

**Binding Identities: Photograph Albums and Italian Nationalism, 1857—67**

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2021

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

DIETRICH SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

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2021

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University of Pittsburgh, 2021

This dissertation considers the photograph album in Italy around the years surrounding its political unification in 1861. The histories of photography and collecting inform its methodologies, which seek to analyze the role of the album in the construction of identity and nationalism, and the politicization of the acts of seeing and exchanging photographs. I argue that albums functioned as framing devices to put visual fragments into relation with each other and with viewers in multivalent ways to generate or to position social and scientific knowledge. I am interested in mechanisms of *othering* or *orientalizing* that characterize the early development of Italian nationalism. By conceptually opposing the collection and the archive as categories, this dissertation generates novel methods for understanding the efficacies of the album as they derive from modernist aesthetic contexts, reflecting class politics during the revolutionary period. Three topical studies—which trace a single album produced to commemorate the military events of the Risorgimento; two stereograph albums by a French expatriate photographer in Sicily which respond to the same events, and a travel album by the same photographer; and two albums produced under diplomatic pretenses by Italian photographers in Qajar Persia—lay bare the function of the album as a vehicle for political and nationalist identity formation. Photography of the Italian Risorgimento provides perhaps the richest lab for this mode of art-historical experiment due to the prevalence of artistic patrimony within concepts of national identity that defined the initial years of the Italian Kingdom. I argue that the symbolic force of archaeology

and artistic patrimony in photography outweighs the concrete reality of royal or official portraiture as a metonym for nationalism or otherness. I point out moreover how the implied or surrogate presence of the viewer finds a visual placeholder in depictions of Roman ruins in Sicily, and that the relevance of these sites is thus preserved within individual images. Attention to visual intimacy plays a major role in the definition of photographic *orientalism* that I develop, and in the theoretical armature that I generate for my analysis of narrative and temporality in photographic albums.

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## 1. Introduction

On March 17, 1861, following Giuseppe Garibaldi's (1807—82) audacious and well-documented military campaign to vanquish the Spanish Bourbon monarchy from the Two Sicilies, the Kingdom of Italy was declared.<sup>1</sup> The first years of unity saw multiple efforts to assert national identity and to establish common cultural memory. What had been a range of identities and ideologies faced the streamlining force of the new nation-state. Problems of what Italianness looked like and how to see it drew upon centuries of artistic patrimony, and upon modern practices of image production, collection, archivization, and exchange that were emergent in this period. Representing Italy's cultural heritage through the modern lens of the unified Kingdom relied heavily upon photography, which had stakes in Italian nationalism and in the domestic and international politics that were to unfold in the following decades. Photography's role in the emergence of European nationalism more broadly is a topic which has by now been explored by several generations of art historians, and yet the context of Italy during the key years of unification offers insights into the centrality of the medium to the politicization of visual culture that have not yet been sufficiently understood.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Expedition of the Thousand is considered a turning point in the history of the Risorgimento, Italy's struggle for political unification and independence, which began around 1821 and was completed in 1871 when the capital was moved to Rome. The Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, to which the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was annexed following Giuseppe Garibaldi's famous Expedition of the Thousand, became the Kingdom of Italy and lasted until 1946. Italy had previously been unified under Napoleon, from 1796 to 1814.

<sup>2</sup> For a broad discussion of photography and nationalism see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006); and Costanza Caraffa and Tiziana Serena, eds., *Photo Archives and the Idea of Nation* (Berlin, Munich, and Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2015).

The production and circulation of photographs associated with the Risorgimento was robust, both officially and unofficially advancing Italian nationalism and documenting important events.<sup>3</sup> Broader frameworks of political and aesthetic movements in mid-nineteenth-century Italy provided a context in which photography mediated dynamic, sometimes polemical, social and cultural changes to aid in understanding and representing modern identity. Photography—as an art form, a social practice, and a technology—was not neutral in its mediation and generation of images, but rather bore with it modes of seeing which had the potential to condition, identify, or politicize viewers.<sup>4</sup> While this dissertation will consider the role of photography in the early development of Italian nationalism, aesthetic and cultural considerations will expand from national identity to consider how photographic media conditioned subjecthood in this period via formal and visual means.

