Patricia Cronin, *Harriet Hosmer: Lost and Found* (Milan: Charta, 2009).

⁵⁷ Carole Oles, *Waking Stone: Inventions on the Life of Harriet Hosmer* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2006).

Stebbins's biography is thinner on the ground than Hosmer's. The archival evidence for her biography is held primarily in the letters which survived in other people's archives, since she appears to have destroyed her own, and in the two Garland collections. The first, the Stebbins Scrapbook, held in the Archives of American Art, is a photo scrapbook compiled by Stebbins's sister Mary Garland (née Stebbins), and includes handwritten transcriptions of poetry, biographical notes and sketches, images of almost every Stebbins sculpture—the photograph of a bust of Nanna Risi is missing, though there are marks for glue and a caption—and photographs of Stebbins, Cushman, their dog, and Sallie Mercer. The Garland Manuscript, in the New York Public Library, is the manuscript biographical sketch Garland wrote after Stebbins's death for Frank Weitenkampf and intended for publication. Eight pages long, it gives dates and commissioners for major works, a vague outline of how many duplicates of the sculptures were made, and details her training under Edmund Brackett and Paul Akers as well as her patronage under Gibson. These two sources, as well as the other extant archival material, is admirably described and contextualized by Elizabeth Milroy in two articles, one on Stebbins's marble works and one on her public bronze commissions.⁵⁸

I will now outline briefly elements of Hosmer and Stebbins's biographies which have bearing on their artistic practices, and signposting ways of thinking about their biographies in the euchronic manner described in the section on anachronic theory, as a toolkit or reference work to provide information on what materials might be available to absorb into the artist's visual or textual vocabulary.⁵⁹ I will also demonstrate the evidence and value of reconsidering these artists as sexually knowledgeable adults with full agency

⁵⁸ Elizabeth Milroy, "The Public Career of Emma Stebbins: Work in Marble," *Archives of American Art Journal*, 33, No. 3 (1993), 2–12. See also, Elizabeth Milroy, "The Public Career of Emma Stebbins: Work in Bronze," *Archives of American Art Journal*, 34, No. 1 (1994), 2–14; Emma Stebbins scrapbook, 1858–1882. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

⁵⁹ Georges Didi-Huberman, "Before the Image, Before Time: The Sovereignty of Anachronism," in *Compelling Visuality*. (Ann Arbor, University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 31–44.

over their bodies and relationships. For example, Sherwood is insistent in her text that Hosmer was a chaste woman with probable heterosexual desires for William Shakespeare Wood,⁶⁰ and had no idea what Stebbins and Cushman might be getting up to in their shared bedroom—so I shall demonstrate how Hosmer’s biography gives a clear indication, both from circumstantial evidence and from manuscript evidence, that Hosmer had predominantly lesbian relationships and that she was well aware of what her genitalia were capable of. I shall also recontextualize the death of Hosmer’s mother and siblings as an event that was both emotionally devastating and developmentally key but also one which gave her early and frequent reasons to spend time in a public space that was specifically constructed to develop artistic taste. I will not be focusing on their interpersonal dramas or psychoanalyzing them, unless those are particularly relevant to previous scholarship.

A major point to note is that Stebbins in particular has a smaller presence in the archive than Hosmer; I’ve seen very little in the way of correspondence between the two artists relating to their artistic process. I foreground this concern because it speaks to their actual living and working experiences: they shared studio space for a time, a mentor, intimate friends (I mean here actual friends, not a euphemism for lovers or partners), and for many years a house, as well as the wider social circles in which they moved. This goes also for Hosmer and Frederic Leighton, who were good friends in the 1850s; because these artists were in such close proximity, there was no need to

⁶⁰ Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 117–8; 124. Sherwood writes, “Nonetheless, there was ambivalence and courage in her resolution to remain unmarried— more than is commonly recognized. Her innermost longings continued to be expressed to Wayman Crow ... Cornelia Carr, who was not disposed to reveal her friend’s most private feelings, deleted passages from these letters not because they were improper but because they were personal. Hatty seems at this time to have had no disinclination toward marital love or motherhood. All of her metaphors were conjugal and the figures she made were her ‘children.’” This is nothing unusual; Powers referred to his sculptures as his “silent daughters” and considering both the language of “conception” used to describe the early stages of clay modelling and the length involved in bringing a sculpture to fruition, it is not surprising that many artists called their works their children.

put their conversations in writing. Without manuscript evidence for this, I base my claim that they were talking about their work in the studio and over breakfast, lunch, and dinner on my experience in shared studio spaces. Though by no means a practicing artist, I took studio courses (primarily oil painting) all the way through my undergraduate and first postgraduate degree. Even in the days of the iPod and the laptop, the fume- and coffee-addled denizens of the studio spoke with each other at length about their work in progress. To believe that Hosmer, Stebbins, and Gibson did not discuss their process—especially with Gibson in the role of teacher—over the works in progress beggars belief. Keeping in mind this degree of social and professional overlap during the early periods in their careers—Stebbins and Hosmer lived together from 1857 to 1865, along with Charlotte Cushman and Cushman’s maid, Sallie Mercer—the lack of written material relating to their development of works of art is not surprising. In lieu of this material, I operate on the information that is available: both women were educated, well-trained, well-off, from liberal families, and social groups that supported their professions (including financially when the need arose), and that their position as Gibson’s students and mentees meant that their work was not slapdash or naïve. The lack of archival material relating to their intellectual process or conceptions of the sculptures should not close off discussion of them; this is where the biographical material as a toolkit for extrapolating potential reference material is extremely useful, and that is where I will focus my discussion on their biographies.

HARRIET HOSMER:

*YOU CAN CALL ME ANYTHING YOU WANT, JUST DON'T CALL ME
HATTIE IN AN ACADEMIC TEXT*

Hosmer, the first of the American women to go to Rome and become a professional sculptor, was born October 9, 1830, in Watertown, Massachusetts (Fig. 16). Her father, Hiram Hosmer, was a prosperous doctor from a well-regarded family that included colonial settlers and a hero of the American

Revolution.⁶¹ Her mother, Sarah, and two infant brothers, Hiram and George, died before her sixth birthday; her elder sister Helen died in 1842, from the same tuberculosis that caused her mother's death.⁶² The early rash of mortality in the Hosmer family led Dr Hosmer to kick off what is a now-legendary programme of outdoor exercise and fitness, including swimming in the Charles River and hunting.⁶³ After Helen's death, Dr Hosmer redoubled his efforts with Harriet. She had already been taken out of regular schooling and allowed to run wild, but after her sister's death she apparently began her development into the terror of Watertown—but also, according to a nineteenth-century biographer, first discovered the joys of modelling in the fluvial clay.⁶⁴

Hosmer's childhood home, now demolished and replaced by ugly condominiums, is marked on an 1850 survey map of the city of Watertown (Fig. 17+detail) and visible in another from 1879 (Fig. 18+detail), as well as a photograph digitized by the Digital Commonwealth project of Massachusetts (Fig. 19). The location, now numbered 10 Riverside Street (Riverside Place, unnumbered on the 1879 map, but clearly recognizable from the photo and location in the 1850 detail), shows Hosmer's immediate access to the Charles River. It likewise shows her access to Mount Auburn Cemetery—only 2.3 miles away by the Mount Auburn Road, running on a path unchanged since the 1850s. Mount Auburn Cemetery might seem an odd touchstone, except that many Americans considered it one of their primary cultural attractions, on par with Mount Vernon, and it was an outdoor museum of sorts—full of white marble monuments, many elaborately carved. It also holds the family plot,

⁶¹ Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer*, 7–8.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 8–9.

⁶³ Almost every biography of Hosmer emphasises this regimen and its success, and she was often used as an example in medical or moralizing literature. Two of many examples: Dr. Alice B. Stockham, "Health for Girls: 'To be Weak is to be Miserable,'" *Kansas Monthly* 4, Iss. 5, (May 1, 1881), 78; "Harriet Hosmer, the Woman Eminent in Sculpture," *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health*, Philadelphia, 54, Iss. 3, (Mar 1872), 169.

⁶⁴ Sarah Bolton, *The Lives of Girls Who Became Famous* (New York: Cromwell, 1886), 143.

where Hosmer's mother and siblings were buried (Fig. 20), and remains a sprawling, rolling parkland of the sort that Dr Hosmer encouraged his child to play in for her health.⁶⁵ The cemetery's founders intended, and critics described it as, a beautiful site of rest and pilgrimage, where nature could balm the wounded souls of mourners.⁶⁶ The Hosmers' neighbour and minister, Convers Francis, may have encouraged her and her father to visit the cemetery, as he was associated with the early transcendentalists Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. The Transcendentalists took inspiration from nature's beauty, and Convers might have suggested that Hosmer—already wild, outdoorsy, and modelling in the clay pit near her home—do the same.

Her time at boarding school, just under two years between autumn 1847 and spring 1849, seems to have been happy and formative. Her energies were focused and she made lifelong friends—not only with girls her own ages, including Cornelia Crow Carr, whose family members would play important roles throughout Hosmer's life—but also Fanny Kemble, who would promote Hosmer's career at home and abroad and who seems to have been a strong link to an extensive cultural network. The Sedgwick School created an environment supportive of girls' ambition and educated them to match; by the time she left, Hosmer was fluent in French, probably read Greek and Latin,⁶⁷ wrote poetry and drew, and had associated with leading intellectual figures, including Emerson.⁶⁸ Kemble's presence in the school's social circle exposed Hosmer to a liberated woman, renowned in her own right for her cultural

⁶⁵ Illustrated guides to the cemetery make it clear—even through the idealization of promotional material—that the cemetery was the kind of outdoor space believed by the transcendentalists and Boston elite to be beneficial to the health and to the soul. See Cornelia Walter, ill. James Smillie, *Cemeteries of America: Mount Auburn illustrated* (New York: Martin and Johnson, 1848), 8–9.

⁶⁶ For further reading, see Stanley French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement," *American Quarterly* 26 (1:1974.), 37–59; Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989).

⁶⁷ Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 17.

⁶⁸ Carr, *Harriet Hosmer*, 3. Carr also mentions Hawthorne as a visitor.

productions—acting, writing, social work—and Kemble seems to have been especially fond of Hosmer, the oldest pupil at the school. After Hosmer left the school in 1849, her friendship with Carr (née Crow) helped her gain access to medical school in St. Louis, as Crow’s father, Wayman Crow, sponsored and housed her. It is unclear why she went to St. Louis, rather than stay in Boston—another woman, Elizabeth Blackwell, had graduated with a medical degree, and in 1848 the Boston Female Medical College had opened. It might have been a question of the Boston Medical College’s credibility, and she was denied entry to Harvard Medical School. Whatever the reason—and Culkin points out that spending time with Cornelia Crow might have been a perk⁶⁹—she went to St. Louis. Wayman Crow would then become a primary patron during her early career, especially after Dr Hosmer’s fortunes suffered a downturn and he could no longer financially support her to the degree she expected.⁷⁰

Hosmer’s medical training, and her nine months spent in St. Louis, are good evidence for her knowledge about the potential for sexual activity between women—not to mention, of course, her two years in an all-girl’s boarding school. As part of her anatomical training, Hosmer would likely have been made intimately, viscerally aware of the sexual organs of both men and women (Fig. 21). Furthermore, St. Louis was still in many ways considered a frontier town, despite the efforts of Wayman Crow and his circle to elevate its standing as a cosmopolitan city. Hosmer reportedly travelled with a pistol in her belt—perhaps as defence against affronts to her delicate female person, i.e. sexual assault.⁷¹ As to the boarding school: long-lived is paranoia about all-female spaces leading to lesbian sexual practices.

Medical literature about women’s systems and the dangers thereof, such as the snappily titled *A Treatise on the Nervous Diseases of Women; Comprising an Inquiry into the Nature, Causes, and Treatment of Spinal and*

⁶⁹ Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer*, 16.

⁷⁰ Carr, *Harriet Hosmer*, 29; Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer*, 40.

⁷¹ Child, “A Biographical Sketch,” 3.

Hysterical Disorders,⁷² might well have had a place on Dr Hosmer's shelf—fanatical as he was about young Harriet's health. It warns, "Young females ... cannot associate together in public schools without serious risk of exciting the passions, and of being led to indulge in practices injurious to both body and mind. Dr Copland observes that 'whenever numbers associate previous to or about the period of puberty, and especially where several use the same sleeping apartment, and are submitted to a luxurious and over-refined mode of education, some will manifest a precocious development of both mind and body.'"⁷³ It is reasonable to hypothesize that Dr Hosmer, living and working in the greater Boston area, might have subscribed to the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, and had on his shelf the September 1842 issue—containing an article simply titled, "Masturbation":

It has been hitherto generally supposed, that the vice of self-pollution was confined mainly, in this country at least, to the male sex and that females were generally exempt from it. So far from this being the case, it is believed, and not without good reason, that self-pollution is as common among females as among males, and that it has an important bearing upon the numerous diseases to which they are subject. Masturbation has been considered a solitary vice ... But that the practice is not always solitary, the following facts will prove ... In one school district it was a frequent custom among the female schoolmates to visit each other and pass the night for the purpose of self-pollution.⁷⁴

It does not beggar belief to imagine Hosmer, by all reports a precocious, mischievous, scientifically-minded child and adolescent, taking liberties with Dr Hosmer's medical texts about the Female Sex, or that Dr Hosmer, liberal and obsessed with her health as he was, telling her the medical (mythical) perils of self-abuse. As a student at the medical school, she would have had access to these kinds of materials, as well—perhaps including the *Western Lancet*,

⁷² Thomas Laycock, *A Treatise on the Nervous Diseases of Women; Comprising an Inquiry into the Nature, Causes, and Treatment of Spinal and Hysterical Disorders* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1840).

⁷³ Laycock, "Masturbation," 141.

⁷⁴ "Masturbation," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 27, Iss. 6 (September 14, 1842), 102.

which posited that female masturbation was even more common than male, and that its primary symptoms, apart from emaciation and debility, were “warts on the medius and index fingers, the instruments of these disgusting practices.”⁷⁵ This would have been, at the time of Hosmer’s arrival in St. Louis, a relatively recent issue. Long story short, it is entirely possible—probable—that Hosmer was aware of the possibilities of her own body and that of her fellow females.

Although I will not be arguing for Hosmer’s (or Stebbins’s) sexuality as a factor in the formal conditions of the works in this project, I want it to be clear part of treating these artists as fully developed, independent adult humans with agency means assuming that they were capable of making decisions about their sex lives. The historian stating that Hosmer had no idea what Stebbins and Cushman were getting up to in the bedroom down the hall (if they were getting up to anything at all—we aren’t privy to their intimate lives and thus don’t know), assumes that she was—despite living with them long-term—ignorant of the nature of their relationship or even of lesbian potentials.⁷⁶ It further assumes that she was ignorant of the potentials of her own numerous relationships with women, despite her letters stating that she had had a “wedding night” with another woman, calling her long-term partner “sposa,” and herself “hubby,”⁷⁷ as well as the clearly erotic description of “Laocoöning”⁷⁸ in their shared bed. These assumptions indicate the historian’s squeamishness with lesbian sex more than any historical evidence. Just because Hosmer refrained from writing to her father or to Wayman Crow something along the lines of, “Tonight I absolutely went to town, sexually, on

⁷⁵ “A Probable Sign of Masturbation in Females,” *The Western Lancet*, Dec. 1, 1849.

⁷⁶ Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 169: “Hosmer seemed to say that girls who spent their emotional energies on other females could end up single. ... That she understood the sexual preference of Charlotte Cushman appears unlikely.”

⁷⁷ Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer*, 64–5.

⁷⁸ Martha Vicinus, “Laocoön-ing in Rome: Harriet Hosmer and Romantic Friendship,” *Women’s Writing* 10, no. 2 (2003), 359.

my girlfriend,”⁷⁹ does not mean that she was not fully capable of making decisions about her romantic and sexual relationships.

Sharon Marcus points out several reasons that these assumptions are problematic in *Between Women* (2007). First, she notes what should be fairly obvious: “It is a ridiculous controversy, since if it were true that no women had sex with women in the nineteenth century, that era would turn out to be the only lesbian-free zone in recorded history. Preposterous as that may sound, it is a belief that people articulate all the time, either as a global proposition or on a case-by-case basis.”⁸⁰ Later, Marcus problematizes the assumption that because Victorian lesbians don’t seem to have expounded graphically on their sex lives in writing that they weren’t having sex—because heterosexually married people weren’t exactly forthcoming about their genital encounters, either. “If first hand testimony about sex is the standard for defining a relationship as sexual,” she points out, “then most Victorians never had sex. ... Just as one can read hundreds of Victorian letters, diaries, and memoirs without finding a single mention of menstruation or excretion, one rarely finds even oblique references to sex between husband and wife.”⁸¹ She illustrates this with a pair of citations from women’s life writings about “a transition defined by sexual intercourse,” the wedding and wedding night—and neither is more explicit than Hosmer’s writing about Mary Crow. Hosmer’s laconicism about what exactly she was up to with Mary Crow (or Matilda Hays, or Cushman, or Marion Alford, or Florence Freeman, or any of the numerous women with whom she had what are politely called ‘flirtations’) is period-appropriate, but

⁷⁹ Hosmer to Wayman Crow, regarding his daughter: “The nuptials have already been solemnized. Cornelia Crow wrote “the tailor would not make the coat and trousers for Hattie—so she won’t be able to get married this winter.” She also referred to Mary Crow as “my little wife,” while Crow, according to Charlotte Cushman, called Hosmer “her little husband.” My exaggerations for dramatic effect aside, Hosmer and Mary Crow used the language of officiated and official heterosexual, sexual relationships to talk publically about their relationship, and it is homophobic and misogynistic to assume that these women (Hosmer about 30 and Crow about 18) were wholly unaware of—at the very least—the connotations of these kinds of statements. Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer*, 64–5.

⁸⁰ Sharon Marcus, *Between Women* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 20.

⁸¹ Marcus, *Between Women*, 43–4.

doesn't indicate a lack of sexual knowledge. This is important material to keep in mind with the rest of Hosmer's biography, and the cultivation during her life and after of a public image of impish, childlike purity and chastity.

EMMA STEBBINS:

"FORM WAS THE MOST SATISFYING MEDIUM OF EXPRESSION"

Stebbins's early life, compared to Hosmer's endlessly valorized childhood, is remarkably opaque, and thus this section is going to be markedly shorter than the previous one. Stebbins (Fig. 22), like many female life-writers in the nineteenth century, effaced herself from the text she wrote about her life partner Charlotte Cushman, so the posthumous records from her sister are the primary professional documents. Born September 15, 1815 to a wealthy New York family, Stebbins trained in her twenties as a painter, proceeding along the accepted lady-amateur route until she was nominated for membership as an associate of the National Academy of Design.⁸² Her sister, Mary Stebbins Garland, wrote "she, however, worked steadily, at whatever her hand found to do, in almost every branch of art, oil painting, water colours, pastels, and crayons. The walls of her brother's house (H. G. Stebbins) attest the untiring industry of these early years."⁸³ Stebbins turned to sculpture following an introduction to Edmund Brackett, who gave her "hints" and taught her the foundations of sculpture. It was from his instruction, Garland wrote, that Stebbins "learned that form was the most satisfying medium of expression." Thus the "sculptor's passion awoke, and she saw that she had the sculptor's thumb, and the inner passion, which enabled the artist in form, to project before the mind's eye a perfect image of the object to be rendered."⁸⁴

And so it was soon off to Rome for Stebbins as well, in 1857, where the "sculptor's passion" was reignited in the face of antiquity and the flourishing

⁸² Milroy, "Work in Marble," 4; Milroy, "Work in Bronze"; Emma Stebbins scrapbook, 1858–1882. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

⁸³ Mary Garland m.s., New York Public Library, Manuscript Collection. MssColl3866, 1.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1–2.

culture of modern art. She studied first with Paul Akers, and came under Gibson's mentorship—"so severe a judge," according to Garland—who gave her the subject for the *Lotus-Eater*. Her training, like most neoclassical sculptors, involved drawing from and modelling antique casts and the nude—Garland specifically mentions that Stebbins's training included the nude model, perhaps because of lingering discomfort with female artists and the male nude and to emphasize the thoroughness of her professional training. Gibson's commissioning or assignment of the Tennysonian subject is interesting given that Hosmer's first full-length ideal subject (*Oenone*), while still under Gibson's wing, was from Tennyson—perhaps it was considered a test of their ability to translate poetical subjects without clear art historical precedents into a three dimensional form.

Unlike Hosmer and the male sculptors who maintained workshops with as many workmen as possible to fulfil orders and to assist in the laborious process of producing works in marble (especially large works), Stebbins preferred to work a block to completion on her own. Given that she was forty-two years of age when she arrived in Rome, and not accustomed to heavy labour, this meant that her output was much slower than Hosmer's, though this simultaneously protected her from the kind of scandal that Hosmer was occasionally drawn into about the true authorship of her works.⁸⁵ Her most important public work was the *Bethesda Fountain*, in Central Park (Fig. 23); Milroy points out that by the time the figure was installed in 1873, most New Yorkers had forgotten who she was. This was largely because she had given up full-time sculpting sooner than did Hosmer, to care for Cushman after her diagnosis of breast cancer in 1869.⁸⁶ They left Rome in such a hurry in 1870 that several works remained in the studio, unfinished. Cushman died in 1876; the romantic turmoil that had caused Stebbins distress in her relationship with Cushman—involving both Emma Crow Cushman and Hosmer—was excised

⁸⁵ For example, see: Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer*, 69–77; Kasson, *Marble Queens*, 155–9.

⁸⁶ Milroy, "Works in Marble," 11.

from the life of Cushman she wrote and published.⁸⁷ This, Garland wrote, was her last great work, and that Stebbins looked back on her sculptural career with a mix of “pleasure and pain; pleasure in the effort, which indeed was a second nature, pain in its incompleteness. She was never satisfied with her work when it [*illegible*] at the point of completion. The aim was so high, the ideal unattainable, so those appeared in her a modesty and want of self assertion which surprised her friends.”⁸⁸ Stebbins died in New York, in October 1882.

AN EVENING IN ROMA

I will wrap up the introduction shortly, but first, I want to talk more about myself. One of the most common questions I was asked during my studies at York and in Britain was, “Why here?” It is understandable, considering I work primarily on American artists, but like Hosmer and Stebbins, there were economic and artistic benefits to relocating to Europe. For one, it would take half the time as an American PhD, and the travel time and costs from York to Italy and France are substantially (if not exponentially) lower. I will be talking more about those travels shortly, because the time I was able to spend in Italian museums and historical spaces was absolutely key to the progress of my research and methodological development, but also to engendering a degree of international cosmopolitanism that has become politically suspect in a way that it was not when I began. When I started this project, it felt very decadent and aesthetic, Grand-Tour-esque and self-indulgent, to spend three or four years luxuriating in the delights of neoclassicism, ancient sculpture, and historical lesbian drama. I was able to travel fairly cheaply and spontaneously to Italy, Copenhagen, and Paris, without individual visas and only the minor inconvenience of the Non-EU passport queue with which to contend.

⁸⁷ The best overview of the relationship between Cushman, Cushman, and Stebbins is in Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004), 38–46.

⁸⁸ Garland m.s., 8.

However, by June and October 2016, the political and social landscape had changed dramatically. Brexit and Trump had happened, and suddenly it felt very different to be an American woman in Britain working on queer American artists in Europe. Travel began to cost more and required more planning; I was once detained at Heathrow because of a typo on my visa that had gone unnoticed for two years and half a dozen trips in and out of the country. There was a palpably greater animus towards both my American passport and British student papers in some Italian galleries. Writing this introduction at the end of 2017 and into 2018, my dissertation on highly interconnected, aestheticized and poetic works of art by queer cosmopolitan women now seems like a capital-es Statement. It seems possible that the freedom of movement I enjoyed, and which Hosmer and Stebbins enjoyed, and which all three of us relied upon to do what we all have done, may not exist by the time I have graduated. I hope, therefore, that this dissertation serves as my small contribution not only to an ivory tower scholarship but to the importance of the humanities in a moment of history where capitalism and nationalism seem intent on suppressing the arts, queer culture, and cosmopolitanism. I'm closing my introduction with my own international travel, because this travel, and especially the attempts to follow, quite literally, in the footsteps of my artists, is something that was only possible because of my residency in Britain. It was fundamental to my research, to the conclusions I was able to draw and the new methods of looking and thinking that I am proposing. It is also one of the things that is at great risk, along with the liberty to write so openly about queer people and women, in the current political climates.

Funnily enough, I really didn't like Rome the first time I visited it on a high school choir trip at seventeen—even though with about ten years of retrospect I eventually realized that it was that trip that led me to art history, sculpture studies, and classical receptions. My strongest memories from this trip, apart from a particularly attractive waiter at a pizza restaurant, are sculptural: coming over with a raging case of Stendhal Syndrome in front of

the Altare della Patria, the Bernini saints on the embracing arms Piazza San Pietro, and the rhythmic march of marble fragments and figures down the Galleria degli Candelabri, a march punctuated only by my choir director's scandalized gasp of "You can't say that!" as I gleefully (and inappropriately loudly) announced to my classmates and bored tour guide that the bulbous swags around the neck of the Artemis of Ephesus were testicles, not breasts. Why I knew that off the top of my head at seventeen, I have no earthly clue today. I had vastly preferred Florence on the same trip, with the Loggia dei Lanzi and the Palazzo Pitti, to Rome, mostly because by the time we got to Rome I was physically exhausted from performing in four different cities in eight days. So when I visited again for the first time for this project, almost exactly ten years later (eight weeks shy of the decade), it was almost overwhelming in the vein of Dorothea from *Middlemarch*.

But I had determined that it was absolutely necessary to my project to visit Rome, and to experience as best I could the spaces and places that Hosmer, Stebbins, and the rest of the American sculptors in Rome had experienced—including having a cappuccino, unaccompanied, in the Caffé Greco after a long afternoon of walking the Corso and Via Babuino, timing the distances between the artists' homes, studios, and significant cultural spaces, and people watching. This trip, coupled with the York Summer Theory Institute a few months later, began the shift from my original plan for this dissertation towards one rooted firmly in the experience of Rome and its surroundings as a chronologically complex, palimpsestic site for artistic consideration. That is, I was influenced not only by the first-hand encounter with the works of art that my subjects had encountered, but also with, in the words of my mother in the Roman Forum, "so much ancient stuff just lying around."

These bits of ancient stuff, just lying around, were the fragmentary, discarded, and leftover cultural product which had not been worked into the fabric of the city walls or its regimented cultural spaces, but which nonetheless affected the experience of viewing Rome in the nineteenth century as much as

they do today (Fig. 24). Canova's studio, on what is now called Via Canova, worked fragments of Roman sculpture into the very plaster of the exterior walls (Fig. 25). The French Academy in the Villa Medici, a lazy eight minute walk up the Borghese Hill from 36 Via Gregoriana (the house in which Hosmer and Stebbins lived with Cushman) has the spoliated panels of the Ara Pacis built into its walls and ancient sarcophagi serve as flower beds and fountain basins (Fig. 26). I timed this walk, wearing as constricting a dress as I could lay hands on and taking steps which approximated the stride of a person standing about 5'2", for the purposes of illustrating the ease of access that the artists had to the artistic community of the French Academy and to their plaster cast collection, and then further down to the Galleria Borghese or down the Spanish Steps to the Caffè Greco, Via Corso and Via Babuino, and the Via Margutta, one of the most fashionable streets for artists' studios in Rome. It is vital to consider that these artists were not only speaking to their fellow Americans, but were connected to the wider cosmopolitan, European communities, and one of the perks of living and working in Rome was ease of access to other artists as much as artisans and marble.

The first research trip I took, in February 2015, was not structured around specific spaces but an attempt to cram as much art into my eyes as humanly possible, and to begin to map, mentally, the physical experience of the art museums and public spaces. What actually happened was that I cried in front of the Apollo Belvedere and horrified a family of German tourists, took approximately 5,000 photos in four days, and walked so much I made myself physically ill from exhaustion. It was, despite or because of this, very productive. The outcome of this trip was not only flu and the foundation of a personal photographic archive but the recognition of the fundamental need to reconsider my approach to the case studies' relationship with antique references and the distribution of materials/spaces within Rome. The consideration of primarily eighteenth- and nineteenth-century curated spaces, most especially the Palazzo Nuovo of the Capitoline Museums, the Villa Borghese (less systematically similar but with traceable changes) and the

Musei Chiaramonti and Pio Clementino, and the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican, developed from these experiences. My methodological consideration of, where at all possible, only sculptural references and texts to which I could prove that the artists had access and in the spaces that they would have been seen in, developed from the availability of these spaces. There are exceptions to this echronic, contextual approach in the dissertation, but they are clearly noted and explicated—for example, in the discussions of intertextuality and visualizations of objects in relation to one another.

Over the next three years, then, I returned to Italy multiple times, at different times of year, in order to reacquaint myself not only with the key referents but also to experience these spaces in different lighting, with different levels of physical energy, and with different artistic and thematic questions in mind. These kinds of closely-clustered consecutive gallery visits also granted me some serendipitous discoveries: the unrecognized head of a woman with snakes in her hair, in the corner of the Sala del Fauno, in the Galleria Borghese, which I connect to Hosmer's *Medusa*, must be passed on the proscribed path through the galleries that takes you from the Salone to the Sala del Apollo e Dafne. Nineteenth-century tour guides to the gallery used the same numbering system and directionality of room numbering, and introduce works in the gallery in a similar order—strongly suggesting that the axis of travel through the gallery that Hosmer would have taken would also have taken her past this Lunese marble bust of an oval faced woman, with a long club-like bun, and a crown of entwined snakes that disappear into deeply-carved waves of hair above the ears.⁸⁹ A Sedgwickian camp openness to the fragmentary and minor,⁹⁰ as well as a commitment to not just looking at the top ten hits of antiquity, provided me the frame of mind to recognize this bust as part of Hosmer's visual vocabulary—and only my time spent in Rome gave

⁸⁹ Paolo Moreno and Antonietta Viacava, *I Marmi Antichi della Galleria Borghese. La Collezione Archeologica di Camillo e Francesco Borghese*. (Rome: De Luca, 2003), 254, cat. no. 246.

⁹⁰ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "Cavafy, Proust, and the Queer Little Gods," *The Weather in Proust* (Duke University Press, 2011), 66.

me physical access to it, because it isn't reproduced in the guidebooks to the gallery or even the room's didactic texts.

It was also important for my research, especially with the *Pompeian Sentinel*, to move beyond the Roman walls to the surrounding countryside and the accessible exurbs. Naples, though Hosmer didn't like it in when she visited in the 1850s,⁹¹ was the site of the Neapolitan collections of sculpture, as well as the fallen kingdom of her beloved Maria Sophia, and the gateway to the even more anachronic cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, made colourfully vibrant and romantically alive through Bulwer Lytton's novel and the apparent refusal by the popular press to fully embrace Giuseppe Fiorelli's archaeological exactitude. The palimpsestic nature of Rome, its interwoven anachronistic layers and anachronic upwellings, is more dynamic than Pompeii; the constantly-inhabited capitol of Catholicism went through a greater range of fortunes over the centuries than the supposedly flash-frozen (flash-lavaed?) town on the Bay of Naples. Pompeii is a palimpsest, or such is supposed to be our experience of it, as mediated by tourist literature today and in the nineteenth century. Of course, this is a fallacy about which I will speak more in the chapter on the *Pompeian Sentinel*, and one that an informed member of Italian academies and Anglo-American *cognoscenti* circles, not to mention an *inamorata* of the deposed Queen of Naples, would have known was a fallacy.

I went to Naples with a copy of *The Last Days of Pompeii* in my backpack, and made my long-suffering mother stand with me while I read through descriptions of the House of the Tragic Poet and the Herculaneum Gate, the gladiatorial contests and the baths, and refused to look at the guidebook we were given (available in at least eight languages, along with a map, from the information booth at the Porta Marina entrance). We came on the Circumvesuviana, the descendent of the railway installed to ferry visitors from Naples to Pompeii in the nineteenth century, and made a beeline for the

⁹¹ Carr, *Harriet Hosmer*, 75: "So you didn't like Naples, nor I either. If I were doomed to live there, I should be a raving maniac at the end of the third day."

Antiquarium (and gift shop). While it was productive to see the funerary niche of M. Cerrinius Restitutus, refigured by Bulwer Lytton as the guard-box of the faithful unto death sentinel, I found that the most important experience I had, the most evocative, was sitting on the bench of the niche to shelter from a late summer shower, watching tourists scurry for shelter under the gates just as merchants in 79 AD or *ciceroni* and Victorians in 1879 would have done. On my return to Pompeii to celebrate my thirtieth birthday (a combination research trip/city break), I managed to find the rest of the bodies I hadn't seen the first times around, as well as playing *cicerone* myself to a family of tourists who stopped at Restitutus' resting place. These return trips were fundamental not only for a more complete map of the space in my own mind, but for these kinds of experiences which not only enriched the moment, but gave me a better sense— not a period eye, but similar— of what this kind of trip might have been like for Hosmer or Stebbins, and informed how I interpreted their formal solutions in the finished works as a product of these experiences.

END OF THE BEGINNING

My time spent in Rome, Naples, Pompeii, and beyond was not only necessary to introduce myself to works that aren't necessarily reproduced in guidebooks and surveys, though that was certainly a quantifiable benefit in that multiple works I hadn't thought relevant originally have entered my personal image ecology for this project. These trips, recurring visits to the same sites and statues and spaces, allowed me to develop something approximating a visual vocabulary and mental map like that the sculptors of the period would have had. Without living in Rome full time, and also somehow managing to steal a working TARDIS from the BBC, it is impossible to accurately reconstruct a period eye or a period experience,⁹² but a major methodological factor has

⁹² The period eye, or the principle that artists and viewers bring a set of experiences, knowledge, and visual training that shapes their experience of the work of art, was developed first by Michael Baxandall in *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: a Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 29–102. One interpretation of the visual historian's challenge is to 'recreate' or 'reconstruct' the period eye through an accumulation of contextual material, summed up in the dictat to "Always historicize," from Frederic Jameson, *The Political*

been *doing my best* at doing just this, and not only to try to visualize like a Victorian but to prioritize an artist's eye. I mentioned earlier that I had taken studio courses throughout my undergraduate and master's degrees, and that these experiences allowed me to state with some certainty that those artists discussed things with each other in the studio without having to write things down. I also understand from these multiple studio courses that while I have a strong visual literacy, memory, and ability to recall forms, the best artists I knew could absolutely blow me out of the water with these skills. I believe it is safe to say that Hosmer or Stebbins could see a sculpture once or twice, and add it to their vocabulary of forms and draw on it without necessarily having it in front of their eyes. I believe that they were formally astute and could synthesize forms from disparate sources in creative ways, through practice and study and their artistic skills. These experiences also suggested to me that artists are, surprisingly, people—and people all have their idiosyncrasies, their preferences and habits, and are never perfectly logical.

Thus, by recognizing *and embracing* the artists' humanity as much as their professionalism, talent, and skill, I feel comfortable asserting forms, texts, objects, and spaces where there may not be a direct link of proof that Hosmer or Stebbins beheld it with their very own eyeballs in a convenient window of time for the object in question. I am comfortable with a missed link, a tangent, and a parallel in the absence of a manuscript document or contemporary source. I find it less likely that Hosmer or Stebbins were making extensive written notes about the works they encountered regularly, for public consumption after their deaths; I rather think that Stebbins's probable destruction of her own letters and self-effacement from her writing about Cushman suggests that she had little interest in preserving her words in contrast to her work. The interior, absent processes of artistic production can be extrapolated from the finished work of art and the circumstantial evidence of the period— even if I don't have a letter in hand that says, "Dear Mary,

Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 9.

today I decided to turn that statue that John Gibson commissioned me to make into Antinous, because I recognize parallels between his life and the themes of the poem, and because he's a babe," I can draw on the extant body of material and my own visual vocabulary to make these connections—so that is what I do in this dissertation.

In the final chapter, I will discuss in detail my methodological and theoretical texts, and describe not only how they apply to my work but use them to extrapolate readings of works by other artists outside the scope of this immediate project. I did not consider myself an especially theoretical art historian for a long time, following my MA and time spent as an exhibition and cataloguing researcher in a museum. However, this dissertation demanded the use of multiple theories and visualizations, which necessarily build on each other and are mutually dependent; I am grateful that Professors Liz Prettejohn and Jason Edwards were supportive and encouraging as I felt out the new limits of my theoretical knowledge within this project. It is a new thing for me to be able to describe myself as a "theory person," but I hope that some of the impacts of this project in the future includes bringing new theoretical methods to bear on the material, and bringing other art historians to theories which otherwise might not have seemed applicable to their work—and more importantly, that people find them rewarding and even fun to explore.

I have mentioned the importance of anachronic theory throughout this introduction, primarily Nagel and Wood, but also Didi-Huberman, and I'll add here George Kubler's *The Shape of Time*,⁹³ which for me provides a broader structure in which to fix the anachronic and euchronic considerations of Nagel, Wood, and Didi-Huberman. More even than chronological or chronic considerations, Kubler's text provides shape and connection between the time theories and the space theories (Manghani and my own matrixes)—essentially the time/space continuum of my project. For my project, the nuances between

⁹³ George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962).

an anachronic reading and the visualization of objects in an ecology or a matrix are not merely temporal—in that an anachronic reading is necessarily one relating to time and the food web is an ecological metaphor around consumption, but differ in the actors. An anachronic object is anachronic primarily because the objects' maker (or its series of intervening menders, maintainers, and mediators) intended it to be so, and relies on human agency in order to relate to its own and/or different times, in its various ways. The food web visualization or my marshmallow tesseracts, (figs. 135–6, discussed in Chapter Five) conversely, might be influenced by the construction of object groups by human agency, but ultimately the objects within the visualization can be seen to relate to each other in ways beyond the mere physical proximity or similarity. By using these together, along with the classical receptions theories of reception, the readings have a greater breadth of material to draw on and a richer vocabulary of form to play with. However, this will come at the end of the dissertation, in order to broaden the scope of these approaches.

I selected these works, as I wrote earlier, because they would produce rich, enjoyable readings, and to do so I needed a rich, enjoyable field of theory and method. Through close readings of the works of art, which draw as much as possible on the first-hand experiences I had with the works of art and while studying from eighteenth and nineteenth-century gallery spaces in Rome and through reading contemporary materials, I will show that far from being a vaguely pornographic graveyard of insipid, repetitive, samey-samey white marble girls, the corpus of American neoclassical sculpture is rich in form and meaning—then, now and in the future. I will indulge in effusive, ekphrastic language and luxuriate in the languid lines of the sculpture and its related texts. I will excavate new connections from cesspits of content and culture. I will walk the streets that Hosmer and Stebbins and Gibson walked, and show how Rome, the eternally palimpsestic cesspit of a city and empire, was instrumental in the works that these artists produced. Above all, I want to *Make Neoclassicism Weird Again*.

CHAPTER TWO

PARAGONE! AT THE DISCOURSE: HARRIET HOSMER'S *MEDUSA* AND *DAPHNE*

IN OTHERS, THE CLIMATE HAS NOT ALLOWED THE GENTLE FEELING OF PURE BEAUTY TO MATURE; IT HAS EITHER BEEN CONFIRMED IN THEM BY ART—THAT IS, BY CONSTANTLY AND STUDIOUSLY EMPLOYING THEIR SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE IN THE REPRESENTATION OF YOUTHFUL BEAUTIES—AS IN MICHAEL ANGELO, OR BECOME IN TIME UTTERLY CORRUPTED, AS WAS THE CASE WITH BERNINI, BY A VULGAR FLATTERY OF THE COARSE AND UNCULTIVATED, IN ATTEMPTING TO RENDER EVERYTHING MORE INTELLIGIBLE TO THEM.

HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART AMONG THE GREEKS
JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN
TRANSLATED BY GILES HENRY LODGE, 1850

A BATTLE FOR THE AGES

Of all of the damningly faint praises offered for the *Medusa* and *Daphne* in the December 1854 *Harvard Magazine* review, perhaps the most relevant for this chapter, if not this whole project, is the introduction to a criticism: “We do not complain that Miss Hosmer has taken a new conception of Medusa—for an artist has a right to change such things to suit his fancy—but we think she has failed to produce any considerable effect.” It is clear that the condescending and not-thoroughly-convinced reviewer understood that something within Hosmer’s *Medusa* was different from other images of Medusa, and from its pendant piece, *Daphne*. The commentary on the *Daphne*, in a backhanded compliment, underscores this: “Here the artist has attempted less, and so has succeeded better.”⁹⁴ What the reviewer failed to understand, and what modern scholarship has failed to elaborate fully, is that Hosmer was not

⁹⁴ “Editor’s Table,” *Harvard Magazine* 1 December 1854 (J. Bartlett, 1855), 48.

attempting less with her *Daphne* and failing at doing more with *Medusa*, but actively doing something different with each bust. The different expressive and stylistic elements in the set means that rather than producing a matched set or fraternal twins, Hosmer created a dynamic series of complements and comparisons between two fully-realized individual works of art. The *Daphne* and *Medusa* must be considered both on their merits as self-sufficient objects, and as the joint realization of a complex series of formal, ideological, and historical negotiations.

Daphne and *Medusa* (Figs. 27–28) are sculptures about sculpture, but a scholarly preoccupation with the artist's biography and a feminist reading of her work in general has failed to recognize this fully. One major explanation for this is that easy twentieth- and twenty-first century interpretations of the subject myths read them as oppressive and any reworking of them by a woman as feminist reclamations or statements, as outlined in the introduction. By stripping away the narrative elements that are shared between numerous Ovidian myths, however, it is possible to uncover the elements that are shared primarily by the *Daphne* and *Medusa* myths, and to start from a point of specificity rather than generality. While the most obvious and superficial narrative correlation between the subjects is the violation or attempted violation of women at the hands of men, this is such a common theme in nineteenth-century art and literature in general that it should be set aside as the primary reading outside specific contexts, and one which should not be dependent on the artist's gender. This chapter therefore proposes new readings of these two sculptures that reposition these works in a reparative, positive light, rather than the readings of *Daphne* and *Medusa* as totally wrapped up in Hosmer's own biography, her sexual identity and gender, and applications of paranoid psychoanalytic texts and faulty feminist philology.

But if I am rejecting the presumption of assault as a joining theme, what could these two myths have to join them together as a pendant pair? A closer reading, which has set aside the assault narratives, would suggest that the shared theme of refusal of marriage or vow of perpetual virginity by the

female; not inaccurate, to be sure, but this was a common theme in Greek mythology and in Ovid—why did Hosmer not then choose Diana, Proserpine, or Athena, all avowed single ladies, present in the *Metamorphoses*, and in the case of Proserpine also a ravaged one? Diana and Athena would have spoken even more strongly toward the scholarly presumption that these works were statements about feminine power, as mighty and powerful gods in their own rights. Transformation is another shared narrative element, but again is not unique enough to function as the primary motive—the entire *Metamorphoses* is about transformations. It's in the name. The nature of the transformation, however, is specific enough to become interesting: flesh into sculptural materials. The Medusa story especially emphasizes the creation of stone sculpture through a female agent, while Daphne is transformed into a tree—wood—the material of both the most ancient and sacred image of Athena and the most accessible, plebeian mode of sculpture-making, whittling. The gods active in the myths, too, speak to artistry, poetry, beauty, and skill: Athena and Apollo are the transformers, rather than Zeus, the great ravager. The narrative emphasis in both works, then, is sculptural in both material and in artistry, rather than dynastic or patriarchal.

Which is all very well and good, but does not answer what I have set out as one of the key questions in this project and a major problem within the discipline of neoclassical sculpture studies: *Why do they look like that?* This chapter takes Hosmer's *Daphne* and *Medusa* and put them in conversation with different works and theories, without spending time on the problem of the biographical readings discussed in the introduction. It builds on the discussion of neoclassicism as an intellectual style set out in the introduction, emphasizing the complicated interplay of discourse and artistic reference that had to be selected and refined into a coherent finished work that adhered to contemporary aesthetic standards. This chapter focuses on the pair of objects and their dynamic contrasts, and the art historical ideas with which Hosmer was playing. I therefore position Hosmer's busts as a transhistorical *paragone* with Gianlorenzo Bernini's works, *Apollo and Daphne* (Fig. 29) and *Head of*

Medusa (Fig. 30): an act of competition and reclamation, informed by nineteenth-century good taste, Winckelmann's aesthetic precepts, and her own familiarity with ancient precedents available in Rome and London. It will return to another problem discussed in the introduction, that of the Roman 'copy' or 'version' as a sculptural reference point rather than the Greek 'original', and argue for Hosmer's nuanced, complicated engagement with classical precedents.

Though the Renaissance term *paragone* is not necessarily a word that Hosmer would have applied to her own works or to her process, it is a useful concept for interrogating her relationship to Bernini's works specifically and historic works generally.⁹⁵ The fact that Hosmer does not reference this in any texts I have seen is hardly important—she certainly did not consider herself a 'neoclassical' sculptor in explicit terms, but today she and her work are referred to with that categorization quite comfortably. Furthermore, the impact of the Renaissance as an especially fertile period of classicism, commonly referred to as neo-classical by writers of the nineteenth century, has been under-explored in relation to nineteenth-century sculpture, especially by American artists. Here, the rhetorical act of *paragone* crosses the boundaries of periodization and the forward movement of time, allowing Hosmer to set her works against Bernini's of the same subjects in order to create a dynamic series of comparisons and contrasts to establish her superiority of taste. "If the term *paragone* most commonly refers to the contest of the superiority of painting over sculpture as it transpired most urgently in the Renaissance," the foreword to *Paragons and Paragone* sets out, "the term is applied more broadly to other comparisons and extends beyond this particular historical battlefield.

⁹⁵ Walter Pater, ed. Adam Phillips, *Renaissance: Studies in art and poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1998); Lene Ostermark-Johansen, *Walter Pater and the Language of Sculpture* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011), 15–70. Pater's footnotes for the Renaissance and the discussion of Leonardo's *Paragone* do not cite anything in English that predates Hosmer's sculptures, nor was there an English translation of the *Paragone* before 1939. See also, R.M. Seiler, ed., *Walter Pater: the Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1980).

Paragone was a manifest motive when Michelangelo or Gianlorenzo Bernini created works to emulate and surpass the sculpture of antiquity.”⁹⁶

Hosmer’s *paragone*, by the middle nineteenth century, was not with painting nor the literary arts. Nor was she especially competitive with the artists of antiquity: she used their acknowledged superiority as a multifaceted model for her competition with the man accused of perverting the upward course of sculpture’s progress, and to establish the superiority of her own work. She was in contest with both Bernini and herself: the present work’s superiority over her earlier, naïve works from before her training in Rome began and her absorption of the visual lessons available in the spaces of the eternal city.⁹⁷ Here, her utilization of those classical sources forms the basis for her improvement over her earlier work and her ascendancy over Bernini, and thus her victory in the *paragone*. This chapter engages extensively in ekphrasis, as part of the historicist project and because ekphrasis is the language of *paragone*: evocative, narrative, and invested, rather than merely descriptive visual analysis. Even with thorough and accurate photographic illustration to depict clearly the ‘facts’ of what an object looks like, ekphrasis is necessary as the gentle guiding hand, shepherding the viewer through another’s emotional and affective response. It is deeply personal but heavily mediated for the reader—literally, through the transformation from ephemeral thought into the medium of text and then edited for clarity, narrative, and message; further it is deeply enjoyable, to lose oneself in the looking and then to return to one’s

⁹⁶ Gail Feigenbaum, “Foreword.” In Rudolf Preimesberger, *Paragons and Paragone: Van Eyck, Raphael, Michelangelo, Caravaggio, and Bernini* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2011), ix. For more on *paragone* see Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 132–4; Deanna Fernie, *Hawthorne, Sculpture, and the Question of American Art* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 213–4.

⁹⁷ Rudolf Preimesberger’s essay on Bernini’s earliest known work, *The Goat Amalthea*, is a model for the sort of self-reflexive/general *paragone* a young artist might engage in to establish their skills, and though I am not rehearsing his argument here, I am indebted to it for a way of thinking through the problem. Preimesberger 2011, 53–66. For another excellent article on Bernini and Ovid for thematic and affective readings, see Paul Barolsky, “Ovid, Bernini, and the Art of Petrification,” *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics*, Third Series, 13, No. 2 (Fall, 2005).

sensibilities and share those discoveries. Winckelmann's most affecting passages, after all, were not the ones where he methodically laid out the principles of his theory and the facts of his arguments, but those where he reveled in his own delight. Unlike Hawthorne, whose descriptions of art are mechanical and reveal a deep discomfort with his own responses, I have tried to embrace the Winckelmannian spirit as much as possible, as both a delightful way of approaching the work and as a productive immersion in the analytic methods he developed.

The syncretic use of classical models, especially obscure, fragmentary, or decorative, was impacted by the discussions surrounding fine art sculpture at the Great Exhibition of 1851, where Gibson had been a juror for the sculpture class. There, the underlying problems with the state of modern sculpture—that which is now called neoclassicism—were made clear, as discussed in the previous chapter.⁹⁸ Hosmer, who quickly came to idolize her teacher and who worked beside him, would have been essentially raised in this tradition of merging classicism and originality: Gibson not only exhibited in the Great Exhibition, but was on the Jury for the class of sculptures, models, and plastic art. Her training at Gibson's side began with copying from the antique and from Canova,⁹⁹ which built on her earlier self-motivated copying and casting which had previously included a Canova bust, her Boston art lessons, and her anatomical training.¹⁰⁰ In the space of a year, she had graduated from transcription to creation, producing the *Daphne* and *Medusa*. In the heady spaces of the studio, with the influence of Canova and the wealth of the Roman visual landscape, it is hard to imagine Hosmer setting to work without

⁹⁸ *Exhibition of the Works*, 1534. See also Martina Droth, "The Ethics of Making: Craft and English Sculptural Aesthetics c. 1851–1900," *Journal of Design History* 17, No. 3 (2004), 221–235.

⁹⁹ Carr, *Harriet Hosmer*, 23. These included copies of the Venus de Milo, the Cupid of Praxiteles, and the "Tasso of the British Museum." The identity of the last work is difficult to ascertain, as the British Museum does not hold any sculptural works by Torquato Tasso.

¹⁰⁰ On the anatomical studies, see Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer*, 16–17; Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 30–31; Watertown Free Public Library Harriet Hosmer papers, Anatomical Drawings.

keeping in mind the importance of merging originality of invention and the highest ideals of neoclassical style.

Without a convincing body of primary textual evidence for Hosmer's reasoning for her subjects or the finished appearance of the busts, or commentary from the commissioning patrons on their reasoning, we as scholars are free to read Hosmer's use of these two subjects in new ways that are not contingent on manuscript evidence but instead on the formal qualities of the work and discourses of sculpture and originality. I argue that Hosmer constructed this pair of sculptures as a calculated reclamation of the subjects from Bernini and reformed—formally and morally—through Winckelmann's aesthetic, affective dyad: the high, or sublime, and the beautiful, or sensual.

Hosmer's negotiation of form within these intersecting and contrasting modes, with the integration of selected antique models that support visual associations with one mode or the other, position the pair as sites of numerous original moves by the artist. This is seen especially in the integration of elements from applied decoration and architecture, and the foregrounding of a Hellenistic or Roman vocabulary of form and expression alongside, and even surpassing, the restrained sublimity of the archaic. Hosmer's works will be shown as responses to and participants in a triangulation of Winckelmann's high and beautiful styles as both chronological periods and rhetorical modes, Bernini's works and reputation, and the play with multiple antique references available in London and Rome—these are sculptures about sculpture.

To interpret the *Medusa* and *Daphne* pair solely as a personal biographical response to her friend getting married, or even as a biographical statement about her own personality, is to fall into the trap of over-identifying a female artist with her subject matter. It does little to explore or interrogate the artistic decisions made in the design of the finished piece. This approach also disregards contemporary artistic debates, and the visual environment in which the artist developed and worked. In 1850, Hosmer had anonymously published a pamphlet poem entitled *Boston and Boston People in 1850*, which

specifically references the Perseus and Medusa myth.¹⁰¹ This very much pre-dates Carr's marriage, as well as Hosmer's time in Rome. It demonstrates her easy familiarity with the material, using it casually in a satirical poem about Boston. The poem also refers to the author's disdain for the state of married women and an avowed preference for single ladies, but the reference to Perseus and Medusa is in the context of criticizing wealthy women who disdain working-class men who sweep streets but inadvertently perform the same actions with their brocaded skirts.¹⁰² If, as is most commonly stated, Hosmer's *Medusa* is primarily related to her lack of interest in, distaste for, or fear of marriage, or an unconscious self-affiliation with a stereotyped "mannish woman," this would probably have shown itself in the early published work. Instead, the poem shows that Hosmer's familiarity with and use of the material was clearly more nuanced than a one-for-one affinity with the myths.

It is useful to consider some of the twentieth-century uses of the Medusa myth, to understand why scholarship about Hosmer's Medusa in particular, but also the myth-image of the Gorgon in general, has yet to be considered in a productive critical manner. It is the prominence of these twentieth-century readings that have prevented a historically-minded investigation of the position of the Gorgon in the nineteenth century that would shed real light on the object at hand, in its conception, construction, and context. These readings are partly responsible for the hyper-focus on biography and the consequential failure to consider the formal elements of the *Medusa* and *Daphne*: Freudian psychoanalytic readings and the literary-biographic exhortation of Hélène Cixous.¹⁰³ It is practically impossible to talk about Medusa in the twentieth- and twenty-first centuries without talking

¹⁰¹ Hosmer, Harriet Goodhue, 1830–1908. Additional papers, 1848–1915. Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America.

¹⁰² Harriet Hosmer, "Boston," 17. For a fuller discussion of "Boston and Boston People," see Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer*, 14. Hosmer's involvement is not entirely established. She is usually given sole credit because no other names have been attached to it, but while she denied being a main contributor, at least one person involved in its publication claims that she had a larger hand in it than she admitted to.

¹⁰³ Dabakis, *Sisterhood*, 51.

about Freud's posthumously published 1922 "Medusa's Head" and Sandor Ferenczi's 1923 "On the Symbolism of the Head of Medusa."¹⁰⁴ In the words of David Leeming, "the Medusa figure gained a new set of clothes, clothes that would have confused Hesiod, Homer, and Apollodorus and horrified the painters and poets of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Romantic Age."¹⁰⁵ Both psychoanalysts conflate Medusa's decapitation with the male fear of castration and the apotropaic function of multiple penises as a deflection of the castration risk. Freud in particular doubles down on this deflection:

It is a remarkable fact that, however frightening they may be in themselves, they nevertheless serve actually as a mitigation of the horror, for they replace the penis, the absence of which is the cause of the horror. This is a confirmation of the technical rule according to which a multiplication of penis symbols signifies castration.

This sight of Medusa's head makes the spectator stiff with terror, turns him to stone. Observe that we have here once again the same origin from the castration complex and the same transformation of affect! For becoming stiff means an erection. Thus in the original situation it offers consolation to the spectator: he is still in possession of a penis, and the stiffening reassures him of the fact.¹⁰⁶

The severed neck becomes the mother's genitals, the terrifying site/sight of both the bleeding, damaged dismembered phallus and of normal female genitalia. This is so horrifying to the male viewer (to Freud and Ferenczi, at least) that the Medusa head becomes an apotropaic device when turned on other male viewers; thus, by placing the decapitated-castrated head on Athena's breastplate, she "displays the terrifying genitals of the Mother" and becomes "a being who frightens and repels because she is castrated." Athena, being a female, is terrifying enough by being visually castrated (not that

¹⁰⁴ Sandor Ferenczi, trans. Jane Isabel Suttie, "On the Symbolism of the Head of Medusa," *Further Contributions to the Theory and Technique of Psycho-analysis* (London: Hogarth Press, 1926) 360.

¹⁰⁵ David Leeming, *Medusa in the Mirror of Time* (London: Reaktion Books LTD, 2013), 57.

¹⁰⁶ Sigmund Freud, *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love* (New York: Collier, 1968), 212–213.

anyone ever sees her naked) and then compounds this by wearing the gorgon's head: "And rightly so, for thus she becomes a woman who is unapproachable and repels all sexual desire."¹⁰⁷

What can be taken from this mass of writhing phallic anxiety? Can we cut through the Gordian (Gorgonian?) knot of Freud and Ferenczi, and later Lacan's, concern over castration and their projection onto Perseus? It is difficult to see how Freud's and Ferenczi's writings, with their refusal to acknowledge any elements of the Gorgon beyond its decapitation and insistence on waving its disembodied head-penis in everyone's faces, gained such traction that it continues to be cited in 2014 with nary a qualifier. It is not only the focus on male genitalia and fear that causes problems with interpretations of the myth and Medusa as a critical figure. There are also substantive misunderstandings- both honest, and wilful- that contribute to unproductive readings. Cixous's influential feminist exhortation to women to "write her self," *The Laugh of the Medusa*,¹⁰⁸ positions itself against a dominant male tradition of writing women as "a dark continent" and confined by a "libidinal economy" as much as it demands acknowledgement of the infinite variety of women's lived experiences, personalities, desires, and creative output. The call to acknowledgement of those difference between women, rather than defining each other on a man's terms or in terms of a masculine history is, of course, vitally important, but Cixous's discussion of Medusa takes up one whole paragraph, and is preceded by a declaration that "the Sirens were men."¹⁰⁹ The Sirens have never been men. While the idea that it has been men calling men to their own ideological destruction is a neat rhetorical trick, this kind of wilful misstatement or misreading of art history, mythic history, and archaeology does feminist scholarship no favours.

¹⁰⁷ For more on using psychoanalysis to read the classics, see Page Dubois, *Sowing the Body: Psychoanalysis and Ancient Representations of Women* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

¹⁰⁸ Hélène Cixous, trans. Keith Cohen and Paula Cohen, "The Laugh of the Medusa," *Signs* 1, no. 4 (Summer, 1976), 875-893, originally published as "Le Rire de la Méduse," *L'Arc* (1975), 39-54.

¹⁰⁹ Cixous, "Laugh," 885.

These texts are key points in the problematic readings of Hosmer's *Medusa*. The continued reliance on them is, in part, the fault of scholarship that has failed to provide a new and meaningful way of reading the Medusa myth. When looking for modern interpretative models through which to read the image itself, scholarship is left with Freud and Cixous, or the wishful thinking of matriarchal pseudohistory.¹¹⁰ The forced reliance on psychoanalysis on one hand and the early feminist project of reinserting oneself or one's subject into the canon on the other appears to have prevented scholarship, after the seventies, from seriously considering either the object itself or the available literary and visual material from which the artist may have been working. William Gerdt's 1978 "The Medusa of Harriet Hosmer" is the only extended examination of the work itself and the available visual and literary sources from which Hosmer might have been working.¹¹¹ Indeed, many of his points are ones which I will be taking as starting points and expanding upon, because while he notes clear parallels between the Lysippan Alexander portraits, for example, and the obvious relationship between Hosmer's *Medusa* and that of Bernini, he doesn't take these to the fullest conclusion and dig into the whys and hows of these comparisons.

To set the scene for these sculptures, I'll briefly outline the textual source from which Hosmer was working, namely, the Ovidian retellings of these stories and touch upon, especially, the development of the Medusa myth. In doing so, I problematize the twentieth-century formulations of Medusa in particular as wishful thinking or wilful misinterpretations that have shaped the scholarly dialogue around Hosmer's *Medusa* in ways which have prevented the type of scholarship that I am now producing. There are many versions of the Gorgon Medusa myth in text and numerous vase paintings,

¹¹⁰ For the worst examples of this kind of thinking, see Susan Bowers, "Medusa and the Female Gaze," *NWSA Journal* 2, No. 2 (Spring, 1990), 217–235. For the counterargument on why this feminist mythmaking is detrimental to scholarship and to society, see work by Cynthia Eller, especially *Gentlemen and Amazons: The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory, 1861–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

¹¹¹ William Gerdt, "The Medusa of Harriet Hosmer," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 56, No. 2, 1978, 96–107.

architectural elements, and sculptural details which represent the Medusa. The two most important for this chapter are Pindar and Ovid. Pindar's Twelfth Pythian Ode, a victory ode for the winner of the *aulos* (pipe or flute) competition at the Pythian Games in 490 BCE, functions partially as an aetiology for the instrument in question.¹¹² It also underscores a point to which I will return, the association of Athena, Medusa, and female creativity/creation. After Perseus finishes "severing the head of beautiful-cheeked Medusa" (16), Athena composes "a melody with every sound for pipes/ so that she might imitate with instruments the echoing wail/ that was forced from the gnashing jaws of Euryale." (19–21) Pindar gives the Gorgons "unapproachable snaky heads" and Medusa beautiful cheeks. This is frequently taken to be the beginning of the trope of the "beautiful Medusa" as opposed to the monstrous Gorgon, although I agree with Stephen R. Wilk that it is questionable to ascribe an entire sea-change in image-making to a single line in a single poem.¹¹³ Only vaguely alluded to is the power of Medusa's head, which Perseus used to bring "doom to the wave-washed Seriphos and its peoples." (12)

It is in Ovid, however, that the most well-known variations on Medusa's narrative make themselves known. Ovid is largely responsible for cementing and popularizing the origin of Medusa's snaky hair: Poseidon ravished (or seduced, depending on the translation) her within the precinct of Athena's temple, causing Athena to punish Medusa by changing her hair to snakes and making her monstrous. This also encompasses Apollodorus' version wherein Medusa's beauty makes her too bold and she foolishly sets herself above Athena. The Medusa narrative in Ovid takes place at the end of Book IV, following Perseus' battle with the sea serpent for Andromeda. He tells of

¹¹² Pindar, *Olympian Odes. Pythian Odes*, trans. William H. Race (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 376–381.

¹¹³ Stephen Wilk, *Medusa: Solving the Mystery of the Gorgon* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2000), 42. At issue also is that "beautiful-cheeked" can be translated "broad-cheeked," which would seem to relate more to the pot-Gorgon style of early Gorgon images.

approaching Medusa's cave, the path lined with the stony figures of her previous victims:

Throughout my march, in man and beast I trace
The marble mischiefs of Medusa's face
Some line with stone the road, and some the field.¹¹⁴

Perseus, armed to the teeth with the favours of Athena and Hermes—brazen shield, invisibility cap, and winged sandals—guards his gaze against the face of the Gorgon, lest he join the marble memorials strewn across the countryside. Sighting his victim in the reflection of his shield, he takes his hooked sword and “sever'd with a backward stroke her head,” freeing in the action Pegasus and Chrysaor. He goes on to explain to a “curious noble” that Medusa had once been snakeless:

'Tis said the lawless ruler of the main
O'erpower'd the virgin at Minerva's fane.
Pallas her ample aegis rais'd to screen
Her blushing face, averted from the scene:
And in revenge, bade serpent tresses spread
In livid ringlets round Medusa's head.¹¹⁵

The Daphne myth is not immediately adjacent to that of Perseus and Medusa in the *Metamorphoses*, and is not connected through similar characters, scenes, or contiguous narrative. It takes place in Book I, with Apollo and Cupid as the instigators of the action. Apollo, boasting about his prowess with arms and general mightiness, irritates Cupid into shooting him with a golden arrow to inflame his lust for Daphne—who he has shot in turn with a deadening lead arrow. Apollo chases poor Daphne through the Attic woodlands, shouting after her about how great he is, and doesn't she know who his father is! Even if she hadn't already declared that she was avoiding the chains of matrimony, and hadn't been further made immune to his manly charms, it's hard to imagine anyone actually being charmed into a casual

¹¹⁴ Ovid, translated by Thomas Orger, *Metamorphoses* (London: John Miller, 1814), 168.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 169.

woodland shag by being chased and screamed at by a complete—and probably completely naked—stranger. She prays to her father, the river god Peneus, to be saved from this raving pervert chasing her through the forest, shouting about his healing fingers and how swift his... dart... is. In the moment of greatest narrative tension, Daphne is overcome:

A listless torpor spread her limbs around;
 Beneath light bark her tender bosom heaves,
 Her arms expand in boughs, her hair in leaves,
 The feet which once outvied the hunter's toil,
 Distend in roots, and clasp th'inserted soil;
 Her blooming face no more remains behind;
 Yet still her beauty animates the rind.¹¹⁶

Apollo, finally catching up to her, is very sad: he embraces her now-barky figure and tries to have a bit of a snog—apparently Cupid's dart overpowers any concerns about chafing. Even as an immobile tree, Daphne rejects him—“the swerving bark declines the proffer'd bliss”¹¹⁷—and in perverse homage, Apollo decides to wear her limbs as a crown.

In both of these myths, the female victims are given little voice; Daphne has more to say for herself than Medusa, who has no spoken lines. In Medusa's tale, it is Minerva as much as Perseus or Neptune who victimizes her, giving her the monstrous visage which isolates her and which ultimately leads to her death. Daphne is abandoned by Diana, whose virgin, wild lifestyle she has sworn to emulate. They are transfigured either into the material of sculpture—wood, in the case of Daphne—or into the producer of sculpture—Medusa's marmorealizing mien. Hosmer must have been familiar enough with both the *Metamorphoses* as a whole and the visual traditions of both narratives, across media, to select these two as a coherent unit. By way of emphasis, it is worth noting that the myths leading up to the Perseus episode are Juno transforming the Theban women into birds, then Cadmus and Harmonia, the former involving the transformation of women by a goddess and the latter snakes,

¹¹⁶ Ovid, trans. Orger, *Metamorphoses*, 34.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 35.

thus both thematically related to Medusa. Closely following the Medusa episode, the Muse Calliope sings of the rape of Proserpina, again thematically relevant, and in close proximity. By noting this, it becomes clear that the underlying principle of the Daphne and Medusa pair was not sexual assault or female victimization, but the sculptural themes—and ones which could be associated with the *bête noir* of nineteenth-century taste, Bernini.