The photograph album in this period politicized the acts of viewing, collecting, and archiving photographs, and generated modes of seeing that, in a multitude of ways, inscribed the viewer within historical, cultural, and artistic narratives in relation to the prospect of Italianness. The tasks of not only defining nationalism but also of conditioning and mediating engagement with the concept of the nation performed by album involved specific modes of temporal perception and memory formation, and drew from a vast backdrop of cultural heritage and patrimony. Serving as a vehicle of relation with subjects such as military heroes, the legacy of the European Grand Tour, Romanticism as an aesthetic and nationalist movement, and images of “The Orient,” the album in this period navigated complex and dynamic political, social, and

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<sup>3</sup> See Lamberto Vitali, *Il Risorgimento nella Fotografia* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1979).

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion on modes of seeing, photography, and technology in the nineteenth century, see Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*, (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1990). For a discussion of photography, nationalism, and political impact, see Ariela Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (New York: Zone Books, 2008).



artistic contexts that resulted from the unification of the Kingdom of Italy and the project of establishing a national identity. This is to say that imagery associated with geography, landscape, and power relations with others served as vital components of modern identity and the nation-state. Photograph albums created within the decade surrounding the Kingdom's formation that highlight themes of travel and exchange lay bare the transnational nature of nationalism as it emerged in the nineteenth century more broadly, as well as the potency of the photograph album both as a popular form and as an honorary object.

Political, linguistic, and cultural heterogeneity in Italy, resulting from long and complicated histories of disparate states and foreign rule, rendered geography—the Italian peninsula—a symbolic foundation for the cultural and historical roots of Italy's nationalist identity.<sup>5</sup> Archaeology and artistic patrimony were powerful concepts for mapping the modern Kingdom, and for addressing social and political chasms that followed from the movements for unification that mobilized the Risorgimento between 1830 and 1859. Legacies of European tourism in Italy came into conflict with efforts to self-represent Italy as a nation and as a place, fueled in part by class tensions as the peninsula industrialized at different rates and grappled with a diverse set of economic histories and cultural inheritances.

Attention to the social makeup of the peninsula's populations began to arise around 1830 in statistical investigations and census projects that aimed, initially at least, to describe the conditions of Italy as a whole, in opposition to its division under foreign autocratic regimes.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, the status of the Kingdom as a European power was an important element of its

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<sup>5</sup> Tiziana Serena, "Cultural Heritage, Nation, Italian State: Politics of the Photographic Archive between Center and Periphery," in Costanza Caraffa and Tiziana Serena eds., *Photo Archives and the Idea of Nation* (Berlin, Munich, and Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2015), p. 184—5.

<sup>6</sup> Svetlana Patriarca, *Numbers and Nationhood: Writing Statistics in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 3.

modern identity. The prospect of representing and regulating the unified nation required a unified image of the Kingdom and its populations, as well as one of a modern, European nation-state that could act internationally. Conflicts and contradictions manifest along these lines complicated the visual and discursive elaboration of Italian identity. While large-scale inequities across the North and the South following Garibaldi's expedition generated the discursive and social subordination and "orientalizing" of the South relative to the North, Italy's international ambitions required similar relational tactics for establishing its cultural competency and political providence as a modern European nation. Telescoping "otherings" performed within this decade are revealed in the production and exchange of photograph albums that claim to document and to compare ancient and modern cultural heritage, ambiguously creating historical bonds to anchor national identity, and proving the inferiority of the other by establishing its terminal temporal distance.<sup>7</sup>

Photography and the photograph album, introduced in Italy in 1839, were crucial to the production and solidification of a nationalist image and notions of common art-historical heritage.<sup>8</sup> This dissertation will show how certain exemplary albums of photographs engaged

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<sup>7</sup> See Barbara Spackman, *Accidental Orientalists: Modern Italian Travelers in Ottoman Lands* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017).

<sup>8</sup> The first Italian announcement of the "discovery" of the daguerreotype was made in the *Gazzetta Privilegiata di Milano* on January 15, 1839, just 15 days after Arago's official announcement to the Paris Science Academy. The first Italian photographic experiments were made by Enrico Jest, who produced the first Italian daguerreotype on October 8. Throughout 1839 there was "rigorous" news coverage of the new technology was made throughout Italy. Maria Beltramini, "Origini della fotografia a Milano," *Segni di Luce: Alle Origini della Fotografia in Italia*, a cura di Italo Zannier (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1991), p. 171—9. Even as late as the 1990s, certain Italian scholars claim credit for the invention of photographic technology as a whole, citing Giovanni Battista Della Porta's "invention" of the *camera oscura* in the sixteenth century. Italo Zannier cites a Venetian newspaper from May 26, 1840: "Noi lamentiamo continuamente la sfortuna di vederci rapito il vanto delle scoperte quando ne abbiamo primi trovato i germi..." [*We continue to lament the misfortune of seeing ourselves robbed of the pride of these discoveries when we ourselves first found the origins...*] Italo Zannier, "Alle origini della fotografia in Italia," *Segni di Luce: Alle Origini della Fotografia in Italia*, a cura di Italo Zannier (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1991), p. 7. See also Monica Maffioli and Luigi

with domestic and international social, political, and art-historical elements, directing them towards the establishment and assertion of Italian identity and nationalism. The album served to memorialize, to archive, to narrativize, and to disseminate the Kingdom of Italy's origin stories, and to characterize Italianness through certain visual conventions. An honorary and patriotic album of *carte de visite* portrait photographs created to memorialize Garibaldi and his volunteers, for example, brings together the important faces of the Risorgimento as an instructive and memorializing memento for military unification. Such generation of collective images of unity during the Risorgimento, however, stands out against large amounts of photographic production that engaged less directly with the theme of the new state, or experimented with other aspects of Italianness that were not rooted in nationalism. Indeed, the moderate nationalism that dominated official politics after unification was conceived in the industrial North, and thus was founded upon certain cultural predispositions and orientations that were not universal across Italy.<sup>9</sup>

Following failed revolutionary movements in 1848 and 49, so-called moderate-liberalism matured, dominating the politics of unification that followed, putting nationalism and independence before ideals of democracy and liberation.<sup>10</sup> This ideology generally privileged the northern culture, ideas, and institutions in which it was conceived. Citing an inherent inability of

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Tomassini, "Il Dagherrotipo nell'Italia del 1839" in *L'Italia d'Argento 1839-1859: Storia del Dagherrotipo in Italia*, eds. Maria Francesca Bonetti and Monica Maffioli (Florence: Alinari, 2003), p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> For a summary of the Risorgimento, see the appendix at the end of this dissertation. For a discussion of the competing social and political ideologies and a summary of tensions between the North and the South in this period, see Nelson Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002); and Antonio Gramsci, *Il Risorgimento* (Torino: Editori Riuniti, 1977).

<sup>10</sup> For a discussion of how moderatism came to dominate amongst intellectual and political groups in the latter years of the Risorgimento, see Antonio Gramsci, "I Moderati e gli Intellettuali," *Il Risorgimento* (Torino: Editori Riuniti, 1977), p. 129—31.

“common” Italians to self-rule, moderates sought an ideological model in which educated elites would shape a rational and effective state capable of ruling over and providing stability for the nation.<sup>11</sup> The triumphant moderate-liberal ideology took for its framework a specifically defined class of educated and enlightened men with the providence to take guardianship of the state, justifying dictatorship in the interest of promoting nationalism. As Homi Bhabha argues, however, nationalism does not form via the consciously held political ideologies that aim to shape it, but via the precedent cultural systems that build up to it.<sup>12</sup> Fraught internal lines between North and South, elite and popular, self and other, modern and primitive, took fast shape in a context determined by uneven industrial development and political representation throughout the Risorgimento’s latter years. Tensions between representing geography, artistic patrimony, and shared heritage as means to unity, on the one hand, and describing the fundamentally diverse social, cultural, and intellectual make-up of the populations of Italy, on the other, manifested at many levels of cultural production, most blatantly within the broad socio-cultural crisis that came to be known as the “Southern Problem.”<sup>13</sup> After 1861 and the political streamlining of diverse ideologies and cultural identities into a consolidated Kingdom, the continuing production and collection of photographs in albums problematized the status of

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<sup>11</sup> For an assessment of moderate-liberalism in 1859, see Roberto Romani’s “Political Thought in Action: The Moderates in 1859,” *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, vol. 17, no. 5 (2012), p. 593—607. The abstract for this article summarizes: “Moderatism was elitist, sharing little with the middle-class, individualist, and utilitarian brand of liberalism; command from above was emphasized to the detriment of popular participation; and unanimity was stressed as an indispensable condition for the national struggle.”

<sup>12</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, “Introduction, Narrating the Nation,” in Homi K. Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (New York: Routledge Press, 1990), p. 1—3.