BOGS AND POOLS:

BERNINI, WINCKELMANN, AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Bernini was object lesson number one for nineteenth-century sculptors in what not to do. Though by far the most prominent sculptor in Italy after the Renaissance, influencing sculptors through his own period and to a lesser extent into the middle eighteenth century,¹¹⁸ by the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth century he had fallen not only out of fashion but was often the subject of harsh commentary in art historical and critical texts. Winckelmann, unsurprisingly, was one of the leaders of the charge against Bernini: not only was he a “bad sculptor” but he led his fellows into “bogs and pools” and introduced into sculpture “a corruption,”¹¹⁹ a charge which would be repeated through the nineteenth century. Sir Richard Westmacott would famously declare that it “would have been better for sculpture if Bernini had never lived,”¹²⁰ while in the *Lectures on Sculpture* John Flaxman described Bernini as having

respectable talents. ... And had he continued to select and study nature with diligence, he might have been a most valuable artist; but sudden success prevented him and he never improved. ... The attitudes of his figures are much twisted, the heads turned with a meretricious grace, the countenances

¹¹⁸ Livio Pestilli, “On Bernini’s Reputed Unpopularity in Late Baroque Rome,” *Artibus et Historiae* 32 no. 63 (2011), 119–142. Pestilli discusses the downward slide of Bernini’s reputation as seen in both literary and in artistic contexts, namely through the use of Bernini’s works as exercises and exams in the Roman academy.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 139; Winckelmann, trans. Malgrave, *History*, 240.

¹²⁰ Richard Westmacott, *Handbook of Sculpture, Ancient and Modern* (Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1864), 314.

simper affectedly or are deformed by low passions; the poor and vulgar limbs and bodies are loaded with draperies of such protruding or flying folds as equally expose the unskilfulness of the artist and the solidity of the material on which he worked.

Thus the Pope [Urban VIII] and the Sculptor carried all before them, in their time, and sent out a baleful influence, which corrupted public taste for upwards of one hundred years afterwards.¹²¹

The skill with which Bernini worked the marble was never questioned, and certain works were excluded from the condemnations, but overall Bernini's work was decried as corrupting, in poor taste, and denying not only the supremacy of the ancient works but "subverting art and nature equally in his works."¹²²

But Bernini was inescapable in Rome in the nineteenth century, no matter how badly Winckelmann might have wished that Rome and Romans would throw off the shackles of bad taste that kept them appreciating Bernini and his apparent disdain for the principles of the ancients. His mark is on the architecture and décor of major churches, and the Villa Borghese was open to visitors in a similar disposition to how we see it today by the middle nineteenth century, following the return of many of the works from France. The *Apollo and Daphne* was positioned in the middle of the *Stanza di Apollo e Dafne* by the end of the eighteenth century, as documented in drawings by Charles Percier.¹²³ Though originally intended for a position against a wall with a single frontal approach, it had been drawn into the centre of the room and the pedestal reworked for the new position in 1785.¹²⁴ The work is even singled out in Emil Braun's 1855 *Handbook for the Ruins and Museums of Rome*,¹²⁵

¹²¹ John Flaxman and Richard Westmacott, *The Lectures on Sculpture*, 2nd Edition (Henry G. Bohn, 1838), 278–80.

¹²² Flaxman and Westmacott, *Lectures*, 287.

¹²³ Alvar González-Palacios, "The Stanza di Apollo e Dafne in the Villa Borghese," *The Burlington Magazine* 137 no 1109 (August 1995), 534, figs. 66–7. There were some changes in the arrangement; at a point in the 1850s the *Apollo and Daphne* was moved to the terrace and possibly put in a corner, but it was still in the building.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 536.

¹²⁵ Emil Braun, *Handbook for the Ruins and Museums of Rome* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1855), 328–9.

though he misattributed the work to an unknown Roman period— he even describes the head and arms as restorations. Braun characterized the work as “[not] unpoetical” and “whimsical,” though having a “rude, material manner,” which are in line with the descriptions of the *Apollo and Daphne* that acknowledge Bernini as the sculptor. This misattribution, though surprising today, is not in fact unheard of, considering that at least one of the Bernini sculptures in the Borghese had lost its attribution by the middle of the eighteenth century, and a second in the nineteenth century—despite never having left the building.¹²⁶

The nineteenth-century criticisms of the *Apollo and Daphne* (and Bernini in general) were consistent: “if justly criticized as mannered and wanting in truth it is admired for the perfection of the work,”¹²⁷ or “actually, I do not think he could better express the instant of metamorphosis, but there is no concept of sublimity: the shapes and the moves are vulgar, not conventional for a god: and while on the one hand you can admire the mechanical art, on the other you deplore the lack of taste.”¹²⁸ Another text calls his work “not the creations of inspiration, but of a heated jejeune fantasy,” the *Apollo and Daphne* “equally destitute of natural truth and artistic inspiration,” and his lasting impact on sculpture the introduction of “a tasteless, unnatural, affected style, which robbed it of all its sublimity and its charms.”¹²⁹ The straightforward “prince of degenerate sculpture” is an appellation that needs no elaboration, though, unsurprisingly, the author provides quite a bit of it.¹³⁰ A comparatively neutral statement, from *Sculpture and the Plastic Art*

¹²⁶ Palacios, “The Stanza di Apollo,” 539; Preimesberger, *Paragons*, 54–5.

¹²⁷ Mariano Vasi, *Itinerario istruttivo di Roma. New Guide of Rome and the Environs*, 3rd Edition (Rome: L. Piale, 1847), 253.

¹²⁸ Antonio Nibby, *Monumenti scelti della Villa Borghese* (Rome, 1832), 83. “A dire il vero non credo che meglio potesse esprimersi l’istante della metamorfosi, ma non v’è sublimità di concetto: la forme e le mosse sono volgari, non convenienti ad un nume: e mentre da un canto si ammira il meccanismo dell’arte, dall’altro deplorasi la mancanza del gusto.” Translation by author.

¹²⁹ Johann Georg Heck, *Iconographic Encyclopaedia of Science, Literature, and Art*, Volume 4 (New York: R. Garrigue, 1852), 54–55.

¹³⁰ “The Crystal Palace,” *The Quarterly Review* no. CXCII, March 1855 (London: John Murray, 1855), 336.

(published in Boston in 1850, and thus readily available to Hosmer before her departure to Rome) is perhaps the best evidence for why Westmacott declared that it would have been better for Bernini to have never lived:

He was endowed by nature with all the qualities requisite for becoming one of the greatest modern sculptors—genius, imagination, ambition to excel, unceasing industry, and great powers of execution. ‘But it would be difficult to conceive,’ says the historian of this period, ‘two styles more opposed to each other than that adopted by the sculptors of this age, and that of the great artists of antiquity. In one, the pervading principle was simplicity and expression, united with beautiful and appropriate form; in the other, simplicity was of all things most studiously avoided, and every means of startling attitude, voluminous draperies, and complicated arrangement in composition, were employed to strike, to dazzle, and to surprise.’¹³¹

Bernini’s reputation as a precocious, masterfully talented but ultimately tasteless or corrupt artist suggests why Hosmer positioned him as the main opponent in her transhistoric *paragone*, rather than Canova, who may seem on the surface to be a more obvious choice given the direct chain of influence between Canova and Hosmer via Gibson. Bernini’s *Apollo and Daphne* was an early work, with authors in the nineteenth century giving his age as eighteen when he produced it, though current scholarship places it closer to twenty-four or twenty-five. Hosmer, eager to display her own technical skill and her good taste, reclaimed subjects from Bernini and refashioned them through the application of Winckelmannian precepts. By doing so, she set herself and her personal style in direct competition with the precocious bogeyman of sculpture—claiming the mantle for herself of a sculptural wunderkind. The Capitoline *Head of Medusa*,¹³² though not an early work by Bernini, was

¹³¹ T.C., *Sculpture, and the Plastic Art* (J. Jewett, 1850), 165.

¹³² Relevant Bernini literature includes Elena Di Gioia, *La Medusa di Gian Lorenzo Bernini: Studi e Restauri* (Rome: Campisano, 2007); Avigdor W. G. Posèq, “On Physiognomic Communication in Bernini,” *Artibus et Historiae* 27, No. 54 (2006), 161–190; Paul Barolsky, “Ovid, Bernini, and the Art of Petrification,” *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics*, Third Series, 13, No. 2 (Fall, 2005), 149–162; Andrea Bolland, “Desiderio and Diletto: Vision, Touch, and the Poetics of Bernini’s Apollo

nonetheless a display of virtuosic carving and emotional affect; like Hosmer's *Daphne* and *Medusa*, Bernini's works show the variations possible within an artist's oeuvre even when working in the same medium and from the same source material. Furthermore, despite the low critical opinion of Bernini's taste, no one questioned his technical brilliance in producing sculpture. It is not hard to believe that it was the level of his material proficiency that led to the excoriating commentary, because he was seen to have not only wasted his own talent on vulgarities and degradations of art but dragged others down with him. Winckelmann decried Bernini as having corrupted art by "a vulgar flattery of the coarse and uncultivated, in attempting to render everything more intelligible to them," while his nineteenth-century translator is at pains to explain that Winckelmann isn't being unjustly harsh, or comparing them to the pinnacles of modern art, but measuring them against the "highest idea of beautiful form derived from the best examples of antiquity."¹³³ That is, however, a self-contradictory statement, as the best examples of antiquity were also the models for the pinnacles of modern art from Winckelmann's time well through Hosmer's.

Winckelmann's writings on art, form, and taste form the basis for what is now called neoclassical sculpture. Winckelmann did not ordain that a good statue should be static or lifeless, though it might be argued that *bad* neoclassical works might come across that way;¹³⁴ the serenity and self-containment of the best Greek sculptures should be balanced with the finest modelling and refined contours, without jarring or incoherent, undignified gesture or forms. The "undermined" form or lack of definition of forms created a unity within the work which could consume the viewer, rather than getting

and Daphne," *The Art Bulletin* 82, No. 2 (June, 2000), 309–330; Rudolf Wittkower, *Bernini: the Sculptor of the Roman Baroque* (London: Phaidon, 1956, ed. 1997); Domenico Bernini, translated by Franco Mormando, *The life of Gian Lorenzo Bernini* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011); Robert Torsten Petersson, *Bernini and the Excesses of Art* (New York: Fordham Univ Press, 2002).

¹³³ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, trans. Giles Lodge, *The History of Ancient Art*, 2 (Boston: James Monroe & Co., 1849), 210, n. 2.

¹³⁴ See also, Sir Joshua Reynolds, "Discourse X," *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, vol. 1 (London: T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, 1797) 201–218.

bogged down in dramatic detail and flailing limbs. The contours of a work of art, like the Belvedere torso, should resemble the surface of the ocean:

Just as, when the sea is rising, a previously still surface transforms itself, in misty turbulence, into playful waves, as each wave is swallowed up by another and then surges forth again: in just this fashion, softly swollen and hovering, one muscle here ripples into another, and a third, rising up between them and apparently strengthening their motion, is lost in the first two, and our gaze is engulfed with it.¹³⁵

Rather than understanding this as a call for constant roiling and writhing musculature, it is read as describing the imperceptibility of change between surface contours and the perception of the internal workings of the body—muscles and spirit. Catriona MacLeod continues to cite Winckelmann in relation to the Torso:

Let the artist admire in the contours of this body the continuous flow of one form into another, and the hovering lines that rise and fall like waves and are engulfed in one another: he will find that no one can be certain of reproducing this accurately in a drawing since the curve he believes himself to be following himself to be following imperceptibly changes direction, and bewilders both eye and hand with its new trajectory.¹³⁶

Bernini's apparent disavowal of those principles described as being characteristic of the ancients was a key factor in why he came in for the excoriations that he did in the nineteenth century, but there are noteworthy comparisons to be made between the relevant Bernini works and sculptures from the ancient world. This further implicates the readings of not only

¹³⁵ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity*, 1:229, quoted in Catriona MacLeod, "The 'Third Sex' in an Age of Difference: Androgyny and Homosexuality in Winckelmann, Friedrich Schlegel, and Kleist," in *Outing Goethe & His Age*, ed. Alice A. Kuzniar (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 199; for other translations, Thos. Davidson, "Winckelmann's Description of the Torso of the Hercules of Belvedere in Rome," *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 2, No. 3 (1868), 188; Catriona MacLeod, *Embodying Ambiguity: Androgyny and Aesthetics from Winckelmann to Keller* (Wayne State University Press, 1998), 36–37; Alex Potts, "Introduction," in Winckelmann, trans. Malgrave, *Art of Antiquity*, 34; Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 170.

¹³⁶ Winckelmann, in MacLeod, "Third Sex," 199–200.

Winckelmann's criticisms of Bernini, but also the different modes of classicism Hosmer utilized for the *Daphne* and the *Medusa*: namely, Winckelmann's differentiation between the high and the beautiful.¹³⁷ While Bernini's works do not fall into these categories, it is clear that there was an affective difference between the two pieces that goes beyond the scale of the works (bust versus group) and the modes of approach and axis (at eye level, from a primarily frontal view point without access to the rear, versus raised on a pedestal, in the centre of the room, with access to all sides not just available but encouraged by its positioning). And further, while Bernini's work cannot have been aspiring to the Winckelmannian categories of the high and the beautiful, as the foundational text wouldn't be written for nearly 90 years after his death, elements in the two works can be seen as paralleling or prefiguring some of Winckelmann's ideas: the serenity of Apollo's expression in the face of a dramatic and shocking transformation, like that of the *Niobe* held out by Winckelmann later as a prime example of the high form in sculpture but also the Apollo Belvedere, versus the pathetic, emotive expression of the *Medusa* and the swirling effect of the serpents, echoing the most famous example of the beautiful, the *Laocoön*.

As Potts sets out in *Flesh and the Ideal*, Winckelmann's schema of the high and the beautiful modes in art, as fundamentally different but not unequal or incompatible, was more successful in the long term and more convincing than his overarching chronology/narrative of a teleological rise and fall: "This is partly because the duality between high and beautiful involves a paradigm of difference no longer exclusively defined by models of progressive rise and decline. He grounded the stylistic difference between the high and the beautiful mode in an understanding of *how ideas might be conveyed differently through different rhetorical modes* [emphasis mine] in which the image of an 'ideal' human figure might be represented."¹³⁸ These rhetorical modes allow for comparative discussions of affect and style that are not necessarily tied to

¹³⁷ Potts, *Flesh*, 67–8.

¹³⁸ Potts, *Flesh*, 68.

chronological or developmental periods or progressions, or even to related subjects or media. Though in Winckelmann's construction the rhetorical modes do parallel broad historical strokes—the high relating to Classical Greek sculpture, and the beautiful with Hellenistic (or begrudgingly Roman)—they also create space for ancient works that reference earlier styles or periods, such as archaizing works or late copies or loose interpretations, as well as for postclassical works in which an attempt has been made to fit into a classical schema. By this I do not mean works which are generally considered neoclassical or inspired by the ancients, but works in which the artist seems to be drawing specific and sustained connections to antique art or culture, or a concern for the rhetorical use of an 'ideal' human body. The high mode "suggests the presence of an immaterial idea through a comparative absence of sensual refinement of form," which in practice requires more of the viewer's intellectual and emotional energy to tap into, unlike the beautiful, which is "characterized by a fullness of sensuality and grace, which is more immediately attractive, but can only evoke such an idea at one remove."¹³⁹

The perceptible visual distinctions between the high and the beautiful, beyond theoretical and rhetorical considerations, are not hard-and-fast distinctions between two separate schools or chronological styles, but are primarily differences of effect brought about by the overall aesthetic of a finished work of art. Winckelmann's texts only refer to a small number of works that are the epitomes of his rhetorical modes, in part because of the impossibility of a truly high work of art. Furthermore, Winckelmann's construction is inherently gendered, though this is a factor which will not be discussed here; this has been handled in scholarship before, especially as it pertains to the question of Winckelmann's sexuality, and is less important to these works than other considerations—not the least because both of these are female subjects and I am rejecting the conflation of Medusa imagery and the "masculine woman" drawn from Freud and from later twentieth-century

¹³⁹ Potts, *Flesh*, 68.

feminist critique.¹⁴⁰ The high style is the “theoretical essence of the Greek ideal” but the material presence and the corruption or failure of the human artist corrupts this essence— it is “too rigorously pure to be imagined easily as an empirical phenomenon,”¹⁴¹ while the beautiful style needs to be separated from the merely visually pleasing work of art.

The high style at one end of the spectrum is formally characterized by a hardness of contour and a lesser degree of modulation and softness in form, as well as a sublimation of the extremes of human emotion: the exemplar of Winckelmann is the *Niobe*, where the narrative’s horror is suppressed: “in her, feeling is numbed and stifled and the presence of death takes from the mind all capacity to think,”¹⁴² or in Potts’ terms, “the Niobe, achieves its austere intensity through an almost death-like obliteration of signs of feeling, which elevates its expression to the realm of inhuman beauty.”¹⁴³ The hardness, “which can be felt more than it can be described,” is contrasted with the grace, “which would have achieved more roundness and softness.”¹⁴⁴ Finally, Winckelmann’s construction of the high style is a positive reading of what might be otherwise seen as archaic failings or lack of naturalism: the hardness and austerity are positioned as an aesthetic choice emphasizing the spirituality of the subject and denies the sensuality and potentially corrupting refinements of mere physical beauty.

By contrast, the beautiful style is primarily characterized by a gracefulness of contour, and by the sensuality of a perfected human physicality. This is distinct from the desirability of the human body, though the idealized human form was a necessity of the beautiful style, and the works Winckelmann in particular refers to as the pinnacles of the beautiful style are nudes (and mostly male), like the *Laocoön* (Fig. 31) and the *Apollo Sauroktonos* (Fig. 32), the sinuous contours of which Potts equates back to Winckelmann’s

¹⁴⁰ Dabakis, *Sisterhood*, 51.

¹⁴¹ Potts, *Flesh*, 69.

¹⁴² Winckelmann, trans. Malgrave, *Art of Antiquity*, 206.

¹⁴³ Potts, *Flesh*, 82.

¹⁴⁴ Winckelmann, trans. Malgrave, *Art of Antiquity*, 233.

preoccupation with waves.¹⁴⁵ The beautiful is fundamentally attractive, but the elevated idea or spiritual movement of the work can only be reached at a remove, because the physical beauty and immediacy of the human subject separates the viewer from the Platonic idea. The high style's austere perfection is further distinguished from the beautiful's physical desirability by the cultivation of "pure harmony and grandeur" over "the charming," while works in the beautiful style may show a greater range of emotional expressions and a wider variety of pose and gesture. Works in the beautiful style "exhibit the varied modulations of natural form and dwell in the realm of the plurality of nature."¹⁴⁶ While the high style is the abstraction of ideal forms, which have distilled out the impurities, fleeting vagaries of expression, and variations of humanity, the beautiful elevates the physicality and expressions of humanity's experiences without suppressing the emotional content.

As has been previously described, one of the major criticisms of Bernini's work was the overwrought expressions of human emotion and the appearance of novelty for the sake of novelty. While Winckelmann's beautiful style did allow for a wider range of expression, emotion, and varieties of poses, Bernini appears to have taken everything too far—too expressive, too varied, too emotional—and broken the mores of decorum and grace that the major schools of thought on either side of his period had required in art. The neoclassicisms of both the Renaissance and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries called for formal restraint and self-containment, while Bernini's grandiose drama intentionally violated what might be seen as the fourth wall of art, frequently confusing pictorial space by the use of mixed media and high degrees of variation in surface finish for dramatic effect. His works often interceded in the viewer's physical space by overreaching the boundaries of the plinth or seeming to reject the material restrictions of marble through virtuosic, gravity defying carving and spiralling compositions that—though not the artist's intentions—by the middle eighteenth century practically

¹⁴⁵ Potts, *Flesh*, 91–2.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 69.

required circumambulation to take in fully. See, for example Bernini's monument to Pope Alexander VII in Saint Peter's (Fig. 33), which exemplifies all of these conditions except circumambulation—but which projects dramatically into the viewer's space and is penetrable through the pre-existing door over which his polychrome and metal arrangement swirls.¹⁴⁷ Many of his works in the Galleria Borghese exhibited the range of “vulgar” emotions and low conformations of human forms. His *David*, unlike Michelangelo's, displays the physical exertion of throwing and his brow is clenched in anger, his lip bitten in effort and consternation; it was described by Chandler Rathfon Post as “an example of the agitation of the Baroque. . . The hero of the Old Testament is represented at the evanescent instant of extreme activity, facial contraction, and muscular strain.”¹⁴⁸

Bernini's imposition on and inescapability in public spaces, often again allowing circumambulation and interaction from a variety of angles, can be seen in the Piazza San Pietro and Piazza Navona, but also in Hosmer's stomping ground of Spagna, meaning she was confronted with Berninis even on her way to chat with Gibson. The Fontana della Barcaccia in the Piazza di Spagna, built by Gianlorenzo and his father Pietro, is invaded—rather than invades—the viewer's space by its interactive nature (and its proximity to Hosmer's daily life in Rome, given her home address on the Via Gregoriana and her studio spaces on Via Margutta and Via Babuino, across the piazza.) Today, using this fountain involves stepping into it and drinking or filling a bottle from the streams off the prow of the ship (Fig. 34). It is not difficult to imagine Hosmer striding purposefully past the Barcaccia to and from the studio and watching the models from the Spanish Steps doing exactly the same thing, perhaps drinking from cupped hands, or a domestic servant filling a jar for the home in an ancient practice.

¹⁴⁷ Wittkower, *Bernini*, 260.

¹⁴⁸ Chandler Rathfon Post, *A history of European and American sculpture: from the early Christian period to the present day*, 2 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921), Vol 2, 7.

Winckelmann's schema cannot be mapped onto Bernini's work because the pieces in question were produced with wildly different formal and ideological concerns in mind, but the practice of engaging with the works on their own contextual terms and judging them against those terms was not part of Winckelmann's art historical agenda, an agenda passed down to Hosmer and the critics of her generation. By using Winckelmann's schema (any of his schemas) as the gold standard against which all art was to be judged, critics had set Bernini up to fail. However, by doing so, Hosmer set herself up to win, and to align herself with not only Winckelmann and Gibson but antiquity. It was necessary to ignore that Bernini wrote about studying the ancients, especially the Belvedere Antinous and the Belvedere Torso, and that the proof is in the *putti* that he absorbed those lessons—but it was the later antique, the Hellenistic and the Roman, that he openly studied, rather than paying lip service to Lysippus and Praxiteles. Instead, by declaiming against Bernini—and the antique works which might be seen as Bernini-esque, as Hosmer did about the Farnese Hercules¹⁴⁹—it was possible to construct an antagonistic *paragone* with the long-dead and an entirely different discursive mode of sculpture. Bernini's failures became Hosmer's ammunition against him.

HIGH, BEAUTIFUL, HOSMERIAN: STYLE AND ORIGINALITY

This perceived failure may have been a major factor in Hosmer's choice of subjects to reclaim from Bernini and ostensibly rehabilitate. As shown at the beginning of this chapter, the myths Hosmer chose to work with were likely not chosen simply because they revolved around victimized women or women who did not want to get married. There are too many ancient myths with those factors and many with established visual traditions in the nineteenth century for that to be the full explanation, even factoring in the need for originality in subject and form. The sculptural resonances are a substantial factor in both myths, which most likely contributed to her choice.

¹⁴⁹ Carr, *Harriet Hosmer*, 75.

Furthermore, in relation to *Medusa*, it is clear that Hosmer had engaged with the myth in her poem “Boston and Boston People in 1850,” so she was certainly aware of more interesting interpretations of Medusa. Adelaide Sartoris would later write a short story titled “Medusa,” which though not mythic shows the flexibility of the myth/motif in the erudite circles Hosmer moved in—making it clear that a surface reading of the myth is reductive and unproductive. The continued popularity of the 1824 Shelley poem “On the Medusa of Leonardo da Vinci” has also been suggested as an influence,¹⁵⁰ and must be considered as part of a visual-textual network of Medusan imagery, but its actual impact on the formal qualities of Hosmer’s work itself seems to be minimal to non-existent. Finally, though Canova’s work *Perseus with the Head of Medusa* (Fig. 35) is a key point in the network, and a greater factor than the Shelley poem or the psychoanalytic-biographic elements that scholarship has privileged, Canova did not model an image of Daphne *and* an image of Medusa, which would only allow for a partial *paragone* between his work and Hosmer’s. That is not at all to say that Hosmer was not comparing herself to, or affiliating herself with, Canova and his work: many of the conditions of proximity and access, as part of constructing a *paragone* but also just as part of the experience of viewing sculpture as an educated nineteenth-century consumer, are the same and equally informative.

But of the major sculptors against which she might measure herself in concrete terms, only Bernini sculpted both a *Medusa* and a *Daphne*. Hosmer could therefore set her work explicitly against the backdrop of Bernini’s artistic and moral failures, simultaneously displaying her own superior grasp of the Winckelmannian rhetoric of form, and rescuing these subjects from the ignominy of being principally affiliated with the Prince of Degenerate Sculpture. She could also clearly signal her originality, as the subjects were uncommon—unseen—in Anglo-American nineteenth-century sculpture, and her negotiations between antiquity, Baroque, and modern forms fit tidily into

¹⁵⁰ Percy Bysshe Shelley, ed. Mary W. Shelley, “On the Medusa of Leonardo da Vinci,” *Posthumous Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London: John and Henry L. Hunt, 1824).

the definitions of originality set out only a few years prior. I also want to reinforce here that the pair of Daphne and Medusa suggest an underlying theme of sculpture, rather than ravaged women. I discussed in the beginning of this chapter that one of the myths Hosmer could have chosen was Proserpina, and it is worth noting here that Bernini also created an image of her, held in the Galleria Borghese. But, like other narratives from the *Metamorphoses* which might have been considered, Proserpina is not a myth with sculptural connotations; the two images, Daphne and Proserpina might have created an equally dynamic comparison, and would have been even easier to access both simultaneously on a purely practical level, but would have produced a different set of readings. Furthermore, Hades is not, like Apollo or Athena, cast in the role of a patron of the arts. Because of this, the sculptural underpinnings of the subjects—the materiality of stone and wood, the action of the gaze transforming flesh into figure—should be read as the main thematic principle, *not* sexual violence.

The high and beautiful schema can be mapped onto Hosmer's *Daphne* and *Medusa*, and in doing so can elucidate another set of contrasts she was actively engaging with in her work: the contrast between the historical styles of Phidian classical or archaizing ancient sculpture, and the Hellenistic and Roman styles. The easier style to identify and elaborate on is the beautiful, which in the Hosmer pair is seen in the *Medusa*. Despite the 1855 anonymous Harvardian's comment that Hosmer's new conception failed to produce any considerable effect,¹⁵¹ Ellen Tucker Emerson's contemporary letter shows the opposite, and that it was not merely an aesthetically pleasing work: she writes, "I'll go wild with delight! I can't think how Hatty Hosmer survived the joy of finishing that *Medusa*, of realizing such a *beautiful, beautiful idea*. Such a face, such a position of the head, *so fine an expression* [emphasis mine]!"¹⁵² Without arguing that Ellen Tucker Emerson at sixteen, though a student at the same

¹⁵¹ "Editor's Table," 48.

¹⁵² Ellen Tucker Emerson, edited by Edith Emerson Webster Gregg, *The Letters of Ellen Tucker Emerson* (Kent State University Press, 1982), 80–1.

boarding school as Hosmer had attended, had read Winckelmann, it is clear that she recognized something in the attitude and expression Hosmer had carved that was more than mere prettiness. The repetition of “beautiful” as a qualifier for “idea” emphasizes this. While sculptures were sometimes referred to as ideas, or conceptions, this was usually in relation to their clay models, when they were still the direct product of the artist’s hand and mind, before the interference of workmen and technology—cast makers, pointing machines, marble carvers— could dilute the purity of the artist’s vision. Tucker Emerson may have been culturally-minded enough to go to Cotton’s to view Hosmer’s works, especially as Hosmer was an alumna of the Sedgwick School that Emerson was attending, but how engaged she was with the nuances of art-critical language is unclear, so it is also unclear that she was using the term idea in this manner; it is more likely that she was responding to the overall effect of the work as an idea, with her elaboration “Such a face, such a position of the head, so fine an expression!” She doesn’t detail the features of the work she finds pleasing, as might be expected if it were just the physical beauty, but the expression and the position of the head. Nearly twenty years later, in 1873, a letter from Reginald W. Macan to Hosmer on the *Medusa* describes the piece as “the thought which you have sealed up in marble.”¹⁵³

These private responses to the work, separated by time, country, gender, and levels of formal education, respond in surprisingly similar and enlightening ways: both respond to beauty in the *Medusa*, but neither

¹⁵³ Harriet Goodhue Hosmer Papers, 1830–1908; letter signed Reg. W. Macan, February 26, 1873. A-162, folder 18. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Reg. W. Macan is likely Reginald Walter Macan (1848–1941). Macan was a Fellow and then Master of University College, Oxford, with publications including translations of Herodotus and a history of Persia. Macan would have been about 25 and probably on his Hibbert Travelling Scholarship from University College in 1873 when he saw the *Medusa*. Ignoring the terrible poetry attached to the letter, it is fair to say that Macan probably had a better grasp of the language of art criticism than Tucker Emerson when he wrote to Hosmer. Papers of Reginald Walter Macan (Master 1906–23), Archives of University College Oxford. Finding aid. Accessed via <<http://www.univ.ox.ac.uk/content/papers-reginald-walter-macan-master-1906-23>> on July 6, 2016.

explicates a sense of the sensual or aesthetic pleasure of looking at a pretty person or pretty work of art. Both Tucker Emerson and Macan instead use beauty to qualify other concepts: “idea” and “mystery” respectively. Macan positions the work as Hosmer’s thought—idea—sealed up in marble. Tucker Emerson particularly calls out the fineness of the piece’s expression. Despite neither young admirer specifically referencing Winckelmann, the language which both relied on to convey their dramatic and apparently deeply-felt responses to the work parallels or mirrors that of the Winckelmannian discourse. This was something, then, that was accessible at a level or two removed from the original idea, which is just as Winckelmann describes the beautiful style—the style through which the idea is available at a level removed from the object itself.

The object in question, one hundred and sixty-odd years after its original creation, retains its arresting quality: I found it difficult, upon seeing the work for the first time, to refrain from touching the marble. The stone is not quite the sugary whiteness of Seravezza or freshly-cut Parian but in the carved flesh of the shoulder and bust, seems to absorb warmth and light like a densely-woven velvet and becomes more fleshy compared to the glinting polish of the hairband and sandy desert-adder scales of the lowly serpents. Medusa’s meltingly soft upward gaze refuses to meet the eye of the beholder—perhaps for their safety— and joined with the graceful twist of the neck to turn her cheek towards us, goes towards the application of the beautiful style. Here is not, as in the *Niobe*, an unthinking and frozen terror in the face of gruesome death, or a hardness which can be felt more than described. Nor is Hosmer’s *Medusa* the personified battlefield shriek or monstrous medallion of the ancient world,¹⁵⁴ the death mask of Canova’s *Perseus* or the bulbous, dribbling prize of Cellini (Fig. 36).¹⁵⁵ Despite being a harbinger of death by petrification,

¹⁵⁴ Thalia Feldman, “Gorgo and the Origins of Fear,” *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 4, No. 3 (Autumn, 1965), 484–494; Janer Danforth Belson, “The Medusa Rondanini: A New Look,” *American Journal of Archaeology*, 84, No. 3 (July, 1980), 373–378.

¹⁵⁵ Michael Cole, “Cellini’s Blood,” *The Art Bulletin*, 81, No. 2 (June, 1999), 215–235.

the *Medusa's* materiality and narrative marmoreality is submerged under the velvety fleshiness of the surface, the soft throat and gently downturned lips: the beauty of the figure and the beauty of the expression are as intimately tangled up in each as the snakes below her breasts. Her suffering, like that of *Laocoön*, is transformed from horrific if mundane physical pain to an elevated plane of experience, beyond mortal ken but made tolerable to human sight, watchable when the horror should make us look away—approachable through the supreme physical charms of the work. The graceful forms and sensual charms of the *Medusa*, the pleasing fleshiness of the arms and the breasts, the luxurious if snake-laden hair, the attractively parted lips, invite the touches and caresses of the viewer despite the risk—or because of it.

It is worth comparing this to Bernini's *Medusa* of the Capitoline, which is so often discarded as a touchstone for Hosmer's work.¹⁵⁶ The roundness and softness—fleshiness—of Hosmer's Gorgon has more in common with the Bernini head than it does the waxen, symbolic smoothness of the Canova or with the architectural antefix or painted pot gorgons. Hosmer's *Medusa's* expression, though plastered onto a nineteenth-century neoclassical face, is as pathetic and dramatic as Bernini's, *not* substantially less so. The details of the snakes, too, are related; both exhibit a degree of naturalism, though the snakes on Bernini's *Medusa* are more baroquely beefy and have an attitude of their own, distinct from the face they frame—one seems to smirk over her brow, meeting the viewer's gaze more than she does. And it is important to note that the setting of the bust reinforces its affiliation with Rome the city with crests, inlays, and framing devices (Fig. 37). The Bernini *Medusa* becomes emblematic of the marmoreal Rome of Augustus, and the imaginary petrified, permanence of the city as a playground for artists interested in antiquity. Hosmer's *Medusa*, then, is not only a Beautiful refutation of Bernini's, but a further affiliation of her work and herself with the city of Rome and its cultural weight.

¹⁵⁶ Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer*, 35–6; Dabakis, *Sisterhood*, 51; Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 82.

While the beautiful style is easy to identify—it is beautiful, sensual, and expressive, but not vulgar or excessive—the high style gave even Winckelmann difficulties. He could offer only two really good examples from the high ‘period’ in Rome, the *Niobe* and the *Athena* of the Villa Albani (Figs. 38–39);¹⁵⁷ the high style is the more ideal of the two subjects and therefore harder both to achieve and to describe. The high is not merely *older* art, though in Winckelmann’s original construction of chronology and style positioned it as the earlier style. To consider all severe or early classical works, before the supposed intervention/invention of Praxiteles’s grace, as examples of the high style would contradict the positivist angle that Winckelmann put on the lack of softness and modulations of form and surface in works in the high style. The style’s rigid contours and hard surfaces, after all, could not be ascribed to a failure if Winckelmann’s point about the ideological and spiritual superiority of the high style was going to stand—the rigidity and hardness, any awkwardness of pose or carving, had to be consciously chosen aesthetic qualities in service to the elevated idea of the artist and the work. Winckelmann’s construction further privileges the Greek original, which is a key part in why he could only name two objects in Rome at the time that might be rightly called works in the high style. However, when separated from the chronological requirements and looked at as a set of formal and expressive conditions that signal ‘early’ and ‘intellectual’—mirroring the beautiful style’s signaling of ‘emotional’ and ‘later’, the high style can be used to explore works from later periods, especially consciously archaizing works from any period.

In his elaboration of the overall effect of the high style in a work of art, Winckelmann describes the determining factors that distinguish it from the merely classical or older:

Namely, the concept of a beauty that is seemingly unstudied, but, even more, a high simplicity not only in the appearance of the heads but also in the drawing taken as a whole, in the drapery, and in the execution. This beauty is like an idea

¹⁵⁷ Winckelmann, trans. Malgrave, *Art of Antiquity*, 233.

conceived without the help of the sense that might be produced in a lofty understanding and a happy imagination if it could soar to seeing nearly as far as divine beauty; it is of such great unity of form and contour that it seems not to have been produced laboriously but to have been awakened like an idea and imbued with the breath of life.¹⁵⁸

The key factors of high simplicity, unstudied and unaffected beauty are what, more than the unity of form and contour, separate the high style from the beautiful. Furthermore, that the high work should *not* have the appearance of a laboriously and skilfully product of a human imagination, but seem to have been incarnated out of the purity of the idea into this unstudied and simple form is strongly opposed to the beautiful, which allows the artist far more room for imaginative expression and the sensual appreciations of form. For Hosmer in the nineteenth century, working in Canova's former studio, this contrast is made more dynamic by the description of Canova's *Paris* (Fig. 40)—“All the senses are delighted in a way that is easier to experience than describe. ... The chisel is the last tool that comes to mind, for if statues could be made by caressing marble rather than by roughly carving and chipping, I would say that this statue has been formed by wearing down the surrounding marble by dint of kisses and caresses.”¹⁵⁹ The work in question—one of the most sensuous and sensual male nudes of the nineteenth century—is practically the complete opposite of Winckelmann would consider a high sculpture, and it can be constructive to bear the Cicognara passage in mind as the antithesis of the “seemingly unstudied” high work which had been produced not laboriously but awakened. In both Cicognara and Winckelmann, the effects (delight of the senses and hardness respectively) are more accurately felt than described, although it might be less-than-charitably assumed that Cicognara's feelings were, in this case, located slightly lower than Winckelmann's.

¹⁵⁸ Winckelmann, trans. Malgrave, *Art of Antiquity*, 233.

¹⁵⁹ Leopoldo Cicognara, quoted in Alex Potts, *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 43.

The *Daphne* fails to elicit in the same ecstatic responses in viewers as the *Medusa*; the Harvard reviewer only likes it better because Hosmer didn't try anything new or adventurous (to his eyes) in either narrative or form, and therefore succeeded through the soft bigotry of low expectations. Scholarship on the *Daphne* has, like the *Medusa*, emphasized the psychological connection with Hosmer, while the most recent work describes it as Hosmer's attempt to reframe the myth to emphasize female agency, recast Daphne as a "potent tale of resistance," and that the "simplified and austere facial features reference the masculine ideology of liberalism,"¹⁶⁰ while the body below the neck celebrates the female body. The last two points have more value than the first, though the author fails to draw the connection between the theory in Winckelmann the more liberal and free a society was, the more elevated and beautiful the art produced would be—this being, of course, why Greek art was the *ne plus ultra* in his books. This also doesn't take into consideration the differences in classical reference between the *Daphne* and the *Medusa*: identifying them as fifth-century (more or less) and Hellenistic(ish) is the first step, and generally accepted, but has not been fully explored—which will be returned to.

Where the *Medusa* hints at transformation and at the drama of the Ovidian narrative, through the wriggling shapes of the snakelets and the wings folded back against her head, *Daphne's* bound arms and distressing stillness suggest the rooted and muted nymph after her arboreal ordeal. While *Medusa's* serpent ties could—were the bust to come to life—slither away and render her free, *Daphne* is caught in the sturdy twining branches of the laurel garland: bound up in herself, and in the symbol appropriated by the god responsible for her transformation. Where the sharp edges of the leaves caress the soft underside of *Daphne's* breasts, the softly-rasped skin of the stone gives the effect of gooseflesh, her nipples peaking in an unclassical naturalism that suggests the coolness of a breeze that rustles the leaves and ruffles the perfect

¹⁶⁰ Dabakis, *Sisterhood*, 49. Dabakis also refers to the *Daphne* as combining "sensuous naturalism with the geometric clarity of the fifth century B.C.E. classical ideal," a specifically vague description that fails to acknowledge the range of works, male and female, which can be dated to the fifth century.

waves of her bound-up hair. The fruiting branches' swollen berries echo and emphasize the shocking eroticism in their shape and shine, which to a too-attentive gaze may even recall the bulbous swags on the Ephesian Artemis, whether they are embraced as breasts or balls. The earthy wooden bindings, with their clumped and ripening fruits and shivering shimmering leaves, hold the nymph's soft limbs rigidly against her trunk; only the rippling waves of Daphne's hair beneath her ribbon recall the river where she frolicked freely under the protection of her father-god, slipping with the current and as she pleased. The modelled skin lacks the licked-wet sheen to which marble can be lovingly polished—Daphne's flesh is smooth, soft, but dry even to the eye, like the wood peeking through the heat-cracked bark of Apollo's tree in summer.

This fleshy eroticism is in direct conflict with the lofty ideals of Winckelmann's high style and with the antique models from which she drew inspiration. The absolute serenity and regularity of the *Daphne's* features, the closely-held and filleted coiffure with its symmetrical waves drawn back from the face, recalls the stoicisim of a Wounded Amazon in the face of certain death and loss of freedom—fates of equal severity for a young woman.¹⁶¹ Hosmer suppresses the abject terror with which Daphne cried for help and the violent struggle to for escape before her final rescue came in the form of imprisonment. The faint smile that curves the corners of Daphne's lips has little to do a pyrrhic victory over the amorous Apollo by getting woody and denying him, but recalls instead Andromache smiling or laughing through her tears in the moments before Hector's final departure: the counterintuitive response to overwhelming emotion which expresses the shock of the moment more thoroughly than an expected one.¹⁶² The overwhelming—distressing—stillness of the piece, its utter rigidity despite the appearance of tender flesh, is

¹⁶¹ See also Gibsons' *Wounded Amazon* of 1840, now in National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, acc. no. NMW A 542.

¹⁶² "And she took him to her fragrant bosom, smiling through her tears." Homer, trans. A.T. Murray, *The Iliad*. (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1924), Book VI, lines 480–485. This was discussed by Caroline Vout at "Were we right to fire the canon (if we ever did)?" University of York, May 19, 2016, and also in Winckelmann, trans. Malgrave, 193, discussing Hannibal laughing through his extreme grief.

a further characteristic of its Winckelmannian beauty: “stillness is the state most appropriate to beauty, just as it is to the sea ... for the idea of lofty beauty cannot be conceived otherwise than when the soul is wrapt in quiet meditation, and abstracted from all individuality of shape.”¹⁶³ The gracefulness and refinement of the features do not detract from the work’s qualification as a high piece, in part because these qualities are aesthetic requirements for a successful work of sculpture in the middle nineteenth century and in part because they are a major element of Hosmer’s personal style—and the high style did not require the suppression of personal style along with the extremes of emotion.¹⁶⁴

Because Winckelmann could only name two works that he would consider perfect examples of the high style in Rome, artists looking to emulate it seriously had few concrete options to consult for visual references—and neither of these pieces, the *Niobe* and nor the *Athena Albani*, would pass muster in the nineteenth-century Anglo-American art market as a saleable modern original. Therefore Hosmer needed to look at a wider range of visual sources to construct her version of the high style, and by doing so introduced characteristics not present in the text and the minimal accepted reference points: not necessarily errors of interpretation or mischaracterizations, but shifts in detail and form—necessity being the mother of invention. This should not be read as a formulaic process with a single inevitable conclusion,¹⁶⁵ but rather it is akin to adding a data set to an equation or survey—the additional information can create shifts in the outcome through the greater range of information available. The new data—reference objects—add the possibility for new and different outcomes, rather than relying on two single points and endlessly reproducing them. Beyond the formal information they provide, a

¹⁶³ Winckelmann, trans. Lodge, *Art of Antiquity*, 113.

¹⁶⁴ I have presented on the eroticism of Hosmer’s *Daphne*, especially in relation to the *Wounded Amazons* and Winckelmann’s writings. Melissa L. Gustin, paper presentation, “Fifty Shades of Gay: Harriet Hosmer’s Early Sadistic Eroticism and the Classical Female Nude,” British Association of Victorian Studies Conference: Victorians Unbound, August 22–24, 2017, Bishop Grosseteste University, Lincoln.

¹⁶⁵ Honour, *Neoclassicism*, 107.

wider network of references in both the high and beautiful styles allow for thematic and textual connections, languages of gesture and expression, and transhistorical associations. These references, antique works of art through which Hosmer could develop her formal language of both high and beautiful styles, require further exploration as key elements in the design of the *Medusa* and *Daphne*. They are part of the interplay between the Winckelmannian styles and chronologies, the Bernini problem, and the network of images and texts stretching from Antiquity into the middle nineteenth century that formed the boundaries of modern classical tastes.

The challenge of chronology in Winckelmann's styles is well understood; his rigorous ordering of known works of art has in many places been overturned or refined today thanks to new discoveries, new technologies, and the constant forward progress of time (at least, on the clock and calendar, if not in society, history, or art) allowing for new consideration of old data. Even in Hosmer's day objects Winckelmann had dated or named had shifted in reputation and periodization. In Winckelmann's text the problem of his model of rise and decline is problematic because of his privileging of Hadrianic period images of Antinous, hundreds of years and miles removed from the otherwise-dominant works of Classical Athens.¹⁶⁶ It is therefore not surprising that at least one of the works Hosmer may have been referencing in *Daphne* is both chronologically complex and substantially later than the fifth century CE, and that works which may have been partial influences on the *Medusa* come from a wide range of periods and contexts—not just freestanding sculpture, but contemporary architectural detail, fragments, and portraiture. More interestingly, several of the works in question are not in Rome but in London, at the British Museum, which Hosmer visited in 1852 on her way to Rome, and one, the *Clytie/Antonia*, was one she had engaged with extensively in Boston.

The Townley *Clytie* (Fig. 10) presents the first clear classical reference for Hosmer's *Daphne*, especially as it is documented to have been present in

¹⁶⁶ For more on Antinous and Hadrian, see Chapter Three.

Boston during her early training, and that she copied it, probably by casting it in plaster as an exercise.¹⁶⁷ Already familiar with the form, seeing the marble original in the collection of the British Museum may have been a particularly affecting encounter, where it would have been contextualized as a work of historical and aesthetic importance. As part of the collection known as the Townley Marbles, the *Clytie*'s history of reworking and retitling was acknowledged and disregarded in favour of appreciating the aesthetic and physical appeal of the work. It was further validated by its pedigree—found in Naples and sold to Townley in 1772 by a noble Neapolitan family—and its inclusion alongside Myron's *Discobolus*, an unquestioned masterpiece of Greek design, even if that was a copy with incorrect restorations (still the best copy, an 1848 handbook to the sculpture collection assured visitors). Accepting the bust's reworked features as a portrait, rather than an ideal figure, allows the specificity and dissimilarity to the Daphne to be de-problematized. The same guidebook describes the *Clytie* as "probably no more than the portrait of a lady, executed in the Roman period by a Greek artist," and mentions that it had previously been called not only Isis in a lotus, but "Daphne, enveloped in the laurel."¹⁶⁸ The antique's foliage certainly does look more like laurel leaves than sunflower petals, which furthers the connection between Hosmer's *Daphne* and the *Clytie*. In the case of the *Clytie*/Daphne/Antonia, the subject of the original is less important than the formal elements of the binding foliage and the lowered gaze cast at an angle to the frontal bust, and a popular one for American audiences.¹⁶⁹ The reference to the *Clytie* is therefore thematically and narratively appropriate rather than a purely aesthetic choice, or influenced by the availability of the object during Hosmer's formative years; it is rooted in

¹⁶⁷ Margo Beggs, "Harriet Hosmer (1830–1908), Fame, Photography, and the American 'Sculptress.'" Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 2013, 105–7.

¹⁶⁸ British Museum, *The Antiquities and Marbles in the British Museum* (London: H.G. Bohn, 1848), n.p., ill.

¹⁶⁹ See by way of comparison, the *corpus* of ideal female busts in Powers's oeuvre which replicate this form, especially his *Clytie* (1865–7), the bust of the *Greek Slave* (1841–1843), and the three variations on *Proserpine* (first version 1844, simplified versions produced between 1844–1873).

the transformation from active woman to static plant life, moving only in response to external natural phenomena.

But there is a stronger thematic and discursive resonance with a coherent body of material in Rome, which can be figured into the high/beautiful paradigms: the Wounded Amazons. There are multiple copies of Wounded Amazons in Roman collections, representing a range of the known types.¹⁷⁰ In the Vatican Museums there were two full-length versions, in the Pio Clementino and the Braccio Nuovo, and there were three more in the Capitoline. I shall focus here on one statue for the moment: the Mattei type in the Capitoline Museums, which stands in the Sala del Gladiatore (Fig. 41).¹⁷¹ This version presents itself as the logical choice because of the repeated appearance of this room in this project. Here stands the Amazon, on the next plinth an heroic head, recalling if not actually depicting Alexander the Great (implicated in the other half of Hosmer's pair); next the Capitoline Antinous, across the room from the Leaning Satyr (both implicated in Stebbins's *Lotus Eater* in the next chapter), and all circling the Dying Gaul, one of the most important works of Hellenistic sculpture available in the nineteenth century (Fig. 42). And of course, downstairs the Bernini *Head of Medusa* sits tucked in her niche, greeting the visitor with her petrifying gaze. The stone in which this warrior is captured, with its fleshy veins and rosy tints, recall the myth that Medusa was once an Amazonian queen; perhaps this is one of her maidens. From her plinth, she gazes serenely down at the unfortunate who is about to find themselves the victim of her ire, drawing her bow from over her left shoulder; her left hand limply braces the base of the quiver with a gesture that,

¹⁷⁰ Brunilde S. Ridgway, "A Story of Five Amazons," *American Journal of Archaeology* 78, No. 1 (January, 1974), 1–17.

¹⁷¹ This Amazon is heavily restored by Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, with an unrelated head, and rather than leaning on a spear, she is in the act of drawing a bow. Nevertheless, the work is one of the most complete and elegant Amazons in Rome, compared especially to the more awkward Amazon in the Galleria of the Capitoline, which gestures like an orator and the head of which lacks the pathos of the Sala del Galata Amazon. For more on the restoration of antique works in the eighteenth century, see Nancy H. Ramage, "Restorer and Collector: Notes on Eighteenth-Century Recreations of Roman Statues," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes*, 1 (2002), 64–8.

though idle, suggest the action her right will soon take in fingering the string into a deadly taut arc (Fig. 43). Her tucked-up tunic bares a sturdy thigh, the knee bends and the foot rises in anticipation of the twist to string and fire the bow. There is an awkwardness in her, though, despite the serenity of her expression: a wound throws her off balance perhaps, as her sisters elsewhere in Rome display in the ribs or in the thigh. Or perhaps she is Penthesilea, preparing to enter into her final, mortal combat against Achilles and she is removing her bow in preparation to don the helm and shield at her feet, to take up the axe and gird her loins for close combat. She prepares for death, prepares to see her sisters in Elysium: in the deathly stillness of her face, the pallor of the marble, we see that perhaps in her mind she has already crossed that threshold. Despite the calm beauty of her features, the fulsome loveliness of the round limbs and the enticement of the bare breast, this Amazon has the promise of death about her.

These statues, described in Pliny as the products of a competition between the best sculptors around for the temple precinct at Ephesus can in one way be seen as antique *paragone* between a set of artists—the works were produced on the same subject, working within set parameters, and then their merits are compared.¹⁷² The dating, though highly questionable, of the original models to a group of artists in the fifth century BCE (mostly), provides a justification for the use of the model despite the knowledge that all of the extant copies were later Roman copies (with extensive modern restorations) and therefore not purely high works. Hosmer, though drawing the bust format from the *Clytie* and similarly handled fragmented figures, needed more classical—older—forms to reference for details of the face, hair, and

¹⁷² This is not an exact parallel, and Pliny's text has been questioned and reinterpreted repeatedly on this point, but as an allegory for sculptural comparisons it is useful, regardless of historical accuracy in the original text. A thorough discussion of the historical arguments, types, and dates for the canonical Amazon sculptures can be found in Ridgeway, "Five Amazons." For a contemporary discussion of the Pliny text and the objects available in the 1850s, see Karl Otfried Müller, trans. John Leitch, *Ancient Art and Its Remains: Or, A Manual of the Archæology of Art*, second edition (London: B. Quaritch, 1852), 92–3.

expression to come closer to something Winckelmann (and Canova, Thorvaldsen, Gibson, and the public) might find acceptable. Not only are the works early in origin, with the general fifth-century date, but narratively also: the last Amazon of importance was Penthesilea, according to Diodorus Siculus, who died in the Trojan War and are thus early in history¹⁷³. In drawing on the hair and faces of the Amazons, it is not hard to imagine that Hosmer was further inspired by the combination of the sensual, unquestionably female physical beauty and elevated, austere but serene suffering. The position of the extant copies as Roman copies is balanced out by the relatively early age of the originals, compared to the copies of Hellenistic works and Roman originals which were more readily available. The Amazons, as pieces of additional visual information in Hosmer's personal schema of what a high work of art should look like, have created the room for the anatomical accuracy of the female breast and the sensuality inferred by its depiction, despite Winckelmann's disavowal of the feminine areola. It might also be pointed out that Winckelmann's positioning of the hardness and gracelessness of the high style as an aesthetic choice and not a failure of the artist to achieve the Praxitelean grace that came to dominate the most famous works of received antiquity could probably not be achieved on purpose by a nineteenth-century sculptor—there is no way to un-bite the apple—though there are certainly works which fulfilled those qualities through failures of design or production.

A major point to notice, contrary to what is said by Winckelmann, is in the breasts: these Amazons do not have breasts “like those of young maidens, whose girdles Lucina has not yet loosened and who have not yet enjoyed the fruits of love. This means that the nipple is not visible on the breast,”¹⁷⁴ as he suggests all Amazons and goddesses should be depicted with. This is later clarified, just in case his reader is not sure how the breast of a young woman should ideally appear: the “maidenly breast was likened by poets to unripe

¹⁷³ Diodorus Siculus, trans. G. Booth, *The Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian: In Fifteen Books*, 1 (London: W. McDowell, 1814), 138.

¹⁷⁴ Winckelmann, trans. Malgrave, *Art of Antiquity*, 199.

grapes,”¹⁷⁵ or “like fruit not fully ripened ... hard and slightly tart.”¹⁷⁶ The Amazons of Rome, however, were not endowed with nipple-free, unripe grapes for breasts: all five have visible nipples, and one of the Capitoline copies has a degree of quite surprising anatomical detail—as well as being far more generously endowed than Winckelmann would have approved of, perhaps why he does not seem to mention it despite its presence in Rome from 1570.¹⁷⁷ The breasts of these Amazons are as relevant to the discussion of Hosmer’s *Daphne* as the hair and faces, and not just because of the conflation of breasts and fruit. Hosmer’s teacher Gibson once described her as the best sculptor of the roundness of flesh he had ever seen, and Daphne’s chest is certainly not a failed attempt to depict breasts worthy of display.¹⁷⁸ But as noted, Hosmer has given her nymph quite un-goddess-like breasts in a cool breeze, and these might be considered a failing at interpreting the Classical model, as well as Winckelmann’s texts—until one looks below the collarbones of the Wounded Amazons.

The *Medusa* is generally understood to have drawn on a wider range of material, in many ways because of the sheer volume of images of Medusa—far, far more available than of Daphne, in a huge range of sizes, media, and styles, and many existing outside the walls of galleries and museums. Indeed, the external walls of Canova’s studio just off the Corso, in what is now the Via Canova, has at least two, and may well have had more during Hosmer’s time in Rome. In the Palazzo Altemps, formerly the Villa Ludovisi, the fragmentary *Medusa Ludovisi*, now called a *Sleeping Fury* (Fig. 44) shows little formal similarity with Hosmer’s bust but emphasizes the fragmentary nature of the Medusa myth and image, as well as furthering the visual association with the dynamic later sculpture—a major highlight of the Ludovisi collection was and is the *Gaul Killing His Wife and Himself* (Fig. 4).¹⁷⁹ Previous scholarship has

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 212–213.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 203.

¹⁷⁷ Capitoline Museums, inv. 651.

¹⁷⁸ Carr, *Harriet Hosmer*, 24.

¹⁷⁹ Braun, *Handbook for the Ruins*, 342–3; 354.

referenced the Hellenistic head of a bearded man in the British Museum (a Townley marble, like the *Clytie*) as one of several reference points for the limpid gaze, voluminous, upwardly mobile coiffure—recalling the *anastole* which so strongly denotes an Alexander portrait—and strong torque of the neck (Fig. 45) The aforementioned head of Alexander the Great (Fig. 46) in the Sala del Gladiatore comes into play, sitting as it does next to the Capitoline Amazon, looking melodramatically away from the wounded warrior woman and towards the serene and boyish charms of the Capitoline Antinous.

A previously-unrecognized bust in the Galleria Borghese—only three rooms away from the *Apollo and Daphne*—of an unknown woman with snakes in her hair, must also be included in this series of touchstones (Fig. 47). This Roman work, with the square knot of snakes on her brow and the low, loose bundle of hair at the nape of her neck, recalls in iconography and in detail Hosmer's bust (Fig. 48). Late, fragmentary, and obscure, this object must be slotted into the available schema of imagery for her Medusa alongside the male busts and architectural decorations. I discussed this head briefly in the introduction, but it is worth a longer consideration here. I 'discovered' this head on my first study trip to Rome, in February 2015. As I mentioned earlier, this head does not appear in the guidebook to the collection, on the room labels, and is essentially wedged in a corner, next to a window, under a painting of Saint Jerome by Caravaggio. The head, according to the one published catalogue entry I have been able to find on it, was in the Borghese collection by 1607; it was originally attached to a full figure known as "The Spinner," ("La Filatrice") and it is unknown when the head was detached from the body. The face has been reworked; the head has been identified at times as Hygiea or a follower of Dionysus.¹⁸⁰ The authors of the Borghese catalogue compare the Borghese head to that of a goddess in the Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican Museums which has snakes on the diadem, but I would instead draw comparisons instead to the snakes under the chin of the Rondanini Medusa (Fig. 49), or the translation of that head by Canova in the Perseus and

¹⁸⁰ Moreno and Viacava, *I Marmi*, 254, cat. no. 246.

Medusa in the Belvedere Courtyard (Fig. 50). For Hosmer, looking to antiquity for references and for formal solutions, this snaky tangling would have been not only suggestive but inspirational: we see these square-knotted serpents under the breasts of her *Medusa*, and the echoes again in the wriggling snakelets which tangle into the tendrils at the temples (Figs. 51–52). Unlike the medallion Medusas of Canova and of architectural details, here the snake-haired woman is presented in three dimensions, at eye-level, and in close proximity to highlights of antiquity and to her opponent, Bernini.

Though in Winckelmann and Pliny's chronological constructions, the centuries of what is now called Hellenistic sculpture were a bleak falling off from the previous Praxitelean heights, it is obvious that the most popular works were in fact Hellenistic: the Laocoön, the Belvedere Torso and his more complete brother the Apollo Belvedere, the Leaning Satyr and the Barberini Faun. Indeed, it has been posited that this entire chronology is based on Pliny's unclear quotation of an earlier source, perhaps an artist of an aging style irritated at all the upstart competitors in the newer styles, so inaccurate does the declaration that *cessavit deinde ars* seem to be in reality.¹⁸¹ Indeed, the problem with that statement when presented with the evidence is a tension in much of the nineteenth-century commentaries on the general development of the arts in Greece: the period between the defeat of Xerxes and the death of Alexander was a high and golden age, they say, but the majority of the works given as the masterpieces of sculpture are later.¹⁸² Beyond that, Hosmer isn't citing one of the great works of antiquity as she would later in the *Sleeping Faun* (which I problematized in the Introduction), but the fragmentary and anonymous, as well as the decorative, the Roman, and the male.¹⁸³ The unifying element is not subject, scale, or style, but lateness: any and all of the

¹⁸¹A.W. Lawrence, "Cessavit Ars: Turning Points in Hellenistic Sculpture," *Revue Archéologique Sixième Série*, T. 31/31 (1948), 581–585.

¹⁸²Alexander Fraser Tytler, *Elements of General History*, (London: T. Caddell, 1840), 49–50.

¹⁸³This camp consideration of the fragment, and the display of erudition and affective ranges, is discussed in detail in the conclusion, in relation to Sedgwick's theories as underlying principles for this entire dissertation.

touchstones date well after the supposed falling off of art, compared to the visually and mythically early Wounded Amazons. Indeed, even Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* describes the arts as flourishing in the states set up following the death of Alexander, and that the falling off as not truly happening until the end of the Roman conquests—and that even then, “they still produced works of great excellence, as they showed their good sense and taste by making the masterworks of their predecessors the subjects of study and imitation.”¹⁸⁴ The technical proficiency certainly had not fallen off, especially when artists were careful to study and accurately reproduce or translate the accepted masterworks. The criticisms arise from the failures of originality in the new artists who strayed from the accepted paths: there was a rise in the frequency of genre subjects and vulgar characters, presented in heroic scale in permanent materials, with dynamic and showy compositions—spiralling compositions, which demanded circumambulation— and which inspired suspect feelings of lust or juvenile glee: familiar refrains, considering the Dancing Satyr, a Thorvaldsen-restored copy of a Lysippan original, stands only a few rooms from the *Apollo and Daphne* or the *Abduction of Proserpina* of Bernini, upon whom the scorn of generations was heaped for those very characteristics. The use of the Hellenistic (and Roman) references points in the *Medusa* set it further apart from the *Daphne* in this respect as well, with the lower reputation of the referenced pieces. The Hellenistic as Baroque, indeed, as Bernini-esque, or vice versa, makes the *paragone* between Hosmer's *Medusa* and Bernini's stronger, for she thereby displays her ability to successfully, tastefully, and classically reform their flaws and missteps into a properly classical work.

The fragmentary, decorative, masculine nature of the material to which Hosmer could have looked is seen most clearly in the ancient images of the Gorgon with which the Roman museums and streets are gorged. Not only seen in Canova's chilly reproduction of the Rondanini *Medusa* on the Belvedere

¹⁸⁴ William Smith, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, second edition (London: Spottiswoode and Shaw, 1848), 1067.

Perseus and in Bernini's fleshy tragedienne of the Capitoline, or further afield in Florence with Cellini's pulpy, polyp-dripping pinup, the gorgoneion nestles in the bosom of half the military men of the ancient world, glowering from breastplates and seething on shields. Gorgons guard gods and goddesses, as well as the lesser mortals, generals and emperors, who aspired to immortality through their marble likenesses. In all its apotropaic and gory glory, the gorgoneion can be found on cineraria and in the Coliseum, over ovens and on doors, on the base of statues and on spoliated sarcophagi, repurposed from resting places to watering troughs. Medusa is worked into the very fabric of the eternal city: the marble metropolis of Augustus is built from the products of her gaze, her bones, and as such her face protects its every corner and cranny with its perpetual, petrifying powers. Though Hosmer's *Medusa* is a maiden, not a medallion, the volume of gorgons in the visual field of Rome makes it necessary to consider them as part of the matrix in which she was working. Hosmer does not position the *Medusa* as a refutation or rejection of the fragmentary gorgoneion, nor as a continuation or expansion of the figure: most of the gorgoneions are in the archaic form of the hideous, monstrous Gorgon or the pot-gorgon, rather than the poetic, Pindarian or Ovidian beautiful Medusa preferred by post-classical sculptors. The gorgon's constant presence in Rome's public spaces and in its galleries meant that Hosmer's work was a new point in this network, rather than an isolated and individual concept—it was impossible to see it in isolation, because even walking the streets to get to Hosmer's studio meant encountering the Gorgon. These gorgoneions instead form part of an interpretative backdrop for the subject: the unseen conclusion of Medusa's myth, the decapitation seen in Cellini and Canova that resulted in her transformation from tragic figure and monstrous opponent to apotropaic symbol and repeatable decorative motif. And rather than inducing any sense of a masculine or mannish woman,¹⁸⁵ these multiplied Medusas on the marble armour of Athena and of emperors recall the inherently sculptural underpinning of the myth: the power of the sculptor's

¹⁸⁵ Dabakis, *Sisterhood*, 52.

gaze to capture images, to replicate form in stone as many times as necessary and to last through the ages.

The fragmentary nature of many of the gorgoneions, including those on the walls of Canova's studios alluded to earlier, is a factor in their proliferation as decorative elements and architectural elements. The gorgoneion is inherently fragmentary, a head detached from its neck, a relief and a motif, and is thus easy to refashion in new contexts; the boss of a broken shield can become the spigot of a fountain, the snakes which slither from the temple can become the handles of a doorknocker.¹⁸⁶ The form has been flexible since antiquity as well, so the repurposing of antique fragments is but a continuation of a formal and functional fluidity: the lolling-tongued and curly-bearded pot-gorgon from painted vases is easily recognized as the same symbol as the Rondanini Medusa, as the terracotta temple antefixes and as the clasp of Athena's aegis.¹⁸⁷ The gorgoneion and another antique motif, the palmette, may answer the question of the odd formal arrangement of the snakes on Hosmer's bust: unlike the snakes of the Bernini, Canova, and Cellini Medusas, in which the snakes writhe independently and threateningly, guarding the gorgon themselves with bared fangs, Hosmer's have been arranged in a series of symmetrical arches, each one biting the next in turn. These pseudo-ouroboroi mimic the decorative palmette, which like the gorgon could be repurposed for a wide range of visual contexts, but which in Hosmer's developmental years could be found—most relevantly—in the cemetery where

¹⁸⁶ But not, as Dabakis says (p. 54), the doorknocker on Hosmer's Roman apartments, which is a Ceres or a Bacchante and not a gorgon at all; it is a mass-produced brass from a British Midlands foundry and has been in production since at least the very early nineteenth century if not the late eighteenth—it is still available today, new, per email contact with current retailers of the doorknocker. Residents of the building in Via Gregoriana could not confirm to me that the knocker was original. It is also not on the building with Hosmer's serpent initials, but the house in which she lived with Cushman and Stebbins, so it could have been any one of them who chose it.

¹⁸⁷ I am here grateful again to Whitney Davis and the participants of the inaugural York Summer Theory Institute in June 2015 for introducing me to Aby Warburg, whose work in the *Mnemosyne Atlas*, discussed further in Chapter Three, was profoundly influential on my thoughts regarding the flexibility and reoccurrences of classical forms across history.

her mother and siblings were buried and which was considered an outdoor museum of sorts, Mount Auburn Cemetery. The palmette is a decorative element with no fixed symbolic or narrative connotations, but which fits both antiquity and modern contexts: by applying it to her *Medusa*, Hosmer recalls both the gorgon antefix form and the *anthemion* of the modern cemetery, especially Mount Auburn and the Cimitero Acattolico of Rome—the latter of which holds the grave of Gibson’s brother, whose 1852 headstone sports an ornate palmette, surrounded by more headstones which display not just the palmette but ouroboroi (Figs. 52–53). The combinations of the architectural and decorative fragments of the palmette, the gorgoneion and the ouroboros, the marmoreal and the memorial on the *Medusa* are clearly more complex than a refutation of an archaic myth in favour of something proto-feminist and psychoanalytical. Hosmer’s work engages in both an internal and external play with layers of form and symbolic, thematic references, between the obvious high art, post-classical objects and the more nuanced network of fragments, between the timeframes of the *Daphne*’s early, highly restrained citations and the *Medusa*’s complex dance between Hellenistic, Baroque, and modern, between the restored, unified figure and the partial and recycled pieces.