<sup>13</sup> The cultural incorporation of Italy as a unified nation followed pattern similar to those described in Bhabha’s “Introduction” to *Nation and Narration*, in which he explains, “...the problem of inside/outside must always be a process of hybridity, incorporating ‘new’ people into the body politic, generating other sites of meaning and, inevitably in the political process, producing unmanned sites of political antagonism... The ‘other’ is never outside or beyond; it emerges forcefully, within cultural discourse.” *Ibid.*, 4.

the viewing subject and revealed the ways in which seeing photographs could be manipulated or politicized in a collective or archival form such as the album. Not only images themselves, but the album of photographs, which circulated in multiple capacities and contexts, was an important vehicle for social and political identity formation and the development of nationalism.

The stakes of my investigation into a single decade in the history of Italian photography are in better understanding the aesthetic and political histories of the photograph album between the Revolutionary period at the end of the eighteenth century and the advent of fascism in the early twentieth. This is to say that the aims of my dissertation are to bring to light the crucial function of the photograph album within the broader histories of European identity in the long nineteenth century, and to expand art-historical understandings of photography and practices of collecting, archiving, and exchanging in this period. This inquiry resonates with other visual media, such as painting and printmaking, and touches upon the mutual exchange between aesthetics and politics that characterized the period.

## **Methods**

The analyses of albums that follow are based upon a theoretical excursus of the categories of the collection and the archive in the nineteenth century. By theoretically comparing the collection and the archive as categories, I develop an armature for analysis by which the two are distinguished via their modes and ethics of organization, and by the attendant temporalities that they require of readers or viewers. In brief: the category of the collection is determined by a fixed organizing principle experienced in the present. The organizing principal is typically implicit, rather than textual, and needs to be known or performed. That is to say, a collection is compiled according to a particular perspective—usually that of an individual collector—which orders its contents into a narrative sequence. Some amount of pre-existing knowledge must be

applied to the collection in order to access or interpret its narrative and meaning. A collection will privilege certain modes of seeing and engagement, and will construct or specify its historical context via its fixed, characteristic order.<sup>14</sup> In general, the collection is a closed category, and objects within find meaning in relation to each other and to their organizing principle, maintaining fixed connections to the time the collection was assembled as an organic unity. A viewer or reader must become present to the narrative of the collection, gaining access to its temporality through intimate knowledge often provided by proximity to the collector themselves.

The archive, contrarily, may accept contents from a variety of sources and remains open to additions and re-organizations, even while concepts of authority and selection surround the existence of archives as institutions. Contents within an archive can take on multiple relations amongst one another, and therefore present multiple narratives determined by various agents, principles of organization, or temporalities. Because of this contingency, principles imposed to structure an archive at any given time tend to be explicit. The archive is future oriented, and can be modified and re-interpreted from a variety of perspectives and times. As the first chapter of my dissertation will demonstrate in depth, the theoretical payoff of opposing the categories of the collection and the archive in this way is a deeper understanding of how photograph albums function for the viewer in terms of establishing their relationality to nationalist narratives. Portrait albums in particular, which were more commonly private objects, when brought to a public scale traffic in the tactics of private and family identity in the context of a national narrative in order to elide the appearance of private and national familiarity. Subsequent chapters build upon this layout by introducing alternative narratives and considering other influences

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<sup>14</sup> Nancy Micklewright notes this tendency in her comparison of two large personal collections of Orientalist photography in “Alternative Histories of Photography in the Ottoman Middle East,” in *Photography’s Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation*, Ali Behad and Luke Gartlan, eds. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Research Institute, 2013), p. 76.

upon visual modes of subject determination, deriving, in part, from the histories of painting and popular culture and the medium of stereography. As a theoretical armature to understand photograph albums surrounding the Italian Risorgimento, my comparative analysis of the collection and the archive reveals the ways in which the photograph album participated in the politics of identity, nationalism, and modernization in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Dynamic modes of viewership associated with the photograph album were harnessed to hone and to modernize a mode of perception based upon these emergent categories, and to naturalize a field of Italian and non-Italian imagery to new ways of seeing. Based upon existing literature on both categories and practices, I draw up an experimental set of polarities that serve as armatures of analysis, though these polarities do not necessarily hold true for every real example. The distinctions fall into two realms: Organizational and Temporal:

1. Openness versus closedness in organization: A collection, which is associated with *a collector*, implies a more or less singular and fixed principle of organization, often the idiom of one single person. Understanding the significance of the album is close to understanding its production, or the story of its bringing together. This is to say that the organization of a collection is close to the *meaning* of a collection. This is why “personal collections” tend to remain intact, whether by the collector’s explicit demand, or by a feeling of respect for the closedness of the collection as such. Once a collection is complete, it generally cannot be expanded. The archive, by contrast, remains open to new objects entering into it, and to new meanings by the re-organization of its contents. This perpetual openness underlines the fact that an archive does not bestow meaning via a fixed principle of organization. Objects in an archive are open to new relations with each

other and with explanatory devices and contexts. To re-organize a collection would be to destroy it, while the complete openness to re-organization is definitive of the archive.