SET IN STONE

It is not enough to say that Hosmer “probably knew” of the Apollo and Daphne, or that she was “stylistically ... far removed” from Bernini’s work,¹⁸⁸ because the *Apollo and Daphne* dominates a major room in a major Roman museum and all nineteenth-century Anglo-American sculpture is stylistically far removed from Bernini’s work. The massive dynamic difference between Bernini and Hosmer’s works are instantly obvious to even an untrained observer. The question of stylistic difference needs to be addressed within the contexts of the works themselves—scholarship here has begun this, but has seemed unwilling to push the whys and hows of these choices and differences

¹⁸⁸ Dabakis, *Sisterhood*, 49.

once identifying the broad strokes, especially with regards to personal style and the uses therein. As Winckelmann himself wrote, “Nevertheless, the style of a period in art can no more be general than a manner of writing can be. If from the writers of that time only Thucydides had survived, we would have formed from the abbreviated obscurity of the speeches in his history an erroneous conclusion about Plato, Lysias, and Xenophon, whose words flow like a gentle brook.”¹⁸⁹ Periodization, a major proponent of the periodization of classical art says, only takes us so far.

And of course the position of Bernini as an antagonist is not as straightforward as simply saying that he was unpopular in the nineteenth century. As I have shown, the texts that described his reputation and the impact he had on sculpture, starting in the eighteenth century, were bloated with the vitriolic language of corruption—disease, waste, lowliness. The bone-deep permeation of Bernini’s work in the city of Rome and his outsize impact on the sculpture of his own period and following generations is part of the vitriol: his work is inescapable and central in the Villa Borghese and his mark is indelibly stamped across the Vatican, the churches and public spaces of Rome. He cannot be ignored or avoided, and his corrupting influence was therefore as dangerous in the nineteenth century as it was in the seventeenth. Furthermore, the language of corruption was not simply because his work was melodramatic and emotional, and everywhere, or even because it wasn’t classical: it was so far removed from what was considered the classical ideal that it seemed Bernini actively rejected those principles, rather than forgetting them or interpreting them differently—and he dragged everyone else down with him. Hosmer’s selection of myths that were both heavily implicated in Bernini’s corruption meant that her works were inescapably in conversation with his, if not in direct competition. After all, he was, as stated earlier, the only major European sculptor of the modern period to model *both* subjects, and both as the central figures of the works. Canova’s Medusa, after all, is only

¹⁸⁹ Winckelmann, trans. Malgrave, *Art of Antiquity*, 233.

a head, compared to the full formidable figure of Perseus, and she's a copy within a copy, not a truly original work.

I will return for a moment to an interesting parallel between an essay about *paragone* in Bernini's early work, and one of the major problems I have previously identified with scholarship about Hosmer's busts. In discussing Bernini's *The Goat Amalthea* as an act of self-reflexive, historical *paragone* without a concrete opponent, Rudolf Preimesberger lists all the things we do not know about the work: "We do not know the circumstances under which the precocious (and not withstanding its small size) spectacular masterpiece was created ... We do not know if a literary adviser was involved during the planning stages of the work. We do not know, therefore, who chose the subject matter ... In other words we do not know where the work was intended right from the very start to carry an allegorical and moral *sensus*."¹⁹⁰ We do not know who chose Hosmer's subjects for the *Daphne* and *Medusa*. We, as scholars, tend to believe Hosmer chose them herself, but what input Gibson or her friends had on her choices is unknown. It is still uncertain whether the first owner, Mary Lekain Gore Appleton, commissioned the busts or if it was her late husband, if she saw them as a pair first, or if he or she suggested subjects. If any of these are the case—especially this last—attributing the subjects to Hosmer's mental state falls apart. Because of this, among other reasons, framing the objects in relation to the visual evidence and art historical paradigms, which can be seen and felt within the objects as single pieces, as a pair, and as points in the wider network of visual information, is a more productive way of looking at both the works and at Hosmer as an artist.

Framing the works as an act of *paragone* prioritizes authorial intent and erudition: as Preimesberger goes on to say, "Evident, on the other hand is the work's strong reference to antiquity. Evident is the competition with ancient sculpture, through the deliberate choice of an ancient theme. Likewise

¹⁹⁰ Preimesberger, *Paragons*, 53–54.

evident, for precisely this reason, is the modernity of the work.”¹⁹¹ Though it is uncertain what works, if any, were displayed alongside Hosmer’s busts in their first situation at Mary Appleton’s and then in later contexts before they entered museum collections, they were created in the context of her Roman studio. This studio was home to not only her own work but the highly classicized works of Gibson and the legacies of both Canova and Thorvaldsen, and the complex, chronologically-compacted environs of Rome and her galleries there. The antique comparisons were necessarily invited not only through sheer and constant proximity but through medium, style, and subject. This likewise catches Bernini in the net of reference: Bernini is an outsize, inescapable presence in Rome and in the critical literature on the history of sculpture, and as with his own *paragone* with antiquity in *The Goat Amalthea*, Hosmer’s use of Bernini’s subjects and in close proximity to them clearly invites, if not mandates, comparison between them. It is but a short walk, maybe fifteen leisurely minutes, from Hosmer’s studio to the Villa Borghese, and half an hour to the Capitoline museums, which I timed on one of my visits. This comparison makes the modernity of Hosmer’s works even more obvious to the observer; despite her erudite and conscientious references to the forms and modes of antiquity, she was invested, wholly and skilfully, in her own period’s version of antiquity.

The high and beautiful styles correspond not wholly to artistic periods, though Winckelmann’s first use of them was as names or descriptions of roughly consecutive developmental moments in what he saw as the upward and ultimately downward progress of art. The problem of this model of constant forward motion (for better or for worse) is that it could be—and was—interrupted and refigured almost immediately upon the discovery of new artefacts and reinterpretation of older discoveries based on new data. The high style in particular was on shaky ground even as Winckelmann wrote, because by his own admission there were only two works he could firmly identify as belonging wholly to that style or period, one of which was in fact a Roman

¹⁹¹ Preimesberger, *Paragons*, 54.

copy after all.¹⁹² The beautiful was likewise difficult because many of the key works could not be clearly dated to what Winckelmann had set out as its period, or, like the portraits of Antinous he was taken with, were firmly dated well after the supposed decline of art. By considering the two styles as primarily rhetorical modes or distinct aesthetic choices, rather than as periodizations, the weaknesses in the chronological system become distinctly less important and allow for a prioritization of artistic choices, even in anonymous works, and for works which don't necessarily fit in Winckelmann's strict outlines of what a high or beautiful work looked like—especially with regards to specific anatomical details like grapey breasts or unibrows.

Setting the styles as contrasting visual modes, suggesting on one hand sublimity, timelessness, and extremes of emotion transcending physicality, and on the other physical beauty and physical experiences, dramatic narrative, and artistic experimentation, allows for the two modes to be transported not only to different time periods but also to function as ends of a spectrum of formal expression. When considered as a spectrum, the internal dynamic of seemingly-earlier and seemingly-later, unrelated to actual chronology but referencing instead sense of external timeliness, is also introduced. This further allows for the inclusion of consciously archaizing works in the high style, even if they were produced late, or do not fully conform to the aesthetic or formal requirements of a high work of art. For Hosmer's *Medusa* and *Daphne*, the high and the beautiful are tied not only to the antique and Winckelmannian system and references but also the Bernini works to which she was comparing herself and her works: the *Apollo and Daphne*, made when Bernini was in his early twenties, and the *Medusa*, uncertainly dated but definitely made later in his career. The pendant works are inflected by this dynamic of earlier and later in multiple ways, through the impact of Winckelmann's chronology and descriptions, the use of antique references, the

¹⁹² Winckelmann, trans. Malgrave, *Art of Antiquity*, 234.

paragone with Bernini's works, and the physical appearances of the works themselves.

The act of *paragone* with Bernini speaks to an issue of biography that in some ways I have argued against elsewhere in this chapter. The trend of associating Hosmer's work specifically and unequivocally with her biography through psychoanalytic readings is an oversimplification and an over-identification of the work with the artist that is primarily seen in this period with female artists. Neoclassicism was not a style of personal emotion and psychology, with rare exceptions like William Wetmore Story's monument to his wife, and these arguments do little to explore an object's formal qualities or its position with regards to precedents or antecedents. It is telling that the associations tend to be curtailed when they get too uncomfortable: no one seems to suggest that her sculpture, *Beatrice Cenci*, suggests she was sexually assaulted by her father or any father figures—which makes it seem that the connections were drawn between the earlier works and Hosmer's biography because of a lack of other readings of the subjects, objects, and a need to psychoanalyze everything.¹⁹³

Furthermore, the argument that Hosmer's early works in particular were influenced by her sexuality and a naïve or subconscious fear about marriage undermines both her agency and her educated, liberal upper-middle-class upbringing, without doing anything—again—to explore the impact of the works themselves.¹⁹⁴ Describing the nude females as evidence of her proto-feminist or pro-woman agenda is questionable, because like the subject matter, when every other artist is also doing female nudes, the devil will be in the differences. Conflating biographical issues with the content of art produced for a market because the artist is a woman is problematic; we would never argue that Story's 1865 *Medea* reflected a fear that his wife was going to

¹⁹³ Vivien Green Fryd, "The 'Ghosting' of Incest and Female Relations in Harriet Hosmer's 'Beatrice Cenci,'" *The Art Bulletin* 88, No. 2 (June, 2006), 292–309. See also, Pollock, *Differencing*, 97–127.

¹⁹⁴ Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 83–87. This is discussed at greater length in the previous chapter.

murder their children. However, in specific instances, biography becomes a valuable tool in the toolkit. I make the argument that Hosmer may have been influenced by the fact that Bernini was of an age with her when he produced the *Apollo and Daphne* as a potential factor in her choice of subjects and comparisons, alongside a number of others, including the sculptural themes of the myths. The implications of the timeliness of the Bernini works—early and late—combined with their comparative ages, the overlap in subjects, and thematic parallels, add up to a more fully-rounded set of factors than the single idea that Hosmer was stressed by the prospect of her girlfriend's wedding. Beyond that, the parallels with Bernini and a *paragone* with him, and with antiquity, provide frameworks and evidence for discussing the works as physical objects and as experienced works of art.

This chapter began with the statement that ultimately, Hosmer's *Medusa* and *Daphne* are sculptures about sculpture. The pair of busts functions as Hosmer's entrée into the world of professional sculptors, and an introduction to the general public. They are therefore about Hosmer as a sculptor, not Hosmer as a sheltered female subconsciously displaying her fears about sex. The subjects of the pieces, after stripping away the narrative and thematic elements shared by a large number of myths and texts popular in the nineteenth century, reveal sculptural materials as key factors—stone and wood—and in the Medusa myth, the transformation of people, animals, and even plants into sculpture or stone through her powers. The narrative of both busts therefore reference the production of the works themselves, in a text-object loop that is supported further by another factor in this layering of sculptural meaning. The parallels and *paragone* with Bernini's works of the same subject turn Hosmer's busts into reclamations of the subject from the bogs and pools into which he dragged his followers—excavating them from the dirt of history like the recently uncovered *Apoxyomenos*.¹⁹⁵ Her explicit

¹⁹⁵ Excavated in 1849 in Trastevere, Emil Braun identified the *Apoxyomenos* as a copy of a bronze by Lysippus in 1850. See Emil Braun, *Annali dell'Istituto* 22 (1850) 223–51; Olga Palagia and J. J. Pollit, *Personal Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 137; Elizabeth Prettejohn, *The Modernity of Ancient Sculpture*

classical references and dynamic contrasts between earlier and later styles—the high and the beautiful, as seen through both Winckelmann’s texts and through her additional material—set the pieces as modern classics, elevated in taste and correct in decorum and detail, as corrections for the artistic failures and moral failings of Bernini. Hosmer synthesized the multiple factors of time, reference, narrative, originality, and medium into her Medusa and Daphne—works that refuse to meet the eye of the viewer, but which look constantly forward and backward through time for their meaning.

(London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 113; Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, Volume 1 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990) 134.

CHAPTER THREE

ET IN LOTOPHAGIA EGO:

EMMA STEBBINS'S *LOTUS-EATER* AND *ANTINOUS*

*FOR VOTARIES READY TO ACCEPT A NEW GOD AS SIMPLE AS WE ACCEPT
A NEW POET, HE WAS THE FINAL MANIFESTATION OF AN OLD-WORLD
MYSTERY, THE REJUVENESCENCE OF A WELL-KNOWN INCARNATION, THE
SEMI-ORIENTAL REALIZATION OF A RECURRING AVATAR.*

JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS, "ANTINOUS"
SKETCHES AND STUDIES IN ITALY, 1879

'IN THE HOLLOW LOTOS-LAND TO LIVE'

Where the previous chapter was concerned primarily with points of formal similarities and contrasts, viewed through the lens of a *paragone* between Hosmer and Bernini, this chapter will take on the problem of single sources and thematic resonances. Emma Stebbins's *The Lotus-Eater* (Fig. 55), which purports to illustrate Tennyson's poem of the same title, has most often been associated with the Resting Satyr of Praxiteles.¹⁹⁶ However, this is an interpretative dead end: there is very little room for iconographic or thematic readings with the Resting Satyr without relying on Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun*, which was published *after* the clay model was finished (1857) and the marble figure was being displayed in New York (1861).¹⁹⁷ There are similarities of design between Stebbins's 1857/61 work and the Satyr, to be sure, but few in

¹⁹⁶ Elizabeth Milroy, "The Public Career of Emma Stebbins: Work in Marble." *Archives of American Art Journal*, 33, no. 3 (1993); Dabakis, *Sisterhood*, 104–107.

¹⁹⁷ For more on Hawthorne, see Patricia Pulham, "Of Marble Men and Maidens': Sin, Sculpture, and Perversion in Nathaniel Hawthorne's 'The Marble Faun,'" *The Yearbook of English Studies* 40, No. 1/2, *The Arts in Victorian Literature*, (2010), 83–102.

iconography, subject, or theme, and like the myths chosen by Hosmer in Chapter Two, there are as many similarities with other works as there are between the two here. Indeed, there are other objects and object families which have as many similarities, but have the added benefit as it were of thematic, narrative, and iconographic parallels with Stebbins's work and with the text she was referencing. This chapter will therefore explore and revel in the multivalent resonances of appearance, theme, and narrative that form between *The Lotos-Eaters*, *The Lotus Eater*, and the lotus-wearing Antinous in all his incarnations.

I argue here for a new body of material that yields new interpretative material for the central object that comes not just from a place of pop culture but resonates poetic, historic, and formal strings of meaning. For Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater*, the narrative content of the titular poem, her location during the work's conception and development, and the formal reference material all impact readings of the finished work. Rome, with its galleries full of Antinoi, operates as a museum at large or a library, and the anachronic way in which the *Lotus-Eater* connects backwards, forwards, and across time with multiple images and texts in ways more interesting even than the visual similarities. Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater* becomes then a site not of analogous reference and allusion, but a play on/with a family of objects/a type that is historically, thematically, and formally appealing for the chosen subject.¹⁹⁸ Her sculptures *Commerce* and *Industry* are a paired set of revisions and restagings for a modern audience of a classical set of works—rather like a modern setting for Shakespeare. These works demonstrate a straightforward way of translating the classical referent with artistic license, as well as the importance of

¹⁹⁸ Much of my thinking here on the use of allusion and reference specifically from antique poetry, translating onto sculpture, draws on Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Other texts which were influential in the thinking process include Roland Barthes' "Death of the Author," *Aspen* 5–6 (1967) n.p., (<http://www.ubu.com/aspen/aspen5and6/threeEssays.html#barthes>), Nagel and Wood *Anachronic Renaissance*, and Kubler, *The Shape of Time*, all discussed extensively in Chapter Five.

considering the context of the reference point: the Braccio Nuovo sets the stage for Stebbins's encounter with the referent pair and directly informs the reinterpretation of forms she made in the works. The *Lotus-Eater*, in the lost full-length version and in its bust-length images, will be refigured as part of a chain or a matrix of Antinous images.¹⁹⁹ This chapter will also play—and play is an important idea within this chapter and dissertation—with hypothetical references, which clarify the implications of the chosen reference. I will also experiment with a range of analogies and metaphors for visualizing the interrelations between works of art and text—Rome or museums as libraries, or banks, like Aby Warburg's analogy for the inheritances and legacies of art forms across history.²⁰⁰ These resonate not only with the integrated, syncretic character of the multiple Antinous references but also the process of research: drawing on multiple sources to construct a unified argument or intellectual path that can both be followed and deconstructed. Play or playfulness is an alternative way of considering Honour's description of neoclassical artists' intellectual process—the use of the artist's higher faculties to interpret and remix forms and materials to create new works that retain the resonances and presences of the originals, but which speak to the artists' creativity and present moment. An important question in this context would therefore be how might Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater* have looked and functioned if Stebbins had chosen a different subject from the poem, and a different model—and how does that clarify what she *did* do with the sculpture Leonard Jerome took home?

Several critical ideas are at play in this chapter: the anachronic and the intertextual, especially the transhistorical intertext, and the idea of presence, most clearly laid out in *Presence: The Inherence of the Prototype Within Images and Other Objects* (2006), edited by Rupert Shepherd and Robert Maniura. The editors wrote in the introduction, while admitting that their definition is a starting point: “by ‘presence’, we mean the identity of the image with the thing

¹⁹⁹ See discussion of Sunil Manghani, Deleuze, and my own constructions in Chapter Five.

²⁰⁰ Christopher D. Johnson, *Memory, Metaphor, and Aby Warburg's Atlas of Images* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2012), x; 21.

it depicts, the ‘inherence’ of the depicted thing in the image, the conflation of the two or the elision of the gap between them. ... There is an ongoing debate within this volume over the role of likeness, or, indeed, any kind of visual appearance in invoking presence.”²⁰¹ In this chapter, I explore the relationship between the presence/inherence of the historical person Antinous and Stebbins’s *Lotus-Eater*. This is not, I argue, a direct portrait of Antinous, but rather a work that constructs a relationship between her finished work, its narrative implications, and the historical figure that relies on viewers’ knowledge of the image and character of Antinous without naming him directly. The conflation of the historical person and the poetic character of the lotus eating islander in Stebbins’s work does not confuse the identification but enriches readings in both directions; Antinous is figured as a mild-eyed, melancholy lotos-eater, and the mild-eyed, melancholy lotos-eater resonates with the erotic, tragic valences of Antinous’ life. The use of Antinous as an objectified figure/object type,²⁰² with details drawn from a huge body of material produced across a large timespan and held in multiple countries and collections, further requires the visualization exercises or methods of the image ecology and matrixes: rearranging historic works (sculpture, text, and so on) in various configurations and considering the potential interstitial, intertextual readings produced by these reconfigurations.

As a foil to the multifaceted and mythic/poetic references in the *Lotus-Eater*, this chapter begins by tackling the pair of sculptures with which the *Lotus-Eater* was first displayed at Goupil’s in 1861. These works, *Commerce* and *Industry*, were straightforward allegories commissioned circa 1857/8 by industrialist Charles August Heckscher (1806-1866);²⁰³ the allegorical themes in

²⁰¹ Rupert Shepherd and Robert Maniura, *Presence: The Inherence of the Within Images and Other Objects* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 2.

²⁰² For a discussion on Antinous the historical person, Antinous the image topos, realism in portraiture, and identity, see Amelia Arenas, “Antinous’ Lips: A Note on the Slippery Matter of Realism in Portraiture,” *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics*, Third Series, 19, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2011), 1–22.

²⁰³ Mary Garland letter and biographical sketch of Emma Stebbins, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, MssCol 3866, 4.

modern dress were well received and their classical references have never been questioned. What I will do with these, then, is not propose new sources but clarify two things: which *specific* versions of the sculptural types Stebbins was probably referencing, and why that matters at all. The unambiguous citation of Praxiteles' Resting Satyr and Polykleitos' Doryphoros makes the further quotation of the Resting Satyr in the *Lotus Eater* doubly unlikely, because as Stebbins was just starting out she surely would have wanted to display the range of her artistic vocabulary and her erudition; repeating the reference in such a short span of time, displayed together in her critical sculptural debut would undermine this.

It is necessary to read and understand the narrative, implications of, and artistic material in 'The Lotos-Eaters,' the poem, by Tennyson that Stebbins was illustrating. It was published first in 1832 in *Poems*, then reissued in 1845 as part of a collection of older works and new poems.²⁰⁴ The poem takes up a brief episode from *The Odyssey* and translates it into six stanzas and an eight-stanza choric song. The sailors of Odysseus's crew join the natives of the island in their indolent stupor and give up on sailing home after partaking of the lotus, whether the fruit of the lotus, the flower itself, or the "yellow lotus-dust." The poem's tone is soporific, oneiric: the sailors repeatedly declaiming their weariness, their discontent with toil, and, despairing of ever reaching home, their preference for the languid, dripping-honey pace of this newfound land. While in Homer's epic episode, Odysseus eventually hauls his crew back to the ship, lashes them to their oars, and sails off again, Tennyson's retelling ends before a satisfying narrative conclusion. This leaves the reader uncertain as to whether or not the sailors will stay among the smoky, intoxicating rivers of the island or get back to the hard but rewarding labour of rowing home.

²⁰⁴ Alfred Tennyson, *Poems* (London: Moxton, 1832). Reissued in *Poems*, Volume 1 (London: Moxton, 1843), 175–184.

Tennyson's work takes aim at those who would squander their days in indolence and physical pleasure rather, than practice hard work and clean moral living.²⁰⁵ The poem may also be read as an exhortation not to forget one's home, no matter how far and wild one may wander; the narrative voice of the poem in both parts seems to be drowning the sorrow of being hopelessly, dangerously far from home in the soothing stupor of the lotus. The exoticism and intoxication of a land more sensuous and easy-going than the fatherland may be distracting, but also dangerous. The educated reader of the 'Lotos-Eaters' would recognize in stanza VI of the choric song the grown son, over-bold princes, and unwelcoming household waiting for Odysseus when he returned home after too long abroad.²⁰⁶ For nineteenth-century Anglo-Americans, Italy was explicitly positioned as a sort of Land of the Lotus-Eaters, with an indolent and unproductive native population who were prone to intoxication and idolatrous, epicurean worship. The poem, then, may have had special resonance for Stebbins, fresh from Puritan New York society and embracing independence, a new career, and a foreign land for the first time. One of the reviews of the statuette makes the connection between the work and the real world clear: "Miss Stebbins has lived in Italy; and she has, there—like every lover of Art and every luxuriast of spells upon the senses and the soul—eaten the lotos! Few have resided for any length of time in Rome or Florence, without wondering at the chill of reluctance with which any thought of *ever* leaving it has fallen on the heart—and, how this lotos spell is intenser upon *artists*, is well enough known to those who have lived with them and shared their thoughts."²⁰⁷ What seems to be missing in Stebbins's finished work, however, is any overt condemnation or warning against these dangers.

It becomes, then, an interesting exercise in potentials and agnations to consider what an *Odysseus in the Land of the Lotus Eaters* by Stebbins might

²⁰⁵ A.A. Markley, *Stateliest Measures: Tennyson and the Literature of Greece and Rome* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 57–8.

²⁰⁶ Tennyson, 'The Lotos-Eaters' lines 119–22.

²⁰⁷ "A New Statue—The Lotus Eater," *The Circular* 7 Feb. 1861.

have looked like.²⁰⁸ A moralized heroic male nude, perhaps: a bearded Homeric-American patriarch overcoming the temptations of foreign indolence and the moral failings of the lower orders to arrive home and punish wrongdoings against him and his family, perhaps striding forward or gesturing towards the ship and promise of home in the gesture of the Apollo Belvedere (Fig. 56) or one of the Tyrannicides (Fig. 57). Or conversely, Stebbins might have crafted a more sedate figure, calmly contemplating his next move in the manner of the so-called Phokion in the Sala della Biga (Fig. 58). Stebbins may even have created a new figure entirely, without the use of the classical referent. Allegories for American moral superiority, grit and determination, and even manifest destiny could easily have been worked into an image of the noble Odysseus from Tennyson's poem, a didactic figure that elevated the viewer through example rather than dissuading the viewer from bad choices.²⁰⁹ If an intended function of the sculpture was to be a moralizing reminder of the risks of intoxication, indolence, and expatriation, however, Stebbins's choice to model one of the lotus-eaters rather than Odysseus, or even one of the sailors, is questionable. The lotus-eaters aren't far from home or travelling, and they have no work to return to or goals to achieve. The work lacks any overt visual cues or commentary suggesting the moral and physical dangers in Tennyson's poem; instead, the figure is languorous without being limp and melancholic without being morbid.

Indeed, the attitude of the figure makes it even more unlikely that Stebbins was referring in any major way to the Resting Satyr (Fig. 59): the Satyr appears ready to spring back into the wild woodland revels from which he is only momentarily resting. He is lithe, sinuous, and vivacious, perhaps about to join his buoyant Borghese brother in dancing and drinking. He is, as Winckelmann describes the ideal satyrs of Greece, more like the youthful

²⁰⁸ Considerations of agnation within translation was first suggested to me by Matthew Reynolds during the "Were we right to fire the canon?" symposium, 19 May 2016.

²⁰⁹ Classical figures and stories which could easily be ascribed Christian morals were often chosen for Victorian-American allegories. William Gerdtz, *American Neo-classic Sculpture: The Marble Resurrection* (New York: Viking Press, 1973), 23.

Apollo Sauroctonos in physique and form than the drowsy, drugged luxuriast of the *Lotus Eater*.²¹⁰ The English translation of Winckelmann further elaborates about the physical attributes and character of satyrs:

The Fauns which Winckelmann appears to designate properly by the epithet *Simi*, that is, flat-nosed, are conceived after a different and lower ideal. They have a broader and flatter face, eyes not deeply set, and, for the most part, a somewhat sunken nose with a thick tip; the mouth is proportionately wide and the face usually distorted with laughter. Warts, like those which goats have, are often put under the jaw, near the neck. In other respects, their conformation is always vigorous and agile, though occasionally slender; and pervaded by strongly-marked muscles and sinews, as required by their occupation of roaming through woods and fields.²¹¹

Satyrs were characterized in text and art as vigorous, rangy, randy, cheerful, and bestial, even when displaying the most Apollonian standard of youthful male beauty and bearing only the most token of animal protuberances—tail, wattles, horns, pointed ears. Satyrs were companions of Dionysus, which this chapter will turn to later, and were creatures of the untamed wild; this might present a parallel with the *Lotus-Eater* and Tennyson’s poem, except their character was conceived in diametric opposition to the mild-eyed melancholy and soft, sensual indolence of the poem. Instead, satyrs often figure in sexual or erotic works,²¹² including the multiple variations on the theme of nymphs struggling with satyrs, on vase paintings with satyrs in ithyphallic states or again engaging in coitus or attempted rape, and in Greek dramas; the satyr was therefore not an appropriate vehicle for conveying more solemn, nuanced, melancholy emotions.

The full-length *Lotus-Eater* statuette depicts a languid youth leaning against a rough tree stump, twined with ivy—perhaps the “shadowed pine” of

²¹⁰ Winckelmann, trans. Lodge, *History*, 74.

²¹¹ Winckelmann, trans. Lodge, *History*, 70, note D.

²¹² See, for example, the sculpture of the Satyr and the goat in the Naples Archaeological Museum, the Townley Symplegma, or even the slightly-more-subtle Pan and Daphnis group also in Naples. My thanks to R.J.I. Mellor for her useful advice and feedback on the erotic imagery related to satyrs.

Tennyson's poem. The tree seems to take the brunt of his weight as he rests, perhaps after the draining exercise of walking out of the winding vales and meadows to greet the newcomers at the shore. Here is not the spritely, active contrapposto of a youth about to spring back into motion, but the indolent, heavy-limbed lounging of an exhausted epicurean. Even his head seems ready to droop under its own weight, exacerbated by the visual weight of the wreath of leaves, simple five-petal flowers, and small fruits slung low across his brow like a crown. The garland is echoed in the spray of the same fruiting branch dangling precariously from his right hand, which serves the double function of discreetly covering his genitals and recalling the introduction of the lotus-eaters: "Branches they bore of that enchanted stem/ Laden with flower and fruit" (28-9). Only the youth's left leg expresses any energy, and then only enough to stay vertical; the whole weight of his body seems ready to collapse against the support of the ivy-clad tree.

A primary difficulty of working from a single extant photograph of the lost sculpture is that the detail of the head, the specificities of its attitude and its attributes, so important to an understanding of the piece, is made nearly impossible.²¹³ This is where the bust-length versions of *The Lotus-Eater* become invaluable as both supplementary pieces of evidence and as independent objects. Of the three known copies, the earliest dates to 1865, and the second two to 1870 (Fig. 60);²¹⁴ one furthermore has the addition of a gilt strap crossing the chest, perhaps a quiver. The expression of the statue is at last accessible. Here is the mild-eyed melancholy of the poem's lotus-eaters; the youth is placid and somnolent from the intoxicating effect of the lotus. Here, too, the lotus crown seems to weigh heavy on the boy's brow, pressing his curls down in defined locks around the face. In profile, the profusion of hair being contained by the garland becomes clear, as the curls expand out in volume at the nape and under the twined ends. The youth's gaze is lidded and

²¹³ This is an issue I revisit in greater critical detail in the following chapter on Hosmer's *Pompeian Sentinel*.

²¹⁴ I am immensely grateful to Conner Rosenkranz Gallery for providing me with detailed photographs of the bust in question.

if the head cannot be described as downcast, then the gaze is at the very least not engaging any viewer, and the lack of defined irises and pupils serves to enhance the unfocused, drugged expression. The shoulders and chest of the work reflect the position of the arms in the full-length statue, with the figure's right shoulder slightly elevated and the indication that the arm is raised to shoulder-height, while the left is dropped and inactive. In the abbreviated bust form, this has the effect of recalling not necessarily the largely unknown full work, but instead certain busts of Antinous, which would have been available to Stebbins and her audience in Rome, Europe, and America. The lotus garland and curls are also strongly reminiscent of many busts of the deified Antinous, particularly as Dionysus. The downward gaze, soft chin, defined brow line, and fleshiness of the face and torso add to this impression. These qualities too-strongly parallel the textual renderings of the canon of Antinous imagery to be accidental; not only the images but the mythopoetic associations of Antinous, Dionysus and his lovers and associates, and the mysteries of mythic intoxication, death, and rebirth will be woven together like the garland on the *Lotus-Eater's* brow.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY :

ALLEGORIES FOR CAPITALISM FROM THE BRACCIO NUOVO

But first, a digression to explore what Stebbins was not doing in the *Lotus-Eater*, by seeing what the direct use of a single source looks like in her work from the same period. Scholarship has comfortably and casually referenced the figures of *Commerce* and *Industry* (Figs. 61–62) as versions of the antique masterpieces of the Resting Satyr and Doryphoros (Figs. 63–64) respectively.²¹⁵ Comfortably because, despite the jaunty Antebellum costumes of the sailor and miner, these works are about as straightforward in their translation of

²¹⁵ It is important to note that the Doryphoros type, specifically the copy in the Naples Museum, was not identified as a work deriving from Polykleitos's bronze original until 1863; see Prettejohn, *Modernity*, 113–4. The Resting Satyr type was attributed to Praxiteles in the late 18th century; see Clemente Marconi, *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Art and Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 527.

their references as Canova's *Perseus and Medusa* in relation to the Apollo Belvedere; casually because these references are usually namedropped and then set aside sans exploration. This does a disservice to the conscious thought clearly used in selecting these references, which are not unique instantiations, but both stand in multiple versions across Rome. As in all things, location is key, and I will argue here that these are not quoting any/all the extant versions, but the specific pair of the works displayed in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican. Though formally all the variations of both works are similar enough to be a reference, in the Braccio Nuovo the two works stand together, separated by only a single alcove, and present them—as nowhere else does—as a pair. Beyond the paired nature of the images, and simple ease of access in having both works in a single place, considering the Braccio Nuovo copies instead of the object families presents a contrast with both the syncretic methods played with in Chapter Two and in the coming material, with Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater*. I return now to look at these figures as representative of one mode for Stebbins's engagement with her classical source material. In turn, this will show that *The Lotus-Eater* is an entirely different mode of responding to classical precedents, as a nuanced and self-referential positioning in canons both historic and artistic, and has little to do with Praxiteles without an intervening, narratively-loaded object as a filter.

As with much of Stebbins's work, the information on the commissioning of these pieces is limited, and comes primarily from the Garland Manuscript and the Stebbins Scrapbook in the Archives of American Art.²¹⁶ The commission for the allegories was given by Charles August Heckscher, probably between 1858 and 1859, for what Mary Stebbins Garland described as “An order was about this time executed for ‘Mr. Hecksher’ [SIC] of New York, for two small figures, representing Mining + Commerce under the forms of a Miner and Sailor.”²¹⁷ Charles August Heckscher was a German-

²¹⁶ Garland Letter, 4; Scrapbook relating to Emma Stebbins, 1858–1882. Emma Stebbins scrapbook, 1858–1882. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. See also Milroy, “Works in Marble.”

²¹⁷ Garland Letter, 4.

Jewish emigrant who had expanded his fortune after arriving in the United States in 1829.²¹⁸ Heckscher came from a cosmopolitan merchant and banking family in Hamburg, with periods spent in Paris and Geneva. Heckscher grew popular and influential in the New York and Boston merchant and banking circles, becoming friendly with many of the important families. It is not unlikely, then, that Heckscher was familiar with Stebbins's family and this may have factored into his giving her the commission—indeed, she would have been fourteen or fifteen when he arrived in New York and may have socialized with him as a debutante, given his reputed popularity with young ladies. Even if she herself was not interested in men or marriage (a fair assumption, based on her spinsterhood and long-term relationship with Charlotte Cushman) her friends may have been and there is no reason to assume that she was not acquainted with a popular and successful young man of good family. By the 1850s, Heckscher was heavily invested in coal mining and transport in Pennsylvania. As to the subjects of the works, it stands to reason that the allegorical figures were intended to represent Heckscher's dominant business interests of shipping and mercantile trade, and the coal mining he had become involved in. The use of the classical references as the foundational poses, underscores Heckscher's and his family's position as cosmopolitan, sophisticated members of high society, and may even have been intended to underscore the familial connection to Europe.

There are, as with so many of the classical works to which I refer, multiple copies of both the Doryphoros and the Resting Satyr, of varying quality and fame in Rome and further afield. Indeed, the Resting Satyr of the Capitoline—more specifically, the Resting Satyr of the Sala del Gladiatore of the Capitoline, since the museum has two copies that were found prior to Stebbins's arrival in Rome—is substantially more famous than the Braccio

²¹⁸ Claudia Schnurmann, "Charles August Heckscher: A Model Self-Made Man and Merchant in the Atlantic World in the First-Half of the Nineteenth Century," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*, 1, edited by Marianne S. Wokeck. German Historical Institute. Last modified Feb. 6, 2014. <http://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=11>.

Nuovo Satyr, and was even before Hawthorne made it a central motif in his *Marble Faun*. Aside from the Braccio Nuovo copy, there are five more Satyrs in varying levels of completeness, size, and quality in the various Vatican museums, three variations in the Villa Torlonia, two in the Villa Albani, and one inside the walls and another in the gardens of the Galleria Borghese. The Doryphoros is not as numerous but is far from solitary: the Vatican again comes in with four apart from the Braccio Nuovo, and the Villas Torlonia and Albani both have copies in their collections, with the Doria Pamphilj, Palazzo Mattei, and the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme also holding partial copies—among others. So if there are so many copies of these works in the visual environment of Rome, some of which are better or more famous, why am I arguing that Stebbins was looking at the particular versions in the Braccio Nuovo, and not the disparate superior versions? One very simple facet of this is a question of access, and this should not be discounted as a major factor: if you are preparing a pair of statues, having the two right next to each other is far, far more convenient than having to make your way across the city to get from one to the next—especially for a woman in a corset and hoop skirts in her mid-forties, unused to the Mediterranean climate. From personal experience, even with modern transport and modern revisions to the urban landscape to improve travel, it can be a right hassle getting from Via Gregoriana to the Vatican and to the Capitoline. These two are also pre-set as a pair, separated as they are by one alcove, and the relationship between the two for Stebbins’s allegories is therefore validated in advance by the set up—she is not mixing and matching at random from the corpus of antique male bodies but remixing a set of objects already pre-approved through curation. A well-travelled, cosmopolitan audience would easily have been able to recognize the works as the type generally, but also make the connection to the pair of the objects from the only gallery where they are presented, in full figure and as discrete masterpieces, in such close proximity. Even where they are together elsewhere in the Vatican, in the Chiaramonti, the pieces are heavily fragmented and separated by some distance. Apart from the Occam’s razor of easy access, there are distinct formal differences especially with the varying

copies of the Satyr that suggest the Braccio Nuovo copy over the Capitoline, which will be addressed as they arise.

Stebbins's *Industry* is a miniature coal miner made marmoreal. The piece elides the dirt and danger of coal mining through the presentation of the strapping young man in the pose of the Doryphoros. The immediate effect of the pose—through the reference and through the bold action shown—has the effect of heroicizing the miner. The miner is portrayed fully dressed, though with an open shirt, and with the tools of his trade: a pick axe, held over his shoulder like the original model's spear, and the hardhat. While the Doryphoros is bare-headed, this miner's attribute may recall the helmets of ancient warriors and heroes. Stebbins also reversed the pose from the original model, which had the spear held in the warrior's left hand and the right inactive. The industrious miner holds his axe actively in his right hand and rests his left not passively at his side but possessively on a protrusion of stone, which stands in for the seam of living rock from which he hews his coal and powers industry. Stebbins's choice to reverse the pose creates a pleasing mirror to the pendant *Commerce*; she likely reversed the Doryphoros quotation rather than the Satyr as a more effective avenue to emphasize the allegory of activity and productivity in America, by showing the miner ready to continue swinging his axe with his strong right arm.

In turn, Stebbins's *Commerce* contemporizes the model of the Resting Satyr in the form of a sailor, the figure responsible for ferrying the products of *Industry*. In *Commerce*, Stebbins held even more closely to the original source material. The pose is not mirrored, though it is more relaxed than either the Braccio Nuovo Satyr or the Capitoline Satyr. As a further point towards Stebbins's use of the Braccio Nuovo rather than Capitoline copy, the Braccio Nuovo version has a less exaggerated contrapposto and the bulk of the figure is more restrained in pose. Rather than the sassily swinging hip of the Capitoline Satyr, the Braccio Nuovo Satyr leans more fully against the supporting tree trunk and presents a far more vertical composition. In contrast, the Capitoline Satyr is a study in negative space and sinuous curves from the plinth up. This

is not a qualitative judgement on the relative merits of the two versions, but points towards the likelihood that Stebbins was not solely influenced by the famous Capitoline copy. *Commerce* is also highly specific in its visual references to the Satyr's clothing (such as it is) and his coiffure (so much as a satyr's hair can be called coiffed). The Satyr's animal skin cloak, so dramatically and dashingly swept across his chest at an angle is echoed on the sailor in the sweep of folds in his shirt and the jaunty kerchief knotted at the centre of his chest, all pulled to the right by the hand at his waist. The Satyr's hair is a distinctively and dramatically upswept tangle of locks, which on the Braccio Nuovo copy is topped with a wreath—the head of the Resting Satyr is distinctive enough that fragmentary heads and busts can be identified as replicas of the original.²¹⁹ *Commerce*'s hair is likewise swept heavenwards and crowned with a round cap worn low on the back of the head.

The visual analogues and specificity of referencing in the *Industry* and *Commerce* pair to the Doryphoros and Resting Satyr respectively make it clear that Stebbins was capable of co-opting and contemporizing ancient models as suited her needs and purposes. The referential nature of the works in part negates the potential vulgarity of their contemporary, working-class subjects and the specificity of their costume, and thus makes them fit for consideration as fine art. In miniature, perhaps displayed in Heckscher's office or in his home study, the subjects further emphasize the nature of capitalist industry and the power of the industrialist over his workers and the land. The classical references simultaneously elevate the subjects from mere contemporary figures of miner and sailor, commerce and industry, product and trade, to heroicized and timeless idealizations. The choice of references—two of the most famous Greco-Roman sculpture types, which were displayed in close proximity to each other in a single gallery as well as in disparate locations across Rome (and the rest of Italy, and Europe)—would have been

²¹⁹ This form of *kopienkritik* is also used for identifying Antinous images. For a fuller discussion of the problems involved in identifying Antinous images, see Caroline Vout, "Antinous, Archaeology and History," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 95 (2005), 80–96.

immediately recognizable to Stebbins' social peers who commissioned these works and viewed them in their friends' homes.²²⁰

For *Commerce* and *Industry*, the potential use of a single version of each antique reference, rather than incorporating multiple variations or fragments of the type as a group or a family, was probably seen as an intellectual exercise for Stebbins in comparison to the much more varied Antinous references coming up next. The Antinous reference are more akin to Hosmer's bringing together of disparate periods, subjects, and sources for her *paragone*. In a way, these too could be seen as a *paragone* with the ancients, like Hosmer's *Daphne* and *Medusa*, and it might be argued that Gibson, their mutual mentor, may have set this kind of thought experiment to them as part of their training, though there is no extant textual evidence for this. That may well be because they were in such close daily communication that there was no need to write these things down: exercises like this could form part of the fabric of the studio practice, and become finished works, without the need to document the process in any way other than through the evidence of the finished works. Again, the artists lived together at this point, sharing a home, social connections, and patronage from Charlotte Cushman and the American tourists. As for the objects of *paragone*: apart from the convenience factor of having them both in a single location, and the pre-established pairing of the Praxitelean and the Polykleitan, the use of the single objects makes the new pair of allegories analogies rather than amalgamations. They are one-to-one translations, though their allegorical and therefore symbolic natures render them poetic translations of the form into an American vernacular of productivity and materialism. Displayed alongside the literally poetic *Lotus-Eater*, *Industry* and *Commerce* show Stebbins's functional grasp of classical sculpture and its workable forms. The choice of works reference the

²²⁰ For more on antique sculpture, the Grand Tour, and its legacies into the nineteenth century, see Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven: Yale, 1981); Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique*; Chloe Chard, "Nakedness and Tourism: Classical Sculpture and the Imaginative Geography of the Grand Tour," *Oxford Art Journal* 18:1 (1995), 14–28.

Polykleitan canon of proportions, and the Praxitelean grace which both revolutionized antique sculpture, and she translates these revolutions into images for the American industrialist.

ANTINOUS:

LIVE FAST, DIE YOUNG, LEAVE A GOOD-LOOKING CORPUS

Though the commission for the concept of Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater* came from John Gibson, and the commission for the marble came from Leonard Jerome, there is no information extant in the epistolary record from whence came the idea for the subject to be a voluptuously nude and visibly ripe young man. As the first full-length male nude statue by an American woman,²²¹ this was a bold choice, especially for Stebbins, whose oeuvre would be seen to tend towards the conservative,²²² the religious, and the fully-dressed. The nude *Lotus-Eater* is an outlier. Stebbins appears not to have been as interested in the inescapable sensuality of the nude, nor the exacerbation of that sensuality through a wealth of haptic finishes as Hosmer with her Canovan tendencies to create curves and contours that seemed caressed and kissed into being.²²³ However, she did not shy away from it in her one major nude work; the *Lotus-Eater* in its own way is as luxurious and sexually lush as the bare and heaving bosoms of Hosmer's busts. Hosmer's first full-length male nude was the sensuous *Waking Faun* of 1865 and in 1860/1 was known primarily for her ideal female busts, nudes, and portraits. Indeed: it may well have been that Stebbins, knowing she was about to make her debut and would therefore almost immediately be compared to Hosmer, set out to make it very clear that

²²¹ Occasionally, Anne Whitney's version of the same subject is credited as being the first male nude sculpture by an American woman artist, but the earliest version of Whitney's piece dates to 1864, seven years after Stebbins's sister says she began hers and three after it was displayed at Goupil in New York.

²²² A problematic term, given the discussion of neoclassicism as intellectual and dynamic in the introduction, and a problem I return to in Chapter Five.

²²³ Leopoldo Cicognara, quoted in Alex Potts, *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist*, 43, as at note 159.

she was perfectly capable of playing that game, but she was going to do it on her own terms and was not simply retracing Hosmer's sculpted steps.

However, it is unlikely that these concerns of professional distinction were the prime motivator in choosing the male nude, especially as the nude body was still morally suspect when not carefully justified, and it was still nearly impossible for the female art students and even professional artists to gain access to the nude model in America. Apart from questions of visual reference material or thematic issues involved in Stebbins's choice to sculpt a nude male figure, it must be acknowledged that her utilization of the male nude as the subject for her first ideal sculpture was inherently loaded. While the proliferation of the female nude in American sculpture following Hiram Powers's *Greek Slave* had accustomed the American public to marble breasts and their spotless moral purity, the male nude was substantially less common, reserved mostly for children, babies, and *putti*.²²⁴ *The Lotus-Eater* was furthermore the first male nude by an American woman sculptor. Stebbins may also have taken on the male nude as a different approach to concepts of ideal beauty in the nineteenth century. Where the female nude was the more common expression of idealized human form, with this work Stebbins engaged with a Greek concept of the male body as the location of human perfection and beauty, and therefore also with Winckelmann's discourse on types of male beauty in sculpture, mortal and deified.

It is worth noting again that Emma Stebbins's sister made a point of emphasizing, in writing intended for publication, that Stebbins had spent time seriously studying from the male nude figure while in training with Paul Akers. It is also especially important to note the socioeconomic and racialized privilege that Stebbins held, as a wealthy middle-aged American working in the Anglo-American enclave, when hiring Italian or potentially Roma models to work in her studio. She was paying to use the youth or youths, not sexually,

²²⁴ Stebbins's teacher Paul Akers also sculpted *The Dead Pearl Diver* around the same time, which aestheticized the dead male body rather than the living.

but demanding strenuous labour and commodifying his or their bodies and time in order to pursue her own goals. Some artists' models, like Nana Risi would become a famous figure in her role as muse (Stebbins modelled a portrait of her as well, perhaps introduced by Frederic Leighton or Adelaide Sartoris),²²⁵ or even the thinly veiled aristocratic models who occasionally posed (Harriet Hosmer and Lady Adelaide Talbot for *Beatrice Cenci*).²²⁶ However, the models for the *Lotus-Eater* are unknown and elided from the readings of the work. The demanding physical labour of holding a pose that appears to be boneless and louche, while still displaying a high degree of physical fitness and defined musculature, is suppressed in favour of the intellectual labour of the artist and the attribution of identity to poetic subject or historical analogue.²²⁷ The scale of the finished work further underscores the objectification of the unnamed model; his image became a trinket, a fractional figure, and one which could be reduced further to the bust form. The use of a lower-status, racially-marked younger person for the intellectual, artistic, and personal satisfaction of oneself might not have been mentioned in reviews of the work, or even often in the scholarship surrounding work of Hosmer or Stebbins, but it is important to note, especially as it parallels discussions of the relationship between Hadrian and Antinous at times.

The *Lotus-Eater* does not conform to a single classical model, and is not an allegorical figure of a modern subject in need of classicizing or heroicizing, like the *Commerce* and *Industry*. The doubly literary subject—Homer by way of Tennyson—secured the subject's acceptability and the cultural value of the

²²⁵ For more on Nanna Risi, and the only image of the Stebbins bust I have been able to find, see Richard G. Dorment, "'A Roman Lady' by Frederic Leighton," *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin*, 73, No. 317 (June, 1977), 8.

²²⁶ Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer*, 47–50; Melissa L. Gustin, paper presentation, "Whose Head Is It, Anyway? Harriet Hosmer's Beatrice Cenci and Santa Cecilia in Trastevere," NAVSA Florence, May 20, 2017; Fryd, "'Ghosting,'" 292–306.

²²⁷ There is less written on the American artists' use of models than might be expected. See especially, Margaret Farrand Thorp, "Literary Sculptors in the Caffè Greco," *American Quarterly*, 12, No. 2, Part 1 (Summer, 1960), 160–174; Dabakis, *Sisterhood*, 102–3. Dabakis discusses access to the nude model, especially male, for the female artists, but not the social, economic, and racialized power structures between the female gaze and the male body.

work beyond the material costs of marble and carving. That it is not a direct analogue to a single ancient type does not mean that Stebbins was not engaging directly with classical sources, visual and textual, and synthesizing her own significant framework of meanings and readings. What is most certain is that *The Lotus-Eater* has much less to do with the Resting Satyr than previously stated. Instead, it is a synthesis of the figure who has been described as the “most famous fairy in history,” Antinous, the teenage lover of the Emperor Hadrian.²²⁸ The absence of hard facts about Antinous’ life and his relationship with Hadrian has made it, and continues to make it, easy for his legacy to be fashioned and refashioned as needed. There is not even a firm consensus on how long he was with Hadrian, though it seems that he was fully installed in the imperial court by 128 and drowned in the Nile in 130, under still-contested circumstances.²²⁹ A general consensus exists that there was some sort of sacrificial component to his death, though to what end and how much Hadrian knew or had been involved in this may never be fully understood. Indeed, much of the romance surrounding Antinous comes from the mysteries surrounding the life and death of a beautiful youth, whose extraordinary appearance has survived the ravages and vagaries of history in the form of innumerable portraits. Were we to understand fully the true nature of the boy from Bithynia, his relationship with Hadrian, and the circumstances of his death, there would be less freedom to co-opt his life and image.

As to the facts of Antinous’s life and subsequent deification: Dio Cassius is the closest source to the event itself, writing between eighty and one hundred or so years later, and possibly basing his text on Maximus’s lost *Vita Hadriani* and potentially a text believed to have been Hadrian’s own memoirs, published under the name Phlegmon; the other main ancient texts are the

²²⁸ Sarah Waters, “‘The Most Famous Fairy in History’: Antinous and Homosexual Fantasy,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* vol 6. no. 2 (Oct. 1995), 194–230.

²²⁹ For full explorations of Antinous and Hadrian, see Anthony R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor* (London: Routledge, 1997); Royston Lambert, *Beloved and God: the Story of Hadrian and Antinous* (London: Phoenix Books, 1997; first published London: George Wiedenfeld and Nicolson Limited, 1984).

Historia Augusta and Aurelius Victor.²³⁰ The post-classical reception has been mixed in sympathies, with early Christian commentators like Clement of Alexandria (from whom we shall hear more later) declaiming against him, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (first published 1776)²³¹ skirting the issue but condemning Hadrian's erroneous passions, and nineteenth- and twentieth-century sources growing more sympathetic as time progresses. Occasionally the self-sacrifice theory will be amended to include the idea that Antinous may have been suicidal, perhaps looking for an honourable way out of the relationship as he passed the age where a Greek boy could honourably be the lover of an older man, since continuing on as Hadrian's lover as he entered his twenties would be shameful. The drowning is then framed as an intersection of Antinous' suicidal ideations, and genuine feelings for Hadrian and the desire to protect him or help him via the sacrificial act. Symonds and Viktor Rydberg published essays (Symonds in English in 1879, Rydberg in Swedish in 1877 with an English translation published also in 1879) on Antinous.²³² Though the largest body of material in the nineteenth century on Antinous postdates Stebbins's work, there appear to have been no substantial new developments in the corpus of either sculpture or written evidence, and therefore it is not out of the question to say that these men were largely drawing on the same body of work that Stebbins had access to twenty years earlier.

²³⁰ Translated Anthony Birley, *Lives of the Later Caesars* (London: Penguin, 1976), 72.

²³¹ Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* vol. 1 (London: W. Strahan and T Cadell, 1776) xii, n. 40.

²³² Viktor Rydberg, trans. Alfred Corning Clark, *Roman Days* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1879), 188–208; John Addington Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Italy* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1879), 47–90 (first published, "Antinous," *Cornhill Magazine*, 39 [1879] 200–212); 343, 358; for the use of Antinous as a visual and thematic model in the 1860s–70s, especially by Simeon Solomon, see Liz Prettejohn, *After the Pre-Raphaelites: Art and Aestheticism in Victorian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Stephen Bann, "John Addington Symonds and the Misrecognition of Antinous," paper presented as part of 'Writing the Antique: The Image of Antinous in Modern Literature', Henry Moore Institute, July 2006; Stephen Bann, "Versions of Antinous: Symonds between Shelley and Yourcenaar," in *John Addington Symonds: Culture and the Demon Desire* (Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2000), 136–153.

The Antinous corpus is one of beautiful marble boys who are almost immediately recognizable; the identification of Antinous rests in an iconography of curls and pouts.²³³ During the late eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, sculptures were added and subtracted from the Antinous canon, even as new versions were being crafted out of old amalgamations and copies spreading out across Europe—recently, scholarship has recognized that the Ludovisi bust, in the Palazzo Altemps, and the fragmentary face in the Art Institute of Chicago, were the separated pieces of the same work (Figs. 65–67).²³⁴ Perhaps the most famous of the works to be excised from the canon were the Belvedere Antinous, now the Belvedere Hermes, and the Capitoline Antinous, now also called Hermes (most of the time).²³⁵ It was still considered an Antinous in 1854, when it was published—directly preceding the Capitoline Satyr—in the Capitoline Museum portion of Emil Braun’s *The Ruins and Museums of Rome: A Guide Book for Travellers, Artists, and Lovers of Antiquity*.²³⁶ Indeed, the Capitoline Museum still refers to it as Antinous in its didactic materials. Many of these pieces will not point to specific formal elements in Stebbins’s piece, but demonstrate that Antinous images were widely available to an artist working in Rome in the nineteenth century, and that the corpus of images as a whole yields several recognizable

²³³ For a detailed discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the identification schemes for Antinous, see Caroline Vout, “Biography as Fantasy, History as Image,” in *Antinous: Face of the Antique*, exh. cat. Henry Moore Institute, Leeds, 25 May–27 August 2006. The most complete catalogues of portraits of Antinous are Konrad Levezow, *Über den Antinous: dargestellt in den Kunstdenkmälern des Alterthums* (Berlin, 1808), and Ch. W. Clairmont, *Die Bildnisse des Antinoos: ein Beitrag zur Portätplastikm unter Kaiser Hadrian* (Rome, 1996).

²³⁴ “A Portrait of Antinous in Two Parts,” exhibition, Art Institute of Chicago (2 April 2016–5 September 2016), and Palazzo Altemps, Rome (15 September 2016–15 January, 2017).

²³⁵ Winckelmann was responsible for first describing the Belvedere Hermes as a Meleager; see Johannes Joachim Winckelmann, *Monumenti Antichi Inediti Spiegati ed Illustrati*, 1 (Rome, 1767), 55; 75; it was later recategorized as a Hermes based on the statue type.

²³⁶ Emil Braun, *The Ruins and Museums of Rome* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1855), 126–7. It is still referred to as an Antinous by the Capitoline Museums and the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, which has a plaster copy. It has been proposed as an Antinous-Hermes as well, see Jiří Frel, “In the Shadow of Antinous,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 7 (1973), 127–130.

elements and commonalities between both the full length version of *The Lotus Eater* and its busts. This will further show that the Resting Satyr type is unsatisfactory as a singular referent for the pieces in question. However, the first potential Antinous reference is in many respects quite similar to the Resting Satyr I have already set aside, and like the Satyr, differs from *The Lotus Eater* in substantive ways. This is what makes it a useful entry point for these images, in fact, because if the Satyr is the canonically cited reference, why not the San Ildefonso Group (Fig. 68), which in fact is more similar in the head and attitude of the figure? The serpentine silhouette and soft muscularity of the left figure is related to the Resting Satyr, although the sharp downward angle of the head is a striking difference stemming from the restoration of the sculpture to incorporate an antique head of Antinous. This restoration complicates the interpretation of the original work as well as its multiple copies.²³⁷ The subject of the original work has been contested since the seventeenth century. It is now generally accepted as a Castor and Pollux, though this is still disputed, and during the nineteenth century the association with Antinous and Hadrian was going strong, as was its aesthetic appeal—J.A. Symonds, roughly 110 years after Winckelmann’s use of it in the *Monumenti Antichi* and 20 years after Stebbins, was promoting it as such, even going so far as using it as the frontispiece for *Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece* (Figs. 69–70). It has even, in the twentieth century, been imagined as the product of Hadrian’s own hand.²³⁸

Though the Praxiteles work may take precedence in the existing literature because of its fame and the influence it had on Hawthorne and the accessibility in the Capitoline Museum, the San Ildefonso Group was, in its time, equally well-regarded. At first it is difficult to see how Stebbins would have had access to the work for study, given that the original marble had been sold to Philip V of Spain in 1724. A plaster cast had been made and installed at the French Academy in Rome, until it was (probably) destroyed during the

²³⁷ Haskell and Penny, *Taste*, 174.

²³⁸ S. Ish-Kishor, *Magnificent Hadrian* (New York, 1935).

Napoleonic Wars in Italy.²³⁹ This plaster cast was Johann Winckelmann's source for the group rather than the original, though he considered it a group from Euripides's *Electra*;²⁴⁰ the cast also was the resource for Joseph Nollekens's celebrated copy for Shugborough Hall, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum,²⁴¹ and for the variation in the gardens of Versailles by Antoine Coysevox (Fig. 71). While there is no epistolary or archival proof that Stebbins visited Versailles, it is highly likely, given the ease of access from Paris by railway as a day-trip—a guidebook published in 1856 even gives directions on how to get there by train, omnibus, or private carriage.²⁴² The Versailles copy is of especial interest for two reasons: first, the addition of a tree between the figures which may in fact represent an intermediary reference between the Resting Satyr and the *Lotus-Eater* sculptures. The second variation which makes it a distinctly valuable comparison is the addition of a spray of foliage held in the right which droops decorously across the groin of the Antinous figure while the original and closer copies are fully exposed. The branch, which is probably an olive, is a detail worthy of notice given the drupe-bearing branch held by Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater* and the lack of similar variations in the other works. The figure in the original and the Nollekens copy (Fig. 72) holds a small round object, possibly an offering plate or mirror. None of the other full length nude sculptures likely to have been influential during Stebbins's design process have original elements like this, let alone ones which are so closely echoed in the final design of *The Lotus-Eater*.

²³⁹ Email communication with Alessandra Gariazzo, assistant to the archives of the Villa Medici, 19 Mar 2015.

²⁴⁰ Winckelmann, *Monumenti Antichi Inediti* vol.1 (Rome, 1767), XXI—XXII, ill. XIV.

²⁴¹ Victoria and Albert Museum inv. A.59-1940.

²⁴² "The railway trains start during the summer season every hour from Paris and Versailles, with corresponding omnibus. Those, however, who prefer other modes of conveyance, will find diligences from the end of the Rue Rivoli, running frequently during the day; and glass coaches capable of taking seven persons, beside the coachman, may be hired at 24 francs the day. This latter mode is to be preferred by a party, particularly on Sundays and fête days." Francis Coghlan, *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy: Arranged and Written Upon a New Plan, with All the Lines of Railways, etc* (London: Tallant and Allen, 1856), 25.

Of the statues available in Rome for Stebbins to have considered, the most important full length work is the Capitoline Antinous, now often called Hermes (Fig. 73). The persistence of the Antinous title is likely due to the pose and gesture it shares with the Farnese Antinous, now in Naples, as well as a statuette of the same type in the Museo Chiaramonti at the Vatican. The Capitoline Hermes' discovery in the grounds of Hadrian's villa certainly leans circumstantial evidence towards its attribution, despite the variations from what was even by then a recognized type, as well as its similarity in gesture to the Farnese Antinous (Fig. 74).²⁴³ The Capitoline Hermes is a more static figure than either the Belvedere Hermes or the Resting Satyr type, both of which have more dynamic and sinuous contours. *The Lotus-Eater*, though it has the crossed ankles and faintly jutting hip that first suggests a similarity to both the Belvedere Hermes and Resting Satyr, is equally stable in the planted left foot and verticality of the active thigh, which in both the Capitoline Hermes and *Lotus-Eater* mirrors the stark verticality of the supporting tree. This is also echoed in the San Ildefonso Group's left figure, and in the Coysevox copy is echoed in the centred support. It absolutely must be noted that the Hermes is displayed in the same gallery as the Capitoline Satyr, and has been since approximately 1817, when the Sala del Gladiatore was filled with treasures returning from France.²⁴⁴ Furthermore, a bust of Antinous to which I will return is in the adjacent hallway. Any visit Stebbins may have made to the Capitoline Museums would have been richer in Antinoi than in Satyrs.

It is possible to see further typical features from the Antinous corpus in Stebbins's work. In the Vatican, there are several portrait busts, the most prototypical of which is inv. 646, in the Sala dei Busti (Fig. 75). This piece has the highly identifiable facial features, the typical lock structure, and the swelling breast with one shoulder raised. The head is turned to the right and

²⁴³ For a fuller discussion of the problems involved in identifying Antinous images, see Vout, "Antinous, Archaeology and History."

²⁴⁴ Henry Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: The sculptures of the Museo capitolino*, (London: Clarendon, 1912), 338.

the gaze cast slightly downward. The contours of the piece are in fact nearly identical to the bust of the *Lotus-Eater* in reverse. It may be presumed that this bust, as well as the Ludovisi Antinous and the Antinous d'Ecouen (Fig. 76) (itself a copy of the Prado Antinous), are all bust-length abbreviations of a pose which had one arm raised and the other lowered or inactive, as in the full-length *Lotus-Eater*.²⁴⁵ The Ludovisi Antinous is interesting for both its similarity to the Stebbins busts and for the fact of its high degree of restoration. The head had been identified as an Antinous based on the extant curls on the back of the head and temple, and the face was restored accordingly; the treatment of the coiffure on the restoration is markedly different and the visible demarcation between the ancient marble and the restored portions, as well as the slightly undersized face in proportion to the rest of the bust, give the effect of the face being superimposed or framed by the rest of the work. In the *Lotus-Eater* bust, there is a similar effect due to the proportion and volume of the hair in relation to the face. The features on the Ludovisi Antinous are furthermore of a younger boy than typical compared to other busts, where the lines of the features are stronger, more adult, and more defined.

It is nearly pointless to discuss Antinous in the visual environment of Rome without looking at the Albani relief (Fig. 77). The relief was, with the Mondragone head, one of Winckelmann's pinnacles of art.²⁴⁶ Apart from its pride of place in Winckelmann's portrait by Anton van Maron, or even in Albani's Antinous room, a key element of its importance here is the passage in the *Monumenti* where Winckelmann discusses the symbolism of the lotus garland he wears, which specifically associates the lotus garland with Antinous. After discussing the oft-repeated story that a new lotus, with red flowers, had been discovered following Antinous's death, and that this bloom related to the lion he had killed with Hadrian in Mauritania preceding his

²⁴⁵ Symonds, *Sketches*, 48.

²⁴⁶ See Caroline Vout, "Winckelmann and Antinous," *Cambridge Classical Journal* 52, (2006), 139–162; Haskell and Penny, *Taste*, 144–6.

demise, Winckelmann proceeds to a much more interesting theory linking the poppy and the lotus: “Not only from the poet was born the use of the lotus garland for the head of portraits of Antinous, but also, I think, for the similarity between the it and the poppy.”²⁴⁷ Winckelmann posits that the flowers are similar in scent and in blossoming in spring, and that their sweetness is comparable to Antinous’ beauty. What he does not discuss, and what is a key similarity between the poppy and the lotus is their soporific nature, whether factual, as with the poppy, or mythic, with the lotus.²⁴⁸ The connection between the lotus and the poppy also hearkens back to the Eleusinian mysteries into which Hadrian, and probably Antinous with him, had been initiated.²⁴⁹ The poppy was a key emblem of the mysteries, seen in the architectural elements of the temple, and possibly an ingredient in the *kykeon* of the main ritual. Dionysus was also a figure in the Lesser Mysteries, at least, and quite probably the Great Mysteries, where the plants with which he was associated included not just the grape vine and ivy but myrtle, the pomegranate, and the hallucinatory poppy. These visual, iconographic, and religious intersections seem to play out in the Albani relief, as well as in the numerous images of Antinous as Dionysus (or Attis, Aristeus, or Harpokrates) where the original headpieces have been damaged or lost.²⁵⁰ Furthermore,

²⁴⁷ Winckelmann, *Monumenti* vol. 2, 236, my translation.

²⁴⁸ For more on Eleusis and Dionysus see Carl Kerényi, *Eleusis: Archetypical Image of Mother and Daughter*, trans. Ralph Manheim (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 55; 132–44.

²⁴⁹ Symonds also points out that there may have been games associated with Antinous at Eleusis, and that there was a seat dedicated to Antinous at the Dionysiac theatre in Athens, “among the chairs above the orchestra assigned to priests of elder deities and more august traditions,” Symonds, *Sketches*, 69. The connection between Antinous and Eleusis is not new; Lenormant points out that Antinous’s assimilation into the precinct of Eleusis after his death was generally in the guise of Iakkhos, an aspect or figure of Dionysus that had long been associated in the performance of the mysteries and one with sacrificial connotations. François Lenormant, “L’Antinoüs d’Éleusis,” *Revue Archéologique Nouvelle Série*, 28 (July-December 1874), 217–219. On Hadrian, Antinous, and the Eleusinian mysteries, see Birley, *Restless Emperor*, 174–180: Antinous may have been with Hadrian by 123 CE and accompanied him to Eleusis where he was initiated in 124 CE. There is also a statue of Antinous which was uncovered in the grounds of the precinct at Eleusis, now in the Archaeological Museum of Eleusis.

²⁵⁰ See for example the statue of Antinous as Aristeus in the Musée du Louvre, inv. MR 73.

there are visual similarities in the presentation of the poppy and the lotus in sculptures: the lotuses on the garland of the Albani relief look remarkably like ever-so-slightly squashed and elongated *papaver* pods, and in colour, the legendary red lotus of Antinous has its echo in the petals of the dream-giving poppy.

This selection of Antinous images represents a mere fraction of the works depicting the imperial favourite that were excavated and displayed in Rome before 1860—let alone the rest of Europe. They are also not the only potential points of reference, partial or otherwise, that Stebbins may have had in mind while she worked on *The Lotus-Eater*. Near the Capitoline head (Fig. 78), for example, are several heads of Dionysus, including one which Winckelmann (calling it a Leukothea) specifically relates to the Mondragone head of Antinous (Fig. 79–80).²⁵¹ The hair and wreath are of especial visual dominance in this head. The Capitoline Museum didactic and archival materials suggest that the wreath was originally intended to be ivy and forest fruits; the ivy is clear enough but the only remaining cluster that might have been fruit looks more like a poppy head than edible berries. Other objects include a full-length Dionysus image such as one in the Galleria dei Candelabri of the Vatican, or the Ganymede in the Museo Chiaramonti, where the shepherd boy leans against a tree, feet crossed at the ankles and the active leg forming a strong vertical line (Figs. 81–82).²⁵² Ganymede, of course, was one of the many figures to whom Antinous was compared after his death. The museums of Rome are full of such images, whether complete, restored, or fragmentary, and it is entirely possible that an artist might draw on any one or combination of them as needed. To take, finally, the *corpus* of Antinous images as a whole, and compare that to *The Lotus-Eater* busts, it is clear that the overwhelming impression of the *Lotus-Eater* head is one that matches the canonical descriptions of Antinous in sculpture. While details can be plucked

²⁵¹ Winckelmann *Monumenti*, vol. 2, 70.

²⁵² This Ganymede may draw on the Resting Satyr type, but this puts the Satyr itself at a degree removed and seen through the narrative filter of the Ganymede myth.

from one example or another and matched up, the most telling comparison is between an individual's personal reconstruction of what might be considered the "real" Antinous out of the assemblage of fragments and figments available. Stebbins's work may in one sense be considered as much a portrait of Antinous as the highly stylized Mondragone head or the most feebly-accepted portrait in the corpus, or it may be read in the same manner as Raphael's sculpture of Saint Jerome in the Chigi Chapel,²⁵³ as a post-classical quotation/re-working but not a copy or portrait (Fig. 83).

*ANTINOUS-DIONYSUS:
SEX, DRUGS, AND RITUAL SACRIFICE*

Of the statues of Antinous available in Rome or via reproductive media in the mid-nineteenth century, most are more-or-less straightforward portraits. However, some of the most famous are portraits in the guise of Dionysus, including the Braschi Antinous in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican Museum, the Mondragone Antinous at the Louvre, and the Townley and Lansdowne busts in England. Less famous perhaps are the bust from the Albani collection, now in the Capitoline Museums, and the Centrale Montemartini statue excavated in the Aldobrandini gardens in 1876. The other most common deification is Osiris, of which there are several examples in the Vatican Museums. There are also inscriptions associating Antinous with Hermes, which are noted by Symonds, and it has been suggested that the Capitoline Hermes might be read as an Antinous-Hermes.²⁵⁴ Several works of questionable deification exist—suggestions include Attis or Adonis, and in the case of the Delphi statue and head, probably Apollo as well. In the context of

²⁵³ For a full discussion of the problem of Antinous and the Chigi Chapel, see Rosario Rovira Guardiola, "The Spell of Antinous in Renaissance Art: The Jonah Statue in Santa Maria della Popolo," in *Seduction and Power: Antiquity in the Visual and Performing Arts*, ed. Silke Knippschild and Marta Garcia Morcillo (London, New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 263–68.

²⁵⁴ Frel, "Shadow of Antinous," compares the Capitoline Hermes to the Farnese Antinous.

The Lotus-Eater, however, the most interesting deified Antinous is by far the Antinous-Dionysus. *Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* of 1850 calls Dionysus the “youthful, beautiful but effeminate god of wine,” describes his association with intoxication—and madness to the point of murder or human sacrifice, and outlines his travels through Greece, Egypt, and India.²⁵⁵ These qualities—youth and beauty, travel, intoxication, murder-sacrifice—are what make the Antinous-Dionysus sculptures especially relevant to Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater*. As previously discussed, Tennyson's poem and Stebbins's work are both rife with themes of travel, foreign lands and people and the dangers thereof, and intoxication, all of which are Dionysian themes. Furthermore, the tree in the full-length version of *The Lotus-Eater* is twined with ivy, a specifically Dionysian attribute that visually underscores the affiliation with the god of intoxication in a work about an intoxicated boy and an intoxicating plant. While the lotus is not specifically one of the plants traditionally affiliated with Dionysus, its mythological intoxicating qualities certainly place it within his milieu alongside the poppy and the grape.

Winckelmann, of course, had opinions on the conformation of beauty in the figure of Dionysus, which are unsurprisingly relevant here:

The second kind of ideal youth is drawn from the conformation of eunuchs. It is represented, blended with masculine youth, in Bacchus. He appears under this form, at different ages, until he attains his full growth, and in the most beautiful statues, always with delicate, round limbs, and the full, expanded hips of the female sex ... The type of Bacchus is a lovely boy who is treading the boundaries of the springtime of life and adolescence, in whom emotions of voluptuousness, like the tender shoots of a plant, are budding, and who, as if between sleeping and waking, half rapt in a dream of exquisite delight, is beginning to collect and verify the pictures of his fancy; his features are full of

²⁵⁵ Smith, *Dictionary*, 1046–8. While older images and cult images of Dionysus tended towards the “Indian” type or mature, bearded Dionysus, the “Theban” type or youthful Dionysus are more common and are the model for the Antinous–Dionysus sculptures. The definitive work on the myths and iconography of Dionysus in the ancient world is Karl Kerényi, *Dionysos: Archetypical Image of Indestructible Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976, 1996 reprint).

sweetness, but the joyousness of his soul is not manifested wholly upon his countenance.²⁵⁶

Further:

In this respect the ancient artists have risen to the ideal, not only in the conformation of the face, but also in the youthful figures of certain gods, as Apollo and Bacchus. This ideal consists in the incorporation of the forms of prolonged youth in the female sex with the masculine forms of a beautiful young man, which they consequently made plumper, rounder, and softer, in admirable conformity with their ideas of their deities. For to some of these the ancients gave both sexes, blended with a mystic significance in one ... This commingling is especially peculiar to Apollo and Bacchus.²⁵⁷

This rounded softness, the effeminate fullness and ripeness, compared to the defined muscularity of the adult, masculine heroes and gods, or even the wiry sprightliness of the satyrs, is echoed in the figures of the Antinoi, which Symonds would later describe thus: "his limbs are round and florid suggesting the possibility of early over-ripeness. The muscles are not trained to sinewy firmness, but yielding and elastic; the chest is broad and singularly swelling."²⁵⁸ It is not hard to see, in Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater*, these same qualities: the broad chest, the loveliness of a voluptuous young man on the shifting cusp of adult manliness and youthful, androgynous softness of flesh, the half-rapt dreaminess full of sweetness and the tender budding of mature beauty. But whose beauty is it, or will it become?

Here a revisit of our thought experiment is valuable. Previously I played with the question of what the piece may have looked like if Stebbins had chosen to make a purely Dionysian image. A bearded Dionysus, or the Indian Dionysus, would have been a strong contender, though the sculptural record for bearded Bacchoi was smaller in the 1860s than it is today; if Stebbins was comfortable looking to vase paintings, however, there were numerous images from which to choose. The Indian Dionysus type would have underscored a

²⁵⁶ Winckelmann, trans. Lodge, *History*, 73-4.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 52-3.

²⁵⁸ Symonds, *Sketches and Studies*, 48.

number of themes from the poem's text, overlapping in several places with an Odysseus image: foreignness and travel, arrival or epiphany, and as always intoxication, for of course Odysseus spends a fair amount of time drunk on love with Circe. As to including a beard on a Lotus-eater based on the more mature Dionysus: it is rather difficult to imagine that the Lotophagi would rouse themselves from their druggy drowsing to depilate. The iconography of the wreathed head and vined trunk could easily remain the same, and the soft fleshiness of the chosen ephebe replaced by the mature and sturdy muscularity implied under the draperies of the Dionysus-Sardanapalus of the Vatican (Fig. 84). The Dionysus-Sardanapalus is not currently on view to public, as the Sala della Biga is off-limits without an escort, but sits across the rotunda from the so-called Phokion (Fig. 58), as well as an ephebic Dionysus and near the Antinous telemons. An alternative closer to the final design, a youthful and perhaps visibly intoxicated young Dionysus, would have an even wider range of images to draw on, including the innumerable fine heads of Dionysus and full figures in the Roman collections. Again, the attributes need not change substantially, nor even the fleshiness of the body, but perhaps a greater liveliness of character and more tension or movement in the limbs might have been imparted through the use of the young god; modelling such subtle activity might have displayed an even greater degree of skill on Stebbins's part. The potential references for the youthful Dionysus are even more available than the Antinouses, and so similar in conformation and attributes, that one might well wonder why I am arguing for an Antinous, or Antinous-Dionysus, rather than just the party god himself.

A major concern in that case would be an overt use of a purely Dionysiac image overriding the poetic title and the narrative content implied therein, by virtue of being the more well-known and visually familiar subject, and that any single use or even syncretic play within an object family would be inescapable to the general viewer, or at the very least would be read as a male reveller, rather than the melancholy lotus eater. The fruiting wreath and androgynous features of the head without the male body would suggest a

bacchante, rather than the relatively obscure poem and its undifferentiated group of lotus-eating islanders. A more nuanced reason for the use of the historic or syncretic Antinous-Dionysus is that the historic figure mediates the immediate recognition of the deity as referent point. This allows the literary title to remain dominant, while the historic parallels and connections between Antinous and the deity, as well as the themes of the poem, are self-referential and reinforcing when viewed as a triad or even as that ancient sacrificial object, the tripod. It also reinforces the homoerotic element of the work: the inclusion of Antinous in the mix foregrounds an element of the Dionysian mythos that are easily overlooked in favour of the most famous aspect of his authority, wine and intoxication. After all, what Smith's *Dictionary* does not include in the outline of Dionysus' mythology, and what is equally vital to this discussion, is the affiliation of Dionysus with queer or transgressive sexuality. There is a brief reference in the *Dictionary* to Dionysus being raised as a girl in some traditions, but no discussion of the god's male lovers, which is undeniably relevant to the question of Antinous and Hadrian—especially interesting, given the *Dictionary* cites Nonnus's *Dionysiaca* in multiple other places, but conveniently seems to forget the two books dedicated to Dionysus's jealous sexual obsession with Ampelos (not to mention the sexy wrestling) and a third to the creation of the grape vine.²⁵⁹ Indeed, in the 1844, the entry on Dionysus spans the better part of four pages, but Nonnus is only cited once, referencing Dionysus' relationship to Mystis, understood as a personification of the mysteries or mystery religions.²⁶⁰

The inescapably homoerotic narrative of Ampelos and Dionysus deserves extensive treatment, given the relationship of Dionysus to Antinous and the position of both Ampelos and Antinous as deceased beloveds transformed through the power of their older lovers. Ampelos was a satyr youth whose relationship with Dionysus is most fully chronicled in the

²⁵⁹ Nonnus, trans. WHD Rouse. *Nonnus. Dionysiaca* vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA.: Loeb Classical Library, 1940), Books X-XII.

²⁶⁰ Smith, *Dictionary* ed. 1844, 1047.

Dionysiaca of Nonnus and upon whose death is transformed into the first grapevine. Though understood to be allegorical—Ampelos is the poetic personification of the grapevine itself, and other named satyrs are other vegetal personifications—the *Dionysiaca* positions the creation of the grapevine and wine as the culmination of a passionate and tragic love affair between Dionysus and the satyr. During this section, consider again the rejection of the Resting Satyr specifically and satyr images generally as the reference point for the Lotus-Eater—Ampelos is another satyr character who textually opposes the characterization of the figure in Stebbins’s finished work. Make note especially of his sexually active, vigorous and wild behaviour in the *Dionysiaca* which is mirrored by other mentioned satyrs in the text.

An unequivocally sensuous text, Books X-XI of the *Dionysiaca* spend a great deal of time describing the physical beauties of Ampelos, the nature of Dionysus’ love, longing, and lust for the boy, and their earthy romance, while Book XII treats with the transformation of the dead into the wine-giving grape. “For Ampelos,” Nonnus writes, “was a merry boy who had grown up already on the Phrygian hills, a new sprout of the Loves. No dainty bloom was yet on a reddening chin, no down yet marked the snowy circles of his cheeks, the golden flower of youth: curling clusters of hair ran loose behind his over his silver-glistening shoulders ... If he turned his eyes, the gleam of the bright eyeballs as soft as a cow’s eye was like the light of the full moon.”²⁶¹ Dionysus flirts with him outrageously, and Ampelos, a callow youth and an uncivilized satyr at that, buys it; Dionysus compares his beloved’s beauty to Ganymede and Pelops, begging Zeus to leave that boy alone, and jealously guards Ampelos’s affection from assault by the other satyrs. A passage depicting the couple’s sexy wrestling on the riverbank is about as erotic as is possible without straying into the territory of Catullus or Pompeian graffiti: they tussle

²⁶¹ Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 341.

sensually on the dappled shore and in sparkling waters until Ampelos conquers Dionysus.²⁶²

Of course, this was an aetiology, and an aetiology of vine and wine, so the happy pastoral days of wrestling on the pebbled beaches, twirling and capering wildly in glades and valleys and swimming in the Lydian fields' dappled gold-yielding streams could not last forever: the summer of love must come to an end for the harvest and the crush. Where there is sex in ancient myth, there follows death, especially with a chthonic god of vegetal life. Atë, the personified "deathbringing spirit of Delusion,"²⁶³ mischief, folly, and ruin, at Hera's behest takes aim at Ampelos with her wiles. Ampelos, she points out, has not been given the gifts due a boy beloved of a god—"What gifts have you received worthy of your love, you, loved for nothing by Bacchos the driver of panthers?" Once again, Ampelos is compared to Ganymede. This time, though, Atë points out that Zeus heaped honours on his beloved lovely Trojan shepherd boy, transforming himself into the eagle and carrying him heavenward to serve as the cupbearer to the gods; that one of Apollo's boy-lovers rode in the chariot of the sun with him; and that even Europa, a girl, a mere human girl, rode the mountainranging bull bareback. Atë convinces Ampelos to impress his "bull-body king Dionysus" by riding his own wild bull, and draws him to a convenient herd of cattle: a bull of his very own breaks free and presents himself for taming. The cow-eyed satyr, desiring to hold the untamed bull between his thighs and display his prowess to his lover, creates the necessary bridles and whips from the plant life surrounding him; he garlands the beast's flanks and noble brow with flowers and dewed leaves, and gilds his horns with the rich yellow mud. Thus bedecked, the bull is mounted by the boy, and so begins his final act. Boasting to the palefaced moon, he makes the fatal mistake of so many of Atë's victims: hubris. "Give me best,

²⁶² Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 353–5.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 367.

Selene, horned driver of cattle! Now I am both—I have horns and I ride a bull!”²⁶⁴

Oops. Of course, the untutored and uncivilized satyr boy, who didn't even realize that as a beloved he should be receiving gifts from his older and nobler lover (nor that he shouldn't be conquering Dionysus, heavily implying the penetrative position in sex and a deviant position for a deviant god) would be unlikely to recognize the cardinal sin of hubris, especially when caught up in boyish jubilation for his triumph over the snorting bull. But like Icarus and Phaeton, Ampelos's hubris would end in a literal downfall: Hera's episode of vengeance against her stepson Dionysus is complete when Ampelos is pitched headlong over the silt-gilt horns and his silver-glistening neck is broken on the rocks of the high mountain paths. Upon hearing of his beloved's death, Dionysus rushes to the site of his beautiful corpse, and the never-weeping god sheds tears. Once more calling on his thundering father, Dionysus' mourning is answered by the appearance of Eros and the seasons, the forces of nature: here is where the Orphic mysteries of the text overtake the erotic frolicking of Books X-XI. The figure of Autumn, not yet wreathed in the golden vines of the harvest, traverses a vision of the Zodiac to find the prophesy that Dionysus has lost his love and wept tears for the sorrows of all mankind,²⁶⁵ but whose sorrow will give joy to all, Christlike, through the transformation of flesh and blood into wine.²⁶⁶ Ampelos's physical transmogrification into the literal vine is likewise Christic: the descriptive text of the transformation is explicitly framed as “a great miracle” and followed close-after by “a new miracle.”²⁶⁷ The cooling dead flesh and recently-stilled veins become the newly-living body and veins of the living vine, the graceful white limbs the twining branches, the hornéd curly head the purpling fruit:

²⁶⁴ Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 371.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 411.

²⁶⁶ For more on Christ and Dionysus in Nonnus's writings especially, see Robert Shorrock, *The Myth of Paganism: Nonnus, Dionysus, and the World of Late Antiquity* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 2011).

²⁶⁷ Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 411.

For Ampelos the lovely dead rose of himself and took the form of a creeping snake, and became the healtrouble flower. As the body changed, his belly was a long long stalk, his fingers grew into toptendrils, his feet took root, his curlclusters were grapeclusters, his very fawnskin changed into the manycoloured bloom of the growing fruit, his long neck became a bunch of grapes, his elbow gave place to a bending twig swollen with berries, his head changed until the horns took the shape of twisted clumps of drupes. There grew rows of plants without end' there selfmade was an orchard of vines, twining green twigs round the neighboring trees with garlands of the unknown wineblushing fruit.

Unwilling to leave the vegetally-resurrected Ampelos-vine alone, Dionysus in the guise of Cissos (ivy) wrapped himself around the tree and transformed himself into a constant, cool-leafed companion.²⁶⁸

Nonnus, writing circa 500 CE in Panopolis, in Graecized Egypt, once rivalled Homer for popularity, but fell out of favor until the twentieth century, except as a source for fragmentary citations of other authors: too allusive, too fond of the obscure, too florid, and too noncommittal about both pagan and Christian religions—his other attested text, after all, is an epic translation or reimagining of the Gospel of John, the *Paraphrases*, and the intertextual plays and parallels are clear even to a Nonnus novice. The first English translation of the *Dionysiaca* wasn't published until 1940, though as the introduction to that English translation points out, there were editions in French, German, and Latin (none that met the translator's standards, however, and none to which Emma Stebbins would have had access). So why have I spent so much time and space writing about a text that was untranslated from the Greek, from a liminal time period in Classical literature, and a deeply allegorical mystic text, if Stebbins in all probability hadn't ever read it? Well, because Nonnus had read his Virgil, his Ovid, his Hesiod, and his Homer, and in all likelihood his *Historia Augusta* about Hadrian; while he was adding the poetic flourishes and the Orphic undertones of the cosmogony and of Dionysus' life, adventures,

²⁶⁸ Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 411–3.

epiphanies, and eventual ascension to godhead, the basic materials, textual and visual, were fully established. Nonnus's text is highly visual: the adjectives brandished like a chisel or a paintbrush to verbally colour and shape the scenes of Dionysus's life and here, specifically, Ampelos's death. Images of Ampelos accompanying Dionysus existed; though there is no way to know which if any Nonnus encountered, there are several now in Rome (for example, Fig. 85, in the Galleria Chiaramonti), and the strikingly visual language of Nonnus' epic suggests a familiarity with not just earlier poetic models but also ekphrastic texts and works of art themselves. Furthermore, Nonnus's city of Panopolis, now Ahkmim, was not terribly far from Antinopolis, the Egyptian city founded in the wake of Antinous' death and the centre of his cult. Though Antinous is not mentioned by name in the *Dionysiaca*, the fact of his death, his subsequent deification, and Dionysian associations must have at least been a background note in Nonnus's scholiast's view of mythology and history as he composed—especially considering like Dionysus and like the mystery religions, the worship of Antinous was directly competing with that of Jesus Christ.

Indeed, the competition of Dionysus and Antinous with Christianity is clear in earlier Christian writings, which Nonnus—who in the Paraphrases displays a nuanced understanding of the theological parallels of Christian texts and the mythologies which predate them—must have been aware of. Clement of Alexandria, in the *Exhortation to the Greeks*, takes aim at the mystery cults and worship of Dionysus, and at the homoerotic beauty-worshipping cult of Antinous. Dionysus reappears throughout the *Exhortation*, tied intimately to the mysteries at Eleusis and to Demeter and to Persephone. He also describes the presence of the ritual phallus in the worship of Dionysus, as the product of the god's promise to an amorous mortal.²⁶⁹ The ritual phallus is intimately tied to the mysteries of Eleusis, as are the intoxicating beverage and the re-

²⁶⁹ Clement of Alexandria, trans. Butterworth, G W. *Clement of Alexandria Book 2* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919). Kerényi, *Dionysus*, 311. There are multiple names for the male figure in this myth; it is given in Pausanias as Polymnos, Pseudo-Hyginus as Hypolipnus, and Clement of Alexandria as Prosymnos.

emergence of life after death; Dionysus was present in the sacred mysteries not only in the presence of the phallus but also in the ritually intoxicating drinks served, and the vegetal mysteries of death, rebirth, and salvation. Though Clement condemned the nature of the mysteries as ridiculous, and the symbols of Eleusis and Dionysus as silly, Antinous and Hadrian were initiates at Eleusis. Like Antinous's death, the true facts of the Mysteries are unknown, but the details which escaped the ritual secrecy and the silencing nature of time suggest that the interplay of death, sex, and life formed the basis of the epiphany.

In Clement, as in Nonnus, the god's sexual desire for a dead male lover drives an aetiology—Ameplon as the vine, Prosymnos the phallus; this lays a foundation for the outright deification of the dead beloved Antinous. The discussion of the deified Antinous appears in Book Four, as part of a condemnation of sculpture and image worship in the pagan religions—which itself follows a condemnation of ritual human sacrifice. Clement's declamations against the worship of sacred images, "the work of human hands" and "the senseless wood and stone and precious gold," bookend his description of the worship of Antinous in Egypt, which epitomized both image-worship and the meaninglessness of the pagan pantheons, for even the sexual favourite of a pagan emperor could be elevated, in the modern day, to the godhead: "Another fresh divinity was created in Egypt – and very nearly among Greeks too, – when the Roman king [Hadrian] solemnly elevated to the rank of god his favourite whose beauty was unequalled. He consecrated Antinous in the same way that Zeus consecrated Ganymedes."²⁷⁰ The dangerous beauty of the Antinous cultic statues was an issue for Clement not only for the problematic homosexual love that gave rise to the erection of said statues (though that clearly is a hard one for him to get over), but for the very statues themselves. The corrupting and false nature of sculpture—the "fair-seeming but mischievous art"—is only made more problematic by the beautiful but perverse prototypes on which sacred images were based. The

²⁷⁰ Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks* Book 3.

assimilation of Dionysian attributes into the visual formula for Antinous' cult imagery—garlands of ivy, forest fruits, *thyrsoi* and panther-skin cloaks—meant that even deified and sanctified above fleshly love the ancient associations of intoxication, death, rebirth, and same-sex love were all intimately tied into his idolization.

TIME, TYPE, AND TEXT IN THE LAND OF THE LOTUS EATERS

What does this mean for Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater*, then? Nothing in the text of Tennyson's poem suggests either ritual sacrifice or homoerotic allegories about vegetal rebirth, nor is Stebbins's boy the sculpture wearing one of Dionysus's attributes. And yet, there is ivy climbing the stump on which the Lotus Eater leans, and though earlier I posited that stump as the shadowed pine of the poem, there is little enough botanical specificity in it that would preclude it representing instead an ancient and untamed vine, wrapped in the cool but loving embrace of the ivy. As Kerenyi says, "It is a significant fact that in Greece the wine god never bore the name or epithet 'Ampelos,' 'vine,' but in Attica was called 'Kissos,' 'ivy.'"²⁷¹ It is easy to see, then, an allusion to Ampelos and Dionysus, and to the historic connotations of male homoerotic love being used as a support for the boy who looks so much like an Antinous. The ivy-vine rather than the grapevine is the most potent leafy symbol of the wine-god, with the poppy; these both appear in the first stanza of the Choric Song of Tennyson's poem. The poppy, though not shown on *The Lotus-Eater*, is not just the potential hallucinatory, revelatory ingredient of the Eleusinian *kykeon* or the botanical reality of the mythic lotus, but also Tennyson's opium; Antinous is not just the lover of Hadrian and a Roman vision of Dionysus, but by dying young and inspiring a body of work, could easily be seen as Arthur Hallam in the poetic stony flesh. The interplay of ancient texts, attributes, and modern poem are shot into the marbled veins of the sculpture, or twined around it like ivy or the acrid, hallucinatory smoke of opium, and draped

²⁷¹ Kerenyi, *Dionysus*, 62–3.

around its gently rounded white shoulders not in a veil of purity but like the feral panther cape of the Bacchic followers: not a satyr, but the many-faced and many-named god himself in the beautiful flesh. The moony, melancholic face of the sculpture, with his felled tree—so often a graveyard emblem of youth cut down too soon—seems to suggest a sense of *et in Lotophagia ego*: everyone dies, even in the luxurious land of the lotus-eaters.

There is, in reading *The Lotus-Eater* backwards and forwards in time through the mythic-historic Antinous, Clement of Alexandria, Nonnus, Winckelmann, Tennyson, Symonds, et al, the freedom and room to play in the wide arena of allusions, textual and visual, and through a wider range of interpretative tacks. The earlier scholarly privileging of Hawthorne's influence in this time period and the use of the Capitoline Satyr, set aside at the beginning of this chapter, has a limiting effect: if *The Lotus-Eater* is, after all, this single reference, straightforwardly transfigured, then there is very little that can be extrapolated other than that at some point Stebbins went to the Capitoline Museums and looked at the Satyr. There is no room to explore the tension between the text of the poem and the appearance of the statue itself, no play in the elements Stebbins chose to include in the work—the ivy, the naturalism or supernaturalism of the plant life used for the wreath and fruiting branch, the androgynous, sensuous body type and voluminous, rhythmically curling hair—and no space for the textual flexibility and evocations of allusion. The allusiveness of the finished object, formally resembling the corpus of Antinous portraits and cult statues in Roman galleries and reproductions, invokes the body of texts which reference either the art works or the boy himself—Clement, Winckelmann, Symonds—and the complex webs of attributes and incarnations of the deities to which he was related—Nonnus, Clement, and Winckelmann again.

These allusions, however, do not necessarily depend on Stebbins's authorial intent: indeed, as I mentioned earlier, it is highly unlikely, bordering on impossible, that Stebbins would have read the *Dionysiaca*. Stebbins's authority over the object can be read as severed once the piece was completed,

and the object can be taken on its own terms apart from the artist. Instead, they can be read as inherent to the object itself, based on its appearance and its primary textual source, and as part of its position in an anachronic chain of objects. Or, to render the visual metaphor more accurate, a chainmail of objects- like an ecology of images, these objects rely on each other's existence for meaning and context even when they are separated by distance and time, and all connect back to a starting point—in this case, the historical Antinous and his untimely, mysterious death. Consider, then, Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater* as a late link in the chain of objects and texts relating to the historical personage of Antinous. It is a chain which stretches back, with some meanderings but very few breaks, from the Smithsonian Archives of American Art's Stebbins Scrapbook where the extant photograph of the work resides pasted into a book created by her sister, backwards through Leonard Jerome's New York Mansion, to Stebbins's Roman studio, the Roman galleries and the pages of Winckelmann's *Monumenti Antichi Inediti* and the *History of Ancient Art*, the restoration of the San Ildefonso Marble with a portrait of Antinous and its various reproductions, Raphael's *Jonah*, into the antique world of Clement's condemnations and the rapid proliferation of portraits around the Roman world. By viewing these works as part of a chain, an ecology, or a matrix, whatever visual metaphor is preferred, it is possible to see how the chronological distance and context of creation between Stebbins's work and, say, the Braschi Antinous of the Vatican is far shorter than imagined, and that Stebbins's decadent, fleshy *Lotus-Eater* is as much a portrait of Antinous as the Palazzo Altemps' Ludovisi bust, the face of which is an entirely modern reconstruction and the attribution of which rested primarily on the pattern of its curls.

Consider Antinous himself as the prime object, in Kubler's construction: "Prime objects resemble the prime numbers of mathematics because no conclusive rule is known to govern the appearance of either ... prime objects likewise resist decomposition in being original entities. Their character as primes is not explained by their antecedents, and their order in

history is enigmatic.”²⁷² The problem of the replica from the prime object continues: “Since a formal sequence can be deduced only from things, our knowledge of it depends on prime objects and their replicas. But the number of prime objects is distressingly small, and as most of our evidence consists of copies or other derivative things, these inferior expressions, which often are very far removed from the original impress of the responsible mind, therefore must occupy much of the historian’s time.”²⁷³ As the character and background of Antinous as a person is largely a mystery—only educated theories can be put forward about his parentage and status within the imperial household, and almost everything about his personality is wishful thinking or poetic license—the figure resists both deconstruction into his constituent parts. As Arenas notes, “For all we know, there was never a true prototype ... That is, one taken from life.”²⁷⁴ Though Arenas is writing in this instant of the Alexander prototype as the model for Antinous images, we do not know of any portrait of Antinous which was definitively made during the boy’s living days. Nor is his appearance within the household explicated by the presence of an antecedent—he is not one of a predictable series of gold-digging young favourites or official mistresses, as far as the historical record shows—and the elevation to godhood following his death certainly has little historical precedent or antecedent. The explosion of immediate replicas from the prime object, following his death in October 130 CE, led to the series of replicas of varying quality, context, and substance which would survive in sufficient number to become a shifting body of work in multiple time periods, and one which could be refigured for multiple contexts—artistic and commercial, historic and poetic.

These replicas, ranging from the petulantly juvenile to the serenely hieratical, tucked away into a high corridor niche or imperiously looming at the entrance to one of the grandest series of galleries in Christendom, cheek to

²⁷² Kubler, *Shape*, 39–40.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁷⁴ Arenas, “Antinous’ Lips,” 5.

chiselled cheek with some of the most famous works of antiquity, are part of not only an Antinous-chain or an Imperial-portraiture-matrix but also part of the visual fabric of Rome itself. The anachronic nature of the replica series or chains is exacerbated—or made richer, deeper, and more intriguing—by the anachronic nature of the Roman city-space, the Roman gallery, and the intersecting chains running between them and across Europe and time. Further visualizing these chains as coils, or spirals, where the links curve in on each other and align in shifting ways depending on one's position relative to the spiral (are you standing in front of the Antinous Dionysus of the Villa Adriana or looking at the photograph of the *Lotus-Eater* on your computer screen in an artificially-lit library), opens realms of connection and interpretation beyond an evolutionary or teleological development model. This chain metaphor, like the marshmallow tesseract (fig. 135) or the tree metaphor that Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari rejected for the rhizome,²⁷⁵ does rely on a first link or the prime object. The leaves and branches of the object-family tree create interstices like intertexts, which shift and re-relate to other leaves as new works grow or fall by the wayside or are lost to history entirely. In a less reproductive visualization, the tesseracts or matrixes imagined around visual and historic material might be rearranged ad infinitum into different configurations.

I have modelled this with the consideration of Nonnus and Clement in relation to the *Lotus-Eater* as related bodies of content, but it might be expanded into a wider exploration of material: perhaps relating Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater* to a work like Simeon Solomon's 1866 painting *Love in Autumn*, the aestheticized, eroticized but also narratively-questionable oil on canvas of a mostly-nude youth being blown about an apparently chilly wind. This draws on the same visual tradition of androgynous, sensual youths, and the melancholy mood of both might reward consideration alongside a wide range of contemporary texts, or even instantiations of similar themes and

²⁷⁵ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, "Rhizome," in *A Thousand Plateaus*. Trans. Brian Massumi (London and New York: Continuum, 2004), 3–28.

iconographies across history and space in an Warburgian exploration. Using, then, the thixotropic metaphor alongside the relational constructions, or instead of it, these different comparisons can be seen as external pressures or vibrations to be applied to the central figure of the *Lotus-Eater*: by placing these in dialogue or in proximity to Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater*, we as scholars activate and rearrange internal narratives, relationships, and parallels which do not rely on Stebbins's access to them during the work's development but which, because of our historical position, we can consider as mutually implicated as much as Martindale's Homer and Virgil.²⁷⁶ To return to Antinous, Stebbins may have never seen the fragmentary Antinous as Dionysus or Satyr now in the Centrale Montemartini, but as it is part of the object chain, it is still connected to her work: after all, the sculptor who added to the immortalization of Antinous by carving the Braschi—which she did see—may have seen it, or known of it, or even known the sculptor. As Kubler states, “Historically every work of art is a fragment of some larger unit, and every work of art is a bundle of components of different ages, intricately related to many other works of art, both old and new, by a network of incoming and outgoing influences.”²⁷⁷

Bouncing swiftly from visual metaphor to visual metaphor, and returning to the specific spatial and chronological contexts in which Stebbins was working, it is possible to see Kubler's fragments of the larger unit, the links in the chain or the connections in the matrix, as discrete but closely spaced reference units: books, or slides perhaps, in the library of Rome. As I have discussed previously, there are spaces in Rome which are to all intents and purposes set up without change from their layout in 1858: the Capitoline's permanent display spaces, parts of the Vatican, the Villa Borghese; these hallowed halls of humanity's (Western, at least) creativity were repositories of works of art which functioned as source materials and research texts for

²⁷⁶ Martindale, *Redeeming*, 8.

²⁷⁷ Quoted in Avinoam Shalem, “Histories of Belonging and George Kubler's Prime Object,” *Getty Research Journal* No. 3 (2011), 10.

generations of artists. Like the visual metaphor of the chain or the ecology for the interrelation of the works of art across time and space, casting the city's galleries as a library—a singular repository or branch network, rather than distinct spaces—allows for a play with how the museums may have functioned for artists. Rather than merely visiting a gallery, these artists treated the objects much the way I treat my books and sources in the process of writing this dissertation: resources to be returned to in order to assemble the necessary data and theories to produce a coherent whole, studied and mined, despite being by different authors at different times and on different subjects. The library (museum) is worked in, rather than merely visited and wandered through, though wandering the stacks (rooms) sometimes produces moments of serendipitous discovery and new connections are forged. The Sala del Gladiatore and the Sala Rotonda are in different branches of this Roman library system, but both have texts-objects-images on the same subject which cross reference each other. In another room of the Vatican Museums, for example, is an ancient Dionysus and Ampelos sculpture, while a Renaissance translation of the same subject sits in the grand gallery of the Villa Borghese; these in turn both feed back into the system of images—which by reading widely, can also be taken to include images of Apollo as the effeminate Sauroctonos, the allegorical figure of Pothos, or Adonis, Attis, or Hyacinth.

Here, the special and chronological specificity of what, exactly, Stebbins could have seen and drawn from in the making of her sculptures returns and rises to the fore: if the underlying question of this project is “Why does it look like that,” and the extremely short answer is “Rome,” it makes sense to conclude this chapter with the idea that Rome's galleries and museums were not just a cool place to escape the heat of the Italian sunshine and to take in a bit of culture at the same time, but places of intellectual and artistic research. After all, this was in fact part of the museums' (as a public institution) *raison d'être*: to educate and inculcate artists in the generally-agreed-upon masterpieces and nuances of good taste, and to provide the intellectual and

creative resources necessary for them to translate those masterpieces for their own contemporaries.

These analogies and brief flirtations with experimental comparisons are my textual attempts to practice a Mnemosyne Bilderatlas of my own, though working with a smaller field of material than Aby Warburg, and with more reliance on contextual texts and themes than some of the panels in the original Bilderatlas (Fig. 86). This considers Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater* as one instantiation of a classical gesture or form—the type or form of Antinous—which was repeated repeatedly and reused, recycled, and itself reliant on previous imageries of deities of supreme youthful beauty. Like Warburg's lightly tripping nymphs, appearing from Botticelli's *Primavera* through to Ruskin's copy of *Zipporah* after Botticelli and back through bacchante reliefs and Böcklin,²⁷⁸ the reoccurrences of Antinous in Western art are fragmentary and not a continuous chain of cultural memory but resurgences of expressive form which, despite being divorced from their original context, still resonate with contemporary viewers. Despite the description of cultural heritages and expressive forms as a “savings bank,”²⁷⁹ Warburg did not believe in a “constantly growing patrimony,” in Forster's words, but rather the fragmentary, constantly self-destructing and self-recovering processes of human history: “He regarded every detail as a *fragment* of a still-unknown whole.”²⁸⁰ The Mnemosyne Atlas is furthermore the art historical precedent for my use of a food web, or the constantly shifting matrixes of related materials, which might be rearranged to be considered on any number of levels. Indeed, though I above considered the *Lotus-Eater* with Nonnus of Panopolis and Clement of Alexandria because of the connection on both ends with Antinous and Dionysus, or the proposed connections to Simeon Solomon, I might have placed it in dialogue with funerary sculpture, the toppled tree as a marker for a life cut too short and a male nude bedecked in flowers as a grave marker in the

²⁷⁸ Kurt W. Forster, “Introduction,” in Aby Warburg trans. David Britt, *The Renewal of Antiquity* (Los Angeles: Getty Institute, 1999), 1–21.

²⁷⁹ Johnson, *Memory*, as at note 200.

²⁸⁰ Forster, “Introduction,” 35.

Brompton Cemetery. I might have spent more times on the androgynous busts, perhaps creating connections between the replicas and the rows upon rows of portraits that line the Vatican galleries, garland imageries from across periods and media, and allegorized it as an image of spring. This reflects Warburg's highly erudite, idiosyncratic, and mobile visual feast of the Mnemosyne panels—Forster describes the project as having

passed through a rapid succession of new configurations, so that it now exists only in truncated form ... Nevertheless, this collection of images can be regarded as Warburg's true testament, since it sketches, in ever-new juxtapositions, what he sought to attain through his library:

I envisage as a description of the aims of my library the [following] formulation: a collection of documents relating to the psychology of human expression. The question is: how did verbal and pictorial expression originate; what are the feelings or points of view, conscious or unconscious, under which they are stored in the archives of memory? Are there laws to govern their formation or reemergence?²⁸¹

Though I'm not proposing that I have managed to answer these questions—especially regarding any discernment of the 'laws' governing the re-emergence of forms, I have argued that these forms *do* re-emerge, and are not chosen accidentally, wilfully, or thoughtlessly. Instead, the resonant potential of forms for artists and their audiences suggests that neoclassical sculpture is itself a type of Mnemosyne Atlas, drawing on seemingly extinct or fragmentary forms in order to tap into rich wells of expressive content, when they have been previously been seen as shallow and dry.

Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater* is many things: lost, a fragmentary bust, an Antinous, an Antinous-Dionysus, a link in a chain and the product of the Roman visual environment. It is not a one-to-one recreation of a single work, or the allegorization of one, like the *Commerce* and *Industry* pair; the reference to the Resting Satyr of the Capitoline Museum is an easy visual comparison, but relies primarily on the influence of a man who wasn't even in Rome when the

²⁸¹ Forster, "Introduction," quoting Aby Warburg, 31.

sculpture was modelled, and whose novel, which popularized the Resting Satyr, wasn't published until after he'd left again. The Antinous images, on the other hand, and their associations with Dionysus, were just as accessible, if not more, were more thematically appropriate to the subject of the poem, and had historically been a body of work ripe for reuse: even Bernini used to "go off and consult the Antinous" as a young artist,²⁸² and Raphael had refigured Antinous the drowned pagan pretty boy as Jonah, the prophet redeemed by his sojourn under the waters in the belly of a whale and who was a prefiguration for Christ. The use of the Antinous corpus as a fragmentary or syncretic model for *The Lotus-Eater* functions much like an ancient poet's use of allusive passages in poetry: it acts as a learned play on known types and visual tropes that both supports its own internal narrative and displays its learning while inviting the viewer to play along.²⁸³ This allusive, referential play is a key element in reading nineteenth-century sculpture in Rome. It both furthers and is furthered by the play with the anachronic chain of references, and by the prime object: because we, as viewers and readers, can see things that Stebbins (or Raphael, or the anonymous Antinous sculptors, or Winckelmann) could not, we are able to draw new parallels and connections building on those which they did have access to—so just as Bernini, in the previous chapter, could not have read Winckelmann, and Stebbins could not have read Symonds' texts on Antinous, it is possible, and productive, to see what happens when they are put together and read against each other, with each other, and through each other.

²⁸² Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Journal de Voyage du Cavalier Bernini en France*. Quoted in Haskell and Penny, *Taste*, 1982, 37. Bernini was referring to the Belvedere Antinous, now Meleager.

²⁸³ Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext* 1998, 2.

CHAPTER FOUR

‘DEATH, LIKE A SCULPTOR’

HARRIET HOSMER’S PALIMPSESTIC *POMPEIAN SENTINEL*

IT WAS NOT UNNATURAL, PERHAPS, THAT A WRITER WHO HAD BEFORE LABOURED, HOWEVER UNWORTHILY, IN THE ART TO REVIVE AND TO CREATE, SHOULD FEEL A KEEN DESIRE TO PEOPLE ONCE MORE THOSE DESERTED STREETS, TO REPAIR THOSE GRACEFUL RUINS, TO REANIMATE THE BONES WHICH WERE YET SPARED TO HIS SURVEY; TO TRAVERSE THE GULF OF EIGHTEEN CENTURIES, AND TO WAKE TO A SECOND EXISTENCE—THE CITY OF THE DEAD!

PREFACE
THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII, 1834
EDWARD BULWER LYTTON

RECASTING THE SENTINEL

If you visit Pompeii today, it is possible to sit in the niche once reputed to be the sentry box of the Sentinel of Pompeii: a legendary figure of stalwartness and loyalty in the face of certain death (or, if you’re cynical, the victim of unthinking imperial military bureaucracy and fascist adherence to regulation). Standing isn’t recommended, especially if you’re much taller than I am at 5’8”—the ceiling is a bit slimy—but if you’re into that sort of thing it makes a nice place to sit and people-watch as tourists pass through the Herculaneum Gate headed for the Villa of Mysteries (Fig. 87). Looking across the path, over the monumental ruins of the gate and tomb facings, the now-silent Vesuvius peeks through a heavy late-summer haze that threatens violent afternoon rains (Fig. 88). If you’re lucky, one of the resident cats or dogs might come sit with you a while to get out of the rain and beg some scraps (Fig. 89).

But the remains of such a sentry were never found in this niche, and the alcove itself is not a sentry box but the funerary monument of a Roman patrician. However, when sitting on the cool stone of the bench, with the acrid scent of smoke on the air from some distant fire, and the heavy air of an approaching summer storm, with a fresh memory of bodies twisted in death and preserved in crumbling casts: Pompeii itself seems to reject the need for archaeological truth for a moment, in favour of the evocation of a story. The central work of this chapter is specifically connected to this location, which in functional experience probably hasn't changed all that much. Tourists are wearing skinny jeans and windbreakers instead of frock coats and crinolines, and everyone and their mother (my mother, even) has the magic of the internet, a camera, and a portable soundtrack tucked in their back pocket. But this niche hasn't changed, cats have always been cats, and as long as tourists have visited places, enterprising families have cooked for them, perfuming the air with smoke—time moves in mysterious, anachronic ways around a site which represents itself as frozen in a moment.

Essential to Hosmer's *Pompeian Sentinel* (lost, of uncertain date, Fig. 90) is Pompeii itself, in its character as a site that—like Rome—seems to exist simultaneously in multiple temporalities.²⁸⁴ This chapter draws on the Pompeii Premise, an archaeological fallacy: the idea that Pompeii's destruction and preservation happened in one instant, and thus—once excavated—is entirely comprehensible because of this flash freezing.²⁸⁵ This unscientific

²⁸⁴ Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*; see also Foucault's discussion of heterotopies and heterochronies, Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias," *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* 5 (1984), 46–49 <<https://foucault.info/doc/documents/heterotopia/foucault-heterotopia-en-html>>; Shelly Hales, "Re-Casting Antiquity: Pompeii and the Crystal Palace," *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics*, Third Series, 14, No. 1 (Spring-Summer, 2006), 106–108. Hales specifically relates these chronological complications to the influence of Bulwer Lytton.

²⁸⁵ Robert Ascher, "Analogy in Archaeological Interpretation," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 17, No. 4 (Winter, 1961), 317–325; Michael Schiffer, "Is there a Pompeii Premise in Archaeology?" *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 41, No. 1 (Spring, 1985), 18–41; Lewis R Binford, "Behavioral Archaeology and The 'Pompeii Premise'," *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 37, No. 3 (Autumn, 1981), 195–208.

premise can be productive for the non-scientist, especially for a work which relies, as the *Pompeian Sentinel* does, on public knowledge of both the city's history and on the literature surrounding it. Hosmer drew her subject from Edward Bulwer Lytton's *The Last Days of Pompeii*,²⁸⁶ which fictionalized and dramatized the archaeological research to which he had access in 1832. She had access to the ruins also, from a visit to Sorrento in her first years of residing in Rome, and through a relationship with the deposed queen of Naples, Maria Sophia of Austria. Indeed, Hosmer's friendship with the Queen of Naples was such that she worked on a portrait sculpture of the queen in exile, and there are numerous photographs of the queen in the Hosmer papers at the Schlesinger Archive. An interesting avenue of exploration, for which I do not have space here, might be to consider the relation, chronological and thematic, of the *Sentinel* in relation to the fall of the Bourbon regime or even the fall of the Papal States and the unification of Italy. Furthermore, by the 1860s, the excavations were no longer closely held information and I will point to numerous newspaper and journal articles about the excavation which educated the public. Conversely, many of these sources also repeat the same myth of the stoic Roman legionnaire, depicted in Hosmer's sculpture, in Bulwer Lytton's novel and Edward Poynter's 1865 painting, *Faithful Unto Death* (Fig. 91), which is better known than the *Sentinel*. Because of the popularity and accessibility of the ruins, through developments in travel and through widely distributed texts, the fallacies of archaeological accuracy and the fallacy of the Pompeii Premise, that of the site's flash-freeze and total preservation, become productive metaphors and analogies for Hosmer's *Sentinel*.

Treatments of the *Sentinel* have been brief, or non-existent, in the Hosmer literature, and slightly more frequent in texts regarding the post-classical reception of Pompeii. The reception discussions often focus on the fact that the *Sentinel* illustrates a debunked myth, or group it with other works

²⁸⁶ Bulwer Lytton, *Last Days*.

based on Bulwer Lytton's hugely popular *Last Days of Pompeii*.²⁸⁷ Lee Behlman's essay in *Antiquity Recovered* is the best, most thorough discussion of Hosmer's work, exploring the myth of the sentinel as a didactic figure for teaching masculine fortitude and stoicism. This is the only serious consideration of the myth of the sentinel in nineteenth-century visual culture. Behlman focuses primarily on Poynter's painting, then contrasts Hosmer's statue with it. These differences, to Behlman, are not so great: Hosmer's sentinel is older and more weathered, dying or dead rather than eyeing the coming cataclysm with wide eyes, but both are *exemplum virtutis*,²⁸⁸ an example of virtue or a pattern for manhood. He recognizes the *imagines maiorum* and veristic portraiture²⁸⁹ in the weathered, waxen features of Hosmer's sentinel, but does not push at the materiality as a carrier for meaning—a conscious invocation of older art forms and of contemporary archaeological developments. Dabakis does not even mention the *Sentinel* in *Sisterhood of Sculptors*; Sherwood briefly notes that Hosmer might have been inspired by Bulwer Lytton's "enduringly popular book" and suggests that she might have been attempting to cash in on the success of Randolph Rogers's *Nydia* (1853–54), which I will discuss later in this chapter as a foil to Hosmer's *Sentinel*. She notes the materials and Hosmer's use of the new process, wax over plaster, and that Hosmer was especially proud of the figure's right leg.

²⁸⁷ Lee Behlman, "The Sentinel of Pompeii: An Exemplum for the Nineteenth Century," in *Antiquity Recovered: The Legacy of Pompeii and Herculaneum*, ed. Victoria C. Gardner Coates, Jon L. Seydl (Getty Publications, 2007), 157–70. See also Meilee Bridges, "Objects of Affection: Necromantic Pathos in Bulwer Lytton's City of the Dead," in *Pompeii in the Public Imagination from Its Rediscovery to Today*, ed. Shelley Hales and Joanna Paul (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2011), 90–104; Jon L. Seydl, "Last Days of Pompeii in Philadelphia," in Hales and Paul, *Pompeii in the Public Imagination*, 217–220; Shelley Hales, "Cities of the Dead," in Hales and Paul, *Pompeii in the Public Imagination*, 153–170. For more on the publication runs, popularity, and accessibility of *Last Days*, see William St Claire and Annika Bautz, "The Making of the Myths: Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834)," in Coates and Seydl, *Last Days*, 52–9.

²⁸⁸ Behlman, "Sentinel," 157.

²⁸⁹ The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'veristic' as "(of art or literature) extremely or strictly naturalistic," and give its origins as late nineteenth century. For more on veristic portraiture and its historiography, see note 321. In relation to the *Sentinel*, see Behlman, "Sentinel," 165.

Culkin spends the most time on the *Sentinel*, but problematically: she repeats the legend of the skeleton: “She had been inspired by the remains of a Roman soldier buried under the ash and lava of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, which had been found during a 1794 excavation and lay in the Museum of Naples.”²⁹⁰ Culkin also posits that “the *Sentinel* mediated between eras,” and that Hosmer “fortified her association with ancient Rome, even as she distanced herself from the present-day city.”²⁹¹ I both agree and disagree: the *Sentinel* doesn’t seem to me to at all mediate: especially in its fragmentary survival, it scarcely seems to resolve any tension, nor is it a true connection between two or more eras, but it does touch on or exist in multiple temporalities, which will be addressed further. I will also agree that Hosmer’s relationship to Rome as a cultural concept—more the ancient empire as a descendant of the superior Greeks than the modern city—was a major factor in the decision to make a work like this.

Part of this scholarly scarcity, in all likelihood, is the lack of material from which to work: the eight-foot plaster and wax figure has been lost for the better part of a century, and the only image of it is a partial, damaged photograph in the collection of the Watertown Free Public Library (and the 1:1 photographic reproductions of that photograph, Fig. 92); there are very few contemporary comments on it, though what do exist are largely positive—I’ve managed to find about seven, some of which are reprints or paraphrases of earlier articles, and others no more than a notice that the work is done. It was an experimental medium, wax over plaster; it refers to or relies on, in equal parts, veristic portraiture, death masks, and the plaster bodies of Pompeii. Finally, the *Sentinel* doesn’t look like most of Hosmer’s oeuvre, at least on the surface, nor does it conform to what might broadly understood as neoclassical standards. Even its date is uncertain: in *Harriet Hosmer, Letters and Memories*, Carr reproduces newspaper clippings (which she has misdated, which will be

²⁹⁰ Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer*, 128.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 128–9.

discussed further),²⁹² but it certainly was not displayed publicly before summer 1878, which would make its subject out-of-fashion, and its nominally neoclassical appearance anachronistic.

I wrote in the introduction to this dissertation that despite Rome being in the title of this dissertation and the larger focus, I would reach out into the exurbs and adjacent countryside. The easiest point of justification for the inclusion of the Pompeian subject is that Hosmer made it in Rome, after twenty-plus years in Rome. Following from that, Pompeii was a Roman town within the Roman Empire, and the figure of the sentry is part of the Roman military. And by the 1860s and 1870s, when I will argue this statue's most important citations were developed and Hosmer was working on it, travel to Pompeii and Naples was relatively easy. With the opening of a rail station at Pompeii 19 May, 1844,²⁹³ and the advent of the travel agency in 1850,²⁹⁴ visiting the ruins became substantially easier from Naples and from Rome. Hosmer visited Naples at the very least in 1853, when she spent the summer in Sorrento with Mrs. Sartoris and kept company with Fanny Kemble among others.²⁹⁵ With the railway from Naples to the ruins fully established by then, it is highly unlikely that she did *not* visit Pompeii during her time there.²⁹⁶ The texts reporting upon the *Sentinel* are insistent that the statue's armour was modelled after examples hung in the museum in Naples. Though as we shall see, there was no such armour or skull, the Roman and Neapolitan collections held images of armour similar to the *Sentinel's* and archaeological specimens; these can especially be seen on military trophy friezes in the Farnese Collection in the then-Museo Borbonico. The insistence in contemporary texts that the *Sentinel* was modelled from life suggests also that Hosmer either

²⁹² Carr, *Harriet Hosmer*, 246–9.

²⁹³ P.M. Calla-Bishop, *Italian Railways* (Newton Abbey: David & Charles, 1971), 15–16.

²⁹⁴ See Moorman, *Ashes*, n. 362; Dwyer, *Living Statues*, 39–40; Meyer Reinhold, “American Visitors to Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Paestum in the Nineteenth Century” *The Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 19, No. 1, (Spring, 1985), 115–128.

²⁹⁵ Carr, *Harriet Hosmer*, 27–8.

²⁹⁶ For more on the railways and Pompeii, see especially Ingrid D. Rowland, *From Pompeii: The Afterlife of a Roman Town* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 146–151.

returned to Naples in the run up to finishing and promoting the sculpture, or needed people to believe she did. However, there is little to suggest that she actually did this. Thus, to answer the question of why I've included such a staunchly Pompeian subject in a project heretofore strictly about Rome, it becomes clear that this is a Roman work *about* Pompeii, just as Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater* in the previous chapter—despite being a statue of a figure from the mythical land of the lotus-eaters—is a Roman-American work because of the context in which it was made.

A major concern later in the chapter will be the idea of the *Sentinel* and of Pompeii as palimpsests, especially in the construction of cesspit archaeology and theory. Definitions of “palimpsest” vary and are worth taking a moment to consider. *Merriam-Webster* defines palimpsest as “1: writing material (such as a parchment or tablet) used one or more times after earlier writing has been erased; 2: something having usually diverse layers or aspects apparent beneath the surface.”²⁹⁷ Geoff Bailey adds: “palimpsests can also involve the accumulation and transformation of successive and partially preserved activities, in such a way that the resulting totality is different from and greater than the sum of the individual constituents.”²⁹⁸ Cesspits as archaeological sites are rich in palimpsests, which Roos van Oosten problematizes: “rather more attention has been devoted to the study of such finds, *per se*, than to the interpretation of their significance within [their] context.”²⁹⁹ This is both analogous and antonymous to how art history has treated works by Stebbins and Hosmer: a scholarly hyper-focus on the echronic historical context of the artists' lives and works' reception has meant that the rich internal contexts/contents of the *works* has gone understudied. The works are studied *per se* as expressions of Hosmer and

²⁹⁷ Merriam Webster, s.v., “Palimpsest.” <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/palimpsest>.

²⁹⁸ Geoff Bailey, “Time Perspectives, Palimpsests and the Archaeology of Time,” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 26, No. 2, 06.2007, 203.

²⁹⁹ Roos van Oosten, “Cesspits and the P-P-P-P-problem: The Pitfall of the Pompeii Premise and the Palimpsest,” *Quaternary International* (December 2016), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.quaint.2016.08.020>.

Stebbins's contexts, rather than as complex markers of their own meanings and interplay. The plaster bodies of Pompeii are palimpsests in the history of the site, as markers out of time and as artefacts which overwrite and destroy the matrix which produced them; the *Sentinel*, which both intellectually marks the site of and overwrites the fictive skeleton in the niche of M. Cerrinius Restitutus, is a palimpsest of that site with the form of a palimpsest of another. The metaphor of the cesspit, which requires excavation and interpretation of the stratified layers and intermixing, as described by van Oosten, functions as the best analogy for digging into the internal workings and layers of the *Sentinel*.

These characteristics, which seem to have made the *Sentinel* difficult to discuss in the corpus of nineteenth-century sculpture, are what make the *Sentinel* dynamic visually and narratively. As with the previous two chapters, by re-orientating the scholarly gaze towards an approach which appreciates uncertainty, flexibility, surfaces, and slippages, and setting aside attempts to read the work biographically, the *Sentinel* can be excavated, rediscovered, and reinvigorated as an art object. This chapter will therefore close by following avenues of thought suggested by this work and its materiality, site specificity, and archaeological suggestions; it will also suggest that works like this call for an especially poetic, associative eye— embracing the tangential and the evocative, with the sense of an artist or an author's construction of character and form alongside the historian's archival, evidentiary reconstructions. By considering the palimpsest, the cesspit, the plaster bodies, and the plaster surfaces, the *Sentinel* suggests not only a reconsideration of the impacts of Pompeii on her work but questions of reproductions, the body, and the morbid spectator.

HOSMER, FIORELLI, AND MATERIALS OF THE MACABRE

François-René de Chateaubriand's description of the famous, now-lost, cast of a woman's breast from the House of Diomedes is quoted in nearly all the discussions of the plaster bodies and the arts, and gives me my title for this chapter: "Death, like a sculptor, has moulded its victim."³⁰⁰ With her *Pompeian Sentinel*, Hosmer took on the role of Chateaubriand's Death and moulded in plaster and wax the fictitious victim: Hosmer, like the anonymous workman who poured the plaster to preserve the fragile image of a long-dead woman, moulded and modelled the image of a crumbling myth. The lost sculpture is difficult to describe in its entirety: as seen in Fig. 92, the sole extant photograph of Hosmer's statue shows it only from the chest up, revealing only the barest sliver of hands clasped at breast-height and the hint of a spear. The original photograph has been damaged, torn in a curve around the bottom edge and then mounted so the back cannot be examined for a photographer's information or date; an exact reproduction of the image without its mount reveals the hands at the lower right corner.³⁰¹ These photographs will be problematized further in the chapter, but for now I will proceed with assessing the work itself, rather than the photographic image of the work. Hosmer chose to depict her *Sentinel* as a weathered, middle-aged man, in full armour. His eyes are closed, and appear slightly bulging with sunken sockets, low on the skull. The cheekbones likewise give way to sunken cheeks, with a backward sweep that, were the scale of the work not outside, might suggest Hosmer using her thumbs in one motion to carve out symmetrical hollows into the wax. The closed eyes and sunken, waxy (literally) flesh create the impression that the *Sentinel* is dead, or about to be so.³⁰² The *Sentinel's* Roman armour,

³⁰⁰ François-René de Chateaubriand, *Voyage en Italie (Oeuvres Complètes)*, 7, 230, quoted in Hales, "Re-casting Antiquity," 106.

³⁰¹ Both images held in the Harriet Hosmer Papers, Watertown Free Public Library. I was able to examine these images in person thanks to a Terra Foundation travel grant, and I am grateful to Jill Clements at WFPL for sharing high resolution study images with me, as well as to Liz Quinlan for taking further photographs of both the original and reproduction photograph for me.

³⁰² Tim Barringer has suggested to me in conversation that Hosmer may have been looking at Frederic Leighton's *A Condottiere*, 1871-2 (Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 1885P2468). There are certainly strong similarities to the oil painting, and this

the uniform which Hosmer was reported to have copied from an example in the Naples Archaeological Museum, appears to be historically accurate but offers little protection against the coming pyroclastic cataclysm, the far-flung boulders and noxious gasses which would choke him and the ashes which would ostensibly bury him in his guardhouse until the intrepid archaeologists uncovered him.

As Hosmer made him, however, he would not fit within the niche within which he was traditionally found: the statue, reviewers wrote, was eight feet tall;³⁰³ the niche, according to measurements I took in April 2017, is 93 inches, or 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ feet, at its highest point in the barrel-vaulted ceiling, measured from the inner floor. The figure, standing solidly in the face of imminent death, would have loomed over the visitors to Hosmer's studio and then Colnaghi's, a decorous but ominous and ultimately threatening reminder of the frailty of humanity in the face of nature. Of the overall pose of the figure, there are the limited descriptions in the published reviews (of which only three or four are of any meaningful use) and the partial photograph. *The Times* reviewer reported only that the feet of the figure were clad in sandals and the body in a short tunic, and that the figure "already staggers and can scarce sustain himself by aid of his lance, hard clutched and pressed as a point of support against his knee."³⁰⁴ A reconstruction of the work has to balance the contradicting description of the other review, which states "the legionary stands with firmly planted feet that seem to grasp the ground, both hands clasp the staff of his spear ... The attitude, it need not be said, is not that of a

may serve as the basis for a separate exploration where the focus can be on Hosmer and Leighton's artistic exchange, rather than classical receptions.

³⁰³ "Miss Hosmer's 'Sentinel of Pompeii,'" *The Times*, London, August 10, 1878, 12, col. 2.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.* This also suggests that in this monumental work, Hosmer had kept the criticism of *Zenobia's* drapery in mind—critics in 1861 had not been impressed by the way the draperies seemed to hide or even deny the very existence of the human figure underneath. The review continues, "Besides his helmet and corselet he wears only a short tunic and sandals, showing the instep and toes, so that the limbs are freely displayed, and there is at once the least possible concealment of the figure and the least possible advantage derived from drapery." It seems that the reviewer, too, remembered the earlier criticisms.

formal sentry of our own period; the suggestion of the possibility of motion is given by the advanced foot, which is still so corrected by the direction of the sloping spear as to indicate at the same time the impulse and its subjugation.”³⁰⁵ Alternatively, the conflicting impressions conveyed in the two reviews may reflect the challenges (and delights) of describing sculpture, and the first review hints that this may be the case: *The Times* reviewer makes reference to seeing the work “in profile.” The *Art Journal* reviewer also viewed the work in profile, but refers to both sides: “The profile view from either side, but especially from the right of the figure, brings this out very impressively.”³⁰⁶

The potential of different impressions from varying angles, especially if the work was displayed centrally in a room, rather than against a wall to limit perspectives, recalls the disdain for works referenced previously in this dissertation: Bernini’s *Apollo and Daphne*, and Canova’s *Perseus and Medusa*, both of which were intended by the artists to be seen only from one perspective, and which were later considered unsuccessful (or degrading to the world of sculpture) after they were moved into central positions and viewed from angles not originally intended.³⁰⁷ To complicate this further, the conflicting impressions may have been part of Hosmer’s intention: the heroic stoicism of one view, and the crushing fact of encroaching death of the other. The *Art Journal* review suggests that the *Sentinel* was centrally displayed, and that it was affecting from any angle of approach: “But, in fact, no one can approach it from any side without feeling that the man before him is passing through a supreme moment of his life, and, on stepping still nearer, that the moment is closing in everlasting stillness.”³⁰⁸

³⁰⁵ “The ‘Pompeian Sentinel’ by Miss Hosmer,” *The Art Journal*, New Series, 4 (1878), 355.

³⁰⁶ “The ‘Pompeian Sentinel’ by Miss Hosmer,” 355.

³⁰⁷ “The Tarnowska Perseus by Canova,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin New Series*, 26, No. 4 (December, 1967), 185–191; see also, Alex Potts, “Installation and Sculpture,” *Oxford Art Journal*, 24, No. 2 (2001), 7–23; the audio tour for the Met discusses the problem of the viewpoint, and suggests that Canova would have appreciated the controlled axis of approach opening into the circumambulatory space of the hall.

³⁰⁸ “The ‘Pompeian Sentinel’ by Miss Hosmer,” 355.

The Times review makes note of the supposed archaeological accuracy involved in Hosmer's *Sentinel*, by referring specifically to the armour reported to be in the "second room of the Museo Borbonico."³⁰⁹ This in turn is supposed to have been the very armour found, on April 20, 1794, in the niche at the Herculaneum Gate—that of the *Sentinel* himself. It goes on to describe the figure's "helmet and corselet of bronze plates, modelled after the originals."³¹⁰ Though neither review makes reference to *The Last Days of Pompeii*, *The Times* in particular locates the sculpture in the realm of archaeology and ancient history, much as Lytton did with his prefaces and his footnotes in the text of *Last Days*. The reviewer's comment that the breastplate and helmet were copied from the very pieces pulled from the ground ignores that the myth of the sentinel was known to be just that in the 1870s, about which more will be said later in this chapter. The excision of the novel from the reviews foregrounds the archaeological specificity and masculine qualities of the work. Bulwer Lytton's novel, with its effusions of lush, theatrical details and simpering sentimentality speckled with simmering suggestions of sex, may have had its archaeological moments, but its aesthetic was not the plaster, sweat, and dirt of modern Pompeian excavations; it may have been perceived as too feminine and undercut the martial *mensch* Hosmer was portraying in her stoic, sepulchral *Sentinel*.³¹¹

Hosmer's choice to sculpt the *Pompeian Sentinel* in plaster and wax, far from being a neutral or intermediary choice of material before its casting into bronze or translation into marble, is instead a major factor in reading the work beyond the vague facts of its conception and demise; it is inextricably tied to

³⁰⁹ "Miss Hosmer's 'Sentinel of Pompeii,'" 12.

³¹⁰ The excavation diaries prove that no such armour or skeleton were found in the area of the Herculaneum Gate. There is a substantial amount of Roman armour at the Naples Museum, but it seems to largely be from the armoury of the gladiatorial school, and much of it is far more ornate than what Hosmer appears to have depicted.