2. Time: Related to the first criteria, a collection's character and meaning remain fixed in the time of its making. A viewer has to make themselves present to a collection, and enter into its time. An archive, on the other hand, is always open to new temporalities, and can be engaged on multiple temporal registers at once. Julie Bacon called this sense of futurity the spirit of the archive.<sup>15</sup> Its essence is to look to the future and to usher material objects into future times, sensibilities, and structures of meaning. The "performance" of the collection, then, is the elision of its temporality with the act of viewing it and entering into its narrative. The "sounding" of the archive is the calling into the future of objects preserved from the past that are not fixed to particular narratives, but are useful for the production of new ones.

The methodological purpose of opposing these categories is to establish a way of comparatively understanding how albums work upon the photographs they contain, and upon the viewing subject. Albums in general function between the ideal poles of the categories.<sup>16</sup> Designating a particular album as either a collection or an archive would miss the point of this mode of analysis, and yet it is important to my arguments that certain albums relate differently to the polar structure of the collection versus the archive. This comparative armature reveals how albums engage with the viewer in order to politicize an album's narrative, conditioning its meaning. Along these lines, I will argue that certain exemplary albums created around the crucial years of the Italian Risorgimento reveal the frameworks by which photographs participated in

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<sup>15</sup> Julie Bacon, "Archive, Archive, Archive!" *Circa Art Magazine*, no. 119 (Spring 2007).

<sup>16</sup> I write "ideal poles" in reference to Max Weber's "ideal types," a theoretical construct to be used for the analysis of concrete situations.



and institutionalized nationalist myths and political subjecthood. The degree to which an album elides the diegetic and the political spaces of its photographs is productively approached via these categories, providing insight into the mechanisms that give meaning and value to individual photographs and call upon the viewer to contribute meaning or value.

The conscription of the viewer as an active participant in the production of narratives surrounding imagery within albums played an important role in the inscription of perception and subjectivity into the construction of Italian nationalist identity. The act of seeing itself constituted and conditioned subjecthood and identity, while at the same time collections and archives of photographs established the narratives and the boundaries of nationalism and identity. A tour album of Sicily created in 1861, for example, used stereography to guide the viewer on a Grand Tour itinerary of the Island's major cities and ancient ruins. The admixture of image-to-image revelation of the sites with the baggage of social associations and knowledge generates a relational quality that a viewer must navigate in their time of viewing. This is to the effect of both embodying directly an impression or memory of the significant sites depicted, and an alienating or distancing the denotation of an overly specific moment and photographic act. As I will show, a viewer must perform a dual navigation of themselves and of the images. It is within this space that the politics of the album may be performed. Additionally, in this case, the stakes derive from the problematic question of the cultural value of the Italian South for multiple audiences.

### **History of Photography**

Photography, which had been an important politicizing force during the Risorgimento since its introduction into Italy in 1839, was, by 1861, a multivalent tool for describing physical, cultural, and human geographies across the newly united territories. The histories of the album,

the collection, and the archive in this period likewise reveal concrete material practices that provided the frameworks for photographs to participate in and to institutionalize nationalist myths.<sup>17</sup> In addition to establishing a canon of Italian monuments and heroes to serve as a core for cultural memory and self-knowledge, photography began to be seen as a way to treat the experience of being Italian. It began to demonstrate, narrate, frame, and formulate the various visual experiences and points of view available to or inhabited by subjects of the new nation-state, and re-examined the landscape, archaeology, and artistic patrimony as icons or emblems for modern Italian identity. Albums, collections, and archives, more than physical receptacles for multiple images, determined photography's modes of engagement along these lines, and carried class implications for developing social and industrial orders across Italy. Taking both the history of photography and that of its circulation and collection, this dissertation will consider the photograph album and its development and use within the construction of Italian identity during the crucial years of the Risorgimento.<sup>18</sup> The aim will not be to decide whether certain albums belong to the category of the collection or of the archive, but to show how the conventions associated with these categories as a conceptual binary reveal how practices of viewing integral

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<sup>17</sup> See the chapter "Risorgimento Mythologies," in Maria Antonella Pelizzari, *Photography and Italy* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011), pp. 31—44.