³¹¹ For more on gendering the novel, especially in relation to gendered science, see Anne DeWitt, *Moral Authority, Men of Science, and the Victorian Novel* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 14; 164.

the subject of the work.³¹² Previous scholarship has suggested that the plaster bodies of Pompeii did not especially impact the work of contemporary artists,³¹³ or are not discussed as even possible reference material or inspiration, but I argue that the link here is material and thematic rather than a purely formal reference (though there are formal similarities), and that the formal dissimilarities between the bodies and the sculpture underscore the importance of a poetic, thematic reading over a lookalike contest. The wax coating, in turn, has echoes of the *imagines maiorum*, the Roman wax death mask;³¹⁴ the function of this sculpture as a pseudo death mask is reinforced through its hybrid media, both of which serve as aesthetic markers of death-representations.³¹⁵ Furthermore, following Hosmer's well-known research for *Zenobia*, where she solicited images of Roman portrait coins and extant jewellery to get the visual details right,³¹⁶ I argue that the *Sentinel* takes this even further and engages with the visuality of archaeology—not necessarily with surface accuracy.

Hosmer carried the archaeological visual language of the *Sentinel* further in stylistic choices made in the work. The switch from the satiny

³¹² Grace Greenwood, "Paris and the Exhibition," *New York Times* October 27, 1878, 4; "The Sentinel of Pompeii: A New Statue from the Chisel of Harriet Hosmer," *New York Times* Aug 25 1878 (reprint, *The Times*, London, Aug 10 1878).

³¹³ Eugene Dwyer, "The First Plaster Casts of the Pompeian Victims," in Jonathan Wood (Ed.), *Sculpture and Archaeology, Subject/Object: New Studies in Sculpture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 49. Dwyer especially notes that the casts were "filled with the moment and lacking in 'repose and sublimity.'" Tito Angelini, a Neapolitan sculptor, made plans to refine and recreate one of the sets of casts in marble, but this seems to have never come about.

³¹⁴ For a full treatment of *imagines maiorum*, see Harriet Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1998). See also, Pliny, *Natural Histories* 35.4–7; Rolf Winckes, "Pliny's Chapter on Roman Funeral Customs in the Light of *Clipeatae Imagines*," *American Journal of Archaeology* 83, no. 4 (1979), 481–84; Emerson H. Swift, "Imagines in Imperial Portraiture," *American Journal of Archaeology* 27, no. 3 (1923), 286–301; Erich S. Gruen, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 152–6; Paolo Asso, ed., *Brill's Companion to Lucan* (Boston: Brill, 2011); Sorcha Carey, *Pliny's Catalogue of Culture: Art and Empire in the Natural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 153–6.

³¹⁵ Marcia Pointon, "Casts, Imprints, and the Deathliness of Things: Artifacts at the Edge," *The Art Bulletin* 9, No. 2 (July 2014), 170–195.

³¹⁶ CCC 150–1, Anna Jameson to Harriet Hosmer October 10, 1859.

smooth surface of her ideal subjects to the weather-beaten and aged appearance of the *Sentinel* displays, as with the *Medusa* and *Daphne*, her ability to match the appropriate reference to the subject. Despite the lack of kissed-and-caressed smooth skin and gently swelling modulations of form, as we traditionally expect from neoclassical sculpture, these aesthetic choices speak to Hosmer's application of her "artist's higher faculties," as discussed in the introduction;³¹⁷ they draw on imitation of antiquity, rather than copying of forms ancient or modern. The apparent veristic treatment, rather than Hellenistic drama or Classical reserve, recalls Roman stoicism and the military character of the sentinel, rather than the ideal, architectural beauty of her *Zenobia*, a columnar captive queen, or even the sweeping, stately *Isabella*. The veristic treatment of the face lends weight to the legend that this sentinel was a real person, whose remains were found during the excavations, even though this was by Hosmer's day widely understood, at least in scientific circles, to be a fiction. Finally, the rough finish, visible in the extant photograph of the work, is reminiscent of the finish of the plaster casts of the bodies made by the archaeologists at Pompeii.

The purported historicity of the subject, its "truthiness," to use Stephen Colbert's word for "the quality of stating concepts or facts one wishes or believes to be true, rather than concepts or facts known to be true,"³¹⁸ is supported by these repetitions of archaeological 'facts', dates, places, and collections. These make the actual truth of the *Sentinel* (whether the mythic sentinel or Lytton's text) largely irrelevant. The truthiness of Hosmer's statue makes itself most present to the modern viewer in the face and upper body, the only parts visible in the extant photograph. It is in the face, after all, so strongly contrasted with that of Poynter's *Faithful Unto Death*, that Hosmer's

³¹⁷ Honour, *Neoclassicism*, as at note 21.

³¹⁸ Truthiness was coined and popularized by Stephen Colbert on the satirical news program *The Colbert Report*, in response to the political climate of the early and middle 2000s in America. It was voted the American Dialect Society word of the year in 2005 and Merriam Webster's in 2006. It is used to mean "the belief or assertion that a particular statement is true based on the intuition or perceptions of some individual or individuals, without regard to evidence, logic, intellectual examination, or facts."

wax-over-plaster medium and veristic treatment reach their full emotive potential. I am by no means the first to refer to the style of the *Pompeian Sentinel* as veristic, though this has been previously presented as an unproblematic designation and its implications—formal, material, and thematic—have only been partially explored.³¹⁹ This is an issue related to the problem of “neoclassicism,” as a term which was used by these artists.³²⁰ Using the Google NGram tool to search for the terms “veristic,” “verism,” and “verismo” yield very few results before the middle twentieth century, and those results are—to a one—in reference to opera, not Roman republican portraiture (Fig. 93).

The first reference to verism in relation to portraiture seems to appear in the mid-1930s, and even Gisela Richter refers to it as a recent arrival in archaeological lexicons in 1955.³²¹ Her definition is of “a somewhat dry realism, a realism which shows the person portrayed as he really is, without idealizing tendencies, with wrinkles and warts and other physical defects, and also, what is more important, with an expression not of a philosopher or poet or visionary, but of what might be called a man of affairs.”³²² In his 1864 *Handbook of Sculpture, Ancient and Modern*, Westmacott refers to the veristic mode in passing, and does not give it a unified stylistic name: “In busts and portrait statues another influence is seen ... Great attention was paid to individual character, as was natural where correct portraiture was required ... The most striking deficiency in this Greco-Roman sculpture is the absence of ideal beauty. They are true to particular and individual nature, but they have not the refinement or selection so remarkable in the sculpture of the Greeks.”³²³ Hosmer’s exposure to veristic portraiture would most probably have come from the works of art themselves rather than a textbook; the

³¹⁹ Behlman, “Sentinel,” 165.

³²⁰ See introduction for the discussion of neoclassicism; Honour, *Neoclassicism*, 17.

³²¹ Gisela M. A. Richter, “The Origin of Verism in Roman Portraits,” *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 45, Issue 1–2 (1955), 9.

³²² *Ibid.*, 39.

³²³ Sir Richard Westmacott, *Handbook of Sculpture, Ancient and Modern* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1864), 215.

Chiaromonti and the Capitoline galleries in Rome, as well as the Naples Archaeological Museum, hold examples which would commend themselves to study, as would the practice of taking plaster masks—death or otherwise. This is further evidence for Hosmer’s reliance on Roman models, rather than Greek models, of sculpture and archaeology, as discussed in the introduction.

Behlman, in his essay on the *exemplum virtutis*, describes the veristic style thus: “in its ancient context Roman verism was not a mode of realism devoted to a perfect mimesis of the human face but was instead a programmatic resistance to foreign Greek values ... These old Roman faces, with their sagging flesh and dignified, crumbling aspects, resembled each other more than they differed.”³²⁴ By incorporating this definition, and the understanding that rather than an individualistic portrait style, the veristic was as discursive and calculated as any other artistic mode, Hosmer’s combination of deathliness and naturalism can be recognized as an artistic, intellectual move to emphasize this historicity rather than an actual historical accuracy.

Hosmer’s use of an artistic style which purports to emphasize an individual’s features, with the undergraduate survey refrain of “warts and all,” reinforces the suggestion that this is a depiction of a Real Historical Event, using Historically Accurate Details, even as the late date of the sculpture itself increases the likelihood that she knew the character of the *Sentinel* was a romantic fiction. The apparently individualized features—the weathered skin and strong furrowed brow—suggest a factual face, that of the skeleton built up like one of today’s forensic reconstructions, or that of the modern model who stood in her studio dressed as a Roman foot soldier. Conversely, the deeply sunken eyes and dropping cheeks add to the viewer’s impression that this is a death mask, rather than a life mask or living figure: in the dead, without the active tension of muscles and movement, human faces go slack and fall subject to gravity in indicative, unsettling ways. Together with the wax coating—most visible, if not only present—on the face of the work, this suggests further the

³²⁴ Behlman, “Sentinel,” 165.

wax *imagines maiorum*;³²⁵ in the extant photograph, at least, it also recalls the rough surfaces of those plaster bodies still *in situ* in Pompeii, rather than the burnished, painted, and sealed plaster of an exhibition piece or the pointing machine's target. However, the process of the sculpture's construction is specifically tied to the pointing machine: Hosmer is said to have built the armature of iron, then fleshed the figure out in plaster, then marked—again, much in the way of modern forensic reconstruction—with pins to demarcate the necessary depth of the wax, which then creates the skin onto which Hosmer could model the fineness of detail and accuracy of finish for which she was noted.³²⁶

The work's main material, the plaster, at first would seem to be the choice of a practical, business-minded sculptor, sending an un-commissioned work for display.³²⁷ Using plaster was eminently practical and one which is well-documented in the work of nineteenth-century sculptors. Plaster avoids having to assume the financial burden of a block of marble, paying the extra shipping costs associated with sending something that heavy, and further risking the expense and challenge of repairing a marble work as opposed to a plaster one—after all, Edmonia Lewis was castigated for putting her works in marble before she had buyers, and none of them were eight feet tall.³²⁸ While more often the practice was to sculpt in clay at a small scale, then cast in plaster and use the pointing machine to enlarge the clay conception into a larger plaster or marble finished piece, Hosmer built her work directly onto an

³²⁵ Jane Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 6. These wax masks, if not actually death masks, were believed to have been the root of the veristic portrait into the 1980s. Richter, however, argued for the basis of verism in Etruscan funerary heads, and that the wax *imagines* were not the source for the forms of Republican portraits but a related practice of art- or image-making. Richter, "Origins," 9.

³²⁶ "The Sentinel of Pompeii: a Statue from the Chisel of Harriet Hosmer," *The Times*, London, Aug. 10, 1878.

³²⁷ Furthermore, Culkin has noted that at this point in Hosmer's career, her production had lapsed and she was failing to complete commissions even for Louisa Ashburton. She was probably not in a financial position to send anything but plaster. Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer*, 133–5.

³²⁸ Buick, *Child of the Fire*, 15–6.

armature in plaster and wax. The plaster and iron skeleton with wax skin was also reportedly easier to continue to work over the “emphatically long” process by which Hosmer developed her works of art—a process which according to Grace Greenwood involved as much unworking as it did making. “It is a new process and her own invention,” Greenwood wrote, “and gives her the chance she always covets for interminable work, as it neither cracks nor shrinks like clay, can be kept indefinitely under her fastidious and indefatigable hand, which seems equally to enjoy doing and undoing.”³²⁹ She would later follow the same practical line of production with her commissioned *Isabella* for the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair. However, both *Isabella* and the *Pompeian Sentinel* were lost to time, and possibly mildew, fire, or—in *Isabella*’s case at least—earthquake, followed by fire.³³⁰ This prefigured the destruction of many of Fiorelli’s first dozen casts in bombing raids during World War II; along with the sad fate of numerous plaster cast collections in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries,³³¹ these destructions demonstrate the risks of leaving major works in the preliminary plaster stage—the ease of decay and loss, like that of frail human flesh and construction in the face of the ravages of time or volcanoes. Ashes to volcanic ashes, dust to plaster dust: the fragility and impermanence of the medium is thematic as well as practical, and it is this aspect which will guide the rest of the chapter.

The plaster of the *Sentinel* is undeniably inflected by the plaster bodies of Pompeii. Though none of the American neoclassical sculptors—apart from Hosmer—appear to have been directly influenced by the casts, and their

³²⁹ Greenwood, “Paris,” 1878.

³³⁰ For a thorough history of the *Isabella*, see Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer*, 136–59. After the 1893 Chicago World’s Columbian Exhibition, the *Isabella* was sent to San Francisco, accompanied by Hosmer. Though, like the *Sentinel*, discussions were had about putting it in a more permanent material like bronze, eventually the plans petered out and the statue disappears from Hosmer’s correspondence and the archival record. If it was still extant in 1906, it probably perished in the San Francisco earthquake or subsequent fire; if it managed to survive that, a century of Bay Area fog and damp likely has taken its toll.

³³¹ See especially Stephen Dyson, “Cast Collecting in the United States,” in *Plaster Casts: Making, Collecting and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Rune Frederiksen and Eckart Marchand (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 557–576.

impact in the wider European artistic contexts is questionable,³³² it is difficult to deny that the sculpture of a Pompeian subject, made by an artist with archaeological and scientific, inventive interests,³³³ in close proximity to Pompeii, with Neapolitan social connections and ties to the Italian artistic academies,³³⁴ was not related to the cast remains of volcano's victims. Though there are problems of formal affinity—mostly scale and orientation, both of which I will address—the materiality and thematic properties of plaster and wax in relation to the archaeological remains of the bodies and of the city of Pompeii itself needs to be addressed in relation to the sculpture.

As to the dating of the sculpture: the first mention of it in the press currently seems to be a notice in January 1878, a brief notice in *The Magazine of Art* that the work was finished and to be called "*The Pompeian Sentinel*."³³⁵ However, as discussed above, Hosmer's working process was "emphatically long," and a conservatively lengthy estimate for its production—at the very least a year or two, and possibly quite a bit longer—is more sensible here than a rapid one. It seems reasonable therefore to amend its usual dating from 1878 to c. 1876–1878. Hosmer had also travelled in England with the deposed King and Queen of Naples in 1876;³³⁶ Pompeii had been part of their territory before their loss to Garibaldi's forces and they may well have discussed the developments surrounding the cultural jewel in their lost crowns. Regarding the incorrect dates in Hosmer's biography and published letters (and giving Carr the benefit of the doubt): it is not unreasonable to hypothesize that there is a letter, possibly now illegible given Hosmer's horrific handwriting and the translucence of her favoured writing paper, which refers to the *Sentinel*,

³³² Dwyer, "First Casts," 49–51.

³³³ Carr, *Harriet Hosmer*, Hosmer to Mrs. Crow 1858; Jameson to Hosmer Oct. 10, 1859; she patented a formula for a mouldable, plaster-like artificial marble, and was hard at work inventing a magnet-based perpetual motion machine. Untitled review of the *Pompeian Sentinel*, *The American Architect and Building News*, Nov 16, 1878, 4, 151.

³³⁴ Hosmer became an associate of L'Accademia Dei Quiriti in 1859. Harriet Hosmer Miscellanea, Watertown Free Public Library.

³³⁵ "Art Notes for December," *The Magazine of Art*, London and New York, January 1878, 29.

³³⁶ Carr, *Harriet Hosmer*, 306; Lady Warwick to Harriet Hosmer, November 24, 1876.

visiting the city of Pompeii, or the recent scientific developments by Fiorelli (Fig. 94). This may have led to confusion after Hosmer's death, and the demonstrably incorrect date on the reproduced articles. If this is the case, Hosmer may have been responding to the 1863 development of the casts, or any of the intermediary casts made successfully between 1864 and 1878—six by 1872, beginning with the so-called Soldier (Fig. 95), the cast of a man six feet tall and described as having a “military bearing.”³³⁷ It may also have been inspired by Fiorelli's development of a museum on-site, which presented the casts as its main attraction and which opened in 1875, the casting of the iconic Sleeping Man (Fig. 96) in 1873— he's still snoozing macabrely away in several locations in Pompeii—or the Watchdog in 1874 (Fig. 97). Understanding that sculpture, especially on the scale of the *Sentinel*, takes quite a bit of time from initial concept to shipping the finished product, and the incomplete archival evidence for so many of her sculptures, Hosmer might well have begun the work many years before even my revised estimate of 1876, and may have been started quite early—the seeds may even have been planted with the publication of the Soldier cast in 1863/4.

The history of the casts themselves has been fairly well-documented. The fullest treatments in recent years are by Eugene Dwyer, including their consideration as sculptures and as inspiration for artists in *Sculpture and Archaeology*, and a timeline of the making and reception of the first sixteen casts in *Pompeii's Living Statues*.³³⁸ Giuseppe Fiorelli started working at Pompeii in 1847, though he ran into trouble soon after and was jailed in 1849 for his involvement in the debates surrounding the unification of Italy and the future of the Kingdom of Naples. By 1860, however, he was back in the regime's good graces and was appointed Chief Inspector of the excavations; in 1863, the year of the first successful cast, he was also appointed Director of the

³³⁷ Eugene Dwyer, “From Fragments to Icons: Stages in the Making and Exhibiting of the Casts of Pompeian Victims, 1863–1888,” *Interpreting Ceramics* Issue 8 2007, online journal. Permalink: <http://www.interpretingceramics.com/issue008/articles/o6.htm>

³³⁸ Dwyer, “First Plaster Casts,” 45–60; Eugene Dwyer, *Pompeii's Living Statues: Ancient Roman Lives Stolen from Death* (University of Michigan Press, 2010).

Museum.³³⁹ He prioritized a scientific approach to the excavation and democratized access to Pompeii, and reoriented the public's interest from a magpie-like fascination with the shiniest new grand discoveries towards an appreciation of the scientific process and information about the lives of the inhabitants of the ancient city.³⁴⁰ The clearest description of how Fiorelli (and his workmen) produced the casts comes from Eugene Dwyer's 2007 article in *Interpreting Ceramics*, based on later descriptions of the process, and which I paraphrase here.³⁴¹ Fiorelli is supposed to have ordered his workmen to cease work if they discovered any hollows in the ash that might contain the skeletal remains of a victim. Dwyer notes that it was likely "prior, unrecorded experience" that gave Fiorelli the idea for the process, when on February 3, 1863, one of these potential hollows was discovered. Tongs were used to remove the bones, and either Fiorelli or a workman, possibly a trained *formatore*, filled the cavity with the liquid plaster.³⁴² The cast was allowed to set and when it was uncovered the next day, it revealed the figure now called the Soldier.³⁴³

This cast making process was not always successful and was indeed often fragmentary, as well as necessarily destructive: once the liquid was poured in, set, and the surrounding ash removed, the cavity was gone forever.

³³⁹ Eric M. Moormann, *Pompeii's Ashes: the Reception of the Cities Buried by Vesuvius in Literature, Music, and Drama* (Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 75. See also, Estelle Lazer, *Resurrecting Pompeii* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009).

³⁴⁰ Moorman, *Ashes*, 77–8.

³⁴¹ Dwyer, "Fragments to Icon," n.p.

³⁴² It is worth noting that Hosmer was herself a skilled *formatore*, per her early training in Boston (Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 39), and the famous cast of the clasped hands of the Brownings.

³⁴³ Dwyer, *Living Statues*, 55–60. In the 2015 field season, Estelle Lazer and team conducted extensive CT scanning and imaging with the permission and cooperation of the Soprintendenza di Pompeii and showed that many of the extant plaster casts were produced in ways that contradict the published statements—most importantly, that the skeletons were *not* removed and were often fully articulated within the plaster. However, it may have been that Fiorelli did remove bones at first, considering we no longer have the Soldier and several other early casts, and that leaving the bones in was a development based on experiment—removing the bones may have disturbed the matrix and impacted casting, for example. Estelle Lazer, "What's in the Casts? New Horizons and Many Recent Surprises in Pompeian Archaeology," *SOPHI Magazine*, Issue 4, Winter 2017, 6–9.

The best casts could preserve the imprints of fabric and delicate feature; others were fragmentary, diagrammatic, and rough—the twentieth-century casts in the Villa dei Misteri demonstrate these two ends of the spectrum well (Figs. 98–100), as well as the existentially horrifying, *memento mori* possibilities of the skeletons left inside the plaster to grimace out at the voyeuristic visitor. A range of problems could cause the casts’ flaws; these flaws could affect not only the artistic or aesthetic quality of the finished cast but the interpretation of the casts as forensic, archaeological evidence for cause of death. The cast of the Soldier, for example, had what appeared to be a swollen belly. Fiorelli interpreted this as evidence for death by drowning, and only later reconsidered the swelling as a flaw in the casting process itself, probably when part of the ash matrix collapsed.³⁴⁴

The irreproducibility of the original body made the first casting vital to get right, though once the bodies were cast, that replica could be reproduced extensively if so desired. Today, the casts are as complicated to look at as “originals” unless one is an expert, because they have been duplicated for art and for scientific purposes, and there is little differentiation between the secondary copies of the casts and what might be seen as the prime object in the didactic materials on site or online. Allan McCollum’s *The Dog from Pompeii*, 1991 (Fig. 101) foregrounds the repetitive, reproductive nature and material potentials of the cast, as well as specifically citing that he worked from a “second generation” mould.³⁴⁵ However, at Pompeii in April 2017, I observed that there were multiple undifferentiated sets of the casts on display at the Anfiteatro entrance in glass display rooms (Fig. 102) and visible in the Casa del bracciale d’oro (Fig. 103–104), as well as single reproductions in the Granai del Foro (Fig. 105).

Information about the casts was readily available to non-professionals through a range of popular publications—this was not closely-held secret

³⁴⁴ Dwyer, *Living Statues*, 59, n. 32.

³⁴⁵ Allan McCollum, “The Dog from Pompeii,” <http://allanmccollum.net/amcnet2/album/pompeidog.html>.

knowledge, by any means. It was one of Fiorelli's goals, after all, to make the public understand the value of scientific approaches and methodical work, the intrinsic interest of the quotidian details and accuracy in reconstruction or preservation.³⁴⁶ One article from 1868 mentions the plaster bodies in passing as one of Fiorelli's numerous scientific achievements, but spends the better part of its space discussing in great detail the contents of and hypotheses about a newly-excavated bakery, with its carbonized bread still *in situ*. An article in the *Lady's Repository* about Pompeii closes with an explanation of the casts, including reference to decay by which the cavities were formed and Fiorelli's process of filling the hollows with liquid plaster; the last sentences refer to the so-called Soldier: "The fourth figure is that of a tall, stalwart man, with coarse dress, and heavy sandals studded with nails. He lies on his back, his arms extended, and his feet stretched out, as though, finding escape impossible, he has made up his mind to die like a man. His features are marked, some of his teeth yet remain, and a portion of his moustache adheres to the plaster of the cast." (Fig. 106) The same article had earlier made note of the sentinel: "One skeleton, however, bears witness to motives neither sordid nor selfish; it is that of a Roman soldier on guard, who was found at his post."³⁴⁷

A major problem of conflating Hosmer's *Sentinel* and the plaster bodies is the issue of axis: the bodies at Pompeii, with the exception of the Watchdog, are unrelentingly horizontal, whether orientated face down or face up; the *Sentinel* is unyieldingly vertical, or at least the textual evidence lead us to believe so.³⁴⁸ The gesso corpses are furthermore distressingly honest about the mortal nature of the remains they preserve. With clothes often in undignified, terrified disarray, the rigidity of muscles pulled tight in the heat of scalding gasses or the contortion of a violent, suffocating death, there is no space for the peaceful contemplation of the deceased as there was in the modern

³⁴⁶ Moormann, *Ashes*, 74–79.

³⁴⁷ "Discovery of Pompeii," *The Ladies Repository* (Apr. 1868), 28.

³⁴⁸ My thanks to Liz Prettejohn for bringing this key point to my attention.

cemetery. The torqued bodies and flailing limbs of the casts resist even a hypothetical rotation to a vertical position; the iron-nailed sandals of the Soldier could not rest firmly on the basalt pavements of Pompeii, nor the Sleeping Man seem to wake and walk again. Conversely, the *Sentinel* is necessarily standing: it is inherent to his narrative to be eternally at attention, even as the ashes and gasses swirl toxically around him. Loath to abandon his post, it is easy to imagine the stoic Roman of didactic myth being slowly buried, still standing sturdily with his supporting spear, in the accumulating ashes and lapilli and flowing mud, until eventually the diggers disturbed his bones. Indeed, an overactive imagination might create a familial link between the cast Soldier, at six foot plus with the cast remains of possible leather armour, and the monumental *Sentinel*.

The imagination need not even be that active. The casts of the first bodies found, including the hulking, sandaled man described in the *Lady's Repository* and elsewhere as facing his death like a man, are described in a dry (and occasionally slightly superior, if not sarcastic) report on the history and excavations of Pompeii as being displayed “on tables in a room not far from the so-called Gate of Herculaneum, and are usually the first objects towards which the visitor turns his steps.”³⁴⁹ E.P. Evans in the *North American Review* is of the school which, in accordance to the most up-to-date archaeological evidence, disregards the myth of the sentry stoic at his post and the Laocoön-like mother and daughters found a few tombs away on the Via delle Tombe,³⁵⁰ not to mention that of Bulwer Lytton's Calenus—whom we are told to take *cum grano salis* (translation not provided).³⁵¹ However, Evans also notes that

³⁴⁹ E.P. Evans, “Pompeii,” *The North American Review* (April 1, 1838); 411.

³⁵⁰ These bodies were supposedly found under the porch of a tomb on the south side of the Via delle Tombe, quite a bit further down the hill from the Herculaneum Gate. I found it impossible to identify exactly where they were supposedly found; it is unmarked today and the information in the excavation journal is vague and does not correspond to extant structures.

³⁵¹ The skeletons of a mother and her children were found in the Via delle Tombe on October 31, 1812, though they weren't fully excavated until November 21, in the presence of Queen Caroline—the proper excavation being saved for a star visit. Fiorelli gives the location as “precisely under the porch of the ‘oesterie,’ along the

“The genius of the romancer has also supplemented the erudition of the antiquary, and, by a touch with his magic wand, has been able to reanimate the ruins, and ‘create a soul / Under the ribs of Death.’”³⁵² The deeply affecting premises of Pompeii as a site, as an imaginative space, were too poetically, viscerally available for artists; even the driest, dustiest archaeologist or antiquarian recognized that Pompeii’s archaeological bones were a strong skeletal frame upon which the artist—author, poet, painter, less diligent, dilettante archaeologist—can flesh out an affective, human story of life or death. Hosmer may well have known—probably knew—that the character of the sentinel was entirely fictional, but if she did visit Pompeii in the late 1860s or early 1870s, her artistic—active—imagination maybe have seized on the spasming sight of the soldier, cast in plaster and presented near the site of Pompeii’s most persistent moments of pathos, and wrought the *Sentinel* from the memories.

THE PHOTOGRAPH AS LAVA

The romance of the dying sentry in his post was and is still so thoroughly entrenched in the narratives and histories surrounding the Herculaneum Gate that even Kate Culkin, in her discussion of the *Sentinel* in the context of Hosmer’s biography, doesn’t mention that the myth is just that. Though at least one text in 1900 purported to show the very skull and helmet of the sentry (Fig. 107),³⁵³ the excavation records from the eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century research into the question show that this cannot have been the case. The striking visuals set out in Lytton and the many reproductive

south side of the Street of Tombs.” (Dwyer, “Victims,” 131 n. 49). Evans cites Marc Monnier and refers to it as fable—“the pathetic fiction of the mother seated in an exedra amongst the tombs, ‘with an infant in her arms, and beside her two children, their bones mingled and interlaced.” Evans, “Pompeii.” The excavation diaries do not seem to support the description of the bodies as seated, nor within one of the exedras, but the actual existence of such a group is unquestioned. Evans, “Pompeii,” 409.

³⁵² Ibid., 396. Quoting John Milton, “Comus,” line 560.

³⁵³ Pierre Gusman, *Pompeii, the City, Its Life & Art* (London: William Heinemann, 1900), 19.

images of the very site have made it difficult to escape the settling accumulation of stories like ash around the myth of the sentry. The site specificity of the myth is its own narrative weakness, and thus the weakness of the romance of the site itself. Once the moralized myth of the stoic Roman sentinel is scrubbed from the bricks and swept from the niche, the appeal of what is—truthfully—naught but a spidery, damp alcove of no real picturesque charm diminishes greatly. Photographs of the place, too, diminish the romance; prints could have the picturesque addition of drunken, lazy locals interspersed with the erudite tourist or the be-togaed antique figures (Fig. 108)—perhaps Pliny and his attendants, perhaps Glaucus and Ione and their louche friends—photography allowed no such romance for the historically or scientifically minded consumer of images. The family of tourists in bumbags and tube socks standing in the Herculaneum Gate somehow lacks the same charm—even the photograph taken of me by an Australian family for whom I played *cicerone* during one of my research trips lacks the aesthetic and romantic qualities of an artist's rendition (Fig. 109).

However, photography as a documentary tool can also provide an intellectual, imaginative spring board from which to consider the problem of the lost sculpture, the lost artefact, the lost skeleton—the lost sentry. For this, I turn not to theories of photography, but to a fallacy in archaeology, which in many ways colours the experience of the visitor in Pompeii today and in the nineteenth century. This fallacy, literally called the Pompeii Premise (despite largely being used by archaeologists of the American Southwest) describes the way that sites are *not* flash-frozen or snapshotted in a single instant, in a way which only requires the patient archaeologist to come excavate for a full and complete understanding of the place. It should be immediately obvious that this was not the case in Pompeii or in Herculaneum, and that the Pompeii Premise is truly a fallacy of archaeological proceedings. However, as a way of thinking about Hosmer's *Sentinel* in particular, but quite probably other works of art lost after being photographed, this premise might be a useful model for thinking through how the sculpture, the photograph of the sculpture, and the

surrounding contexts function both for the viewer and as objects in themselves.

The archaeological specificity in Lytton's novel, as shown in relation even to the nameless sentry, creates a textual, imaginative situation in which the reader feels able to recreate—despite the fictional nature of the novel—a moment frozen in the historical record.³⁵⁴ Lytton's use of bodies, buildings, and artefacts which had been apparently preserved in an exact moment lays the foundations for what would a century and a half or so later become an archaeological fallacy, the Pompeii Premise.³⁵⁵ This flash-freezing is obviously untrue of the event and of the archaeological record, even at Pompeii; we know that people had time to leave, and that the site was disturbed multiple times between 79AD and its first serious excavations in the eighteenth century—not to mention the city had been extensively damaged in an earthquake twenty years before the fatal eruption.³⁵⁶ The site since then has undergone extensive damage and reconstruction, with the mediations of tourist necessities, didactic materials, structural supports and crowd control, and contemporary art (Fig. 110).³⁵⁷ The Pompeii Premise, from its first mention in 1961, is understood to be a fallacy, and the debates around it primarily focus on the nuances of method and interpretation involved in artefact assemblages.

³⁵⁴ Hales, "Re-Casting Antiquity," as at note 260.

³⁵⁵ As at note 285: Ascher, "Analogy," 317–325; Schiffer, "Pompeii Premise," 18–41; Binford, "Behavioral Archaeology," 195–208. Estelle Lazer also discusses the fallacy and Bulwer Lytton's role in shaping public perceptions of Pompeii to produce these notions of the site's "time-capsule" character, Lazer, *Resurrecting Pompeii*, 6–6.

³⁵⁶ For more on the historiography of the sites and excavations, see Moorman, *Pompeii's Ashes*, particularly 7–97; Sean Coco, "Natural Marvels and Ancient Ruins: Volcanism and the Recovery of Antiquity in Early Modern Naples," in *Antiquity Recovered: the Legacy of Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), 15–36; Lazer, *Resurrecting Pompeii*, 67–95; Rowland, *From Pompeii*, 167, quotes a Mr. Freeman, "It is said, some human bones were found, tho' few; which perhaps might belong to some miserable bedridden wretch or other, who could not escape," and Rowland comments that his basic reasoning is sound: "Vesuvius had sent out early warnings of its displeasure, and many people had taken those warning seriously enough to evacuate."

³⁵⁷ Among the many works by Igor Mitora that were on display in 2016 and 2017, the multiple fragmented female nude forms with gorgoneions instead of genitals stand out in particular.

Ascher's only use of the term, in fact, takes the form of a footnote—the final footnote of the article—stating that “This erroneous notion, often implicit in archaeological literature, might be called the Pompeii Premise.”³⁵⁸ He is referring to this notion:

Every living community is in the process of continuous change with respect to the materials which it utilizes. At any point in its existence some proportion of materials are falling into disuse and decomposing, while new materials are being added as replacement. In a certain sense a part of every community is becoming, but is not yet, archaeological data. The community becomes archaeological data when replacement ceases. What the archaeologist disturbs is not the remains of a once living community, stopped, as it were, at a point in time;²¹ what he does interrupt is the process of decomposition.³⁵⁹

Ascher's demarcation of the “erroneous notion” at note 21 and his assertion there that this fallacy could be called the Pompeii Premise sets the ground for the later accusations cast back and forth that archaeologists were engaging in this at their sites and in their reports. These seem to miss the main thrust of Ascher's article, which is about the function of analogy in archaeological interpretation: analogy will never be perfect but can sometimes be useful or helpful for connecting dots in the face of lacunae or in transmitting otherwise dry facts to audiences who haven't been to the sites in question, and who may not know the difference between a tiny potsherd and a flake of limestone. The Pompeii Premise has also been described as the archaeologist's procedural, intellectual blind spot when addressing assemblages of material: “by ignoring, overlooking, or downplaying the operation and effects of formation processes, investigators tacitly assume, in the employment of certain analytical strategies, that their assemblages have a Pompeii-like character.”³⁶⁰ The articles in which the Pompeii Premise is

³⁵⁸ Ascher, “Analogy,” 324, n. 21.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 324.

³⁶⁰ Michael Schiffer, *Behavioural Archaeology: First Principles* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 203.

discussed, back and forth, are largely concerned with differences of scholarly opinion and method, and accusations of misstatements about those opinions, but the original source of the Premise acknowledges it as a problematic assumption or starting point, positioning it as the notion that —and here I paraphrase Gavin Lucas’ summary—the archaeological record of a site can be seen as a “snapshot of a once living community, stopped at a moment in time.”³⁶¹

But stepping back from the archaeological debates, and looking instead at the assemblage of material surrounding Hosmer’s *Pompeian Sentinel*, the Premise—that the community, or here object, stopped at a point in time—becomes productive. There are two ways of addressing this in relation to the photograph, both of which I will now attempt. First, and most basically, the photograph must be addressed as, if not a snapshot, a captured moment in the life of the statue which stands apart from the sculpture itself. It is both a document and an art object, freezing the *Sentinel* in a moment much as Pompeii, in the false Premise, and in the visitor’s experience, is supposed to have been frozen. In this respect, the art historian becomes the archaeologist, disturbing the remains of this once-living image of a dead man, excavating it from the archive and contextualizing both the photograph itself and the sculpture through the expertise of others—the letters and newspaper reviews providing the dating context, parallels drawn to other works attributed to the same artist or culture, a bit of imagination. Secondly, by thinking of the photograph of the sculpture—so far treated as a stand-in for the lost sculpture, rather than a discrete object—separately from the statue itself, and as part of the assemblage *including* the statue, Lytton, popular archaeology and scientific developments, and the plaster casts, it becomes part of its own contextualization.³⁶²

³⁶¹ Gavin Lucas, *Understanding the Archaeological Record* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 102.

³⁶² Though I have above included some materials from after the terminal date for Hosmer’s working on the sculpture, I have aimed primarily to include material she or her friends could conceivably have accessed as part of her research for the *Sentinel*, or

Because I have now declared that the photograph of the *Sentinel* is its own work of art as well as being a piece of documentary evidence, it must be analysed as a standalone work of art before work can proceed. The photo is not especially large; it is sepia toned and mounted on a yellowed heavy paper with a curved lower edge to the vignette, following the torn lower edge of the photograph. In a 1:1 photographic reproduction of the original photograph (in mount, Fig. 92), the bottom edge of the photograph is revealed; we can not see the continuation of the sleeve and arm on the left, and a portion of the hands clutching the supporting spear is visible on the right. The sculpture is centred in the photograph, with the face at the very centre—the diagonal axes meet at the chin. A large tear-shaped hole has removed a portion of the helmet at the top left, just above the ear, but the crest of the helmet is still visible, along with the lower part of the helmet's neck guard. The heavy leather chinstrap of is a visual analogue of a corpse's binding cloth, holding the jaw closed against the undignified ravages of death and in turn echoes the vignette curve of the photographic frame. At the top edge of the photograph, someone's careless fingerprints marred either the negative or the printing process; water stains, or chemical flaws on the plate or negative or in the development process interrupt the rich, velvety darkness of the background. The lower-bust length of the photograph places the emotive quality of the sculpture in the face, with enough detail in the armour and the position of the hands to suggest the pose of the rest of the sculpture. Compare this to the photograph of Emma Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater* (Fig. 55) where the small scale of the photograph and full-length image of the sculpture means that little visual data is available about the facial expression; here the photograph emphasizes it, like the portrait of a living person. The curved edge simultaneously frames the lower edge of the chest like one of Hosmer's ideal female busts, drawing a connection backwards through her oeuvre to her earliest successes. It also denies an association with the scientific images of the plaster casts at Pompeii,

which reflects the readily available material—some of the American publications, for example, may have been largely inaccessible to her in Rome, but display the dissemination of the kind of information available to the public.

photographed in full and prone; the frame allows for an artistic appreciation of the photograph itself as well as the object photographed, instead of requiring a scientific or morbid eye for the casts.

The dating for the photograph is even more uncertain than the date of the sculpture or its destruction, as it could have taken place anywhere between 1877 and 1908. The last recorded mention of Hosmer's *Sentinel* appears to be April 10, 1893, when Hosmer offered to send it to the Chicago Columbian Exhibition; this plan apparently fell through when the American ship sent to collect work at Naples arrived too early and the artists weren't ready.³⁶³ This is also a point of evidence that the model had returned to Italy after its display in 1878 and that its loss happened sometime after Hosmer's death, as she likely would have mentioned the destruction of the work in her correspondence. The photograph could have been taken at any point between the sculpture's completion in 1877/8 and Hosmer's death, but most probably before 1907, when she returned to America for the final time. A logical conjecture would be that she had the photograph with her when she toured the United States in connection with the *Isabella*, considering she had offered it to the Columbian Exhibition before starting *Isabella*; a further conjecture would suggest that she had the photograph taken for this express purpose given that there is no mention of or image of the sculpture in any of the extant newspaper reviews. As for a *terminus a quo*, it can't have been photographed before late 1877.

The uncertain date of this single photograph in the Harriet Hosmer Papers at the Watertown Free Public Library complicates the perception of a photograph as a documentary image of a necessarily limited moment in time. Rather than having a secure date which tells us when in the sculpture's life, or Hosmer's, the photograph was taken, this image ambiguates and destabilizes the timing. It is a frozen moment, yes, but which moment? Earlier in this chapter, I referred to Culkin's assertion that the sculpture itself mediated

³⁶³ Culkin, *Harriet Hosmer*, 146, n. 48.

between eras, with which I do not agree;³⁶⁴ the photograph similarly fails to mediate between or bridge eras. It does not provide a clear window into the past, because we do not know when we're looking at; the photograph insistently exists in our own period without signposting its own. The photograph as a piece of reproductive media further complicates this by having its own copy, which reproduces the damage and lacunae of the original as necessary components of the copy, like a plaster cast of an antique sculpture which functions as its own complete object while it reproduces what on the original is damage or missing pieces. I became complicit in this complication when I took photographs with my phone and with my camera in the archive, introducing not only more copies in a new medium but also myself, as my distorted reflection was captured in the plastic cover sheet that protected the reproduced image. These photographs might be considered a palimpsest in the floor assemblage, if an archaeologist came to excavate this chapter—a late addition overwritten on the more cohesive body of material from the nineteenth century, but still a piece of archaeological data that speaks to the whole life of the assemblage.³⁶⁵ These photographs—caesuras in the life of the sculpture, captured on paper—become, alongside the small amount of archival documents relating to the work, the partial floor assemblages, the archaeological record the Pompeii Premise describes.

It is also possible to see the multiples of the photograph as analogous to the multiple copies of the plaster bodies, and the multiple copies of the plaster casts as analogous not only to the multiple copies of sculptures coming out of the American neoclassical studios but also the multiple Roman versions of antique marbles. I mean this not as a facile statement on the fact that things can exist in multiple copies, but that these multiple copies function as related, replicative but not necessarily identical members of a family of images or objects. The degree of accuracy in repetition, reproduction, and restoration varies; transitions between media and scale, misunderstandings and

³⁶⁴ As at note 290.

³⁶⁵ van Oosten, "Cesspits," n.p.

miscalculations, and even technical or material faults can alter the finished work of art in relation to its original. In the case of restorations, I return momentarily to the question of Hosmer's Romanism over Graecism:³⁶⁶ the availability of multiple copies of sculptures, and by the 1870s, of the plaster bodies, through photography and through cast replicas, may well have been a major factor in her career-long affiliation with Roman art over even the available Greek 'originals' in Rome and more broadly in Europe. Hosmer herself was implicated in these matrixes of reproduction and multiplicity, through the distribution of multiple copies of her work in variations, in print, and in photography.

Because the sculpture vanishes from the record after 1893 and no other images of the work exist, the moment of the photographic plate's exposure functionally becomes the *Sentinel's* Pompeii moment. The photoactive chemicals on the glass plate captured the image of the *Sentinel* for posterity, as the ashes captured the negative forms of the bodies in the city of the dead. These negative images sit inactive and invisible until put into positive forms or images by the technician. The printed photograph then becomes both the proof that the negative—and the original object—existed at all, and the work of art, just as Fiorelli's casts were both a corpus of scientific evidence for the manner in which the people died and an aesthetic, affective oeuvre for visual consumption and necessarily commoditized: picture postcards and stereoviews of the bodies individually and in the museum (Fig. 111) This parallel, or this slippage, of the photograph as cast as stand-in as scientific as art as archive, is born not only of the parallel processes of captured moment, negative, processing, and exposure but also the temporal uncertainty of the objects in play—the photograph, the sculpture, the plaster casts, and the figure of the sentinel in history. If the photograph was taken on celluloid film rather than a glass-plate negative (unlikely, but let's push the parallels a bit further), making the photograph by exposing the film necessarily destroys the alternative potentials for that frame by creating the image—but once

³⁶⁶ See pages 37–39 in Chapter One.

destroyed in that way, the destructive product can be used to create multiple images all alike, just as making the body casts destroyed the matrix but allowed for reproductions to be made from them. The destruction of the casts which may well have been part of Hosmer's inspiration, especially the Soldier, further sets these objects and places in uncertain tension with each other: images of destroyed images of destroyed lives and places, places which are still accessible, and which are animated through an affective mix of archaeological fact and romantic fictions.

SITING SOURCES:

LYTTON, ARCHAEOLOGICAL FACTS, AND ROMANTIC FICTIONS

Bulwer Lytton's purple-prosed retelling of the final days and hours of Pompeii first hit the shelves of London booksellers in 1834, as we have seen, with a dedicatory letter to Sir William Gell and a preface that declares (in the first of many footnotes intended to emphasize the scientific underpinnings of a heavily fictionalized narrative) "Nearly the whole of this work was written at Naples last winter (1832-22)."³⁶⁷ It has been previously noted that one possible reason for the novel's immediate popularity may have been its fortuitous release the week after news of a major eruption of Vesuvius reached London—in the words of James C. Simmons, "a prepublication boost that no human press agent could have equalled."³⁶⁸ Its continued popularity throughout the nineteenth century, with mass production and large print runs means that even today an 1834 hardback copy can be obtained for £25, and later editions for even less—my personal copy from 1895, with a leather-bound spine and corners and gilt-and-marbled cover and end papers, cost a whopping £1.93 (plus £2.80 for shipping) (Fig. 112). Nineteenth-century copies are today still so numerous and inexpensive that I brought mine with me on my trips to Pompeii, reading the passages describing the *Sentinel in situ*—as Hosmer may

³⁶⁷ Bulwer Lytton, *Last Days*, 7.

³⁶⁸ James C. Simmons, "Bulwer and Vesuvius: The Topicality of the Last Days of Pompeii," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 24, no. 1 (June, 1969), 103.

have done, and as one imagines many tourists of the past did before and after her. After all, it cost less than £5 and there were more available—if anything happened to it (say it got somehow chucked in a handy volcano or one of the stray dogs ran off with it) it was easily replaced.

Lytton's novel tapped into a taste for sublime scenes of death and destruction, sexually charged or eroticized moralizations, onto which he lacquered a veneer of archaeological specificity and peopled with the poetic elaborations of real remains. One rather suspects that Evans, who told his readers to take the more evocative stories *cum grano salis* had Bulwer Lytton in mind when he wrote of the "genius of the romancer" supplanting "the erudition of the antiquary."³⁶⁹ The realness of the remains, indeed, the specificity of site and exactness of events is emphasized in the text to which the aforementioned footnote is attached:

On visiting those disinterred remains of an ancient city which, more perhaps than either the delicious breeze of the cloudless sun, the violet valleys and orange-groves of the south, attract the traveller to the neighbourhood of Naples; on viewing, still fresh and vivid, the houses, the streets, the temples, the theatres of a place existing in the haughtiest age of the Roman empire—it was not unnatural, perhaps, that a writer who had before laboured, however unworthily, in the art to revive and to create, should feel a keen desire to people once more those deserted streets, to repair those graceful ruins, to reanimate the bones which were yet spared to his survey; to traverse the gulf of eighteen centuries, and to wake to a second existence—the City of the Dead!

And the reader will easily imagine how sensibly this desire grew upon one whose task was undertaken in the immediate neighbourhood of Pompeii—the sea that once bore her commerce, and received her fugitives, at his feet—and the fatal mountain of Vesuvius still breathing forth smoke and fire constantly before his eyes!³⁷⁰

³⁶⁹ As at note 349.

³⁷⁰ Bulwer Lytton, *Last Days*, 7.

Bulwer Lytton's choice of subject—"my catastrophe," his possessive phrasing of the dramatic backdrop before which he would set his scene—and the characters he invented on the bones of the dead and the streets of the silenced city, are described as the "natural offspring of the scene and time."³⁷¹ The preface to the 1850 edition furthers the author's statements that in creating the populace of his novel, he drew on not only the latest archaeological data and the details of the site itself, but that, "writing the work almost on the spot, and amidst a population that still preserve a strong family likeness to their classical forefathers I could scarcely fail to catch something of those living colours which mere book-study alone would not have sufficed to bestow."³⁷² There are two main facets of these statements which are relevant to Hosmer's *Sentinel* and to my project at large. First, Bulwer Lytton's text embraces the most up-to-date archaeological information as a foundation for his artistic process. This ground allowed Bulwer Lytton the myth of scientific impartiality as a veil of truth for his inventions—a fictive, invisible veil we as readers have to 'see' not unlike the veil of purity around Hiram Powers' *Greek Slave*.³⁷³ The second major facet is the importance of the specific place beyond the archaeological, geological sense, but in the sense that this place in particular has not changed: something of the character of its inhabitants remains not only in the ruins but in the supposed descendants of the survivors.

The text that provided the archaeological scrim onto which Bulwer Lytton painted his Tyrian-dyed, gilded-lily scene was Sir William Gell's *Pompeiana* (1817). The dedicatory letter from Bulwer Lytton to Gell, with which the 1834 edition opens, has been mentioned already; Bulwer Lytton clearly recognized that his novel was reliant on the facts provided by the well-known scholar, as well as his first-hand experience in the vicinity of Pompeii. First published in 1817-18, then reissued in 1824 with updates on the excavations

³⁷¹ Bulwer Lytton, *Last Days*, 10.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 15.

³⁷³ Linda Hyman, "The Greek Slave by Hiram Powers: High Art as Popular Culture," *Art Journal* 35, No. 3 (Spring 1976), 216-33.

since 1819, the text made the scholarship of Pompeii more generally available to the English-speaking public than it ever had been.³⁷⁴ Illustrations of the site, objects excavated, and maps allowed the public, many of whom would be unable to visit Pompeii itself, access to knowledge which previously had been closely-held in the bosoms of the Neapolitan ruling class and the academics who, as Winckelmann did, might memorize a passage, sneak away, and transcribe it before returning to the museums and excavations.³⁷⁵ Building on that, it is easy to imagine Bulwer Lytton, perhaps with Gell standing by, making notes in the nineteenth-century version of a Moleskine notebook, standing in front of the House of the Tragic Poet or the Herculaneum Gate, or perched on one of the crumbling seats in the arena, imagining the drugged Glaucus coming to his senses as the conflagration began to rain Tartarean hellfire down upon the assembled townsfolk.

Lytton's relationship with archaeology was not just limited to the fleshing out of narrative and enriching the visual banquet with tolerable *murænae*,³⁷⁶ flavoured with *garum* and pleasantly lit with phallic lamps (Fig. 113). Not only did he live in Naples as he wrote the book, scribbling away under the silent but still sinister hulk of Vesuvius, and visiting the streets about which he wrote—with the assistance of Gell, and John Auldjo, he kept in his home skulls labelled Arbaces and Calenus (Fig. 114).³⁷⁷ The skulls came to him in 1856 from Auldjo, the volcanologist, and as Simon Goldhill has discussed, formed part of Bulwer Lytton's authorial self-fashioning in *Knebworth*. They presented further facets of the novel as absolute fact, and supposedly validated not only the archaeological bones of the novel but also the theories of phrenology, to which many of the American sculptors would later subscribe.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁴ See Moorman, *Pompeii's Ashes*, 48–61 for a history of the books available about Pompeii in the nineteenth century, for scholars and for the public.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

³⁷⁶ Lampreys. Bulwer Lytton, *Last Days*, 24, n. 1.

³⁷⁷ Simon Goldhill, "A Writer's Things: Edward Bulwer Lytton and the Archaeological Gaze; or, What's in a Skull?" *Representations* 119, no. 1 (Summer 2012), 92–118. My thanks to Jill Campbell at Knebworth House for the photograph of the skulls.

³⁷⁸ See especially Charles Colbert, "Each Little Hillock hath a Tongue': Phrenology and the Art of Hiram Powers," *The Art Bulletin*, 68, No. 2 (June, 1986), 281–300.

As Goldhill describes Bulwer Lytton's Victorian urge to categorize, label, and display his scientific objects—and thus his own scientific, rational chops—so do the reviews of Hosmer's statue perform much the same function as Auldjo's tidily-written labels.

The *Pompeian Sentinel* is explicitly situated in Pompeii, and even more explicitly in one spot: the Herculaneum Gate, at the northwest edge of the city, in the niche to the left of the gate upon exiting, facing down from the Via Consolare towards the Via delle Tombe and the so-called House of Diomedes. This occurs twice in *The Last Days of Pompeii*: once in Volume 1, and again during the calamity, the passage that gave direct rise to Hosmer's work:

'Oh, blessed be he who invented gates to a city!' cried Diomed. 'See!—they have placed a light within yon arch: by that let us guide our steps.'

The air was now still for a few minutes: the lamp from the gate streamed out far and clear: the fugitives hurried on--they gained the gate--they passed by the Roman sentry; the lightning flashed over his livid face and polished helmet, but his stern features were composed even in their awe! He remained erect and motionless at his post. That hour had not animated the machine of the ruthless majesty of Rome into the reasoning and self-acting man. There he stood, amidst the crashing elements: he had not received the permission to desert his station and escape.³⁷⁹

Lytton was drawing on Gell's description of the space:

On the opposite side [of the gate] is an arched recess, around and without which seats are formed; in the centre was an altar or pedestal ... Within this recess was found a human skeleton, of which the hand still grasped a lance. Conjecture has imagined this the remains of a sentinel, who preferred dying at his post to quitting it for the more ignominious death, which, in conformity with the severe discipline of his country, would have awaited him.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁹ Bulwer Lytton, *Last Days*, 470.

³⁸⁰ William Gell and John P. Gandy, *Pompeiana: the Topography, Edifices, and Ornaments of Pompeii* (London: Rodwell and Martin, 1817–1819), 94.

Gell's equivocation, "conjecture has imagined," gets elided by the popularity of the mythic figure; narratively, Bulwer Lytton leans on that "conjecture has imagined" just as the sentinel is supposed to have leaned against his spear, but the architectural, archaeological ground on which that spear rests is solid. Indeed, the niche itself is still standing sturdy and sheltering, as described in the introduction to this chapter.

By the 1860s, this myth was losing traction, especially in favour of the latest scientific developments and discoveries—though it still merited a reference in Mark Twain's letters to the *New York Tribune* and *Daily Alta California*, and republished in *Innocents Abroad*.³⁸¹ Thomas Dyer's 1867 volume, *The Ruins of Pompeii*, explicitly states that this is all bosh: "From its position here it was long taken to be, and still is by some, a sentry-box; and a wonderful story has obtained great credit and circulation how the skeleton of a soldier was found in it, who, rather than desert his post, died at it, the victim of Roman discipline. But the truth is no such discovery was made, as may be seen by referring to the journals of the excavations."³⁸² Serious publications of the histories of the digs and current advances, like the *North American Review* mentioned above,³⁸³ stated unequivocally that the story was only a story, for which the poets and *ciceroni* were to blame.

The *ciceroni* had no formal training and were well-known for elaborating on the history of Pompeii for their tourists; Eric Moormann suggests that the myth of the sentinel passed to Gell this way, and so on to Bulwer Lytton and into the history books.³⁸⁴ The *ciceroni* probably conflated the existence of parade armour and male skeletons from the gladiatorial barracks, found in June 1767, with the conveniently-placed niche. Indeed,

³⁸¹ Reinhold, "American Visitors, 122.

³⁸² Thomas Dyer, *The Ruins of Pompeii: a Series of Eighteen Photographic Views* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1867); Thomas Dyer, *Pompeii. Its History, Buildings, and Antiquities* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1871).

³⁸³ Evans, "Review," 409.

³⁸⁴ Eric Moormann, "Literary Evocations of Ancient Pompeii," *Tales from an Eruption: Pompeii, Herculaneum, Oplontis: Guide to the Exhibition*, ed. Pietro Giovanni Guzzi, trans. Jo Wallace-Hadrill (Milan: Electa, 2003), 14–33.

when the Herculaneum gate was the primary ingress to the city for tourists, this niche—like the exedra next to it—may have provided too good an opportunity to resist for priming the visitor’s imagination. While today the Herculaneum gate is at the far north-west edge from the entrance to the site, and seems to be more of a signpost to the Villa dei Misteri than a site of interest, it is easy to imagine now a passel of credulous Regency tourists wondering at the sturdy arches like a family of Midwestern tourists gawping at the grandeur of Cinderella’s castle, through which they are about to pass in order to gain entrance to a realm of wonder. Instead of pointing out a tower in which the fabled princess lives with her singing mice, however, the *ciceroni* may have gestured to the niche in which the skeleton of the stoic, heroic, sentinel was found, or the Mammia exedra, in front of which the noble *matrona* and her loyal daughters huddled together like a fatal, feminine Laocöon. This image was moving enough that French artist Joseph Franque, active in Naples, painted his grandly melodramatic *Scene from the Eruption of Vesuvius*, displayed in the Salon of 1827–28 (Fig. 115).³⁸⁵

Though Fiorelli, Dyer, and the sardonic North American Reviewer, all argued the fallacy of the sentinel myth (and others) in the 1850s and 1860s, the contemporary public clearly seemed reluctant to let go of such a good story—as the public always has been. The funerary niche of M. Cerrinius Restitutus was far less interesting, even with an inscribed tablet providing the honouree’s name, than an easily moralized tragedy; even worse, the funerary niche of M. Cerrinius Restitutus, sans the ghost of the sentinel, is far less picturesque of its own accord, another facet of the problem of its site specificity. The boundaries between fact and fiction at Pompeii had been thinned by both the distance of time and the sheer volume of poetic imaginings: art, novels, and hyperbolic guidebooks. The visitor of the 1860s, dutifully carrying his translation of Marc Monnier and having read *The Last Days*,³⁸⁶ with its veneer of accuracy, and

³⁸⁵ Donald Rosenthal, “Joseph Franque’s ‘Scene during the Eruption of Vesuvius,’” *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 75, No. 324 (March, 1979), 2.

³⁸⁶ Marc Monnier wrote his guidebook to Pompeii explicitly as a pocket guide, given the large folio formats and dry, ponderous scholarship of other books. Moormann,

perhaps having read the notices of Vesuvius' eruption as a child in the 1830s, was primed for the personal dramas of the site. And the dry facts of the eighteenth century excavation diaries were going to carry less weight than a reference from Twain about the validity of this or that story, especially when repeated under the shadow of Vesuvius by the ciceroni, whose families had lived in the area since the time of Ione and Arbaces. Hosmer's *Pompeian Sentinel*, one of the last scions of the family of Pompeii-inspired Neoclassical works, did not need any of the "archaeology" to be *actually true* to matter: the widespread public acceptance of the narrative was more validating to the subject of the work than the actual facts. The myth of the stoic sentry, slowly suffocated and entombed in the ashes, just outside the city walls, was a strongly didactic one that could be trotted out as needed, and for any number of purposes. He was a stoic example of self-denial in the face of certain death, not hoarding gold, orgiastically gorging on the remains of one final feast, or succumbing to unmanly terror and hysterics: Poynter's painting explicitly sets the sentinel's masculine steadfastness against the frailty of women and the decadence of the general Pompeian populace. Hosmer's statue, as a single figure whose published descriptions make no reference to any scene-setting additions to the base of the sculpture, relies solely on the public's previous knowledge of the myth—most widely dispersed through the engine of Bulwer Lytton's novel.

Images of the niche were available in reproductive media and handbooks, often peopled with picturesque *staffage* in contemporary or ancient dress.³⁸⁷ A brief selection of the most relevant, accessible, and attractive images follows: Giovanni Battista Piranesi designed at least two (Figs. 116–117) in the Piranesi brothers' volumes about Pompeii, and Francisco Piranesi engraved another in a later volume with Jean-Louis Desprez (Fig.

Pompeii's Ashes, 57–58; Marc Monnier, *The Wonders of Pompeii*, English translation (New York: Scribner and Co., 1870).

³⁸⁷ The following figures are primarily sourced from the *Pompei: la fortuna visiva* archive, run by the Scuola normale superiore della Pisa, which hosts images of Pompeii from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including digitized books in several languages. All commentary is my own.

118).³⁸⁸ Gell's *Pompeiana* reproduces two views of the Herculaneum Gate: one as it might have looked before the destruction, which features the niche and numerous figures in ancient dress and another as it looked in Gell's day (Figs. 108; 119). Overbeck's *Pompeji* includes another reconstruction, quite similar to Gell's but with reduced *staffage* (Fig. 120); more interestingly, his volume reproduces almost exactly Gell's modern-times illustration featuring possibly drunk local in the foreground. This figure, which echoes the drunken Satyr from the Villa dei Papiri (Fig. 14), and his friend, goats in the exedra, and two tiny tourists well inside the gates—emphasize the difference between the antique, if not primitive, locals and the enlightened westerners coming as tourists (Fig. 121). A French book about Pompeii from 1870 shows a small cluster of contemporary visitors consulting their guidebooks while labourers continue to work around them or lounge uncaringly against the wall of the tomb itself (Fig. 122).³⁸⁹ Even J.M.W. Turner sketched it in on a trip.³⁹⁰ These images, at least the publicly available ones, served the dual purpose of enlivening texts and of providing visual information for those who hadn't visited the site. In contemporary times, the niche is fully accessible, though completely unmarked and easily overlooked; the English-language tourist guide available from the tourist information office has nothing about the sentinel or M. Cerrinius Restitutus (Figs. 123+detail, 124).

The nineteenth-century images further primed the imagination of those who would go on to visit Pompeii, or who would read any of the fiction poems, novels, and short stories relating to Pompeii at large or this site in particular. It is easy to see how Twain's fertile imagination and sense of irony would be

³⁸⁸ The etching is dated 1789, but the publication in which it appears was published 1836.

³⁸⁹ F. Breton, *Pompeia décrite et dessinée. Suivie d'une notice sur Herculanium*, (Paris: L. Guérin, 1870), table VII.

³⁹⁰ Joseph Mallord William Turner, Folio 8 Recto: View of the Porta Ercolano, Pompeii, with the Schola Tomb of Mamia on the Via dei Sepolcri 1819. D15751. Tate Britain, Turner Bequest CLXXXV 8.

activated by these stories and images in advance of his visit to the ruins, given his declarations about the sentry:

But perhaps the most poetical thing Pompeii has yielded to modern research, was that grand figure of a Roman soldier, clad in complete armour; who, true to his duty, true to his proud name of a soldier of Rome, and full of the stern courage which had given to that name its glory, stood to his post by the city gate, erect and unflinching, till the hell that raged around him burned out the dauntless spirit it could not conquer.

We never read of Pompeii but we think of that soldier; we can not write of Pompeii without the natural impulse to grant to him the mention he so well deserves. Let us remember that he was a soldier—not a policeman—and so, praise him. Being a soldier, he staid,—because the warrior instinct forbade him to fly. Had he been a policeman he would have staid, also—because he would have been asleep.³⁹¹

While unsurprisingly, Twain's tone throughout is ironic and deprecating of both modern institutions and their ancient parallels—his disdain for Street Commissioners earlier in the chapter is delightful and still accurate for anyone who has had to deal with any large bureaucracy—the sentiments surrounding the sentry seem near genuine. And even though, as discussed above, the myth of the sentry had been discredited by archaeologists by the time *The Innocents Abroad* was published, newspapers and travel literature were still promoting the story: it was too good a story to be true, but too good to give up entirely.

Furthermore, the most popular American image of Pompeii, which primed the pump for Hosmer's plaster piece, was unequivocally a fictional one: Randolph Rogers's *Nydia, the Blind Girl of Pompeii* (1853–4, Fig. 125) which is perhaps outstripped only by *The Greek Slave* in commercial success.³⁹² *Nydia* is

³⁹¹ Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* (American Publishing Co., 1869; ed. Digital Scanning, Inc., 2001), 335.

³⁹² Rogers Papers, Archives of American Art, microfilm reel 501, frames 83–154; Laretta Dimmick and Donna J. Hassler, *American Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: A catalogue of works Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 117–20. See also, Lilian M. C. Randall, "An American Abroad: Visits to Sculptors' Studios in the 1860's," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 33/34 (1970/1971), 48.

an entirely fictional construction within *Last Days*, unlike most of the other main characters. The craniums of Calenus and Arbaces reside still in the display case at Knebworth, and that of Julia, old Diomedes' daughter, is not only the mistress of one of the largest houses in the novel (and the city) but also the owner of a perfect pair of breasts which so left their impression in the ashes (held, at one point, in the Naples museum, and inspiration for Théophile Gautier's *Arria Marcella* (1852) and Chateaubriand's commentary which titled this chapter.³⁹³ The character of the blind flower-seller, according to Bulwer Lytton, was based on conversation with "a friend," unnamed but unmasked as Auldjo of the skulls by scholarship,³⁹⁴ as the best way for the hapless inhabitants of Pompeii to find their way through the benighted city streets.³⁹⁵ By making the Pompeian psychopomp an adolescently lovesick, conflicted, melodramatic teenage girl, inflamed with innocent lust for the gleaming Glaucus, Bulwer Lytton upped both the interpersonal drama of the love triangle and the dramatic visuals of the blind, fragile girl guiding her love-object and his tediously-flawless beloved through the conflagration.

That Nydia is one of the more interesting characters in the novel because of this teen angst and repressed sexual frustration is completely elided in Rogers's statue.³⁹⁶ Though Nydia's dress has slipped off one shoulder to bare a breast, ostensibly as an indication of the drama and danger of the situation—the need to travel quickly is too great to stop and adjust for modesty—it comes across as the practically-mandatory neoclassical nudity rather than a nod to the molten sea of hormones that keep getting Nydia in trouble in the novel. Unlike Hosmer's *Sentinel*, which illustrates a brief moment and a specific site,

³⁹³ Théophile Gautier, "Arria Marcella: Souvenir de Pompei," in *Revue de Paris*, 1 March 1852. For a larger discussion of Arria Marcella, see Genevieve Liveley, "Delusion and Dream in Théophile Gautier's *Arria Marcella: Souvenir de Pompei*," in Hales and Paul 2011, 105–117; Dwyer, "Science or Morbid Curiosity? The Casts of Giuseppe Fiorelli and the Last Days of Romantic Pompeii," in Coats and Seydl 2007, 178.

³⁹⁴ Goldhill "Writer's Things," 96–7.

³⁹⁵ Bulwer Lytton, *Last Days*, 10.

³⁹⁶ Jason Edwards has described Nydia as "horrible and controlling." Anyone who deals with teenage girls on a regular basis will vouch for the accurate characterization of a love-struck and frustrated teenager.

Rogers's *Nydia* is vague in its moment and in its place; her moment of heroism spans the better part of a chapter and the Corinthian column at her foot could be any bit of rubble along the street, though perhaps it is meant to evoke the Forum from whence she rescued Glaucus and Ione. It is worth spending some time with *Nydia*, by way of comparison: not only between the gendered figures, but to demonstrate the difference between a work which reproduces neoclassical tropes and Hosmer's, which is shaped by the visualities of archaeology and site specificity. Rogers's figure, which was available in two sizes, life and slightly reduced, presents *Nydia* as bending forward, hand cupped around her ear the better to hear the faint sounds that might indicate the presence of her beloved Glaucus. Her dress whips in the volcanic winds, revealing the contours of her right leg and buttocks as well as the exposed breast. Her walking stick is tangled in the folds of the dress, making one wonder precisely how useful it is to the poor girl—though it is very helpful in drawing the fabric taut to aid in the voyeuristic view of *Nydia*'s backside. The Corinthian capital at her foot, which provides the requisite bit of rubble to indicate the destruction of Pompeii, is cleanly shorn from its column and toppled. It overhangs the base of the statue: Roger's signature, chiselled into this flat surface, protrudes out of the fictitious, ancient world and into the modern realm. Despite the elegantly sinuous flappings of her dress, *Nydia*'s hair remains remarkably tidy, half-up in the looped bun common in neoclassical sculpture, and half-down in long wavy locks. A common neoclassical hairdo, to be sure, but one which elides the catastrophic conditions the figure is ostensibly caught up in; here, Rogers has perhaps taken the dictum to show serenity and suppressed drama too far. From a position directly facing the statue, the pathetic expression on her face does not especially convey terror or even courage in the face of danger, but seems merely upset; the neoclassical suppression of heightened emotions doesn't serve the drama of the subject and instead, with her parted lips and faintly furrowed brow *Nydia* looks more like a sulky tween than a tragic heroine.

Like Hosmer's *Sentinel*, Rogers's *Nydia* is a single figure, but the text from which his scene is taken focusses solely on her, emphasizing the subjectivity of Nydia as a character and her individual experience in the cataclysm:

Guiding her steps, then, by the staff which she always carried, she continued, with incredible dexterity, to avoid the masses of ruin that encumbered the path—to thread the streets—and unerringly (so blessed now was that accustomed darkness, so afflicting in ordinary life!) to take the nearest direction to the seaside.

Poor girl! her courage was beautiful to behold!—and Fate seemed to favour one so helpless! The boiling torrents touched her not, save by the general rain which accompanied them; the huge fragments of scoria shivered the pavement before and beside her, but spared the frail form; and when the lesser ashes fell over her, she shook them away with a slight tremor, and dauntlessly resumed her course.

Weak, exposed, yet fearless, supported but by one wish, she was a very emblem of Psyche in her wanderings; -- of Hope, walking through the Valley of the Shadow;-- of the Soul itself—lone but undaunted, amidst the dangers and snares of life!³⁹⁷

Of course, having rescued the lovers, her blind little self is superfluous within pages, and by the end of the following chapter she has thrown herself in the sea. The irony of Nydia surviving the destruction of Pompeii and then killing herself, of course, adds to the pathos of the sculpture. No matter how skilfully she wields her staff and sense of hearing to navigate the darkened streets, she is extraneous to the narrative and furthermore a complication in the otherwise inevitable Christian marriage between Glaucus and Ione and therefore has to be shuffled off both mortal coil and page. Where the *Sentinel* has to die in the book—like Arbaces, Calenus, Diomedes, and Julia—to fulfil the 'facts' of their archaeological remains, Nydia dies in order to tie up a loose end. The sculpture necessarily elides the visual of Nydia's penny-dreadful-Ophelia drowning, but for viewers who had read *Last Days*, the frisson of

³⁹⁷ Bulwer Lytton, *Last Days*, 481.

foreknowledge about her impending demise must have heightened the emotional impact of the statue. Here the contrast between the implied narratives of Rogers's *Nydia* and Hosmer's *Sentinel* is clearly visible in the formal decisions made: Hosmer's *Sentinel* clearly displays the dying—if not the already dead—sentry, with its implied archaeological, site-specific, scientific reportage. Rogers's statue is conversely ambiguous, an illustration of a non-specific moment within the chapter for which this character was specifically invented. The lack of clarity about when she is being shown—has she just lost track of Glaucus the first time, is she leading Sallust and the other citizens to the shore, has she just heard Glaucus in the ruins, or is it her grand moment of heroism in leading our lovers to safety?—reinforces that *Nydia* is the most fictional character in the novel. There is no body to fulfil here, and thus she remains ambiguous even when set in stone.

I have referenced a few times the site specificity of the *Sentinel*, in sculptural and textual form, that is, that it is bound up with and inherently tied to the real space that is Pompeii, the Porto Ercolano, and the funerary niche of M. Cerrinius Restitutus on the Via delle Tombe. Bulwer Lytton used both the 1834 and 1850 prefaces to position himself within the contemporary realm of Pompeii studies, drawing as he did on Gell's up-to-date scholarship and his immediate access to the ruins and archaeologists. But he also used the prefaces to transport himself and the reader rhetorically back into the days before the fatal eruption of Vesuvius. He further draws a direct lineage between the Italians of the 1830s and the ancestral Romans, suggesting that perhaps there was something special not only about the site of Pompeii but also the people who had lived there—that perhaps, in the rapid destruction of the city, something was also saved from the slow decline of morals, art, and politics that the rest of the Roman empire would fall victim to over the following centuries. Hosmer's *Sentinel* is even more specific, standing imaginatively in one very real little alcove. Where Rogers's *Nydia* is textually and visually unspecified, Hosmer's *Sentinel* joins a lineage of image-making not only of Pompeii and its destruction but of this very specific location.

*PALIMPSTEXTIC:**INTERTEXTS, PALIMPSESTS, AND CESSPITS (IDEAL OR OTHERWISE)*

The contexts, contents, and confluences that these different sources and historic materials uncover or create for the *Sentinel* do not sit neatly side by side or in precise layers—the monumental *Sentinel* is not Roos van Oosten’s ideal cesspit (Fig. 126).³⁹⁸ Perhaps a cesspit is a surprising analogy to discuss content in this project, given the negative connotations surrounding the word and my earlier declaration of love for this project, but an archaeological cesspit can be a rich trove of material in a wide range of arrangements that construct different interpretative strata.³⁹⁹ Given the archaeological visibility and readings of the *Sentinel*, as well as all of the case studies’ relationships to works from antiquity—though not necessarily ones excavated under circumstances that would pass archaeological muster today—the metaphor of the midden is productive. The cesspit is often stratified, but even more often palimpsestic; it accretes, decays, buries, and resurfaces. Detritus and fragments from grander spaces and sites accrue and convey meaning as much as the more complete objects. The methods of visualizing the objects’ connections I discussed earlier referred to the connections to the external world and networks of meaning; the cesspit analogy turns this inwards, and views the internal content not as an orderly, regular library from which singular texts can be accessed but an assemblage whose meaning is aggregate and dynamic. In the fantastically-titled “Post-Middenism,” Matt Brudenell and Anwen Cooper problematize the interpretation of cesspits through their exceptional content rather than the total aggregation of material:

In spite of the complexities involved in interpreting this material, it is argued here that by seeking to understand the

³⁹⁸ van Oosten, “Cesspits.”

³⁹⁹ My thanks to Liz Quinlan for pointing me towards useful material on midden and cesspit archaeological problems and practices. See also, Ben Jervis, “Middens, Memory, and the Effect of Waste: Beyond Symbolic Meaning in Archaeological Deposits,” *Archaeological Dialogues* 21, no. 2 (2014), 175–9; Matt Brudenell and Anwen Cooper, “Post-Middenism: Depositional Histories on Later Bronze Age Settlements at Broom, Bedfordshire,” *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 27, (2008) 15–36.

assemblage as a whole (rather than focusing on its more unusual aspects), and by not assuming from the beginning that it was compiled or deposited with any clear purpose, it is possible to develop a subtler understanding of the history of this specific deposit in relation to the broader settlement practices of which it was part.⁴⁰⁰

Obviously, I am arguing quite specifically that the content within my case studies is a deliberate assemblage—structured deposits, in cesspit parlance, and deposit is certainly an interesting confluence of vocabulary given Warburg’s imagery of a “savings bank for energetic expressive values.”⁴⁰¹ However, the consideration of the object as a whole—especially its formal references—rather than focusing on what might seem to be its more unusual or exceptional aspects (primarily, its production by a woman artist, especially a queer woman artist) gives us a fuller understanding of the object itself and its external connections. By only focussing on what appears, at our social and historical moment, to be the most interesting factor in an object’s making, we exclude the potential readings and connections that the aggregate material could facilitate. Van Oosten problematizes the view of reading material through a short-focus, immediate-context lens: “The traditional approach regarding cesspits also suffers from the assumption that their artefacts represent such a short timespan that assemblages can be used to determine social status ... This research approach disregards the fact that cesspits yield assemblages deposited over the course of centuries and only rarely have the artefacts in a cesspit been deposited at one specific moment.”⁴⁰² Instead, considering the object content as accumulative, or cumulative and palimpsestic, even when at first glance the object suggests an immediately contextual reading, can deepen and enrich not only our understanding but future understandings of the work.

⁴⁰⁰ Brudenell and Cooper, “Post-Middenism.”

⁴⁰¹ Aby Warburg, quoted in Johnson, *Memory*, 21, n. 56.

⁴⁰² Van Oosten, “Cesspits,” n.p., fig. 1.

The palimpsestic nature of these works of art, as anachronic objects out-of-sync with our period but also as conscious recurrences in a modern period of an antique moment or mode, furthers the cesspit metaphor. Van Oosten’s image of the ideal cesspit can stand in for the idea that each layer of meaning in a work sits tidily one atop the other. The first layer, once fully understood, can be neatly lifted or excavated and set aside to reveal the next, and so on. The artefacts come from a neat and easily discernible period of time, with clear *terminus a quo* and *a quem* and no flies in the ointment to muck up the dating. However, the ideal cesspit is a rare occurrence, as is a work of art with a series of discrete layers of meaning. These are not cakes, after all. Instead, the changing fates and constant use and reuse of the cesspit—or an image/text/object—means that often there are palimpsestic deposits, blurred boundaries, and uneven distributions of content (Fig. 127).⁴⁰³ The mixing of material from different periods occurs because of proximity and reuse—the contents disturbed, rearranged, emptied, and the space refilled by human activity. Likewise, the content of the works of art is disturbed, rearranged, etc., through the lifetime of the objects and its movement from owner to owner as well as its display to the public. Furthermore, when the image networks from earlier in this chapter are turned inward into the central work of art—when the formal reference material is read for its content as well as its appearance—their content aggregates, merges, and re-forms. When the work of art is approached with this in mind, the content emerges in strata, but not necessarily in level, even strata. For the *Daphne*, my illustration for the food web analogy,⁴⁰⁴ a work like Bernini’s *Apollo and Daphne* might appear palimpsestic, even recurring palimpsestically across layers of meaning where its immediate context has been stripped away but its outsize reputation calls it up again and again—despite efforts to clean it out of the cesspit.

The palimpsest further arises in the Pompeii Premise. The Premise presupposes that a site has been essentially flash-frozen and undisturbed until

⁴⁰³ Van Oosten, “Cesspits,” n.p., fig. 6.

⁴⁰⁴ For a fuller discussion of the food web analogy and images, refer to Chapter Five.

the heroic archaeologist shows up with a shovel and a sieve to scientifically catalogue and fully comprehend the site in an instant. The site of Pompeii is, in fact, a particularly bad example for this, given its well-documented history of disruptions both human and geological, but the alliteration was perhaps too good to give up, as was the visual image of the city as encased, tomblike, all in an instant. Indeed, “The Herculaneum Hunch” might have been a better title, given the way that town was literally entombed in lava and encased, preserved much more rapidly (though still not instantly) and in a much more solid material than layers of ash and lapilli. The Hunch better encapsulates the idea that this is a fallacy based on gut reactions rather than archaeological evidence—its truthiness, rather than its facts. However, it doesn’t have quite the same ring to it. As an analogy for the *Sentinel*, however, the Premise is both productive and interesting—not only for the narrative of the character but also because the statue is lost, and frozen into the record through a single photograph. The character of the loyal soldier, captured in his post and preserved within the lapilli to emerge as a mark from a different period on the fabric of the city. The photograph of this statue, and its copies, preserve the marks of their own making and their lifetime—the reproductions that exactly reproduce the damage done to the original.

Finally, at the end of this, the final case study, I want to indulge in slippages and some thixotropic pressures, such as I discussed in the introduction and which I experienced on the trips to Pompeii and Italy which were foundational for this dissertation. Hosmer’s experimental choice of wax over plaster, and some angles from which this might be approached and pressure applied from. I have explored Hosmer’s potential knowledge of the casts: Fiorelli’s developments in the casts were published in 1864, and she was a member of at least one Italian academy. Descriptions of Hosmer have her habitually wearing a golden Etruscan brooch as part of her daily costume, carrying a piece of Italian antiquity at her throat. As I discussed earlier, her development of the *Zenobia* several years before had involved study of archaeological evidence including Roman coins to ensure accuracy. She was an

inventor, also, patenting a method for producing artificial marble and spent the last years of her life trying to develop a perpetual-motion machine. She had attended medical school before moving to Rome and was the child of a doctor, and had performed dissections on animals, which she caught herself. She had learned to take casts of art objects, animals, and human sitters without the assistance of a specialist, exemplified by the famous clasped hands of the Brownings. I find it more likely than not that she was aware of these developments in archaeological science and artistry, and that these influenced her process.

The plaster bodies of Pompeii's victims are viscerally upsetting, even when thoroughly prepared by extensive readings and examination of photographs in advance. They are perhaps even more upsetting in the modern era than they may have been in the nineteenth century, as today the Western viewer is often separated from the realities of death, especially on a mass scale—though in today's instant-image world of mass shootings, terrorist attacks, natural disasters, and refugee crises we are often shown these images on the evening news. However, our memorials and evidence for mass destruction tend towards the abstract and almost anodyne memorializing, not corporealizing and specifying.⁴⁹⁵ The monuments to the September 11, 2001 attacks in New York and in my own home town of Napa, California, deny the human body even as they purport to memorialize them through the evocation of—or even literal pieces of—the destroyed buildings in place of the human figure. Certainly, Erich Fischl's *Tumbling Woman* (Fig. 128) was too corporeal and visceral to be acceptable to the post-9/11 audience in Rockefeller Center. In an interview with Artnet, Fischl noted that Americans have/had a fraught relationship with tragedy and the human body:

America has a hard time with the human body and the issues surrounding the body and certainly, mortality is one of those problems. The thing around 9/11 is that it was this horrific event

⁴⁹⁵ Godehard Janzing, "Falling Waters at Ground Zero: When Terrorism Turns into Nature," paper presented at *Water, Fountain, Sculpture*, Henry Moore Institute, 28 January 2017.

killed 3,000 people but there were no bodies. If you remember all the passion was centered on architecture to replace the Towers. To secure the footprints of the Towers. It had nothing to do with human tragedy because it was too painful. So I think that the Tumbling Woman reminded people that it was a human tragedy.⁴⁰⁶

The contorted, unrelenting physicality and rough surface of Fischl's bronze is deeply reminiscent of the Pompeian bodies. To a twenty-first century viewer whose experience with mortal remains has been heavily mediated through television, the funerary parlour, and the euphemism, the direct encounter with multiple copies of the same three-dimensional body can be startling. In the nineteenth century, when people more often died in the home, the imprint of a human body may have been felt not less keenly but differently than today, a more direct reminder of the death of loved ones and a spiritual moment, rather than a confrontation with an unfamiliar spectre of death in undeniably human form.

Some of the casts are more upsetting than others—my mother especially had a hard time with the casts of children and the dog; I had a bit of a turn at the cast in the Villa of the Mysteries (Fig. 98). Though this is anachronistic—the Villa of the Mysteries wasn't excavated until much later—I've included it because it is one of the best examples I was able to study in person, and wishful thinking, imagining what Bulwer Lytton would have made of this guy and the Villa of the Mysteries. Scholarship surrounding the plaster casts and the art of the nineteenth century sees little impact, largely, on contemporary sculptural work, though Dwyer refers to plans by Tito Angelini with Fiorelli to translate at least one pair of casts into a marble version due to its aesthetic and affective qualities (never realized). Instead, the bodies and the skeletons or imprints which predate Fiorelli appear as fully fleshed out as characters in fantastical Pompeii stories like Théophile Gauthier's *Arria*

⁴⁰⁶ Erich Fischl, quoted in "Inside Man," by Ilka Scobie, *artnet.com*
<<http://www.artnet.com/magazineus/features/scobie/scobie7-21-09.asp>.

Marcella and Bulwer Lytton, rather than buffed and polished marble or burnished bronze.

But the *Sentinel's* weathered skin, which in the photograph looks almost crusty, doesn't deny the rough texture of the plasters; the wax surface doesn't seem to be at all waxy or smooth. No, it appears, through the photograph, to be grainy, like perhaps the residue of the compressed ash left its mark in the plaster- the inverse of the fabric pressed close against the bodies of the Pompeii fallen. Plaster is everywhere in Pompeii, beyond the bodies. I'd like to conclude by walking through a series of slippages and experiences I had at Pompeii over the course of repeat visits, while I was trying to process the overwhelming nature of the site, and simultaneously touch on other areas this future chapter might cover. Though my first visit was a daytrip from Naples, accompanied by my mother, my first solo trip was a mad dash from Rome, leaving very, very early in the morning at the end of a three week research trip to Italy. I was correspondingly slightly Stendhal-syndromed the whole day: the age of the place, the sheer volume of things to see, art and artefact, the constant back and forth between the raw structures and the heavily mediated tourist materials, the interruptions into my personal space by others and by the physical effort involved in traversing the site.

Plaster coats swathes of the walls of Pompeii: it disguises, or partially disguises, the bones of buildings, as a pictorial surface or as a mimicking of other materials- marble, jasper, fabric—or as plain colour field. The pale plaster flatness of these faded frescos is mimicked by the distant flatness of Vesuvius through an afternoon haze: the mountain which preserved Pompeii by destroying it rendered pictorial, lower-case-r romantic and unthreatening, rather than sublime and all-consuming. Simultaneously, there is the inescapable knowledge that it was Vesuvius' effluvium that created the cavities into which plaster could be poured to create the images of the dying; these images, some with their bones partially visible, or the imprint of cloth still tangled around them, merge with the field of artefacts and toppled architecture, of the sculptures of the dead which populate the sepulchral

avenues. The *Sentinel's* medium, wax over plaster, recalls the process of lost-wax casting, of the pouring of molten liquid around a form to create a more permanent image; the visual image of molten bronze in turn recalling on a small scale the pouring lava. These slippages, between medium, form, place production, experience, and so on, are difficult if not impossible to quantify or record in a discourse, but seem to me to be key to approaching a work like the *Pompeian Sentinel*. The decay of public knowledge of the *Sentinel*, as opposed to the sentinel, as opposed to the city of Pompeii, left a hole in the matrix of Hosmer's oeuvre that this chapter has attempted to cast.

CHAPTER FIVE

ON THE IMPOSSIBLE PAST: A CRITICAL CONCLUSION

IN THESE WAYS THE HISTORY OF ART IS LIKE A VAST MINING ENTERPRISE, WITH INNUMERABLE SHAFTS, MOST OF THEM CLOSED DOWN LONG AGO. EACH ARTIST WORKS ON IN THE DARK, GUIDED ONLY BY THE TUNNELS AND SHAFTS OF EARLIER WORK, FOLLOWING THE VEIN AND HOPING FOR A BONANZA, AND FEARING THAT THE LODE MAY PLAY OUT TOMORROW. THE SCENE ALSO IS HEAPED WITH THE TAILINGS OF EXHAUSTED MINES: OTHER PROSPECTORS ARE SORTING THEM TO SALVAGE THE TRACES OF RARE ELEMENTS, ONCE THROWN AWAY BUT VALUED TODAY MORE THAN GOLD.

THE SHAPE OF TIME, 1968
GEORGE KUBLER

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

I seem to have stumbled into an embarrassment of rich texts in the course of this project, which became a luxuriation in the potential of critical theories and methods for exploring new readings of neoclassical sculpture. In Chapter Three, on Emma Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater*, a critic writing about Stebbins and her work had this to say about her time in Italy: "and she has, there—like every lover of Art and every luxuriast of spells upon the senses and the soul—eaten the lotos!"⁴⁰⁷ I have, in turn, eaten the lotos myself, but of theory and method, turning my research in directions that I could not have foreseen at the start of this project. This critical conclusion will explore the critical theories and visualizations I have used to develop my readings of sculpture, and to expand on their applicability outside Hosmer and Stebbins's oeuvres. These theories and methods run a gamut from a matrixial visualization of objects in relation

⁴⁰⁷ "A New Statue—The Lotus Eater," *The Circular*, 7 Feb. 1861.

to each other (using toothpicks and marshmallows) to the camp decadence of Sedgwick, and a wibbly-wobbly, timey-wimey ball of critical theories from the reception of Latin poetry to the shape of time itself.

I start with Sedgwick and camp, because it is a fabulous place to start. I came to neoclassical sculpture first through a fascination with its aesthetic and material qualities, its fragmentary forms, its obscure historical, mythological, and allegorical references, and the multiple valences in a single object. I delighted in the play of meanings that could be developed when two or more works are considered together—in opposition, in tandem, in dialogue—however I felt they might productively be considered. In a paper I presented in Florence in May 2017,⁴⁰⁸ I analogized these valences and shifting meanings within the works as thixotropic: the characteristic of some liquids and semisolids to change viscosity when pressure or vibration is applied. This is an analogy I prefer to fluidity, which is especially uncomfortable to use given its proliferation in contemporary popular discourse around sexuality and gender. I find this especially problematic when writing about artists whose gender and sexuality have been the primary angles of approach with scholarship. I also prefer this because thixotropic substances re-solidify when the pressures and vibrations are removed; fluidity furthermore implies that the content fills the container, evenly distributed and taking the shape of an external condition rather than an uneven distribution that determines its shape, as a semi-solid can—think of the moist clay used by artists to model their sculptures. Then imagine that clay is being pressed, or a low, deep, vibration—an earthquake, or a subwoofer—is placed next to it, causing first imperceptible tremors, then ripples, and finally shaking into viscous, unmalleable mud. When the subwoofer is turned off, the chemical bonds realign and the slopping mud turns back to clay. This fluid dynamics metaphor also suits the visualization

⁴⁰⁸ Melissa L. Gustin, unpublished paper presentation, “Whose Head Is It, Anyway? Harriet Hosmer’s *Beatrice Cenci* and *Santa Cecilia in Trastevere*,” NAVSA Supernumerary Conference, La Pietra, Florence, May 2017.

method I will explore using tesseracts as a stackable, rearrange-able matrix of objects and texts, which in structure mimic molecular construction.

In this chapter, I enact some of these pressures: for example, we shall see what happens when I apply the pressure of Sedgwick's queer, camp gaze to Powers's *The Greek Slave*. What happens when we think through parallels and interrelations that could never have occurred in history, but are available to us? We do not, by and large, look at art such as this in the mythical White Cube, but in relational contexts and spaces that shape our experiences of the work and which create dynamic relationships the works' artists would never have anticipated, and which may only have become possible in our lifetimes. I enjoy these relationships and parallels immensely—Spot the Source is my favourite game, especially when it is a tangential, fragmentary, or syncretic source (sources). When a work doesn't immediately present itself as referring to a single source or even a series of sources, the challenge—and the fun—becomes using the thematic content of the title, formal details, and display contexts to open avenues of investigation, and not necessarily immediate historical contexts, or straightforward, moralized readings. Indeed, an embrace of object families, narrative readings across longer durations of time, and connected forms, allows for richer readings that aren't chained to a specific moment of history, and recognizes not only the continuing relevance and emotional impact of these art works but that of the stories they illustrate. Symbolism and narrative aren't just for the Pre-Raphaelites and moralizing paintings; Stebbins's ivied pine is as loaded an artistic choice as Rossetti's pomegranates and crimson lilies. Another method for working through potential readings and artistic decisions, especially obscure ones, is what I think of as subjunctive art history, exploring the might-have-been and the alternative option in order to winkle out what the artist's aim may have been through a process of comparative elimination. In Stebbins's case again, I trace alternative—hypothetical, subjunctive, anachronic—formal references which might have projected different moralized or thematically loaded readings from the poem the *Lotus-Eaters* illustrates, in order to arrive at a better

understanding of why she decided on the form she did and what that indicates and communicates to the viewer.

Following the discussion of camp and the image ecology, I develop the interplay of my major theoretical guides. These are anachronic theory, from Nagel and Wood, whose work builds on that of Kubler; presence and inherence from Maniura and Shepherd; and classical reception theories, especially involving intertextuality and reference from Martindale and Hinds.⁴⁰⁹ It is with some regret that I note that these are all texts authored by men—but they function together within a frame of Sedgwickian camp, and with Marcus’s “just reading,” discussed below, rather than as discrete works of masculine genius. These texts, as I explain, could have been used independently to produce something interesting. However, by considering them together in different arrangements, and with the underlying concept of camp and a conscious process of visualization and close object study, I am confident that the readings of my case studies are richer, more thorough, and better able to model new ways of considering both my specific studies and the larger field of neoclassical studies. Marcus’ “just reading” and “surface reading,” from *Between Women* and “Surface Reading: an Introduction,” (co-authored with Best) respectively, were also influential methods borrowed from literary criticism.⁴¹⁰ While I am happy to consider these individually as Sedgwickian weak theories, the mixing and remixing as needed to produce new, nuanced, and rich readings makes them stronger, and more applicable to a wider range of material that didn’t fit into my project’s boundaries. Other related texts include Kubler’s *The Shape of Time*, in the anachronic theory family, and Warburg’s Mnemosyne project, which has relevance for both the visualization methods and for the concepts of image families and inherence.

⁴⁰⁹ See also, Roland Barthes, “The Theory of the Text,” in *Untying the Text*, ed. Robert Young (Boston 1981), 36–37; Barthes’ “Death of the Author” is also an important related text considering the transhistorical perspectives and de-centralizing of the artist’s authority over the works’ afterlives in this project.

⁴¹⁰ Marcus, *Between Women*, 3; Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus, “Surface Reading: An Introduction,” *Representations*, 108, No. 1 (Fall 2009), 1–21.

Before moving into the critical texts, I will briefly revisit my Frankenstein's monster of theory, assembled from choice bits of archaeological analogy and methodology: cesspit theory and the Pompeii Premise. The Pompeii Premise, an archaeological analogy and fallacy, proves to be a useful method for thinking through a lost sculpture that exists in the visual record only through an undated single photograph and a partial assemblage of contemporary reviews. The Pompeii Premise is the assumption that first, a site or object can be flash-frozen instantaneously and remain undisturbed, and second, that this flash-frozen site can be comprehensively understood from the floor assemblage. It does not hold true in either archaeology or art history.⁴¹ However, as a method for thinking through some objects—and not just the Pompeian subject I use it on—it is productive for problematizing such issues as whether we are addressing the object in question, its record, its negative space in the record, its place in the floor assemblage, or its absence entirely. That is, does the record take the place of the object in our discussion, consciously or unconsciously, and how does that shape our perception of the object itself, its context, its history, and its reception?

The cesspit analogy is the internal version, in turn, of the marshmallow tesseracts and food webs of the image ecology. This analogy archaeologizes the visualization of works in relation to one another, and importantly incorporates both the palimpsestic effect of works of art through time and a human element, as cesspits are a human construction. As an analogy, the cesspit also puts the onus on the critic or historian to recognize the strata, intermingling, and recursions within the object or assemblage, rather than on the object to have them: the ideal cesspit, and by extension the perfectly and immediately comprehensible work of art, is exceedingly rare. Human invention and intervention in the processes of accumulation, discard, and reuse are not linear, stratigraphic, or perfect. The cesspit archaeologist, and the art historian, must be prepared to find ideas and objects out of order—these

⁴¹ See also, Manuel DeLanda, *Assemblage Theory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016).

disorders can be disruptive, but also highly informative. By considering the cesspit, the record, and the object with an archaeological frame of mind, these disruptions, palimpsests, strata, and assemblages are revealing and revelatory, not just refuse.

These theoretical and methodological models, as well as their attendant visualizations, work together in dynamic ways. Each chapter-length case study uses each of them, to one degree or another, in varying combinations and visibilities. Though I did not signpost each use of these in the case studies, I hope that the material I present here speaks to its efficacy in drawing out new material and approaches for discussing neoclassical sculpture. None of these models has been applied to the broad category of neoclassicism, let alone the sculpture by the women artists, and this is one of my major interventions in the field. In the existing literature, as I have mentioned before, the work is profoundly undertheorized and explored (the one exception being perhaps Hosmer's *Beatrice Cenci*, which has at least been subjected to heavy psychoanalytic readings and critical theorization by Vivien Green Fryd).⁴¹² Instead of treating the works as illustrations of social conditions and events or brief moments within the artists' lives, described only briefly and without a serious contextualization within art history, this project is aggressively intertextual, archaeological, and formal. That is, the art has been used to illustrate, or is wholly explained in conjunction with, the immediately contemporary social history rather than addressed on its own formal, titular, and art historical precedents. I did not choose the theoretical and methodological material for its novelty, but for its dynamism and potential. I could have applied predominantly feminist or Marxist methods to these works and produced new readings, but the scope would have been far more limited for doing something that offered further avenues to follow rather than dead-ending into the increasing minutiae of the extant archive and periodization.⁴¹³

⁴¹² Fryd, "Ghosting'."

⁴¹³ Indeed, I am indebted to the intersectional feminist and Marxist avenues of work by Marcus, Pai Buick, Pollock, Cherry, and Sedgwick in particular, and of course this work would not have been possible without that foundational scholarship.

Instead, by foregrounding the object, the intertext, and the network, through these models and practices, this project looks to throw open and broaden avenues for consideration.

I want to revisit why this project has focused on only two artists, and not focused on their biographies in a sustained fashion. The sheer volume of Hosmer's extant correspondence held in public archives (illegible as it is), as well as the number of her works in public collections and the wide range of contemporary texts on her life and art, have given historians a wider scope of material to work with when writing about her. She overshadows not only Stebbins, but also Lewis (whose career and life have experienced a needed and valuable resurgence of interest in the past few years), Anne Whitney, Margaret Foley, Vinnie Ream Hoxie, and Louisa Lander, in the study of the American women artists but in neoclassical studies generally. There have been no serious monographs on Whitney, Hoxie, Stebbins, or Foley, and biographies of Hosmer and Lewis have been hampered art historically by their primarily historian or amateur authors, rather than art historians. None of these artists have been given a two-volume catalogue raisonné à la Richard Wunder's for Powers, but then, neither has Story, or Horatio Greenough. Books written by their friends in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, memoirs and collected letters, are valuable sources but not the same as modern scholarly considerations, which take a broader view of the context of the works and critical approaches to the works of art. Even in 1973, Gerdts was bemoaning this, and noting that biography had taken precedence over art historical criticism: "It is still true, however, that too little attention has been given to the art. In many studies of these artists, their biographies have been the focus with the sculpture itself tacked on as if to illustrate a moment in time."⁴⁴

⁴⁴ William Gerdts, *American Neo-classic Sculpture: the Marble Resurrection* (New York: The Viking Press, 1973), 9.

SETTING UP CAMP: NEO-KITSCHICAL SCULPTURE

Queer, I might even say, verging on camp. But that's supposing we managed to think of camp, as I believe we need to, not in terms of parody or even wit, but with more of an eye for its visceral, operatic power: the startling outcrops of overinvested erudition; the prodigal production of alternative histories; the "over"-attachment to fragmentary, marginal, waste, lost, or leftover cultural product; the richness of affective variety; and the irrepressible, cathartic fascination with ventriloquist forms of relation.⁴⁵

Jason Edwards first suggested to me Sedgwick's definition of camp as a method of thinking through neoclassicism, especially the mid-century neoclassicism of my project on highly educated queer women artists, trained in the legacies of Winckelmann, Thorvaldsen, and Canova. This definition pushed me, especially on my trips to Rome, to look closely, to indulge my own tendencies towards "over"-attachment to the fragmentary and the marginal, to find the variations in affect possible in unmoving, leftover cultural product, and to recognize these in the works about which I would eventually write. The queerness of these works develops not from the queerness of their authors—otherwise, I would fall into the proscriptive conflation of author and work that this project actively seeks to reject—but from their overinvested erudition, their production of alternative histories, and their 'ventriloquist' forms of relation. The works in this project—Hosmer's *Medusa* and *Daphne*, Stebbins's *Lotus-Eater*, and Hosmer's *Pompeian Sentinel* are queer in the tension of their relationships to heteronormative didacticism, to myths of marble purity and to the supposed de-eroticised qualities of the work.

That should not be read as automatically conflating queer with eroticism or sex. Instead, it is the works' potential for erotic, sexual, sensual readings *in opposition to* the myth of the Veil of Purity that presents as queer, especially given the homoerotic, homosocial, homo-historical (and historical homo), anti-heteronormative subjects/subtexts of the works' texts and

⁴⁵ Sedgwick, "Queer Little Gods," 66.

themes.⁴¹⁶ It is the sculptures' content and form, rather than Hosmer or Stebbins's (or Lewis's, Whitney's, or any of the others') sexuality that produces a camp queerness. A quick thought experiment would be to consider the camp potential of Hoxie's *Sappho* (1865-70, Fig. 129): would a queer reading of this sculpture only be possible because of the subject's lesbianism, despite Hoxie's relatively heteronormative life experiences, or could it be seen as queer, and campy so, for other reasons? Could Story's *Sappho* (Fig. 130) be camp, for the same reasons? Certainly the fragmentary nature of Sappho's poetry as understood in the nineteenth century and today as well as the questions surrounding her life—whether she even existed as a singular living female poet when—suggest camp, and even kitsch refigurations.⁴¹⁷ There is certainly potential there—but I had the potential to be a lawyer and I'm doing this instead, so potential does not equal outcome. If the work only exhibits one element of Sedgwick's definition, and that is just the subject of the work rather than anything in its formal expression or its interconnectivity with other works or texts, it does not rise to the level of camp or even merely kitsch.

Hoxie's *Sappho* does not seem to function, formally or meaningfully, in opposition, in search of high degrees of affect, nor does it seem to revel in its erudition or fragmentariness. That is, the figure Hoxie sculpted does not depict a high level of emotion or drama, engage with a range of erudite or fragmentary materials, or suggest a wider textual richness. Both works give the impression of being relatively literal portraits of the ancient poet, rather than presenting complex and intertextual works that play with the age, fragmentary, and paratextually complicated poems or Sappho herself. It might then be considered that the *Sapphos* by Hoxie and Story are thematically queer

⁴¹⁶ For a broader discussion of queer time see Jonathan Goldberg and Madhavi Menon, "Queering History," *PMLA* 120, No. 5 (October, 2005), 1608–1617; Carolyn Dinshaw, Karma Lochrie and Madhavi Menon, "Queering History," *PMLA* 121, No. 3 (May, 2006), 837–839; Thomas A. Dowson, "Why Queer Archaeology?" *World Archaeology*, 32, No. 2, Queer Archaeologies (October, 2000), 161–165; Jennifer Doyle and David Getsy, "Queer Formalisms: Jennifer Doyle and David Getsy in Conversation," *Art Journal* Volume 72, Issue 4 (2013), 58–71.

⁴¹⁷ Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," *Partisan Review*. 6:5 (1939), 34–49.

but not performatively, and not camp.⁴¹⁸ Could a work presenting a nominally heteronormative subject by a presumed-to-be-heterosexual artist be camp, under these conditions? The *Greek Slave*'s popularity and slow slide down the scale of sophistication through unlicensed, low-grade and inexpensive reproductions by the time Powers finished sculpture made it kitsch but could it be considered camp, today or then? Could it, perhaps one of the most aggressively heterosexual (though not heteronormative) works, be queered and camped through reconsiderations of its development and Powers's professional background?⁴¹⁹

Well, if you've been paying attention, you'll have guessed that I'm going to give it a go. It was said that while Powers's *Eve* had been developed from nearly a score of models, the *Greek Slave* (1844, Fig. 131) was developed from one model, not a professional.⁴²⁰ He later wrote to a family member that the real source of the work was not this one rare paragon of Italian purity but a vision or recurring dream of a solitary, ghostly figure on the far side of a river. The ghostly figure not only gave him the vision for the *Slave* but led him to sculpture as a practice—a revisionist alternative history of the work itself.⁴²¹ The narrative promoted alongside *The Greek Slave* in its original accompanying pamphlet was that the white, Greek Christian girl is being displayed and auctioned off to the ravaging attentions of a Turk, who will

⁴¹⁸ For a fuller case study of a Sapphic work and camp, drawn from literature rather than art history, see D. A. Boxwell, "(Dis)orienting Spectacle: The Politics of Orlando's Sapphic Camp," *Twentieth Century Literature*, 44, No. 3 (Autumn, 1998), 306–327.

⁴¹⁹ The most important recent intervention in the scholarship of the *Greek Slave* is the "The *Greek Slave*: A Transatlantic Object" special issue of *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 15 Issue 2 (Summer 2016), edited by Martina Droth and Michael Hatt <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer16>, and Patrizia di Bellio's "Photographs of Sculpture: *Greek Slave*'s 'Complex Polyphony', 1847–77," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*. 2016 (22), DOI: <http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.775>.

⁴²⁰ "The Process of Sculpture," from *The Literary World*, September 18, 1847, reprinted in *Powers' Statue of the Greek Slave*, (Eastburn's Press, 1848), 24.

⁴²¹ Hiram Powers, in Charles Colbert, "Spiritual Currents and Manifest Destiny in the Art of Hiram Powers," *The Art Bulletin*, 82, No. 3 (September, 2000), 535.

defile her.⁴²² The continuing danger to her purity comes when her prospective buyer puts her in the pagan, hypersexual, decadent confines of the harem where the veil of purity, which preserves her in our eyes, will be shredded and sublimated to the ravaging manly will of the infidel (in so many words). The harem, however, is not only a holding pen for the helpless possessions of the pasha but a heavily homosocial space; the logical extrapolation is that is also a homosensual if not homoerotic or homosexual.⁴²³ Imagine, then, the unchained *Greek Slave*, or even still-chained, deposited into Ingres' *Odalisque with Slave* (1839-40, Fig. 132) or the later *Turkish Bath* (1863, Fig. 133). Rather than focusing on the Orientalizing details, consider the overabundance of same-sex flesh on display. Consider not the male gaze of the artist but the internal universe of the painted fantasy: the sexual tension in these works is not only the possession of many female bodies by one male but the potential for lesbian eroticism in the absence of male interlopers. The *Greek Slave's* narrative is quickly and easily homoeroticized and queered against both heterosexuality and heteronormativity, but is it camped?

The harem imagery suggests further the conflation of the homoerotic female space and the decadent overabundance of sensually pleasing objects. I am not conflating here the female body and the object, but the decadence of decoration and the sensuality of the space as hyper-feminine and thus marginal. Think of it as drag for a room, with the *Greek Slave* lounging in the middle of it. As the sculpture became more accessible to the public through tours, through reproductive media in both two and three dimensions, and

⁴²² "The Slave has been taken from one of the Greek Islands by the Turks, in the time of the Greek Revolution; the history of which is familiar to all ... She is now among barbarian strangers, under the pressure of a full recollection of the calamitous events which have brought her to her present state; and she stands exposed to the gaze of the people she abhors." Hiram Powers, in Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists* (New York: G. P. Putnam and Son, 1867), 285.

⁴²³ For an interesting male homosocial site with a strong queer constituency, see John Potvin, "Vapour and Steam: The Victorian Turkish Bath, Homosocial Health, and Male Bodies on Display," *Journal of Design History*, 18, No. 4 (Winter, 2005), 319-333; on orientalism generally, Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

even on tobacco tins, the variety of associations ascribed to the sculpture expanded. Away from the controlled space of the gallery and the guiding hand of the didactic pamphlet, the object itself became a member of an infinite number of private art harems. Now, not only could the industrialist pasha put her in his grand hall among her sister-sculptures, but Parianware products could populate the mantelpieces of the middle class and prints the walls of the working. The *Slave* slowly became kitsch—a homoerotic tchotchke with so many valences of meaning that it allowed for the production of a rich array of alternative histories, affects, and cultural productions.⁴²⁴ While scholarship has focused on its relationship to abolitionist politics and texts,⁴²⁵ and its use in validation of Christian heteronormative marriage,⁴²⁶ these elide the potential of the work to contain and project queer multitudes.⁴²⁷ So, if we can see a queered, camp narrative or reading of the *Greek Slave*, it should be fairly easy to see the potentials for similar in the case studies I pursued in this project, and an even wider array of works: it may be time to camp Canova's *Perseus*, kitsch Greenough's *Washington*, and drag Leighton's *Athlete*.

The most obvious queer example in my case studies is the *Lotus-Eater*, the refiguration of “the most famous fairy in history,”⁴²⁸ the title given to Antinous, who demands a camp consideration: the knowledge of Antinous, today, requires a degree of erudition outside the rarefied circles of classics, fin-de-siecle homosexual culture, and modern queer fanboys.⁴²⁹ Moreover,

⁴²⁴ Linda Hyman, “The Greek Slave by Hiram Powers: High Art as Popular Culture,” *Art Journal*, 35, No. 3 (Spring, 1976), 216–223.

⁴²⁵ Vivien M. Green, “Hiram Powers's ‘Greek Slave’: Emblem of Freedom,” *The American Art Journal*, 14, No. 4 (Autumn, 1982), 31–39.

⁴²⁶ Lauren Lessing, “Ties that Bind: Hiram Powers's Greek Slave and Nineteenth-Century Marriage,” *American Art*, 24, No. 1 (Spring 2010), 40–65.

⁴²⁷ For more on queer theory's capacity for multitudinous readings, see Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner, “What Does Queer Theory Teach Us about X?” *PMLA* Vol. 110, No. 3 (May, 1995), 343–349; on heteronormativity and privacy, see Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner, “Sex in Public,” *Critical Inquiry*, 24, No. 2, Intimacy (Winter, 1998), 547–56.

⁴²⁸ Waters, “Famous Fairy.”

⁴²⁹ See especially Vout, “Winckelmann and Antinous”; Vout, *Antinous: The Face of the Antique*, exh. cat.; Elizabeth Bartman, “Eros's Flame: Images of Sexy Boys in Roman Ideal Sculpture,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes*

Stebbins's produced work draws on the fragmentary, multiple, and marginal portraits of a leftover cultural product. It isn't difficult to perceive her use of this historic figure as a play with form through the veil of *poetry* rather than *purity*—even the poem she illustrates has queer undertones; its sailors refuse to return to their heterosexual, reproductive marriages and the normative rules of society in favour of the hazy, destructured and genderless world of the lotophagi. Hosmer's subjects in *Daphne* and *Medusa* similarly reject the heteronormative, but this alone is a reductive reading; once again their campy, queer tonalities come not only from their opposition to a dominant figure or trope (or Hosmer's own lesbian sex life) but their range of affect and discursive fragmentariness, their visceral qualities, and their alternative histories—again, in opposition. Even Hosmer's *Sentinel* slips into these definitions of camp: it is, as my chapter discussed, an entirely alternative history, produced in a mode that demands a visceral reaction and a range of affect, despite its lack of queer text or subtext in the most traditional homoerotic sense. The character she illustrates, from a novel obsessed with a range of heterosexual (but not necessarily heteronormative) relationships and tensions, with a decadent effusion of visceral and operatic stagings, richness, and so on, exists outside these shifting pairs and interplays. He stands in obedience through his textual appearances, but his un-mobile, unsexed nature provides the moving affect of his brief narrative. The fallacy of the facts on which the character is based in turn provides the alternative history Hosmer builds with her oversized (operatically scaled) iron skeleton and sepulchral plaster, slipping the *Sentinel* into Sedgwick's campy, queer tent.

Beyond my three case studies, and this goes for all of the theoretical frameworks and methods I'll discuss next, I want this project to open a serious reconsideration of neoclassical sculpture through the lens of camp. Not every example of neoclassical sculpture is going to be camp or queer, and within my case studies, I have not elaborated on their camp or queer natures as much as I

1, *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity* (2002), 249–271.

have here, but this was a formative mode of thought during my research and development. Camp also leads nicely into the primary visualization that also underpins how I conceive of works in relation to each other, even when they are not necessarily in physical proximity, don't share an author, or aren't chronologically related: the food web. These visualizations and theoretical methods resonated strongly with my experiences looking at sculpture, and that were developed in my own art historical and critical practice through my time spent in Rome, which I will discuss shortly.

FOOD(WEB) FOR THOUGHT: IMAGE ECOLOGIES AND MATRIXES

In this dissertation, I have used analogies relating the visual environment in Rome and the ways in which these artists negotiated the vast amounts of material available through several different sets of imagery. I have drawn the foundational visual metaphor from Sunil Manghani's *Image Studies: Theory and Practice*.⁴³⁰ This analogy, or visualization, was integral at the beginning of my visual research—reminding me not to zero in too quickly on the blockbuster, Big Name antiquities and overlooking something smaller, less famous, but no less vital. It also gave me the foundation on which to build the important concepts of the non-linear, non-consecutive networks of influence,⁴³¹ even more than *Anachronic Renaissance* or *The Shape of Time*.⁴³² While Manghani points out that Susan Sontag was the first to use the phrase “ecology of images,” he also notes that her use of it is “unnecessarily narrow,” and I would argue, paranoid. Her use of the term in relation to photography's ‘de-Platonizing’ effect, and the need to ration horror, does seem to limit her own sense of what an ecology of images could achieve or how it could function both metaphorically and experientially. While I find the concept of

⁴³⁰ Sunil Manghani, *Image Studies* (Routledge, 2012). See also, Timothy Morton, “Queer Ecology,” *PMLA*, 125, No. 2 (March 2010), 273–282.

⁴³¹ See also, Deleuze and Guattari, “Rhizome,” 3–28; Bruno Latour, “On Actor-Network Theory: a Few Clarifications Plus More than a Few Complications,” *Soziale Welt*, 47, 1996, 369–381.

⁴³² Kubler, *Shape*.

conservation/conservancy in relation to historical art objects and spaces, and the environmental sense an interesting parallel, and one I to which I will return, I am more interested in the graphic illustration of Manghani's concept (Fig. 134), which illustrates the relationality of images to each other and to their surroundings.

This graphic is very much a starting point, especially given the transhistorical concerns and influences that I have discussed in this project. Rather than seeing the image community, as Manghani terms it, as a single dimension that moves forward linearly, if not always with consistent levels of energy and speed, I visualize the interconnecting images as a three-dimensional matrix. I imagined, while writing this chapter, the low-tech projects made in my middle school maths class, of toothpick-and-marshmallow tetrahedrons and tesseracts, and then stacking them (Fig. 135). Manghani's diagram illustrates "abundance" as the singular stack of *IMAGE* laid over the top of the matrixial "image community." In my much tastier visualization, the lines between the individual tesseracts create interspaces and interstices that can bleed between the units. It also allows for uneven stacking or scales; the internal and external spaces do not necessarily have to conform to a perfect mathematical model and tessellate perfectly; edges can overlap and interject or take up more space, have uneven edges or project in different directions. Abundance is in the volume of space as much as in the quantity of stacked units; adaptation and distribution, too, play in the rearrangement of space as much as in forward motion and slippages. A new approach to the works in situ is created by consciously considering the works of art available in Rome and the surrounding spaces as overlapping and connecting through this three dimensional set up, which can be reassembled in different, inexact but dynamic constructions. This repositions them as assemblages and as necessarily intertextual works, rather than as discrete, visually decontextualized masterpieces illustrated through the artificial construction of the official museum photograph.

Turning from the diagram to the concept of ecology in relation to the more common conception—the environment—another useful visualization emerges. A common method of visualizing interconnectedness in ecological studies, at least for non-specialists, is the food web. I have repurposed this to visualize dynamic interplays between objects, types, collections, and spaces, in non-linear and non-directional ways. In Fig. 136, I have created a visualization for Hosmer's *Daphne*, starting from Hosmer's work and radiating outward in connected clusters or units. These are not unidirectional connections, as should be evidenced especially in the cluster surrounding the Wounded Amazon type and their galleries, where all of the objects connect to each other, but not in a progressive or developmental way. For the simplified visualization, the connection lines do run from the *Daphne* to the Mattei Amazon in the Sala del Gladiatore and then into the cluster. More accurately, the lines should probably run from the *Daphne* to all of the Amazons and then between them, but this gets visually messy at the scale reproducible here; furthermore it does not indicate a direction of influence either inwards or outwards. This visual metaphor can be further pushed to involve questions of decay and consumption, rebalancing of abundances and deficits—the ravages of time on works of art, repurposing of fragments or whole works in programmatic arrangements, the French appropriation and then return of antiquities, or a lack of works in of a certain subject, and on and on. This also produces a rather pleasing mental image, of Hosmer (who enjoyed hunting)⁴³³ as a predator stalking the Roman ecology, gobbling up her chosen material and using this as food for thought.

This is where my research method of actually going to the galleries and spaces of Rome, and spending an extensive amount of time there, becomes key. I have been able to draw new connections between works of art, spaces, and themes through a familiarity with the sculptural works in the flesh (as it were), that would not have been possible, or as meaningful, without the first-hand experience of the real spaces in which the works stand. A Roman bust of

⁴³³ Carr, *Hosmer*, 203–6; 304.

a woman with snakes in her hair in the Galleria Borghese, for example, appears nowhere in the scholarship on Hosmer's Medusa—perhaps because it is not mentioned in the major catalogues, the gallery website, or in works like Haskell and Penny's 1982 *Taste and the Antique*. It isn't even mentioned in the didactic materials in the room itself—I've been back to check several times. However, if one were to go to the Borghese to study, say, the *Apollo and Daphne*, because one is thinking of making a Daphne and wanted to see what absolutely *not* to do in a sculpture—as the young Hosmer must have done—the bust sits on the way to the famed Bernini. The presence of such antiquities—especially those actually mentioned in the guidebooks—not only provided materials from which to work but coloured the experiences of looking at the works by Bernini, which as I discussed were derided as the most corrupt and corrupting works of sculpture ever produced. However, the Berninis were displayed right alongside works of antiquity, the Renaissance, and the Neoclassical (Canova's *Pauline Borghese as Venus Victrix*), setting up an inescapable dialogue and self-reinforcing cycle of comparison, contrast, and validation. It is one thing to read Richard Westmacott's commentary on the degrading influence of Bernini. It is another thing entirely to watch the changing afternoon sunlight on the *Apollo and Daphne*. Circumambulation of the work to see how the marble is so fine in places as to let the light glow through allows one to recognize the mastery of different surface treatments and the gravity- and medium-defying compositional dynamism—all while surrounded by a programmatic arrangement of antiquities and paintings which purposefully communicate with each other and with the educated viewer.

These methods of visualizing the interplays between the works of art in their gallery spaces and across historical distances were fundamental for the development of my project. They especially allow for tangential and non-sequential influences or references, and give the objects intellectual spaces. In the immortal words of Tracy Chapman, there is fiction in the space

between⁴³⁴—or poetry, meaning, and movement of ideas and forms. As I discussed earlier in this chapter, these interconnected and rearranging assemblages of content and form are part of how I perceive neoclassical sculpture(s) as individual works/texts and as actually displayed or fictionally clustered works. The matrixial, geometric visual is extremely useful for figuring not only the works as discrete objects but as amalgamations in themselves—not solely the individual within a web of meaning, but a web of meaning within the individual. Those interior webs—the cesspits of content I will discuss later—can then be reassembled to create the external connections.

OUT OF TIMES

I have drawn my sense of the anachronic as a theory or a method of thinking through the works' complicated relationships to earlier artistic models and modes of representation from several texts. The most recent and the one which first put me into this mode of thought is the previously mentioned Nagel and Wood, but its antecedents, most specifically Kubler, and the essays in Claire Farago and Robert Zwijnenberg's *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art In and Out of History*⁴³⁵ were also deeply productive. As I discussed in the introduction, these readings, introduced at the inaugural York Summer Theory Institute, were especially informative not because they were entirely new to me but because they resonated with the way I already experienced referential works of art, and because they provided me with the critical vocabulary for an approach I had intuited. It was a profound reinforcement and encouragement to push my critical comfort levels to read *Anachronic Renaissance* and *The Shape of Time* especially, particularly given Nagel and Wood's thorough exploration of their case studies and the applicability of their theoretical work.

⁴³⁴ Tracy Chapman, "Telling Stories," on *Telling Stories* (Elektra Records, 2000).

⁴³⁵ Claire Farago and Robert Zwijnenberg, *Compelling Visuality* (Ann Arbor, University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

Though Nagel and Wood focus on the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries of Western art, their introduction makes it clear that the principles and phenomena they are discussing are not limited to that period. Their opening example, the Imperial City of Beijing by way of Simone de Beauvoir,⁴³⁶ is paired intellectually with the Athenian relic, the Ship of Theseus, as models of replacement and hesitation: “The work that manages to retain its identity despite alteration, repair, renovation, and even outright replacement was as sustaining myth of art in premodern Europe.”⁴³⁷ The Ship of Theseus, assiduously repaired plank by plank as they decayed, was still ontologically the same ship as had been sailed to defeat the Minotaur—despite not a splinter remaining of the original ship. The ship was still ancient: “a paradigm of the object defined by its structure rather than by its material make-up. The age of the planks is accidental; essential is the form.”⁴³⁸ They draw on Warburg, figuring the work of an artist like Botticelli not as “assimilating” antiquity but instantiating it anew. The work of art could collapse two temporalities into one space; the multiple pasts of Western Europe, their differences and obsolescences, were what made repetition and retrieval possible.⁴³⁹ Nagel and Wood propose the term *anachronic* for this:

The work of art ‘anachronizes,’ from the Greek *anachronizein*, built from *ana-*, “again,” and the verb *chronizein*, “to be late or belated.” To anachronize is to be belated again, to linger. The work is late, first because it succeeds some reality that it represents, and then late again when that re-presentation is repeated for successive recipients. To many that double postponement came to seem troublesome, calling for correction, compensation, or at the very least, explanation.

The work of art when it is late, when it repeats, when it hesitates, when it remembers, but also when it projects a future or an ideal, is “anachronic.” We introduce this term as an

⁴³⁶ Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic*, 7.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴³⁹ This has elsewhere been described as a “concertina” effect, especially regarding the altar of Saint Cecilia in Trastevere. Emma Stirrup, “Time Concertinaed at the Altar of Saint Cecilia in Trastevere,” in *Rome: Continuing Encounters between Past and Present*, ed. Dorigen Sophie Caldwell, Lesley Caldwell (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 57–78.

alternative to “anachronistic,” a judgemental term that carries with it the historicist assumption that every event and every object has its proper location within objective and linear time.⁴⁴⁰

The anachronic seemed to me to be a productive theory for working with neoclassical sculpture precisely because of the characteristics of neoclassicism as a period or a style. Nagel and Wood specifically point to neoclassicism as a “deliberately anachronistic cultural project,” like archaism, but differentiate it from an anachronic project. To them, neoclassicism is “historical anachronism,” which depends on the “stable conception of the historicity of form.” I agree with that part, at least, but rather than seeing the referential character of neoclassicism as historically moored, counter to Nagel and Wood’s construction of the Renaissance anachronic works as unmoored, I see them as a continuation of similar modes of expression and transhistorical connectivity. Canova’s *Perseus* might be seen as a marble Ship of Theseus, replacing the missing Apollo-plank for a time and then becoming a secondary relic upon the Apollo’s return to Rome. This is problematized by the idea that “authorial performance cuts time into before and after. The artist who replaces the Marian icon or keeps the Imperial Palace in good repair, by contrast, makes no caesura in time.”⁴⁴¹ However, I would argue that a work of art which like the *Perseus*, Hosmer’s *Sentinel*, or Story’s *Libyan Sibyl* (in reference not to antique sculpture directly, but by way of Michelangelo’s Sistine Ceiling) offers a sculptural replacement to a lost, imagined, or immobile figure of a previous era does not require an anonymous, caesura-less artisan maker to be anachronic in itself. Hosmer may not be anachronic (though she was at times anachronistic), but her work could be.

The modes of representation, reference, and reuse of form and sources (text, art, mythology) in neoclassicism suggested to me a need to explore the temporalities of my case study works and their multifaceted source material.

⁴⁴⁰ Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic*, 13.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

In the case of the *Lotus-Eater*, for example, Stebbins's use of the Antinous corpus connected the finished work to a family of objects—visualized in my chapter as both a chain and a web—produced in not only antiquity, but also well into the Renaissance and the eighteenth centuries. In turn, this puts the *Lotus-Eater* in dialogue with works that may not be chronologically proximate—links further up or down the chain, or perhaps two or three steps across the web, in time and in space—and creates a chronological complexity within the work of art itself. Rather than reading it as relevant solely to 1857/61, the *Lotus-Eater* becomes both a response to and/or a reuse of the antique model and a new addition in the chain of objects, though not necessarily the last. The works in my case studies are highly referential or heavily inflected by their relationships to an older object or object type, and I therefore reposition them as chronologically complicated objects.

A disciplinary problem within American neoclassical sculpture is that it has not been sufficiently theorized, especially in regards to the complex chronologies involved in works that reference, rework, or implicate objects from previous periods in history. The scholarship's lack of first-hand experience with or interest in the referenced antiquities, or a deeper reading of the source material exacerbates this problem. Superficial readings of mythological texts and anachronistic—rather than consciously anachronic—texts applied to works such as Hosmer's *Daphne* and *Medusa* have prevented a fuller understanding of the works' relation not only to other works of art but how Hosmer may have conceived of the subjects, and thus her formal choices have remained obscured behind Freud's castration anxiety.⁴⁴² In turn, this is where the overreliance on biography as both evidence and answer causes problems for scholarship. Hosmer's *Medusa* becomes a closed circle of artist and object—the *Medusa* is about Hosmer because Hosmer made the *Medusa*, and feminist/psychoanalytic readings of *Medusa* imagery produce self-reflexive readings.

⁴⁴² Dabakis, *Sisterhood*, 51.

Instead, I find Didi-Huberman's construction of the euchronic versus the anachronic especially productive;⁴⁴³ his construction of the euchronic as the directly contemporary, through the problem of a non-pictorial panel in a fresco by Fra Angelico points out the flaws in relying overmuch on star texts—for him, Alberti, for me, Freud, Cixous, *The Marble Faun*, and more. These texts do not necessarily speak to the problem at hand and cause scholars to overlook what the object itself conveys about its relationship to chronologies, other objects, and the viewer. For this project, I formulated the euchronic as the direct social, political, and biographical contexts of the works' creators, and use it as another archive of data, while the anachronic will be read as the way the objects function in and out of time, in relation to other objects and places. Here, a return to the immediately contextual materials available, and historical texts, rather than modern psychoanalytical materials, allows for a reading of Hosmer's work as a consciously transhistorical *paragone* between herself and Bernini—a contest she may have imagined as judged by the spectre of Johann Joachim Winckelmann. The transhistorical and anachronic readings are facilitated by a close attention to the problem of accessibility for Hosmer—the euchronic tools for building the anachronic case. A vital question for this project is always what the artist had access to leading up to the production of a work of art that might have impacted its formal conditions, and thus in turn its content. Each case study takes a similar return to the object, and objects, texts, and spaces that pre-date the central work in the chapter. This includes materials I cannot necessarily prove the artists read or saw, but to which they had probable access, or which may have influenced the texts they did read and objects they did see (like with Stebbins and Nonnus, as mentioned before). By balancing this euchronic, archival and contextual evidence against the interpretative, affective, and experiential anachronic, this project explores the objects, not the artist—but in turn this says something about how the artists developed their work.

⁴⁴³ Didi-Huberman, "Image," 31–44.

Though reading *Anachronic Renaissance* was the nascence of my interest in not only this theory but frankly, most theory, and also the most explicit model for how I began to think about my case studies' relationship to time and space, I must position Kubler's *The Shape of Time* as even more closely aligned to the finished work. I came to Kubler late in the game, compared to Nagel and Wood and to the other theoretical models, after the main thrust of my dissertation had taken shape and my thoughts on anachronicity, reference and relationality, and the interconnectivity of objects/images were fairly developed. Kubler's challenge to the primacy of biography in art historical studies mirrors my own, and the formulation of Prime Objects and chains of descendant objects is deeply useful for the consideration of evolving reuses of classical forms. As to the first part, Kubler wrote generally, and I agree especially with regards to the biographies of women and minority artists:

People writing the history of art as biography assume that the final aims of the historian are to reconstruct the evolution of the person of the artist, to authenticate attributed works, and to discuss their meaning ... The history of an artistic problem, and the history of the individual artist's resolution of such a problem, thus find a practical justification, which, however, confines the value of the history of art to matters of mere pedagogical utility. In the long view, biographies and catalogues are only way stations where it is easy to overlook the continuous nature of artistic traditions. These traditions cannot be treated properly in biographical segments.⁴⁴⁴

Though I did not address the changing styles Hosmer in particular evinced during her career in the introduction, Kubler succinctly makes the argument that the progression of a single artist's oeuvre often is not illustrative or productive in a wider picture. I, though I wrote primarily on two artists in this dissertation, am not particularly interested in the mapping of a single life as a cohesive and progressive unit of production that has discernible early, middle,

⁴⁴⁴ Kubler, *Shape*, 5–6.

and late stages. Instead, I am far more intrigued by and committed to something like Kubler's "Historian's commitment:"

The aim of the historian, regardless of his specialty in erudition, is to portray time. He is committed to the detection and description of the shape of time. He transposes, reduces, composes, and colors a facsimile, like a painter, who in his search for the identity of the subject, must discover a patterned set of properties that will elicit recognition all while conveying a new perception of the subject.⁴⁴⁵

To Kubler, the historian's project is to do more than collect, collate, and catalogue facts in chronological order, but to reveal and to elaborate on events and time. Like biography, these facts are vital tools and evidence, but to simply catalogue without critique or creative thought is the role of the oft-derided 'antiquarian' or 'stamp-collector.' I have, at times, been accused of stamp-collecting and antiquarianism—including at York Summer Theory Institute, of all places—because of the need to accumulate bodies of material and families of objects, and because of my admittedly aesthetically driven fondness for things I find appealing, but the drive is not to collect and categorize for the sake of collecting and categorizing. Instead, I find that this collection of material provides a rich deposit from which to develop ideas about the shapes and directions of time and art. That is, without the perverse, nearly fetishistic mental catalogue of objects, details, places, and stories, there would not only be materially less to discuss, but the discussion would be lacking depth, colour, perspective, texture, and pleasure. These collections, however constructed, are furthermore the links in chains of objects, forms, and ideas that can be seen as stretching back to the Manichean, possibly fictive, Prime Object.

Kubler's "formal sequences" and "linked solutions" lead into a discussion of the concept of prime objects and their descendant chains, a

⁴⁴⁵ Kubler, *Shape*, 12.

formulation of formal/material development, evolution, and eventual extinction.⁴⁴⁶ The prime object, which is the first instantiation or “entrance,” to use Kubler’s term, of a solution, an idea, or a form is often intangible to the historian. The chains and repetitions of these forms, with minute mutations and shifts, eventually spawn new primes and new forms, but differentiating the new prime from the spawned mutant is a challenge. Within art, the prime is often a new successful solution to a problem, which may or may not institute new styles or subjects. Kubler problematizes this by differentiating between slow and fast happenings, and slow artists concerned with a single major problem, and “versatile, proleptic” artists. His examples for slow artists included Claude Lorrain and Paul Cézanne, both concerned primarily with landscape and their historical forebears; the fast artists were apparently common in the Italian Renaissance, but I might also suggest Degas or Picasso, whose formal and subjective concerns shifted throughout their productive years.⁴⁴⁷ I would argue that Hosmer and Stebbins were both slow artists following this construction, but this is not a negative construction. Hosmer herself suggested that her major concern throughout her career was marrying what she saw as the “real” and the “classical,”⁴⁴⁸ that is, the application of the highest standard of neoclassical aesthetic principles to subjects that she found emotionally or intellectually stimulating.

Finally, Kubler makes several observations about the shapes of time (and the shapes materials make in time) and perceptions of style which may be seen as foundational for work such as *Anachronic Renaissance* and for my own project. He writes, “Because duration can be measured by the two standards of absolute age and systematic age, historic time seems to be composed of many

⁴⁴⁶ Kubler, *Shape*, 33–5; 39–53.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 87–90.

⁴⁴⁸ Carr, *Harriet Hosmer*, 333. Hosmer wrote, “As a disciple of classic art, I am supposed to ‘inveigh against the modern realistic school.’ Not in the least. Give us everything and the fittest will survive, but against the term ‘realistic’ as opposed to the ‘classical school’ I rebel. Never was a grosser misapplication of terms. ‘Realistic’ I take to mean ‘real,’ ‘true to nature,’ and therefore I claim that what is known as the classic school furnishes the most commanding examples of realistic art.”

envelopes, in addition to being mere flow from future to past through the present. These envelopes, which all have different contours in the sense that they are durations defined by their contents, can be grouped easily by large and small families of shapes.”⁴⁴⁹ Systematic age and absolute age come into play with Chapter Two and the discussion of Hosmer’s play with the High and Beautiful styles as modes of displaying relative or presumptive age. Regarding the repetition of influence, Kubler refers not only to the obvious (and most obviously relevant) re-emergences of Greek and Roman art forms through Western art but the use of Central and South American forms by Frank Lloyd Wright and Henry Moore, among other examples.⁴⁵⁰ And on style, a slippery and chronically unstable category, he wrote:

Any imaginary dimensions or continuities like style fade from view as we look for them.

Style is like a rainbow. It is a phenomenon of perception governed by the coincidence of certain physical conditions. We can see it only briefly while we pause between the sun and the rain, and it vanishes when we go to the place where we thought we saw it. Whenever we think we can grasp it, as in the work of an individual painter, it dissolves into the farther perspectives of the work of that painter’s predecessors or his followers, and it multiplies even in the painter’s single works, so that any one picture becomes a profusion of latent and fossil matter when we see the work of his youth and his old age, of his teachers and his pupils. Which is now valid: the isolated work in its total physical presence, or the chain of works marking the known range of its position. Style pertains to the consideration of static groups of entities. It vanishes once these entities are restored to the flow of time.⁴⁵¹

When I speak of the style of neoclassicism, then, I am not necessarily attempting to define it within boundaries of a specific visual idiom or set of

⁴⁴⁹ Kubler, *Shape*, 99.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 106–7.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 129–30.

formal constraints, but rather the serial re-engagement with what Kubler calls the “unfinished work of Greek and Roman antiquity.”⁴⁵² The work of American neoclassical sculptors, as exemplified here by Stebbins and Hosmer, with their specificity of reference and complex transhistorical relationships to forms and text, may be perceived as stylistically or discursively static from our period. Restoring these works to the flow of time, in Kubler’s phrasing, restores the work (and object-family) to a broader transhistorical relationship and multivalent, multi-chronic position.

RECEIVING LOUD AND CLEAR

The timeliness or untimeliness of these works is tied directly to the Roman, antiquities-laden context from which they sprang, and the visual ecologies—micro and macro—to which they belong. This project aims to reposition the neoclassical sculptures in question in light of these new object-based frameworks, exploring how the classicism of these works is much more complex than the prefix *neo-* can convey; it is not neoclassicism that is flat, but scholarship’s use of the prefix that is flattening. The application of the prefix to the perceived cohesive class of sculpture made between the late 1770s and early 1870s, as a derogatory denomination, was not claimed by the artists as a positive marker, nor has it been satisfactorily been reclaimed as such by scholarship for the artists—yet. As I have demonstrated, these works have a rich relationship to a wide range of material and are not rote repetition or chilly copies of a dead style, but lively and engaged plays on forms and narratives drawn from a wide range of classical or classicizing sources. Indeed, the question of the works’ classicism is fundamental to my project and one that requires the methodological structures of classical receptions to answer or explore in any reasonable fashion. The anachronicity of the works in turn is reliant on their receptive/referential nature. Here I turn to the field of classical receptions, particularly texts by Martindale and Hinds that model methods of

⁴⁵² Kubler, *Shape*, 108.

reading where the text (or object) is implicated in, shaped by, and then shapes its own readings through its relationships to previous material. I use the classical receptions models, rather than texts on later intertexts, not just because the material at which my subjects were looking was from antiquity, but because the way they were thinking about it mirrors the kind of thinking that scholars like Hinds and Martindale have modelled in their texts.

Chapter 1 of Hinds's text, which models the use of allusion and intertextuality in Roman poetry, opens with this passage: "One may usefully identify a mannerism, by no means peculiar to Roman literature, but especially well developed in Roman literature, whereby alluding poets exert themselves to draw attention to the nature of their allusive activity. Certain allusions are so constructed as to carry a kind of built-in commentary, a kind of reflexive annotation, which underlines or intensifies their demand to be interpreted as allusions."⁴⁵³ And a short time later, in the same chapter, he elaborates: "What emerges, then, is a trope for the poet's allusive activity, a figurative turn: the poet portrays himself as a kind of scholar, and portrays his allusion as a kind of learned citation (citation, it may be, with a distinctly polemical edge). This figuring of allusion as a scholarly activity, which often encodes a statement of alignment ... has been taken up by modern critics with (understandable) enthusiasm, and has yielded a rich harvest of interpretation in recent years."⁴⁵⁴

I mark these two passages in particular out for reference because a concern with this project has been to make clear the erudition, complexity, specificity, and richness of the material that these artists were referencing in their works, and the self-consciousness with which they were making these references. Where scholarship has previously referenced "fifth-century" sculpture as a touchstone for a modern work,⁴⁵⁵ I seek to identify *which* fifth-century BCE sculpture—and not just which type, but which version, why that version, where it was, what was around it in the gallery, and how that

⁴⁵³ Hinds, *Intertext*, 1.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁵⁵ Dabakis, *Sisterhood*, 49.

structured not only the visual experience of looking at the antique but the matrixes of narrative and meaning around it. The sculptures invoked or alluded to, retranslated and refigured, in the works of Hosmer and Stebbins, as well as works not discussed in depth in this project, were chosen not necessarily because of their aesthetic value or popularity with tourists, but for their allusive power and their ability to convey or deepen the meaning of the modern work. Thus, where Hinds cites the use of *memini* in Ovid's Ariadne as troping and referencing Catullus, as a method for intensifying the reader's emotional response through the presumed prior knowledge, I look at Stebbins's referencing of the Antinous portraits within the *Lotus-Eater* as an expression of the same rhetorical trick—though visual, rather than literary. This visual allusion signposts Stebbins's familiarity with the material remains of antiquity, the literary complexity within the poem she is purportedly illustrating, and the receptions of the historical figure whose image is being used, creating therein a work with multiple, interrelated series of meanings and readings. A relevant line from Martindale has stuck with me throughout the process of researching and writing this project, regarding the dynamics of reading Virgil, Homer, and their antecedents, and the impossibility of extricating one from the other regardless of the order of their making: "the two texts are always and already culturally implicated."⁴⁵⁶ It allows for readings of the modern work that do not rely on the strictest, most circumscribed readings of contextual information; here, an idea of the skipped step or of tangential readings, out of historical order, enriches the modern experience of understanding the *Lotus-Eater*, as well as reading the *Lotus-Eater* into works that predate it.

PRESENCE AND INHERENCE

As with *Anachronic Renaissance*, I was introduced to Robert Maniura and Rupert Shepherd's volume *Presence* at the first York Summer Theory Institute.

⁴⁵⁶ Martindale, *Redeeming*, 8.

The authors themselves acknowledge that the initial working definitions of ‘presence’ and ‘inherence’ given in the introduction are insufficient and problematic for their limited scope. They write, “By ‘presence’, we mean the identity of the image with the thing it depicts, the ‘inherence’ of the depicted thing in the image, the conflation of the two or the elision of the gap between them ... There is an ongoing debate within this volume over the role of likeness, or, indeed, any kind of visual appearance in invoking presence.”⁴⁵⁷

While my case studies are not objects traditionally considered portraits, in the way that many of the essays in *Presence* are, there are theoretical questions of inherence and presence in the referential elements of the American neoclassical works. Stebbins’s *Lotus-Eater*, for example, is not a “portrait” of Antinous, but to the aware viewer, the inherent qualities of the absent Antinous lead to his presence in the object—without necessarily looking exactly like him, or any single work of true portraiture. This presence still resonates; copies of the *Lotus-Eater* bust were sold in London labelled as Antinous in July of 2017.⁴⁵⁸ These neoclassical works are complicated further, but made dynamic, by the internal presence of multiple antique types and references—and then multiple versions of those multiple types—which surface to varying degrees to a viewer bringing their different perspectives and prior knowledge to bear on the work. While of course viewers bring their own knowledge to all works and view things differently depending on the conditions of viewing, prior experience, etc., “the inherence of the prototype,” to use Shepherd and Maniura’s subtitle, suggest that to an appropriately prepared audience, the prototypes are present, visible, and meaningful—though not necessarily predictable or universal.

The inherence of these prototypes to the finished work feeds not only the formal conditions of the works in question—Stebbins modelled her *Lotus-Eater* after Antinous images, therefore it looks like an Antinous and that’s

⁴⁵⁷ Maniura and Shepherd, *Presence*, 2.

⁴⁵⁸ <https://itsallgreek.co.uk/replica-marble-bust-of-Antinoos-SA-075>.

what people are responding to—but the content and the various interconnected, intertextual possibilities of the work, and how later audiences might consider them in conjunction with antique prototypes but future display and sale. Inversely, Hosmer's *Pompeian Sentinel's* inherent connection to the site in which it fictively stands, for example, points to its textual and material prototypes, even when it is resituated far from the original and its specific conditions of 'display' or discovery. The inherence of the material prototype in the plaster and wax *Sentinel* would also remain present within any re-productions into a different material, like a potential bronze copy, because of the presence in the work of the site-specificity.

THE NEW ART-CHAEOLOGY

I wrote in the previous chapter about the visuality of archaeology and the palimpsest of the photograph, the plaster cast, and text. I want to linger for a moment on archaeology—especially the so-called “New Archaeology” of Lewis Binford, Michael Schiffer, and Robert Ascher, and the use of cesspit archaeology as a metaphor or analogy. In the introduction to this dissertation, in the chapter on Hosmer's *Sentinel*, and in the numerous abstracts and job applications I have sent out over the past three or so years, I have often used the word “excavate” in place of “explore” or “investigate.” This is not only because I want to differentiate my submission from others through the judicious application of the thesaurus, but because I have tried to think of this project (and future projects) as an excavation. I often have partial written and even material evidence, in uneven stratigraphic layers, and often the work I have referenced has used the art as illustration rather than as evidence for itself, much as Stephen Dyson, writing in response to the “New Archaeology” has problematized the work of classical archaeologists.⁴⁵⁹ I'm analogizing here not only my excavatory thought process but a disciplinary problem with

⁴⁵⁹ Stephen L. Dyson, “A Classical Archaeologist's Response to the “New Archaeology,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 242 (Spring, 1981), 7–13.

American sculpture in general. As an American classical archaeologist himself, Dyson writes,

Many of us tend to redden when the proposition “archaeology is anthropology or nothing” is thrown at us. Certainly, most of what anthropologists say is vague, even silly ... However, anthropology, with its emphasis on theory and on formulating general problems, does get students thinking in larger terms. I was struck with this one year when I went to the classical and historical archaeological conventions in rapid succession. The classical convention was filled with papers in which the speaker demurred that after one hundred and fifty years of scholarship the time was still premature for any general speculation, while at the historical archaeology meeting the papers were constantly forming cosmic generalizations on the evolution of human society after six weeks of fieldwork in eastern New Hampshire.

While Dyson continues, “Obviously, I exaggerate,”⁴⁶⁰ and obviously, at times throughout this dissertation I have necessarily exaggerated for similar effect, later in the same commentary he challenges the classical archaeologist’s dependence on literary sources from antiquity to select sources, fact-check, and authorize the material evidence in a way I recognize from my own work. At a postgraduate presentation session in my second year, I presented a highly abbreviated version of the *Lotus Eater* material. During my question and answer section, a frustrated historian working on print culture demanded to know where my evidence was. I could not point to any archival evidence that would have satisfied this student: I could only gesture to the assemblage from what I viewed as the site of the *Lotus-Eater* and my own interpretative, interdisciplinary powers. Within my subfield of nineteenth-century sculpture, especially on the American women, the discomfort with a lack of text is inverted from the challenges of the new archaeology. It is the classicists and medievalists who are comfortable with the lacunae of text and the interpretation of a floor assemblage, not the Americanists and historians who

⁴⁶⁰ Dyson, “Classical Archaeologist’s,” 10.

are distressed without a Victorian Pausanias telling me where to dig. Hosmer's *Sentinel* doesn't appear in Dabakis because there is, as I have shown, a midden, a cesspit, an assemblage of palimpsestic evidence, rather than an easily-translated funerary inscription.

The analogy of archaeology to this project is not the grand find of Mediterranean classical archaeology, bringing the Riace bronzes to light or even the pathos-laden carbonized bread of Pompeii. Indeed, rather than seeing this dissertation as the dig report at the end of a project, with a diligently mapped site and thoroughly catalogue of artefacts, this is only the end of the first dig season, with much more to come. I have visualized this as digging into the ground and finding the evidence that there is a rich trove of material to excavate further and study in its assemblage context as well as its larger global historical context. Hosmer's *Sentinel*, Stebbins's *Lotus Eater*, the *Medusa* and *Daphne*, are only the first bits of pots and pipes to be drawn from the site and seen as evidence for their own making and use. Future digs, continuing with this analogy, might find Hoxie and Story, Francis Chantrey and Gibson, the Tadolinis and the Thornycrofts, Canova, Thorvaldsen, Powers, Crawford—the whole great interconnected web of sculptors working in something resembling an antique mode after the Enlightenment and into the days of the First World War. As a broader site assemblage, perhaps broken into Fiorellian *regie* and *isole* as at Pompeii, these sculptors and their work are ready to be excavated, brushed off, and remediated for a new audience—while recognizing the conditions which brought them to life (as it were) and death (as it were), those conditions which preserved, contextualized, and recontextualized them, and which may continue to be reworked, restored, and rearranged for future generations.

THE ETERNAL CITY

At the close of this dissertation, I want to return to the experience of Rome itself as a collapsed/collapsing/expansive/expanding site for art, art historical

practice, life, and lived experience. The theoretical and methodological work I have discussed in this chapter and its impact on my case studies was largely influenced by time spent in Italy, and is as important for this project as the experiences with the works of art to be had there. Walking the streets of Rome and the halls of her galleries during the research trips I undertook for this dissertation, especially during my October 2016 trip, I became part of the fabric of the city and its interwoven times. My self-embedding in the public spaces in some ways was an attempt at least partially to recreate the experience of not only my artists living in Rome, but the audience of tourists who visited them there and the Italian locals who dealt with them. I would sit on the Spanish Steps, often in the afternoons, and watch the tourists gathering for their selfies and group photos. Like the artists' models who gathered there in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, I became part of others' experiences and visual records of Rome: I am in who knows how many photographs of other people's vacations from that spot alone, an anonymous member of the *staffage* adding local colour, and more besides from the museums, Piazza Navona, *fori*, and cafes.

I was in Rome at All Hallows, flying home to York on Halloween itself. The day before I was due to return, I left my room near Vatican City to make my way to Via Appia Antica and what I was hoping was a glimpse of the Roman Campagna such as Hosmer had ridden through. What I got was the shock of an overwhelming Renaissance pageant-parade, stretching down Via della Conciliazone from Castel Sant'Angelo to the steps of Saint Peter's and back (Figs. 137–138). It was doubly shocking not only for the scale of the procession—nearly a mile of people in medieval and renaissance costume, including armed *condottieri* and particoloured musicians with drums and trumpets—but also for its utter lack of context. Nowhere on the civic or religious websites could I find an organization or explanation. If it had not been for the official-looking photographers—and the unofficial ones like me, in Doc Martens and headphones, taking pictures with my phone—it would have been as if I had genuinely stepped into a different historical moment or

that the spirits of an older time had transcended a barrier during the holidays for the dead and were manifesting before me in the streets. I don't want to be perceived here as falling into the xenophobic ways of thinking that Hosmer, Powers, and their ilk promoted about the backwards, superstitious Italian Catholics they lived among, but rather, that in this moment I experienced the living and ancient traditions and spaces of Rome in a way which was both intensely familiar in form and alien in its seeming age. The palimpsestic parade was highly contemporary—it was happening in the very moment before me—and anachronic, with costumes from at least a hundred years of history sharing space in the procession.

The layering of temporalities is not only experienced in these sorts of contemporary explosions of human activity but in the uncovering and sustaining of past human actions, conserving them against the future damage of anthropogenic influence and the unpredictable, inhuman forces of nature and time. I was in Italy during a series of earthquakes, which as a California native was at first cause for very little excitement—after all, I was a jaded veteran of multiple major earthquakes, and ours had frequently involved tsunami risk on top of stuff falling off our shelves. I didn't feel the first one on that trip, because I was in Pompeii, and when I was informed of its occurrence, I was immediately disappointed that I hadn't felt it that far south for two reasons. First, I imagined the affective experience I would have been able to draw on for my Pompeii chapter, feeling earthquakes in the shadow of Vesuvius! Second, because I—like Hosmer—have a trollish, slightly mean streak at times, I would have very much enjoyed the chaos I imagined would have occurred had there been an earthquake at Pompeii, full of people who had no experience with them. But in the ongoing quakes and aftershocks—including one which went on so long I was able to stand in a doorway for the first time in nearly 30 years of experiencing earthquakes—I was also intensely reminded that thixotropy, which I was beginning to study as a potentially rich metaphor, was in fact part of earthquake science, and that clay, susceptible to

soil liquefaction through thixotropic processes, is also a primary medium for sculpture.

Furthermore, the visible changes on the structures of Rome and Italy following the earthquake were a reminder that the palimpsestic layering of sites like Rome or Pompeii is not wholly man-made but heavily influenced by geological factors which can at times act with great haste and force on human activity. I am not an expert in the Coliseum, by any means, but even I was able to see the new and expanded cracks in its surface at the end of my trip—which had not been there only the week before. Pompeii, too, is a site of constant rebuilding and recovery, and likewise Hadrian's Villa. This leads into a consideration broached in the introduction, regarding the use of restored, more visibly complete works of art as reference material before and above works which might be considered more historically important or aesthetically purer—i.e., a Greek original. Here I want to turn the construction of conservative as negative on its head, and reconfigure it, and perceptions of neoclassicism as conservative, as a conservationist mode—in the ecological sense, and returning to the anachronic, an act of replacement or doubling to ensure survival.

In the ecological construction of a food web,⁴⁶¹ the systems of consumption, reuse, cooperation, and reproduction are displayed as interconnected and carefully balanced between multiple classes of organism. Within the web, no one organism class (read: object-class) is independent of the others; when one vanishes, the whole system is thrown into chaos. In situations where anthropogenic influence has caused disruption, conservation efforts are made to sustain the system or to repair it; when repair efforts are successful, they can have unpredictable, wide-ranging impact and effects. A popular example is the reintroduction of grey wolves to Yellowstone after decades of their absence: not only were the wolves instrumental in bringing

⁴⁶¹ Morton points to Deleuze and Guattari's rhizomes as well as Sedgwick's construction of "queer" as a mesh. Morton, "Queer Ecology," 276.

equilibrium to the deer populations, meaning human culls and breeding programmes could be curtailed, lower-order systems regained balance, and even the geological features changed, redirecting rivers and spreading plant populations into wider regions. By considering these networks as analogous to the restoration, display, consumption, and reuse of works of art, we refigure the conservative vision of neoclassicism and the recurring fascination with antiquity as an effort to maintain equilibrium and to restore something irreplaceable and precious. We speak positively of the conservationist efforts of wildlife and ecological organizations, and of restorers of art works; seeing the neoclassical mode of sculpture in this vein refigures it as a positive intervention, forward-looking even as it looks to the past for inspiration.

Restored sculpture, furthermore, is polychronic and anachronic: parts of a single work are dated, like the Ship of Theseus, to different moments, though the work of art remains whole. Like a National Trust grand house, when a restored work is further restored, choices must be made about which period is being prioritized and emphasized. When Hosmer drew on a heavily restored sculpture-family like the Wounded Amazons for *Daphne*, then, she was not only referring to the lost, Kublerian Prime object from the chisel of Skopas or Praxiteles, but the intervening restorations, remixed fragments, and conditions of display. In the wider environment, civic and scholarly efforts in Pompeii and in Rome to maintain simultaneous layers of history for future audiences requires constant revision, reintroduction, and reworkings that keeps history and historical material unsettled. This is the visual and intellectual environment in which Hosmer and Stebbins worked, in which their works were positioned and from which they drew, and from which I have drawn the material for this project. From one perspective, I, as a historian, am simply one bubble in the food web, hunting my prey and scrabbling out my niche in the academic system; from another, I might be the park ranger culling the less-effective case studies and counting eggs to ensure equilibrium. Rome was and is chronologically and formally dynamic, shifting, falling in and out of artistic equilibrium, and the art that these artists produced responded formally

and intellectually to this environment. Their work continues, as I have shown, to be dynamic and rich, slippery, morbid, antique, modern, and weird.

THE END

I closed my introduction with the declaration that I wanted to Make Neoclassicism Weird Again. This is obviously flippant, but not inaccurate: the weirdness of its anachronic, complex interrelations with texts and with antiquity; the weirdness of its insistent stillness or the baroque explosions of detail and dynamics of motion; the erudite and obscure married to the accessible, trite and sentimental through exquisite modelling; the irrepressibility of its sensuality and sexuality behind the shroud of so-called purity; its queerness, its transness, its intersex and its intertext; and the *Rinascimento* of its position as cultural capital in the current period. The rediscoveries of singularly important works by Hosmer and Stebbins in the past decade have not been accompanied by a similar rediscovery of neoclassicism. While earlier scholarship introducing female artists to the traditional 'canon' has extended knowledge of their existence and contemporary importance, it has done little to reinvigorate the study of the neoclassical in general. This project, though it focuses only on four works, hopes to model ways of asking new questions, and accepting the open-ended richness of the answers. I want to make it weird again, not to wash my hands of this weirdness.

I'll end this dissertation by repeating Sedgwick's definition of camp. These works are queer, and they are camp, and they are weird, and that is what this project is about. In future projects, I will spend more time explicitly exploring the queer content and expressions in works of art, gender(ed) politics, masculinity, femininity, androgyny, and more, but in this project my aim was to explore the richness of neoclassical sculpture. In many ways, Hosmer and Stebbins are exactly typical of the majority of American sculptors in every respect apart from their gender and sexuality: upper middle class,

well-educated, supported by urban(e) cosmopolitan audiences and the political class, concerned with public image, abolitionist and pro-Union, Protestant and spiritualist, white. Their work is functionally representative of the highest attainments of American neoclassicism, then, from its peak in the early 1850s to its diminishment in the 1870s. It is my sincere hope that this work, therefore, is a starting point for a wider range of explorations of the field of neoclassical sculpture as chronologically complex, idiosyncratic, rich, fun, weird, affecting, archaeological, gay, queer, personal, literary, historical, timeless, timely, corporeal, decorporealized, memorial, marmoreal, visceral, intellectual—Camp.

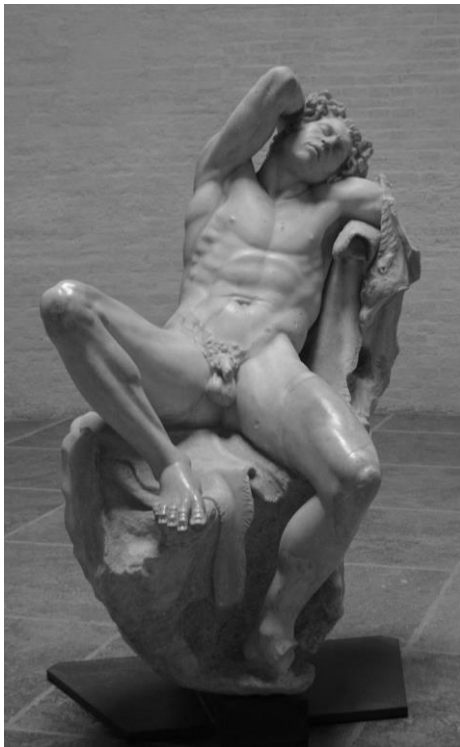
Queer, I might even say, verging on camp. But that's supposing we managed to think of camp, as I believe we need to, not in terms of parody or even wit, but with more of an eye for its visceral, operative power: the startling outcrops of overinvested erudition; the prodigal production of alternative histories; the "over"-attachment to fragmentary, marginal, waste, lost, or leftover cultural product; the richness of affective variety; and the irrepressible, cathartic fascination with ventriloquist forms of relation.⁴⁶²

⁴⁶² Sedgwick, *Proust*, 66.

FIGURES



1. Harriet Hosmer, *Sleeping Faun*, after 1865, marble. 215.9 x 63.5 x 81.3 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, gift of Mrs. Lucien Carr, 12.709. Photograph by author.



2. Barberini Faun. Roman copy after Hellenistic original, ca. 220 BCE, marble. 215 cm. Glyptotek, Staatliche Antikensammlung, Munich, FW 210.



3. Edmonia Lewis, *The Morning of Freedom (Forever Free)*, 1867, marble. 55.9 x 25.4 cm. Howard University Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



4. Ludovisi Gaul Killing Himself and His Wife, Roman copy ca. 2nd c. CE, after Hellenistic original, ca. 230–20 BCE, marble. 211 cm. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. no. 6808. Photograph by author.



5. "Clytie" or Antonia the Younger. Roman, ca. 40–50 CE, possibly recut 18th century, marble. 57.15 cm British Museum, 1805,0703.79.



6. Marble figure of a young girl, possibly a nymph of Artemis. Roman, 1st–2nd century CE, marble. 63.5 cm. British Museum, 1805,0703.13.



7. Harriet Hosmer, *Oenone*, 1854–5, marble. 84 x 88 x 68 cm. Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum, Washington University in St. Louis, gift of Wayman Crow, Sr., 1855.



8. Falling Satyr, Roman, 2nd century, marble. 60 cm. British Museum, 1805,0703.31.



9. Drunken Satyr, Roman, third quarter of the second century BCE, bronze with modern marble base. 137 cm. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 5828. Photograph by author.



10. Young Satyr, Roman, third quarter of the second century BCE, bronze with modern marble base. 115 cm. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 5624. Photograph by author.



11. Harriet Hosmer, *Puck*, modelled 1854, carved 1856, marble. 77.5 x 42.1 x 49.9 cm. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. George Merrill, 1918.3.5



12. Harriet Hosmer, *Will o' the Wisp*, ca. 1856, marble. 30.5 x 19.5 x 13.5 cm. Boston Athenaeum, Mass., gift of Julia Bryant (Mrs. Charles J.) Paine, 1876.



13. Harriet Hosmer, *Will o' the Wisp*, modelled 1858, marble. 82.5 x 42.5 x 43.2 cm. Smithsonian American Art Museum, 1987.3. Photograph by author.



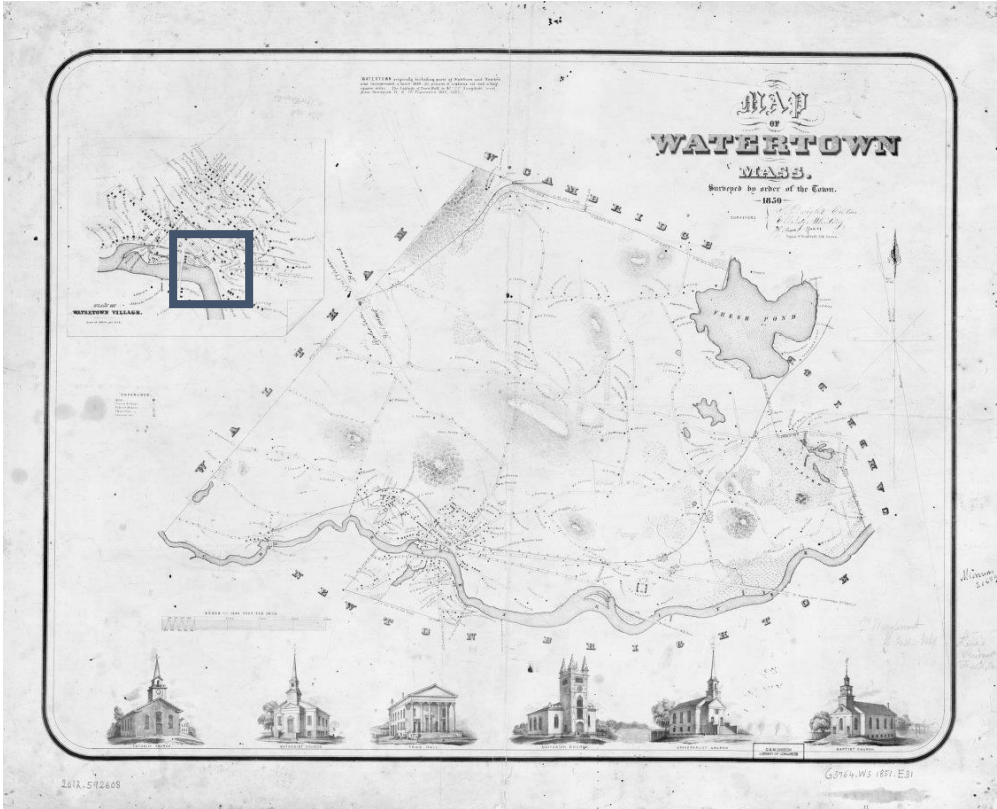
14. Harriet Hosmer and her workshop assistants-at her Rome studio, 1861.
The Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.



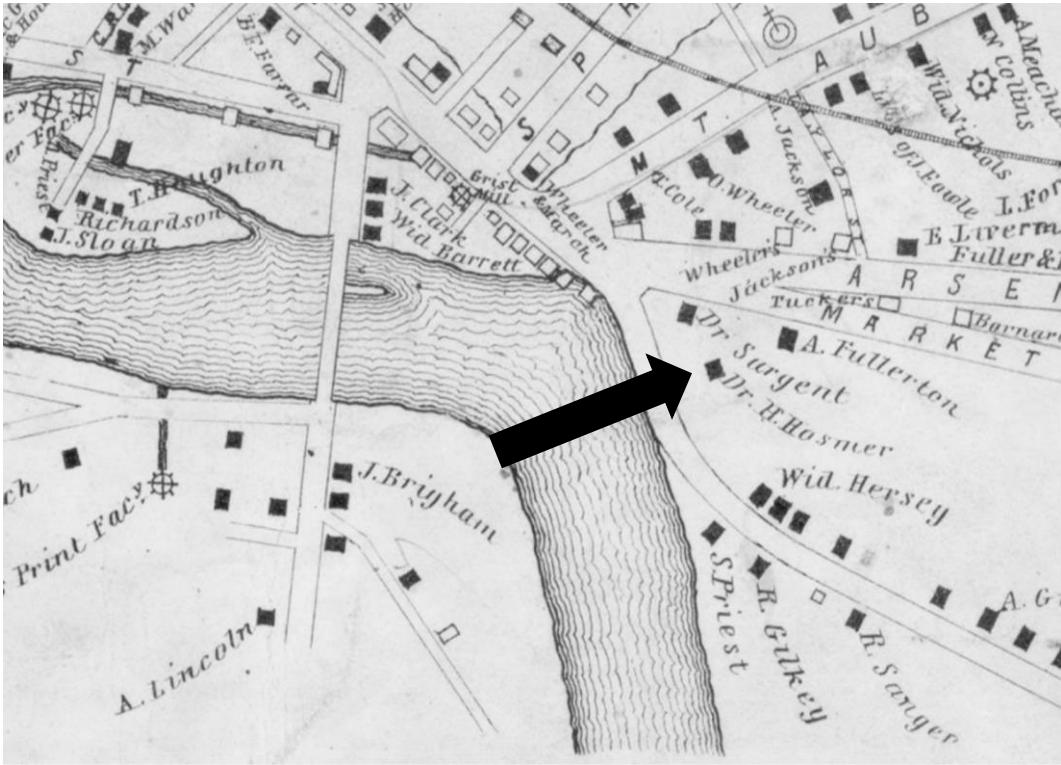
15. Doorknocker in the shape of Ceres or Bacchante, 36 Via Gregoriana. 18 x
14 cm. Photograph by author.



16. "Harriet G. Hosmer," in Evert A. Duyckinck, *Portrait Gallery of Eminent Men and Women of Europe and America*. 20 x 26.5 cm. New York: Johnson & Miles, 1873. Collection of the author.



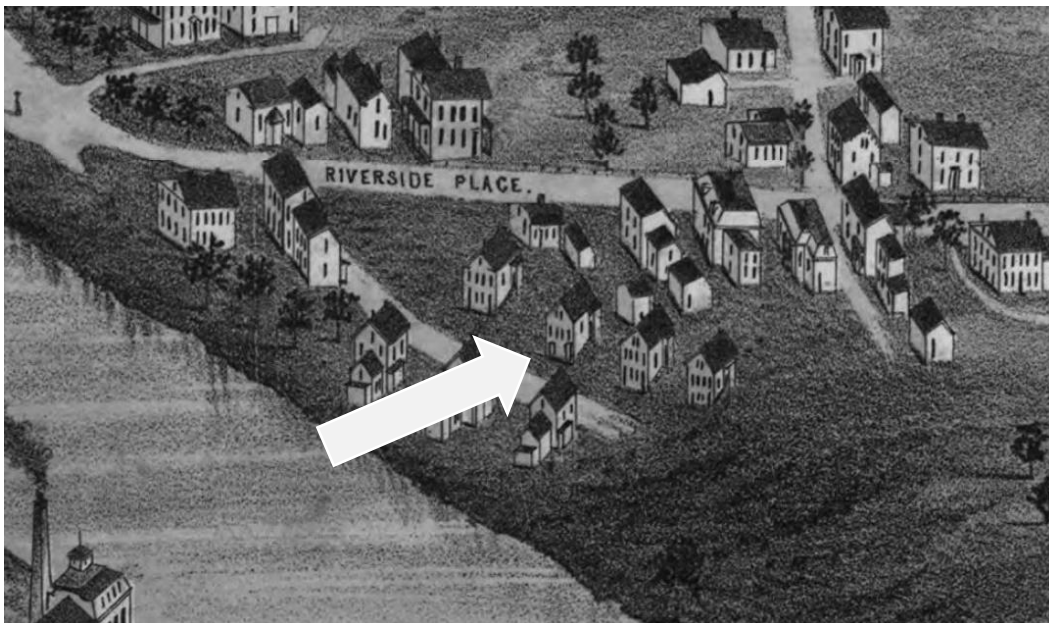
17. Eaton, S. Dwight, Ellridge Whiting, William Mason, and Tappan & Bradford. *Map of Watertown, Mass.: surveyed by order of the town, 1850.* 54 x 70 cm. Boston: Tappan & Bradford's Lith, 1850. Map.



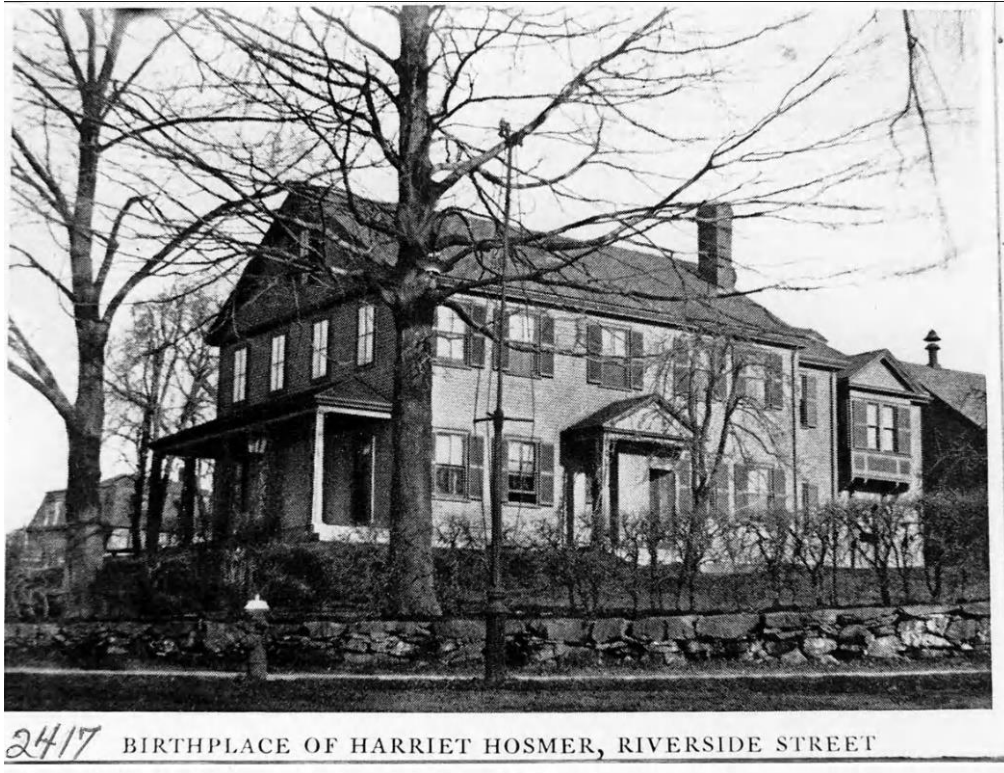
Detail indicating the Hosmer house.



18. O.H. Bailey & Co. *View of Watertown, Mass.*, 1879. Boston: O.H. Bailey & Co, 1879. 43 x 65 cm., on sheet 56 x 71 cm. Map.



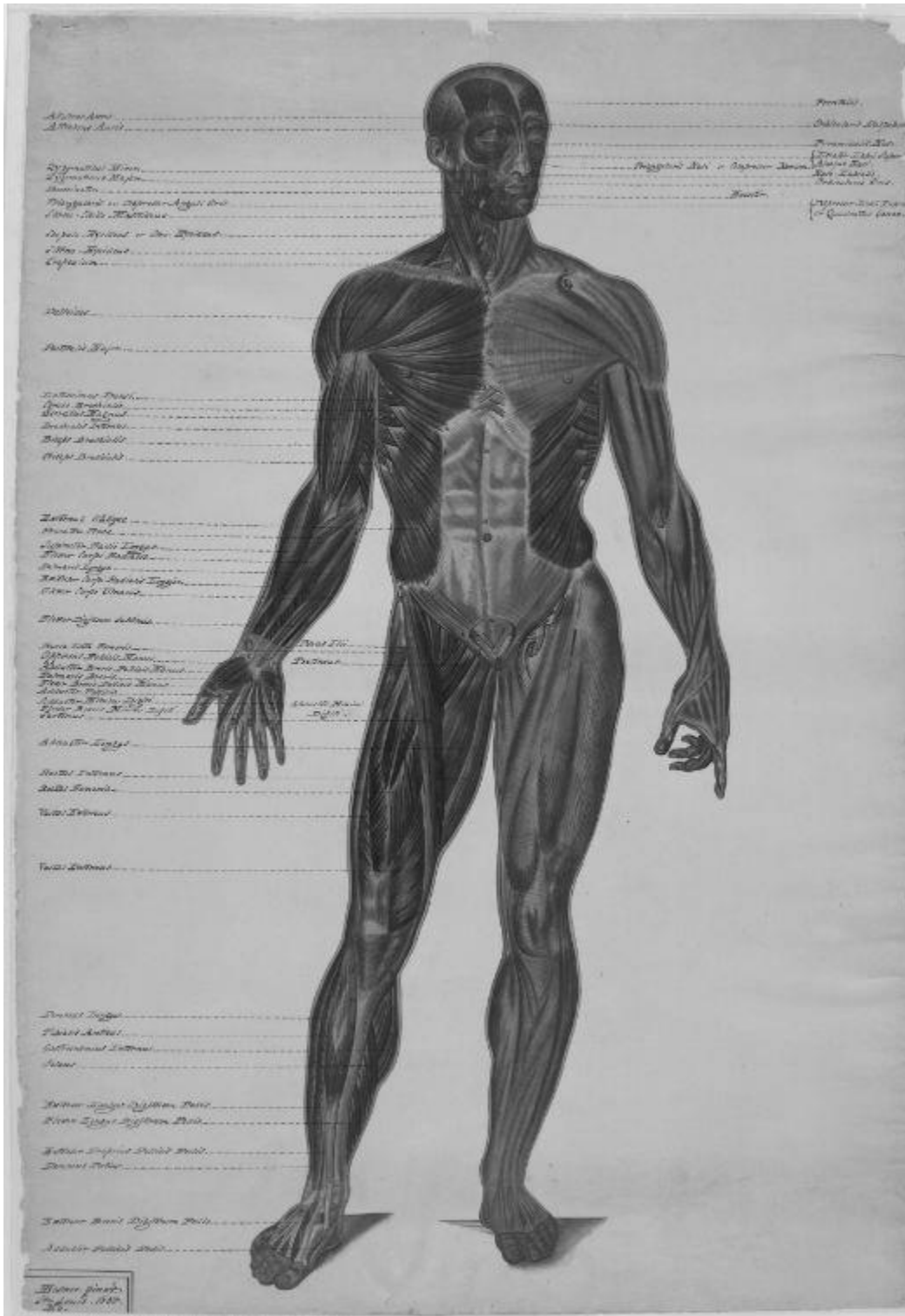
Detail indicating the Hosmer house.



19. *Birthplace of Harriet Hosmer.* Watertown Free Public Library.



20. *Hosmer Family Monument, Mount Auburn Cemetery.* The Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.



21. Harriet Hosmer, *Anatomical Drawing*, 1850. 60 x 84 cm. The Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.



22. Emma Stebbins in later life. Emma Stebbins scrapbook, 1858–1882. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.



23. Emma Stebbins, *Angel of the Waters* (Bethesda Fountain), 1862, bronze. Dim. unknown. Central Park, New York City. Photograph by author.



24. Roman Forum. Photograph by author.



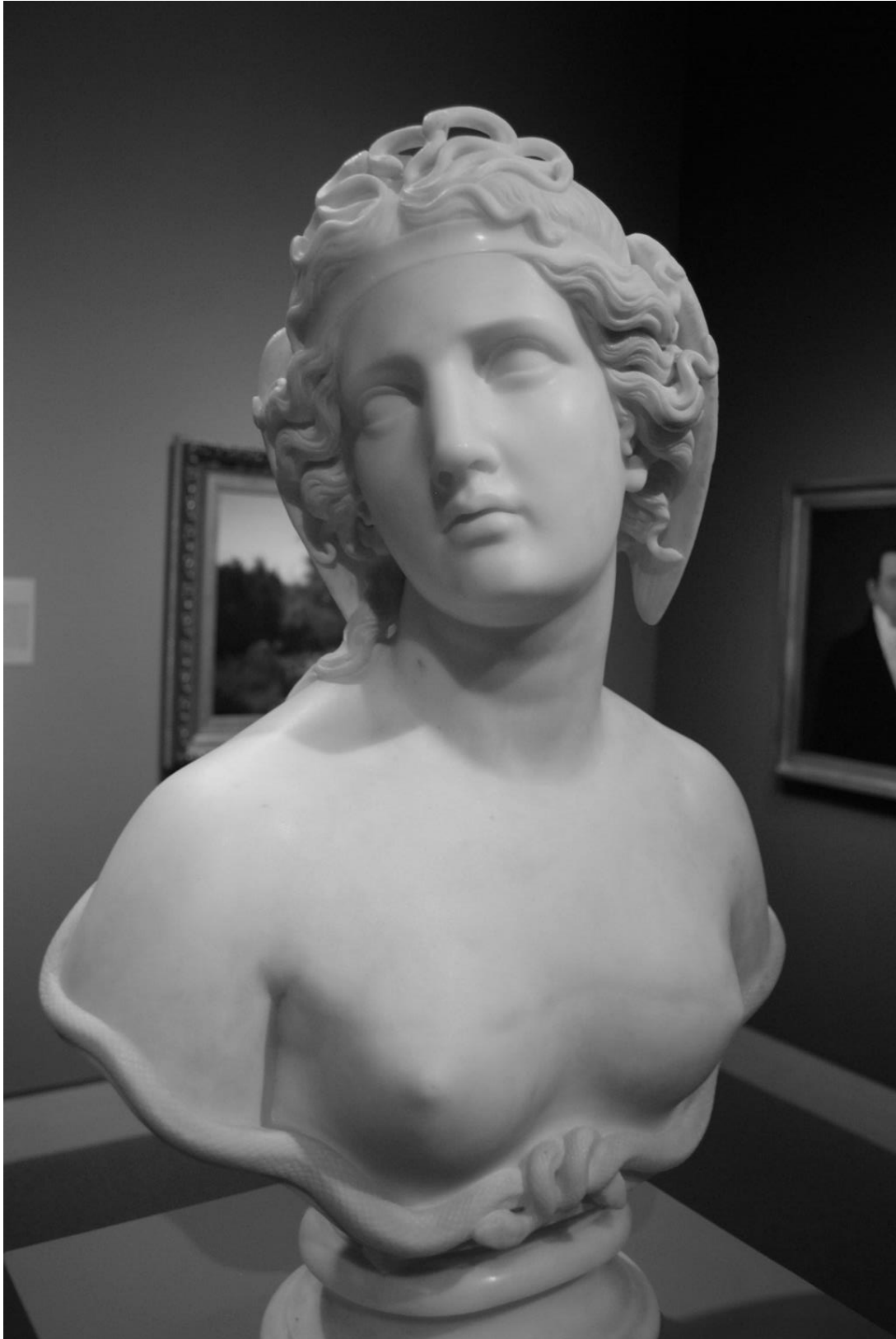
25. Exterior of Antonio Canova's house, Via Canova, Rome. Photograph by author.



26. Sarcophagus watering trough, Villa Medici, Academie Française, Rome.
Photograph by author.



27. Harriet Hosmer, *Daphne*, 1853 (this version 1854), marble. 69.9 x 49.8 x 31.8 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Morris K. Jesup Fund, 1973, 1973.133. Photograph by author.



28. Harriet Hosmer, *Medusa*, 1853–54 (this version undated), marble. 69.9 x 48.3 x 24.1 cm. Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth, New Hampshire. S.996.24. Photograph by author.



29. Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Apollo and Daphne*, 1622–25, marble. 243 cm. Galleria Borghese, Rome, inv. CV. Photograph by author.



30. Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Medusa*, 1636, marble. 52 x 60 x 36 cm. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo de' Conservatori, Sala delle Oche, inv. S 1166. Photograph by author.



31. Laocoön Group, Julio-Claudian copy of Hellenistic Greek original, marble. 208 cm × 163 cm × 112 cm. Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Cortile Belvedere, inv. 10059. Photograph by author.



32. Apollo Sauroktonos, Augustan copy of Greek original from 3rd quarter of 4th c. BCE, marble. 167 cm. Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Galleria delle Statue, inv. no. 264. Photograph by author.



33. Gianlorenzo Bernini and studio, Monument to Pope Alexander VII, 1678. Saint Peter's Basilica, Rome. Photograph by author.



34. Ignazio Marino, mayor of Rome, drinking from *Fontana la Barcaccia* at its reopening, September 22, 2014. *Corriere della Sera*, Rome.



35. Antonio Canova, *Perseus with the head of Medusa*, 1798–1801, marble. 242.6 x 191.8 x 102.9 cm. Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Cortile Belvedere, inv. 969. Photograph by author.



36. Benvenuto Cellini, *Perseus with the head of Medusa*, 1545–1554, bronze. 320 cm (including plinth). Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence. Photograph by author.



37. Bernini, *Medusa*, and setting in Musei Capitolini, Palazzo de' Conservatori, Sala delle Oche. Photograph by author.



38. Niobe and her daughter, Roman copy after Hellenistic Greek original, 4th century BCE. 228 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. no. 294.



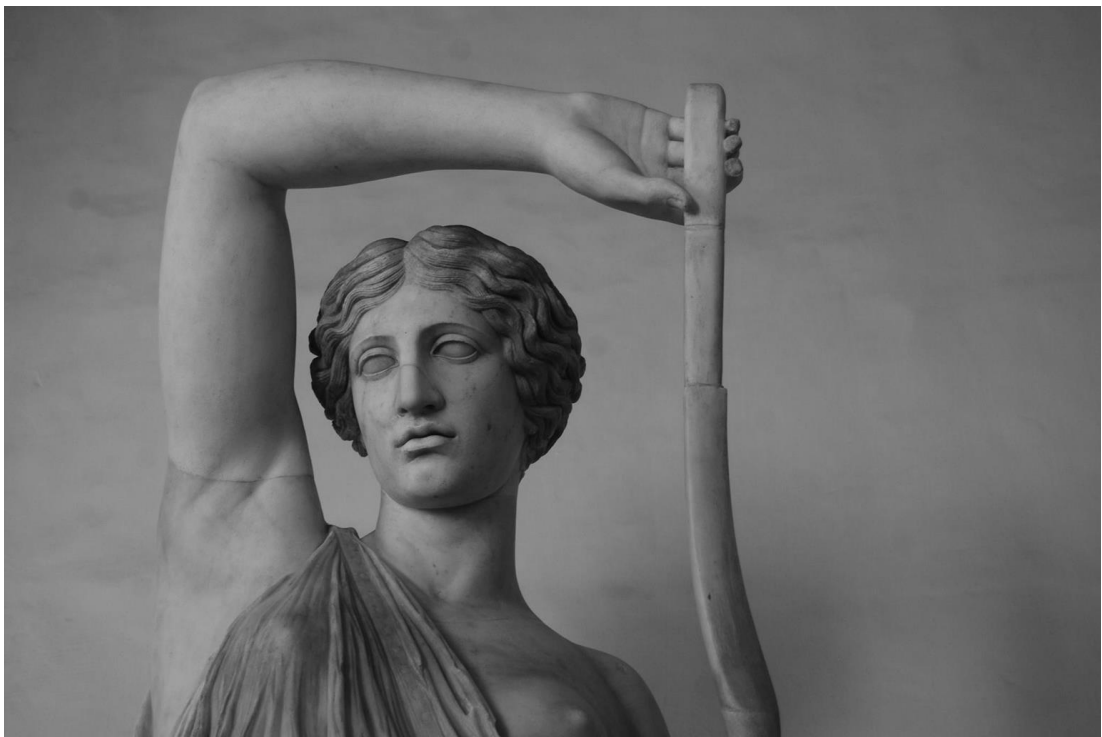
39. Giovanni Battista Casanova, after *Athena Albani* (Roman creation of the early imperial period in an archaizing style, Villa Albani, Rome), 1767, engraving. From Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti*, pl. 17.
40. Antonio Canova, *Paris*, 1812, this version ca. 1822–23, marble. 203.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of New York, inv. 2003.21.2, bequest of Lillian Rojzman Berkman, 2001.



41. Wounded Amazon, Mattei type, 1st c. CE Roman copy after 5th c. BCE Greek original, attributed to Phidias, marble. 197 cm. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala del Gladiatore, inv. S 733. Photograph by author.



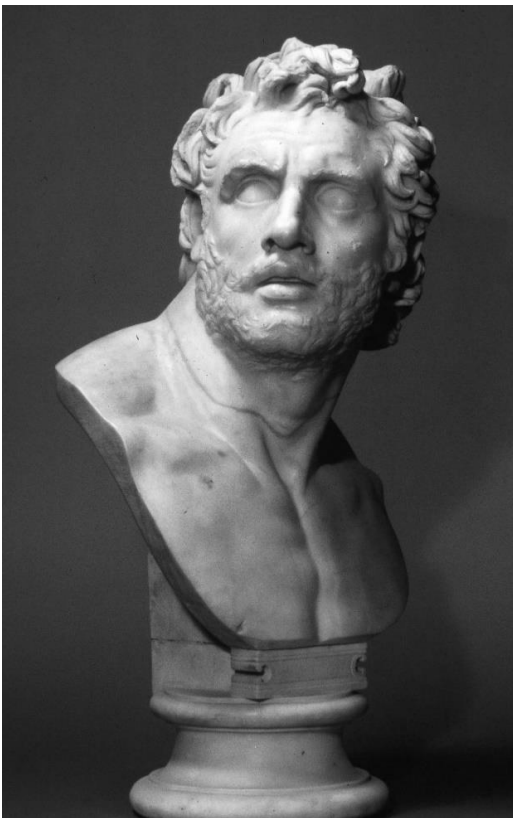
42. Sala del Gladiatore, Musei Capitolini. Photograph by author.



43. Wounded Amazon (detail of Fig. 40). Photograph by author.



44. Ludovisi Fury, Roman, 2nd c. BCE, marble. 54 cm. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, Rome. Photograph by author.



45. Marble head of a companion of Odysseus, Roman copy of a Hellenistic original of ca. 200 BCE, marble. 74 cm. British Museum, inv. 1805,0703.86.



46. Alexander as Helios (Male portrait in a colossal format), Hadrianic copy of Hellenistic original, marble. 58 x 20 cm. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala del Gladiatore, S 732. Photograph by author.



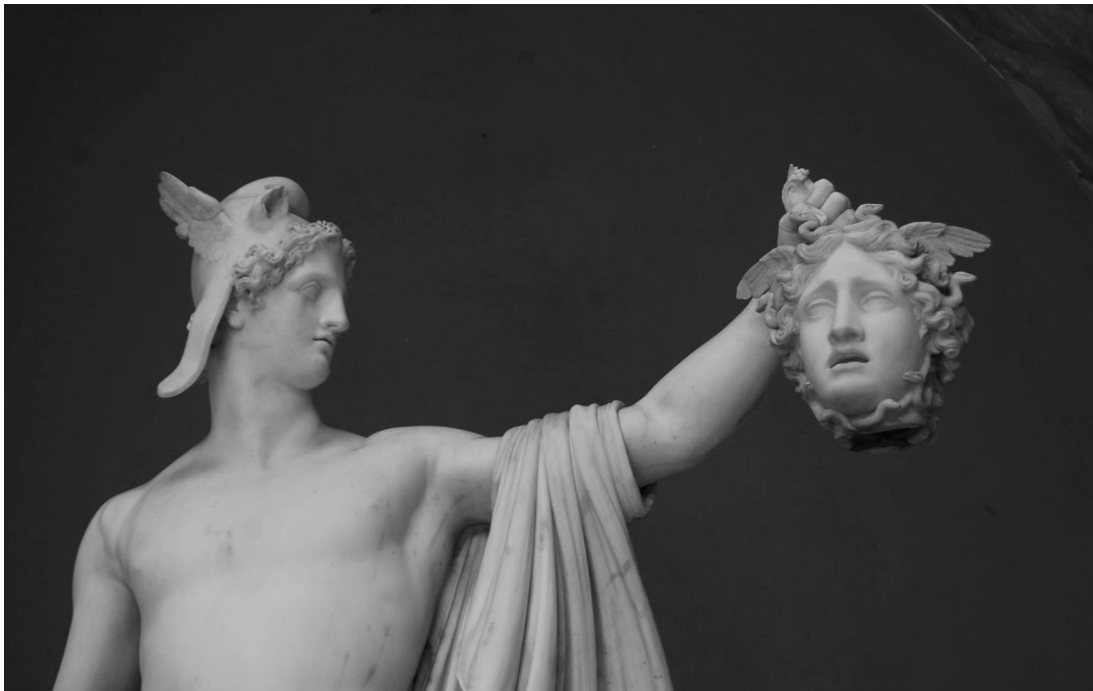
47. Head of a woman with snakes in her hair (Hygeia or Bacchante?), Roman, 1st C CE (modern bust). 60 cm. Galleria Borghese, Rome, no. 73. Photograph by author.



48. Detail of Fig. 47.



49. Medusa Rondanini, Roman copy of Greek original (uncertain date), marble. 40 cm. Munich Glyptotek, inv. no. 252.



50. Antonio Canova, *Perseus with the head of Medusa* (detail of Fig. 35). Photograph by author.



51. Harriet Hosmer, *Medusa* (detail of Fig. 28). Photograph by author.



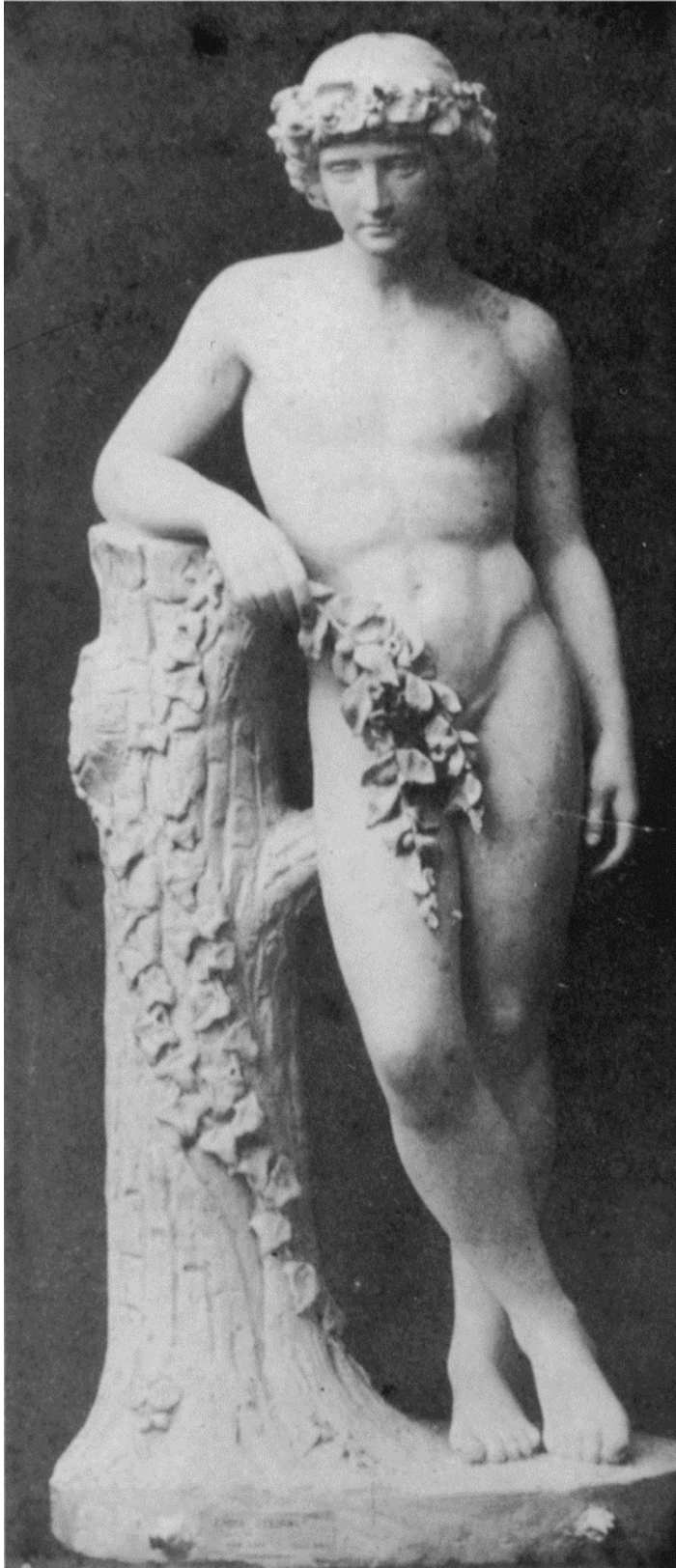
52. Harriet Hosmer, *Medusa* (detail of Fig. 28). Photograph by author.



53. Benjamin Gibson headstone, Cimitero Acattolico, Rome. Photograph by author.



54. Headstone at Cimitero Acattolico, Rome, with winged ouroboros and palmette details. Photograph by author



55. Emma Stebbins, *The Lotus Eater*, 1857/60, marble. Untraced. Photograph from Scrapbook relating to Emma Stebbins, 1858–1882. Dimensions unknown. Emma Stebbins scrapbook, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.



56. Apollo Belvedere, Roman copy of ca. 120–140, after Greek original ca. 350–325 BCE, marble. 224 cm. Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Cortile Belvedere, inv. 1015. Photograph by author.



57. Tyrannicides, Roman copy after Athenian original of ca. 477/6 BCE by Kritios and Nesiotes, marble. 190 cm. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. nos. 6009; 6010. Photograph by author.



58. So-Called Phokion or Hermes with head of Greek strategist, Roman, marble. 249 cm. Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Sala della Biga, inv. 19. Photograph by author.



59. Resting Satyr, Roman copy of original attributed to Praxiteles, 4th c. BCE, marble. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala del Gladiatore, inv. S 739. Photograph by author.



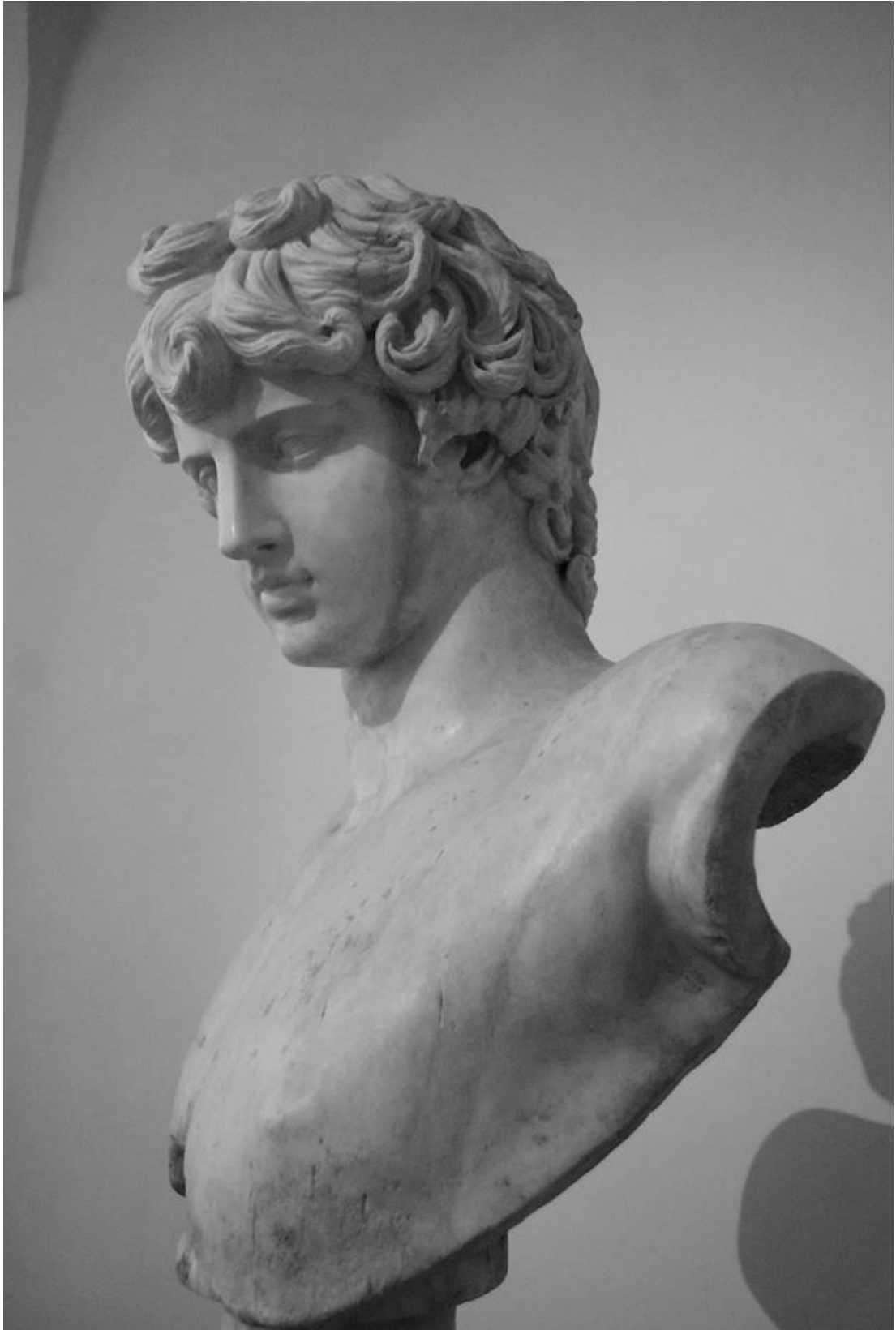
60. Emma Stebbins, *The Lotus-Eater*, 1857/60 (this version 1870), marble. 42 x 28.5 x 8.3 cm. Private collection. Photograph courtesy of Conner Rosenkranz Gallery.



61. Emma Stebbins, *Commerce*, 1860, marble. 70.8 x 26.7 x 26 cm. Heckscher Museum, Huntington, New York. Gift of Phillip M. Lydig III. 1959.355 (left).
62. Emma Stebbins, *Industry*, 1860, marble. 71.1 x 26.9 x 27.9 cm. Heckscher Museum, Huntington, New York. Gift of Phillip M. Lydig III. 1959.354 (right).



63. Resting Satyr, Roman copy of original attributed to Praxiteles, 4th c. BCE, marble. 183.5 cm. Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, inv. 2219.
64. Doryphoros, Roman copy ca. 2nd c. CE, after 5th c. BCE bronze original by Polykleitos, marble. 211 cm. Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, inv. no. 2215.



65. Ludovisi Antinous, Roman, ca. 130 CE with 18th century restorations, especially the face, marble. 66 cm. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 8620. Photograph by author.



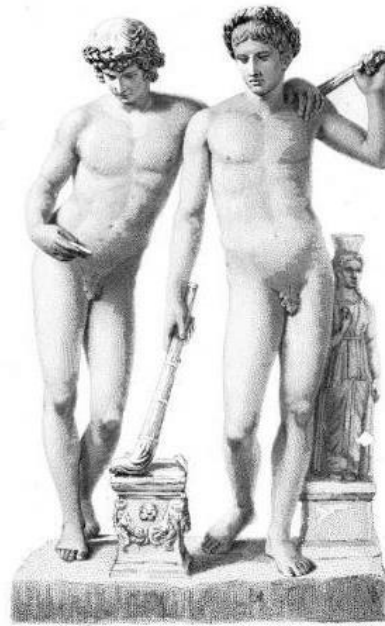
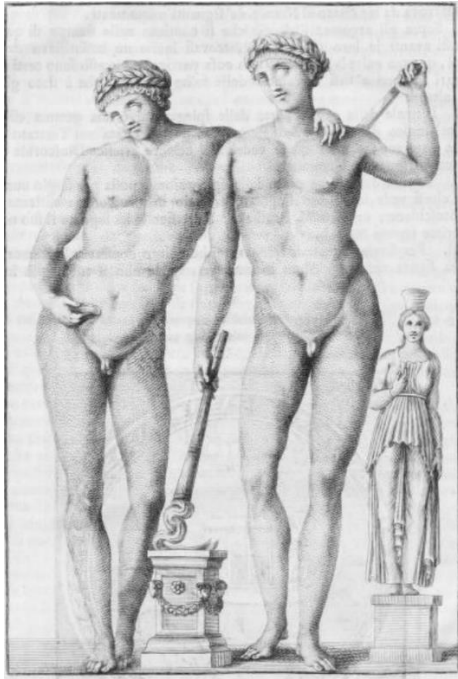
66. Fragment of a Portrait Head of Antinous, Roman, mid-2nd c. CE, marble. Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of Mrs. Charles L. Hutchinson, 1924.979. Photograph by author.



67. Reconstructed bust of Antinous, joining Ludovisi bust and Chicago fragment, plaster cast after 3D printed model. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, Rome. Photograph by author.



68. San Ildefonso Group (also called Castor and Pollux), poss. 1st c. BCE with early modern addition of antique head of Antinous, marble. 161 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E00028.



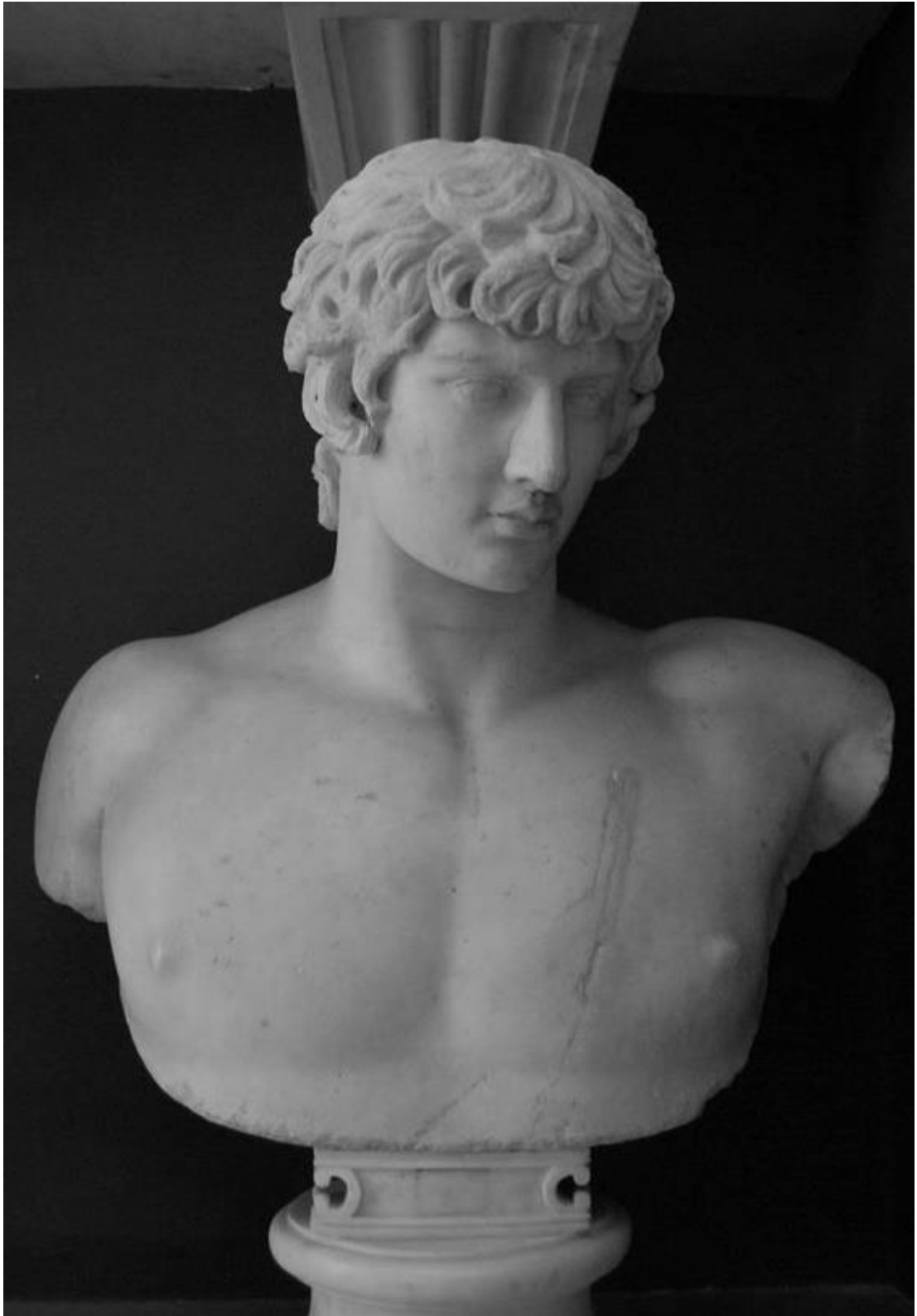
69. Johannes Joachim Winckelmann, in *Monumenti Antichi Inediti Spiegati ed Illustrati* vol. 1, 1767, p. XIV (left).
70. John Addington Symonds, *Frontispiece for Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece*, 1879 (right).



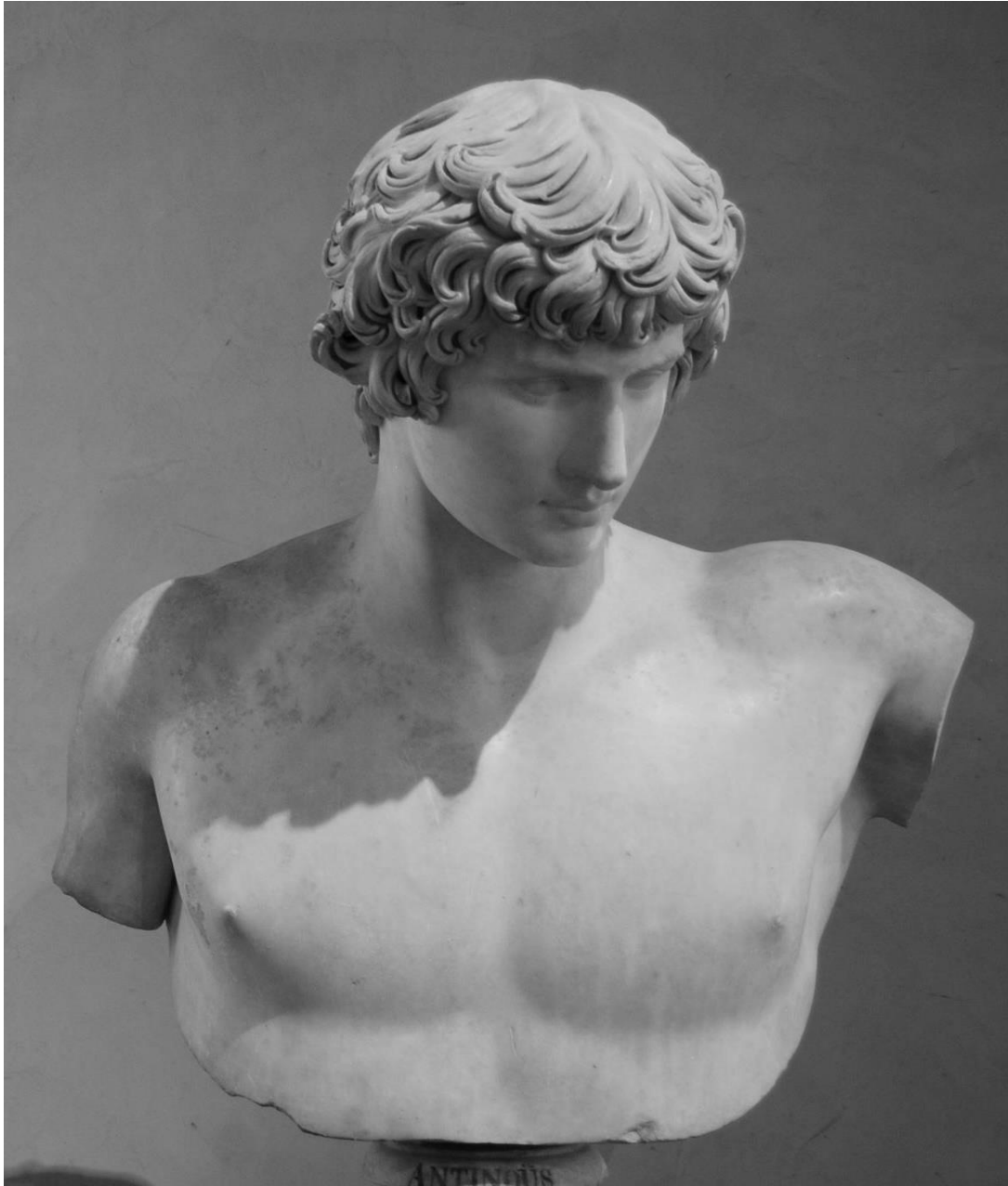
71. Antoine Coysevox, *Castor and Pollux*, 1685–1687, marble. Dim. unknown. Chateau de Versailles, MR 1816 (left).
72. Joseph Nollekens, *Castor and Pollux*, 1767, marble. 160.6 cm x 49.5 cm x 101.6 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. A.59-1940 (right).



73. Capitoline or Antinous, Roman copy after lost Greek original, or original of ca. 130 CE, marble. 180 cm. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala del Galata, inv. S 741. Photograph by author.
74. Antinous Farnese, ca. 130–138 CE, marble. 200 cm. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 6030. Photograph by author.



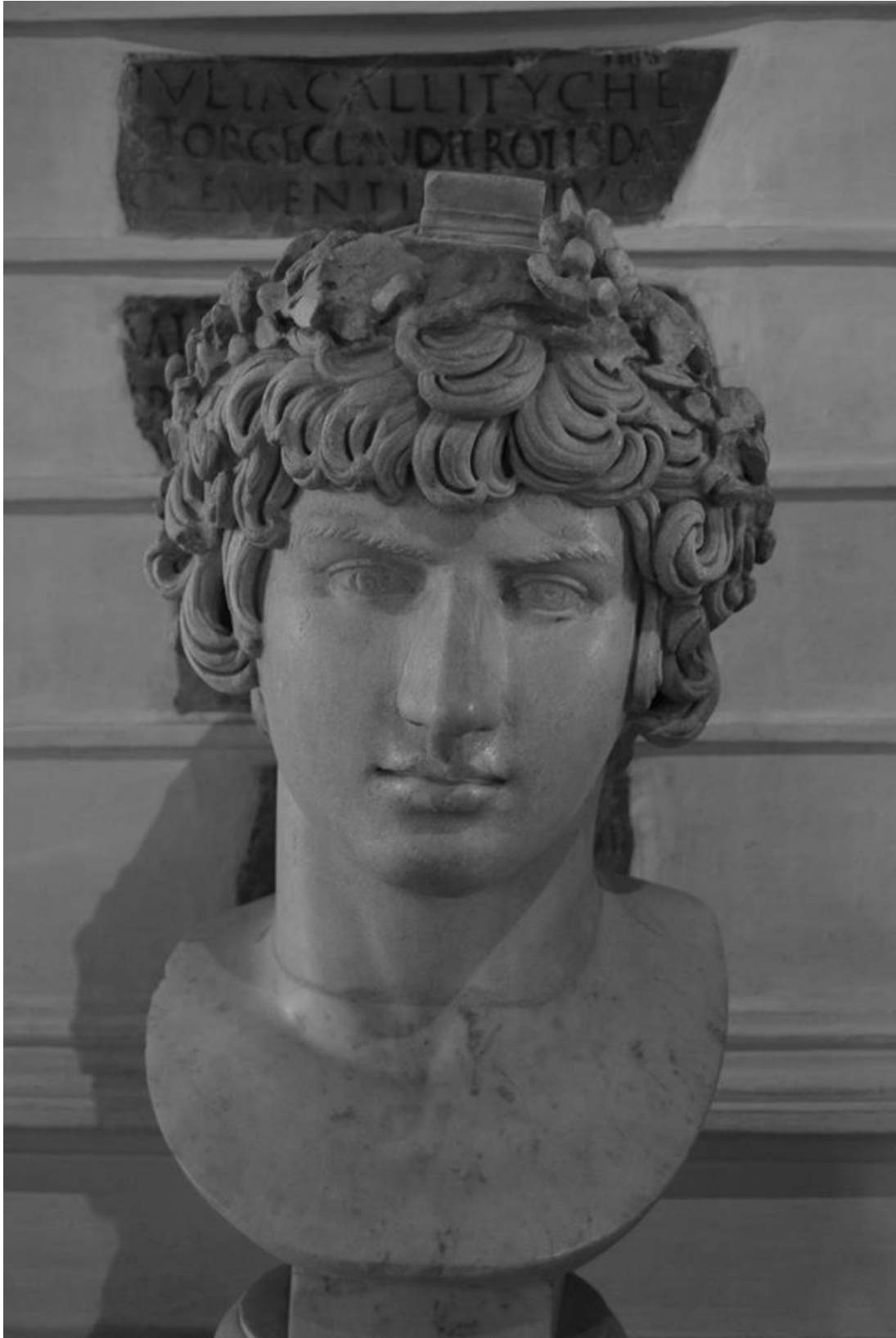
75. Portrait of Antinous, ca. 130 CE, marble. 90 cm. Vatican Museums, Sala dei Busti, inv. 357. Photograph by author.



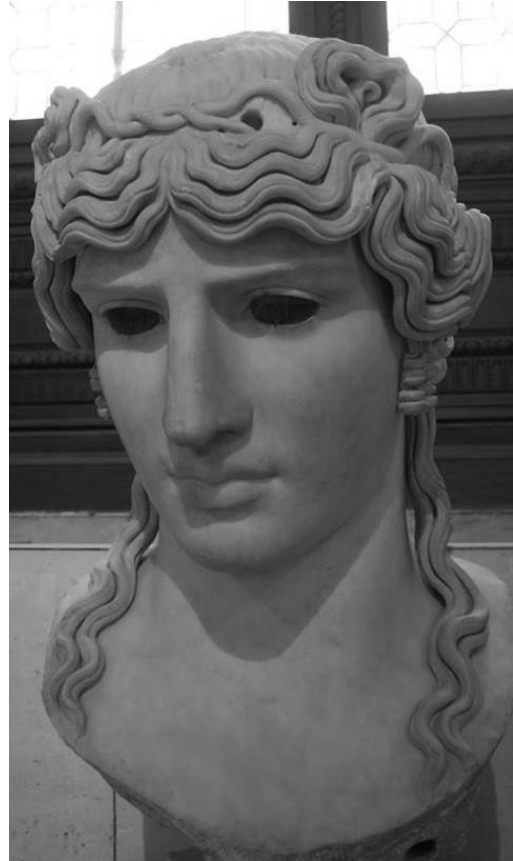
76. Antinous d'Ecouen, ca. 130 CE, marble. 74 cm. Musée du Louvre, inv. MA 1082 (MR 413). Photograph by author.



77. Portrait of Antinous (Albani relief), after ca. 130 CE with extensive modern restorations, marble. 112 x 103 cm. Villa Torlonia, Rome.



78. Portrait of Antinous, after ca. 130 CE, marble. 72 x 38 cm. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Galleria, S 294. Photograph by author.



79. Dionysus (called “Leucothea” by Winckelmann), Hadrianic copy after original of the 4th c. CE, marble. 54.5 x 17.8 cm. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala del Gladiatore, S 734. Photograph by author.
80. Antinous Mondragone, ca. 130 CE, marble. 95 cm. Musée du Louvre, MR 412. Photograph by author.



81. Dionysus with pitcher and grapes, Roman, marble. Dim. unknown. Musei Vaticani, Galleria dei Candelabri. Photograph by author.



82. Ganymede and Zeus, Hellenistic or Roman copy, marble. 130 cm. Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti, inv. no. 1376. Photograph by author.



83. Raphael and Lorenzo Lotti, *Jonah and the Whale*, 1522–27, marble. Over lifesize. Chigi Chapel of the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Photograph by author.



84. Dionysus-Sardanapalus, Roman copy of late fourth century Greek original, marble with bronze modern additions. 202 cm. Musei Vaticani, Sala della Biga, inv. 2363.



85. Dionysus and Ampelos with panther, Roman, 2nd century CE, based on Hellenistic models/motifs. 220cm. Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti, inv. 1375. Photograph by author.



86. Aby Warburg, Bilderatlas panel 5 (version 1929). Photograph from the Warburg Institute, School of Advanced Study, London
<https://warburg.sas.ac.uk/collections/warburg-institute-archive/bilderatlas-mnemosyne/mnemosyne-atlas-october-1929>



87. Herculaneum Gate and Funerary Niche of M. Cerrinius Restitutus, Scavi di Pompeii. Photograph by author.



88. Mount Vesuvius seen from the niche, Scavi di Pompeii. Photograph by author.



89. Cat at the niche of the Sentinel, Scavi di Pompeii. Photograph by author.



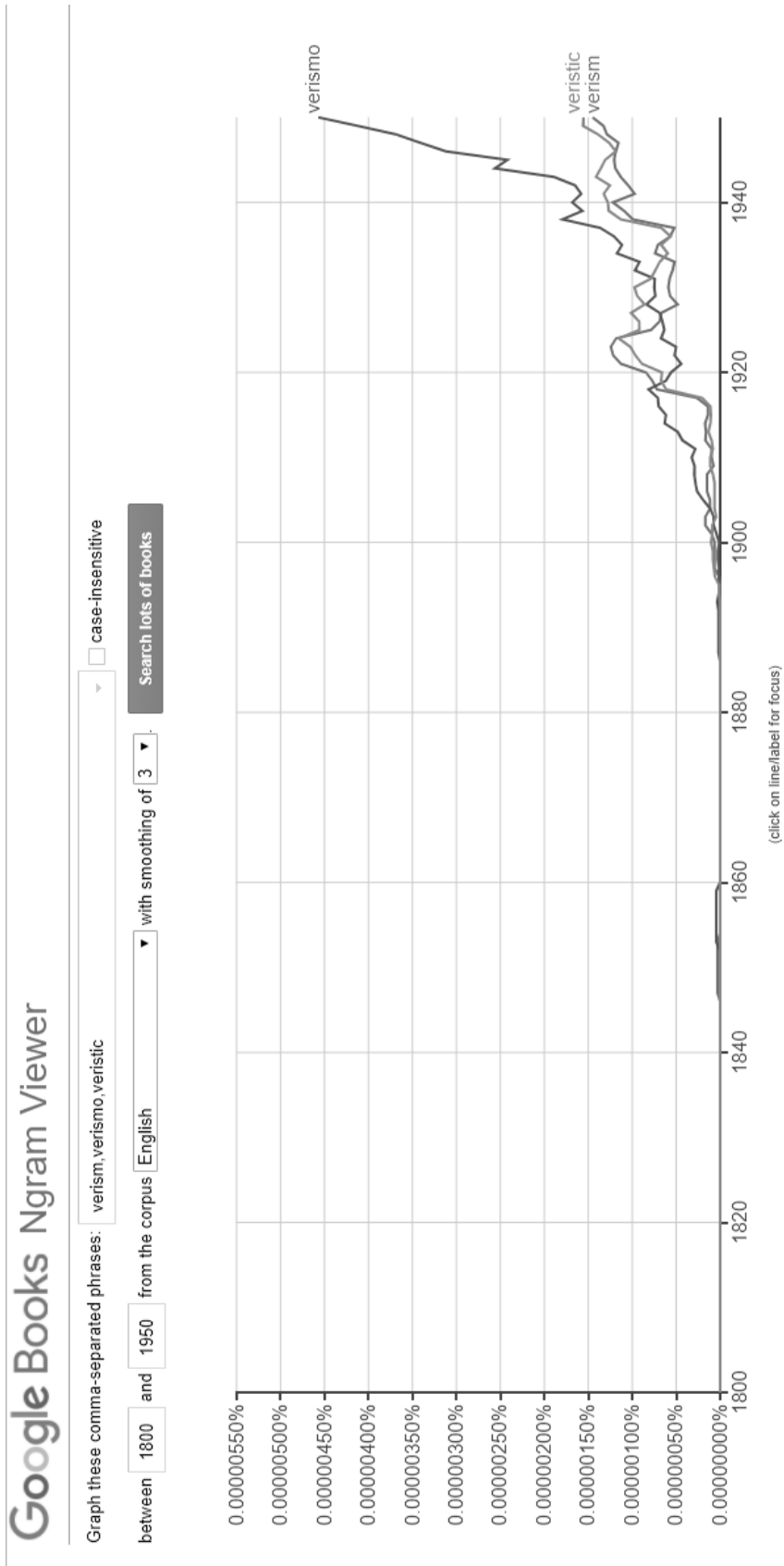
90. Harriet Hosmer, *Pompeian Sentinel*, 1876/8, plaster and wax over an iron armature. Approx. 8 feet. Lost. Photograph undated, in the collection of Watertown Free Public Library, Harriet Hosmer Papers.



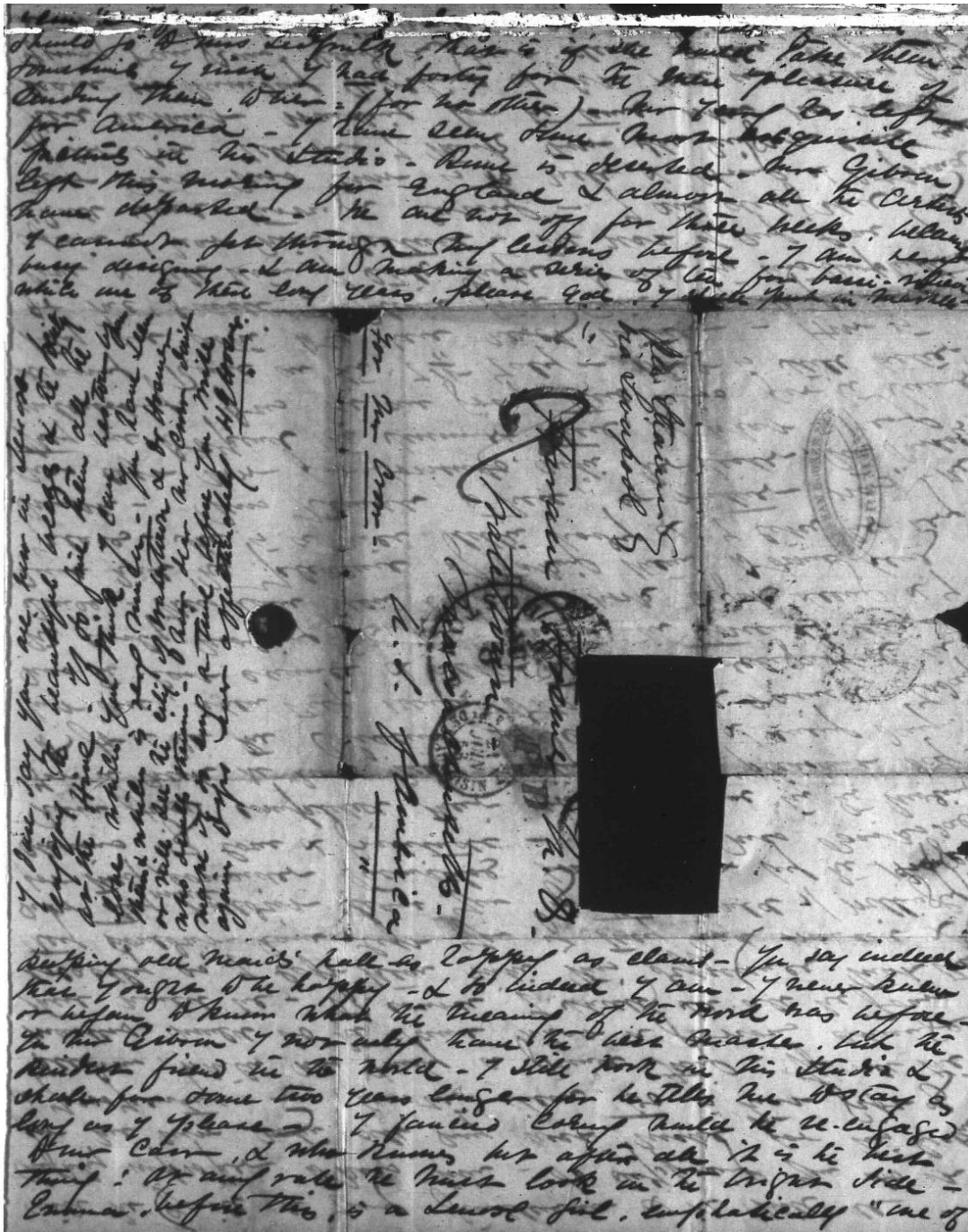
91. Edward Poynter, *Faithful Unto Death*, 1865, oil on canvas. National Museums Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, WAG 2118.



92. Original photograph of the *Pompeian Sentinel* and preproduction in Watertown Free Public Library. Photograph courtesy of Liz Quinlan.



93. Google Books Ngram Viewer: Veristic, Verism, Verismo, between 1800–1950, all English language books.



94. Harriet Goodhue Hosmer Papers, microfilmed image of letter from Harriet Hosmer to Hiram Hosmer. A-162, microfilm reel 1, folder 9. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

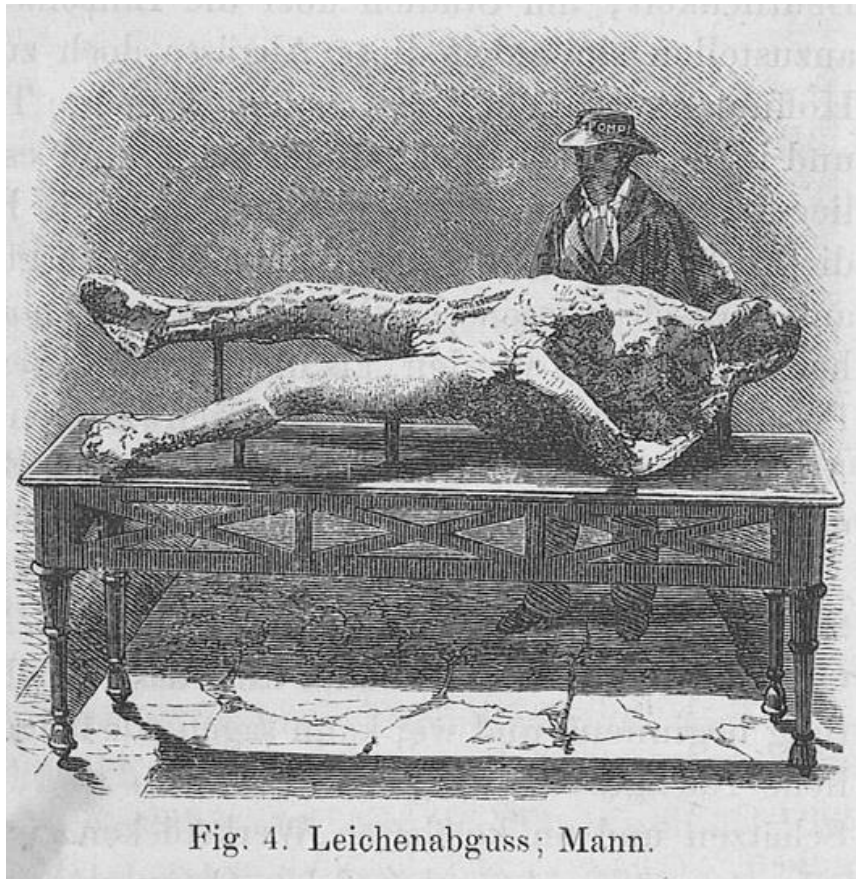


Fig. 4. Leichenabguss; Mann.

95. *The Soldier*, from J. Overbeck, *Pompeji*, 2nd edition, Leipzig.



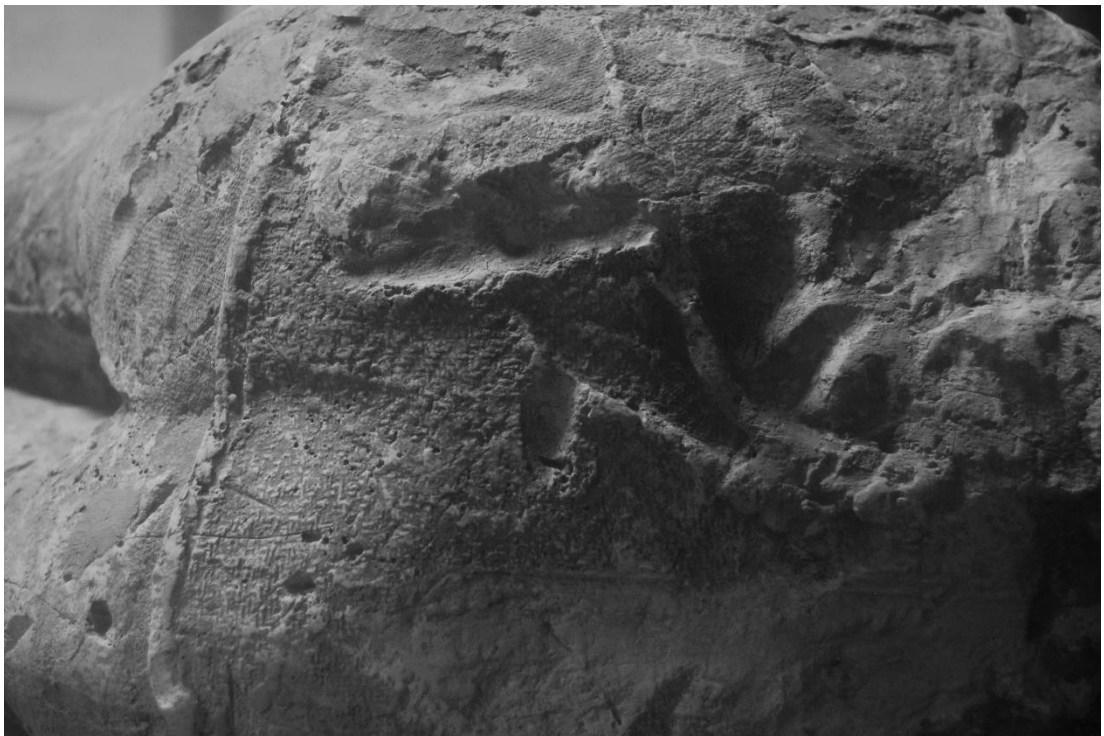
96. "Sleeping Man," plaster and human remains. Scavi di Pompeii. Photograph by author.



97. "Watchdog," plaster and animal remains. Scavi di Pompeii. Photograph by author.



98. Cast from Villa dei Misteri, plaster and human remains. Scavi di Pompeii. Photograph by author.



99. Detail of Fig. 97. Photograph by author.



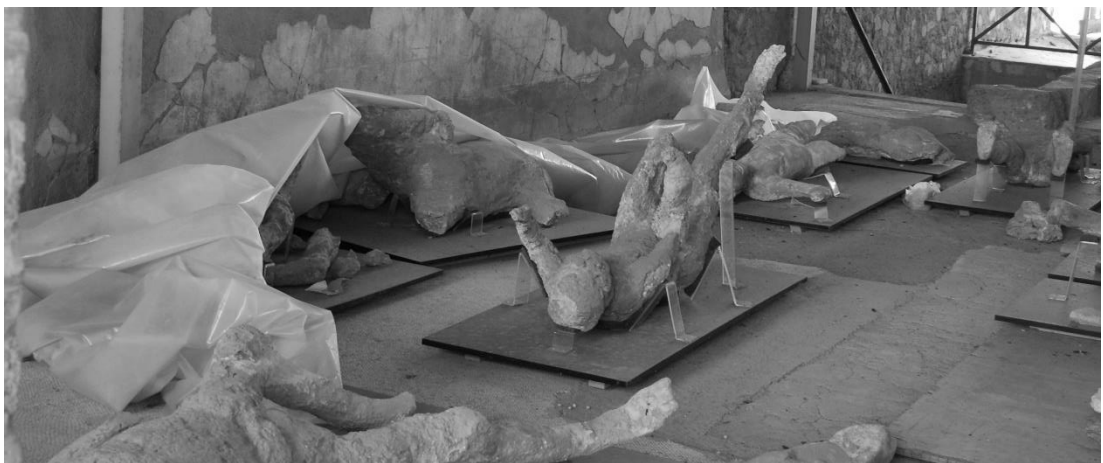
100. Cast from Villa dei Misteri, plaster and human remains. Scavi di Pompeii. Photograph by author.



101. Allan McCollum, *The Dog from Pompeii*, 1991, cast polymer-enhanced Hydrocal. Produced in collaboration with the Vesuvius Museum, Pompeii.



102. Cast of Pompeian victim, plaster and human remains. Anfiteatro entrance, Scavi di Pompeii. Photograph by author.



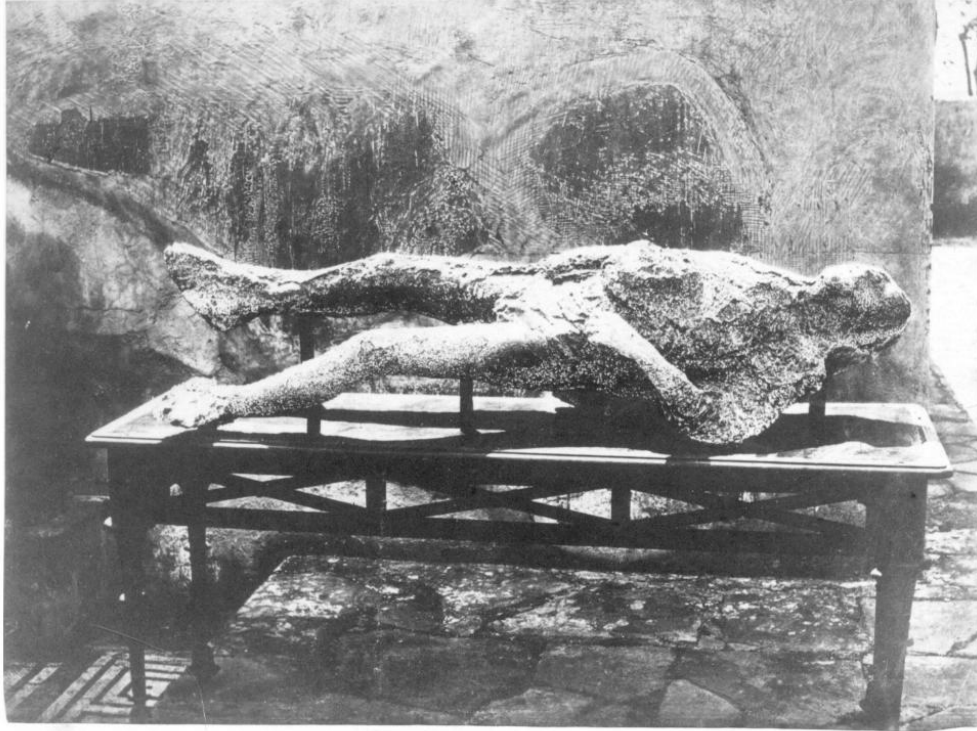
103. Casts of Pompeian victims. Casa del bracciale d'oro, Scavi di Pompeii. Photograph by author.



104. "Emaciated child," plaster and human remains. Casa del bracciale d'oro, Scavi di Pompeii. Photograph by author.



105. "Emaciated child," plaster and human remains. Granai del foro, Scavi di Pompeii. Photograph by author.



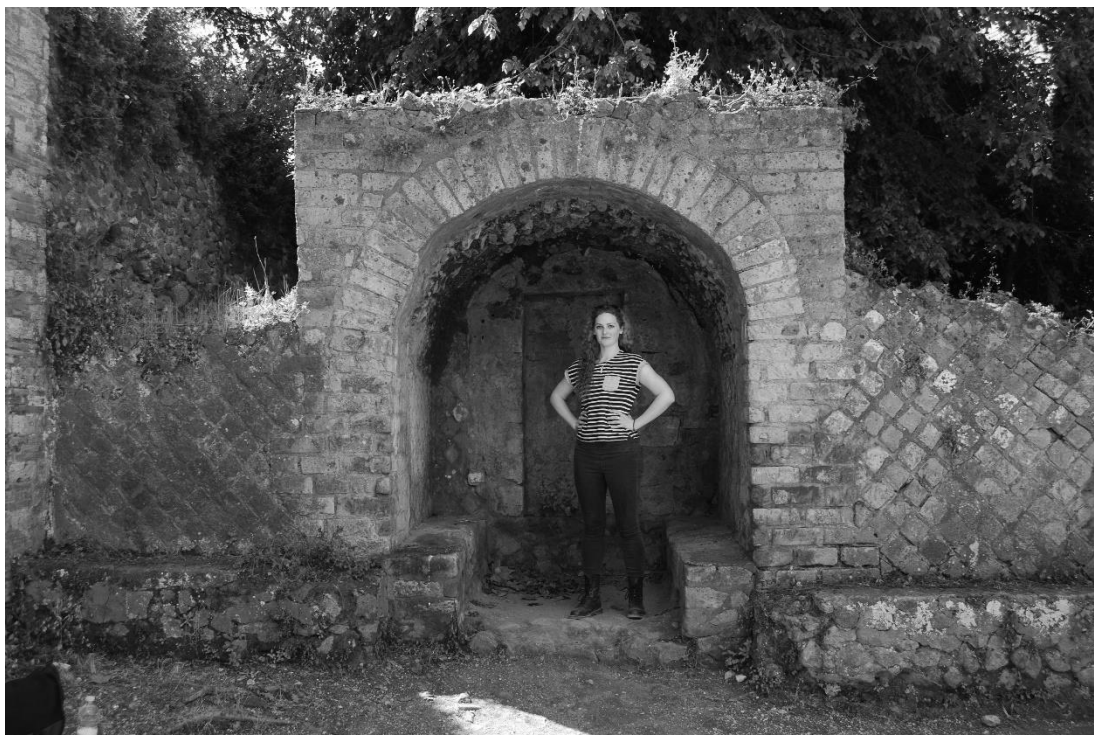
106. Giorgio Sommer, victim no. 1, so-called "Soldier." Photograph courtesy of Eugene Dwyer.



107. "Skull and Helmet of a Soldier." In Pierre Gusman, *Pompei, the city, its life & art* (London: William Heinemann, 1900) 19.



108. G. Cooke, in William Gell, "Entrance to the city from Herculaneum Restored." *Pompeiana*, Sir William Gell & John P. Gandy, 1818



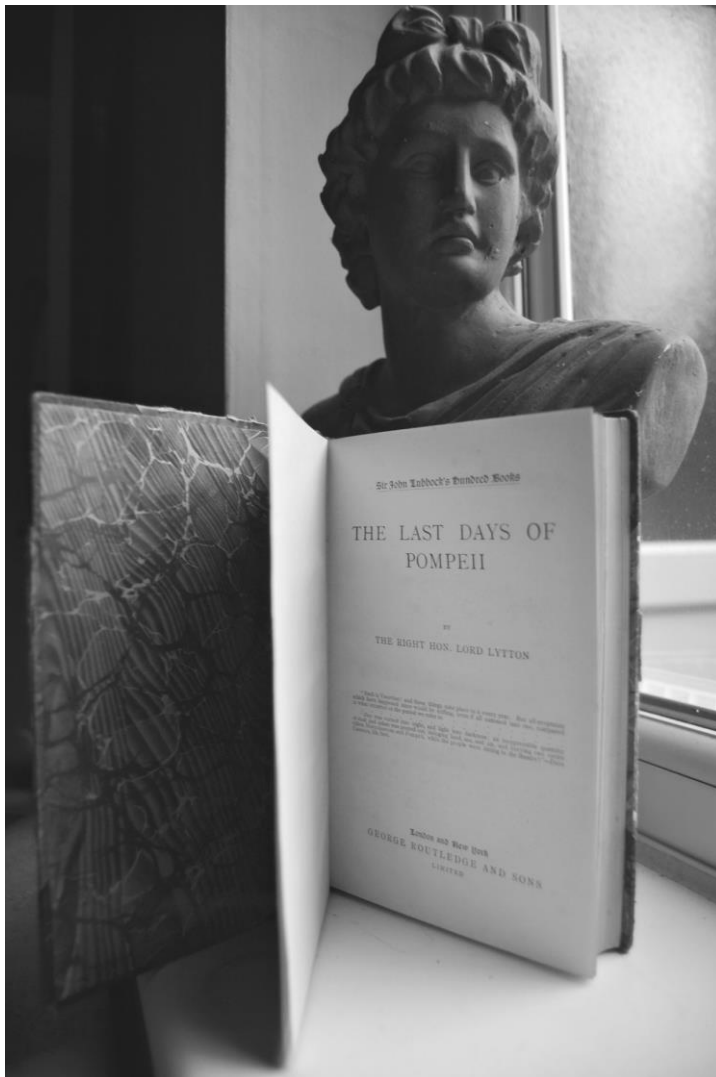
109. Photograph of the author in the niche, April 2017.



110. Igor Mitoraj, *Ikaria*, 1987, bronze. 393 x 70 x 70 cm. Scavi di Pompeii. Photograph by author.



111. Underwood and Underwood, “Victims of the great disaster,” stereoview, ca. 1890/99. Collection of author.



112. Author's copy of *The Last Days of Pompeii*.



113. Ithyphallic lamps, terracotta. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. Photograph by author.



114. "Arbaces" and "Calenus" at Knebworth House. Photo courtesy of Knebworth House.



115. Joseph Franque, *Scene during the Eruption of Vesuvius*, ca. 1827, oil on canvas. 295.9 × 228.6 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, E1972-3-1. Purchased with the George W. Elkins Fund, 1972.



116. Giovanni Battista Piranesi and Francisco Piranesi, “Vue de l’Entrée de la Ville de Pompeia, avec les fabriques qui existent en dehors de la Porte.” Etching, 1804. 57 x 77.5 cm. In Francisco Piranesi, *Antiquités de la Grande Grèce aujourd’hui Royaume de Naples...*, 1804–1807, vol. I, plate IV.



117. Giovanni Battista Piranesi and Francisco Piranesi, “Vue des fabriques de la Ville de Pompeia prise de son entrée.” Etching, 1804. 51.2 x 71.44 cm. In Francisco Piranesi, *Antiquités de la Grande Grèce aujourd’hui Royaume de Naples...*, 1804–1807, vol. I, plate V.



Veduta della Porta dell'antica Città di Pompei

118. Jean-Louis Desprez, etched Francisco Piranesi, "Veduta della Porta dell'antica Città di Pompei," 1789/1836. Dim. unknown. Piranesi, *Topografia delle fabbriche scoperte nella Città di Pompei*, ca. 1836, plate 2.

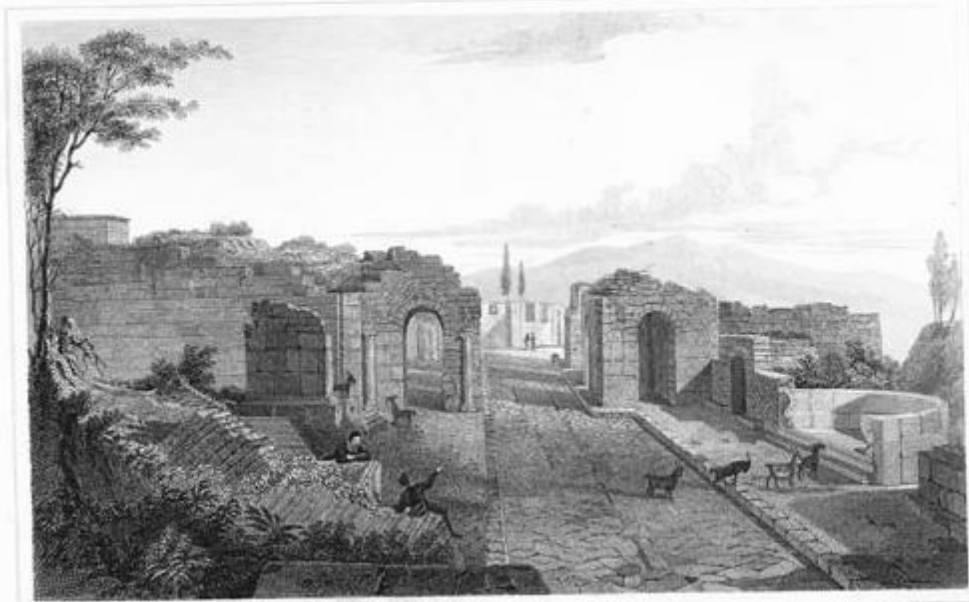
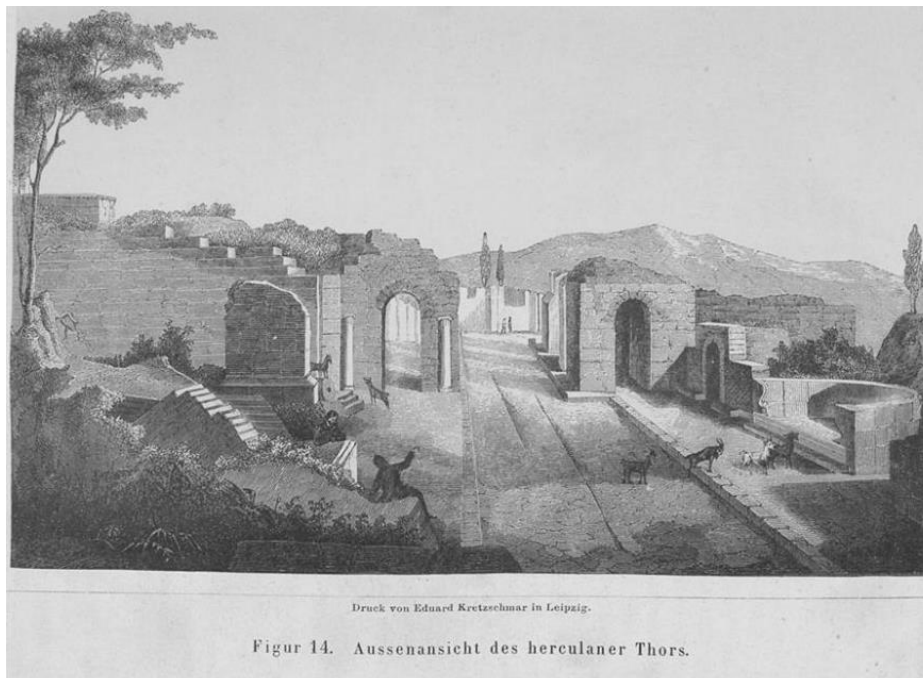


Figura 1. L'Entrata della Città di Ercolano

119. William Gell, "Entrance to the city from Herculaneum." Dim. unknown. *Pompeiana*, Sir William Gell & John P. Gandy, 1818.

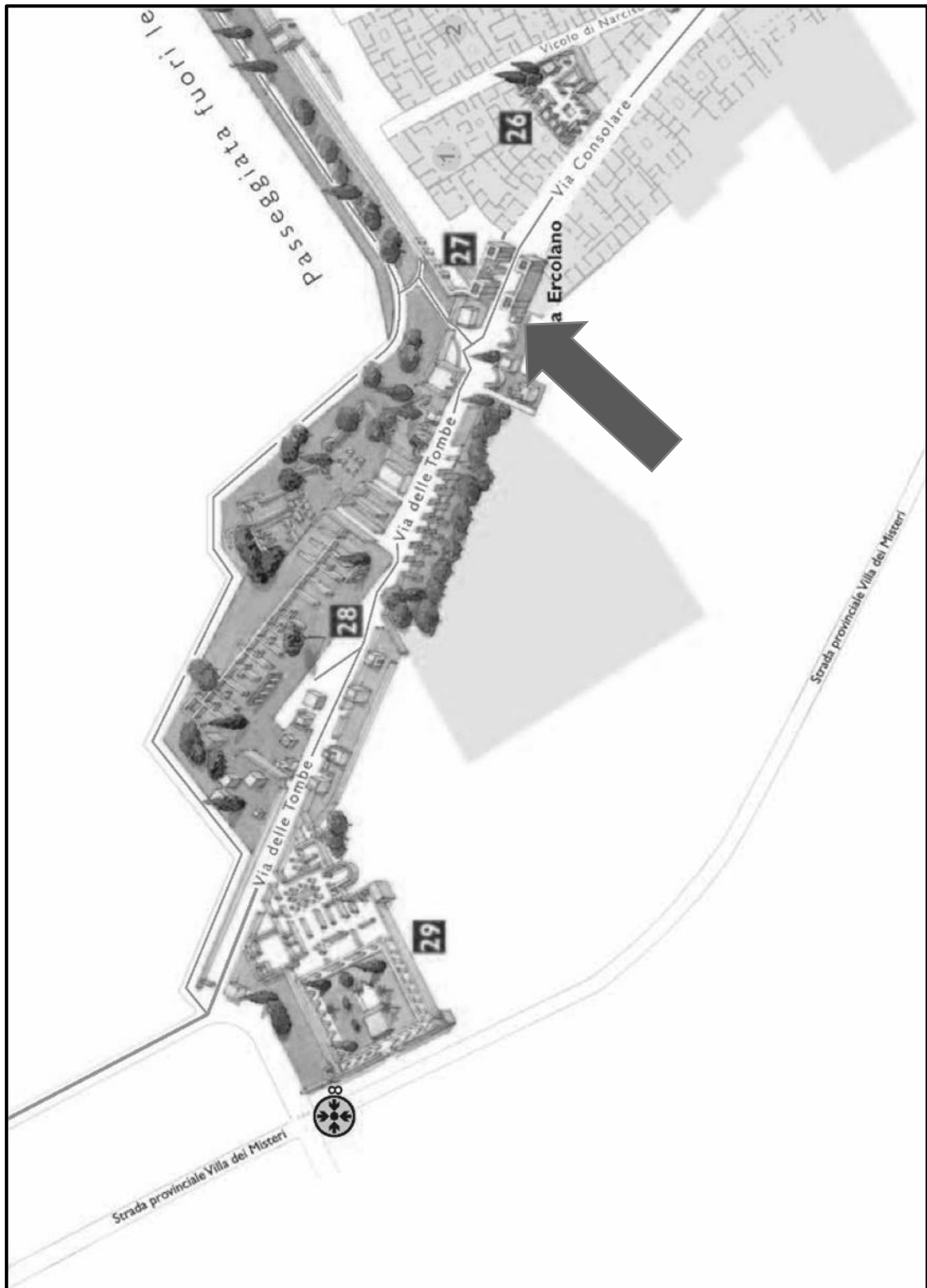


120. Eduard Kretschmar "Restauration des herculaner Thores." 16.7 x 23.7 cm. Johannes Overbeck, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken für Kunst- und Alterthumsfreunde...*, (Lipsia, 1856), plate VI.





121. Eduard Kretschmar, "Aussenansicht des herculaner Thors." 16.7 x 23.7 cm. Johannes Overbeck, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken für Kunst- und Alterthumsfreunde...*, (Lipsia, 1856), plate XIV.

123. Plan of the Excavations of Pompeii, Parco Archeologico di Pompei
<http://www.pompeiiisites.org/allegati/Pompei_120515053335.pdf>.



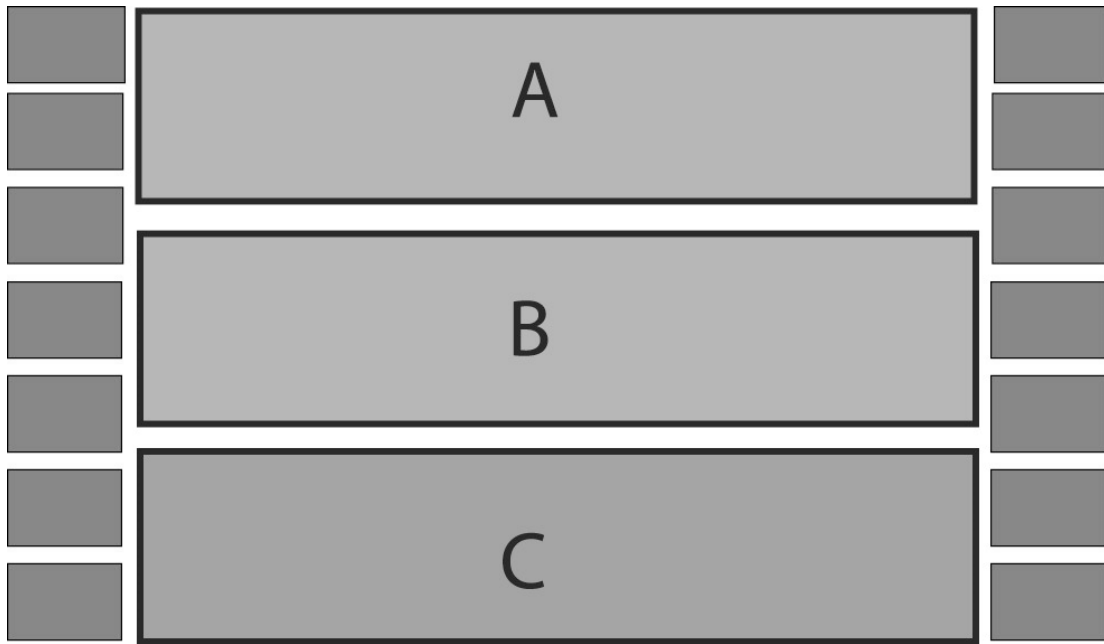
Detail of Fig. 123, with arrow indicating the niche (unmarked on original map).

Porta Ercolano and the City Walls	Porta Ercolano: Necropolis
<p>27</p> <p>The gate is so named because it opened onto the road linking Pompeii to Herculaneum. It has three barrel arches, of which the side ones are smaller: the vault is partly collapsed. The gate was built after the city was conquered by the Roman general Silla in 89 BC. Inside, the walls adjacent to the gate date from the 3rd cent. BC. The staircase visible to the right of the gate allowed easy access to the patrol walkway. Outside the gate, on the left, there are still the walls built with large blocks of tufa, approximately 7 m high. Along this section we can still see the marks left by the stone shots launched against the city during Silla's siege. You can see a section of the walls by entering the gate on the left.</p>	<p>28</p> <p>Uncovered in 1763-1838, the necropolis of Porta Ercolano is the city's best known, with buildings dating from the middle of the 1st cent. BC to the 1st cent. AD. During this period the dead were cremated and the ashes stored in an urn walled into the tomb, or buried and indicated with a marker in the shape of a human bust (<i>columella</i>). Among the many burials, worthy of note are the tomb in the shape of a semicircular seat of the priestess <i>Mamia</i>; the large burial chamber topped by a circular aedicula, which had the statues of eminent figures of the gens <i>Istacidia</i> between the columns; the marble-covered altar tombs (54-68 AD) of <i>C. Calventius Quietus</i> (with the <i>bisellum</i>, or dual seat, symbol of the honor granted to sit in the front row of a theatre), <i>Naevoleia Tyche</i> and <i>C. Munatius Faustus</i> (the cargo ship refers to the merchant business of the latter).</p>
	

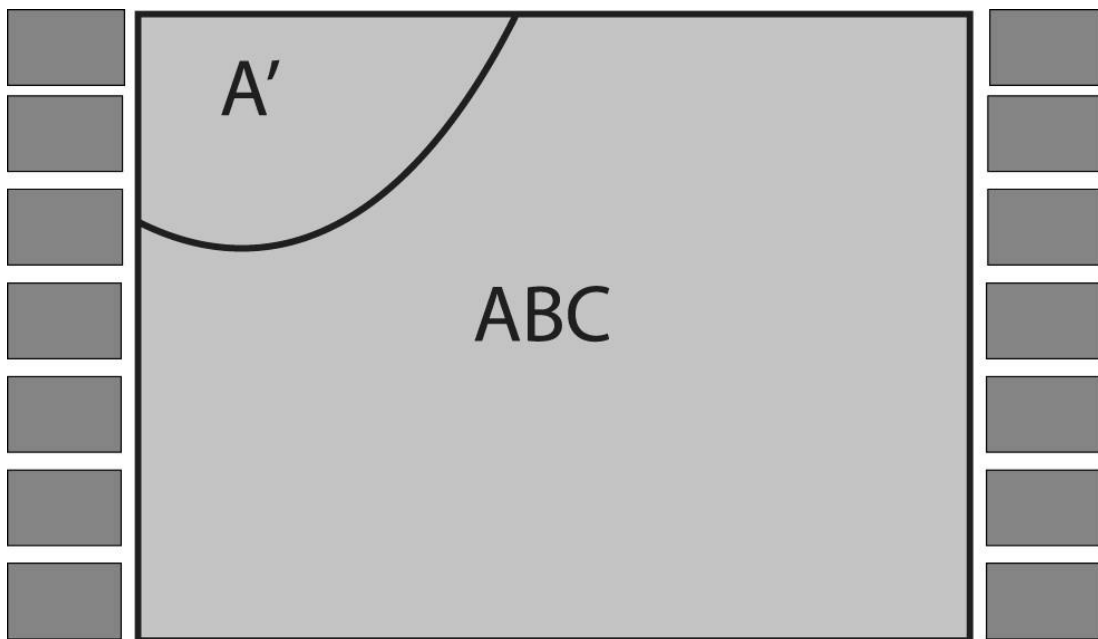
124. Pages from Pompeii's official guidebook, "Brief Guide to Pompeii," English edition, showing pages related to Porto Ercolano and Via delle Tombe. Parco Archeologico di Pompei, <http://www.pompeisites.org/allegati/pompei_ing%20Finale_150306115812.pdf>.



125. Randolph Rogers, *Nydia, the Blind Flower Girl of Pompeii*, 1853, this version 1859, marble. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc. no. 99.7.2



126. Roos van Oosten, *A stylised section drawing of an 'ideal' cesspit*. $A = 1600-1700$, $B = 1500-1600$, $C = 1400-1500$. "Cesspits and the P-P-P-P-problem: The pitfall of the Pompeii premise and the palimpsest," fig. 1, <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.quaint.2016.08.020>>.



127. Roos van Oosten, *A stylised section drawing of a cumulative palimpsest cesspit with a temporal palimpsest, in other words, a cumulative palimpsest with a closed-find dump in the upper corner of the deposit*. $ABC = 1400-1700$, $A' = 1600-1625$, "Cesspits and the P-P-P-P-problem: The pitfall of the Pompeii premise and the palimpsest," fig. 4, <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.quaint.2016.08.020>>.



128. Erich Fischl, *Tumbling Woman*, 2002, bronze. Over lifesize. Exhibited in 2016. "Rendering the Unthinkable: Artists Respond to 9/11." At the 9/11 Memorial and Museum, NYC, <<http://www.ericfischl.com/tumbling-woman>>.



129. Vinnie Ream Hoxie. *Sappho*, 1865–70 (this version, ca. 1870), marble. 168.4 x 63.5 x 53.2 cm. Smithsonian American Art Museum, gift of Brigadier General Richard L. Hoxie, 1915.6.1.



130. William Wetmore Story. *Sappho*, 1863, marble. 137.5 x 85.1 x 84.1 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Otis Norcross Fund, 1977.772.



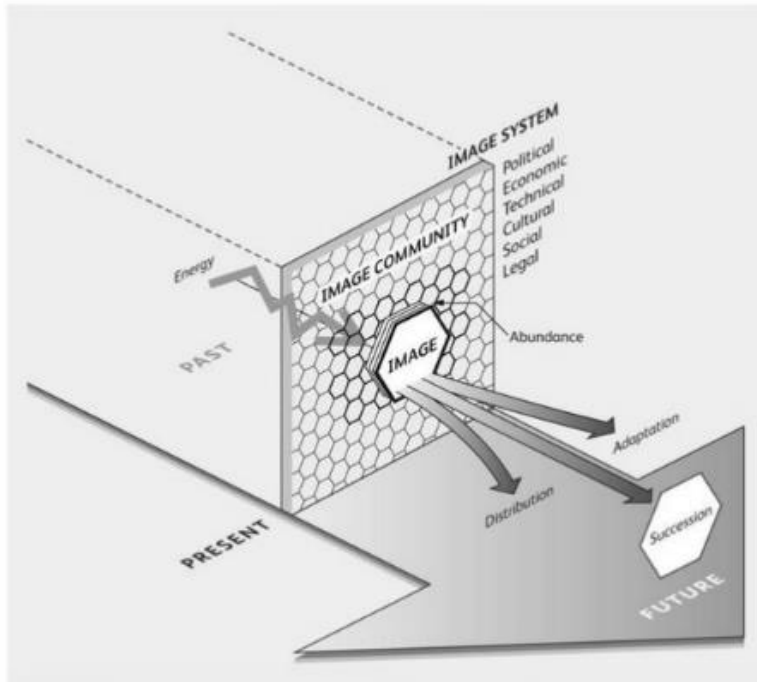
131. Hiram Powers, *The Greek Slave*, modeled 1841–1843, this version 1846, marble. 167.5 × 51.4 × 47 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Corcoran Collection, Gift of William Wilson Corcoran, 2014.79.37.



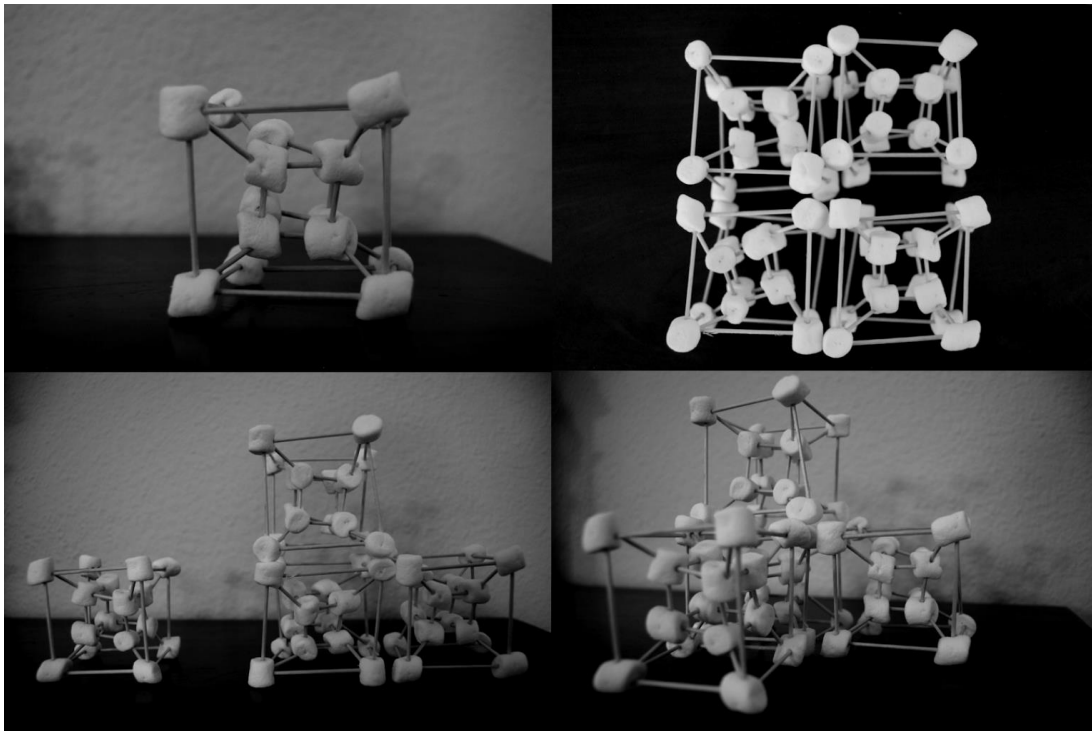
132. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Odalisque with Slave*, 1839–40, oil on canvas. 72.1 x 100.3 cm. Harvard Art Museums, Fogg Museum, Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop, 1943.251.



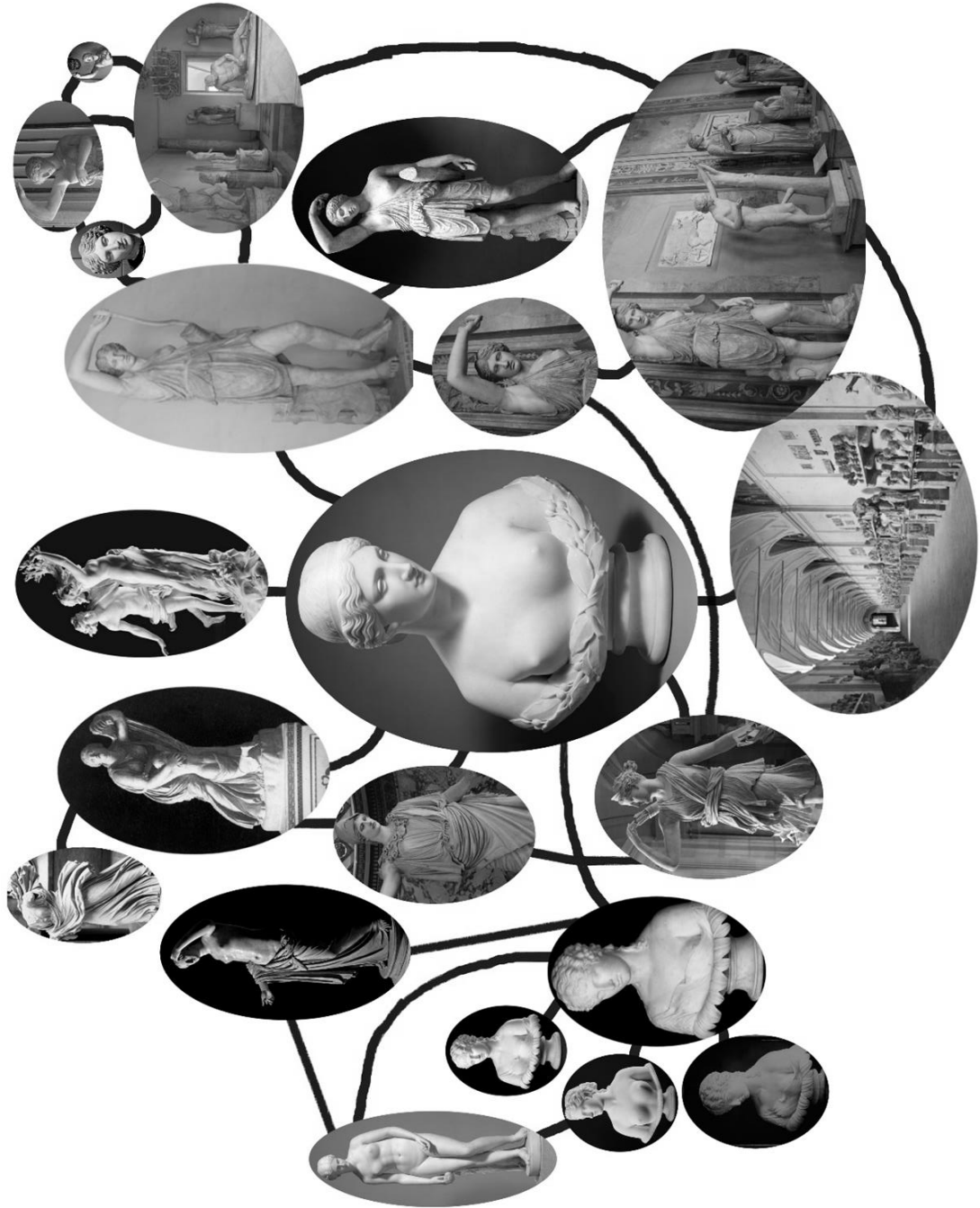
133. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres. *Turkish Bath*, 1863, oil on canvas glued to wood. 108 x 110 cm. Louvre Museum, Gift of the Société des Amis du Louvre, with the aid of Maurice Fenaille, 1911, R.F. 1934.



134. Sunil Manghani, *Image Studies: Theory and Practice*, 35.



135. Tesseract, marshmallows and toothpicks. Built by author.



136. "Food web" for Harriet Hosmer's *Daphne*.



137. All Saints Parade, Saint Peter's, Rome, October 30, 2017. Photograph by author.



138. All Saints Parade, Saint Peter's, Rome, October 30, 2017. Photograph by author.

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