<sup>18</sup> This is a response to the second chapter of John Tagg's *The Burden of Representation*, in which he discusses the use of photography in the construction of the modern nation-state after the revolutionary periods of the 1840s. As he notes, the patterns he describes in this chapter apply mostly to Britain and France. "At the local level, however, ..., an increasingly secure middle-class cultural domination was cashed at the level of more diffuse practices and institutions which were nonetheless crucial to the reproduction and reconstruction of social relations" (61). My dissertation will, in part, consider the applicability of Tagg's arguments along these lines to Italy in order to comparatively uncover the functionality of photography as an apparatus of nationalism and social identity, both within centralized and "diffuse" networks and practices. John Tagg, "Truth Evidence, and Order: Photographic Records and the Growth of the State," in *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (London: Macmillan Education, 1988), p. 60—65.

to the photograph album contributed to photography's role in the constructions of identity and nationalism.

A major photographic project following Italian unity was Alessandro Pavia's (1824—89) *Album dei Mille*, a massive *carte de visite* album that contained the portrait of each of the volunteers on the decisive mission to take the South. This album was given to the mission's famed leader, Giuseppe Garibaldi, with a publicly oriented and deeply patriotic dedication. The form of the album and the practices associated with it provided the material and rhetorical frameworks by which this portrait album became an active metaphor for geographic unity and a symbol of the new Kingdom's political values. Pavia's particular methods and processes for producing the album, which involved traveling across the peninsula to gather *cartes de visite* from photograph studios and the families of the *Mille*, reveal how the categories of the collection and the archive contributed to the cultivation of nationalist subjecthood. The *Album dei Mille*'s organizing principle, an alphabetical list, complicated the project's relation to the more popular domestic photograph album, and imposed conceptual and experiential demands upon viewers that impacted upon its narrative and symbolic meanings.

Other projects, however, also created in direct response to Garibaldi's expedition, used the popular form of the album to construct personal, narrative engagements with Southern territory during the Risorgimento that refuse to resolve into unified, nationalist symbols. Informed by aesthetic and cultural contexts such as Romantic and Orientalist painting and literature and the European Grand Tour, Eugène Sevaistre's (1817—97) stereograph albums documenting the fall of Kingdom of the Two Sicilies explored subjective aspects of modern identity and orientations to landscape and nationalism. In three albums completed between 1860 and 1861, Sevaistre engaged landscape, travel, and the Risorgimento as modern problems. The

albums generate tensions within the role and presence of the photographer, re-centering the viewing subject within revolution politics and cultural identity, and obfuscating overt nationalism from the albums' aesthetics. As meditations on changing landscapes and urban spaces, Sevaistre's works reveal the importance of situating viewers within specific perspectives and temporalities to generating a working discourse of nationalist imagery. The largest of Sevaistre's albums, *Sicilia: Souvenir Stereoscopici d'Italia*, loosely recapitulates a Sicilian Grand Tour itinerary, treating an established list of cultural and archaeological sites according to a modern notions of travel. The album's engagement with Greek and Roman ruins and the intimacy with which it relates the photographer's experience illuminate a conceptual transition from *tourism* to *travel* with stakes in the role of social class and transnationalism in the photographic conditioning of Italian subjectivity.<sup>19</sup>

Several of the conventions drawn from Sevaistre's stereograph albums are at play in other works from this period that tour non-Italian landscapes and archaeologies in order to explore the "other" in relation to new, modern identity, and to experiment with colonialist points of view. The third major case study in this dissertation is the Italian Orientalist photograph album, specifically travel albums created by Italian diplomats in Qajar Persia in the 1850s and 60s. Seen in contrast to albums such as Sevaistre's that survey Italian territories, Luigi Pesce's (1828—64) and Luigi Montabone's (d. 1877) Persian albums construct narratives of travel, collection, and the archive in part based upon aspirations of possession and mastery, reflecting a set of values that were central to moderate constructions of nationalist identity, and to the institutionalization of cultural knowledge via the photographic archive in the second half of the

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<sup>19</sup> For a history of the conceptual distinction between *tourism* and *travel* in Europe in the nineteenth century, see James Buzzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture' 1800—1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

nineteenth century. These cases, however, involved the patronage of the Persian Shah and were produced under diplomatic rather than imperial pretenses. A certain volatility of national identity combined with certain collaborative international influence frame these albums as dynamic, early experiments with orientalist power relations. Ranging from the anti-heroic to the proto-imperialist, views and viewpoints offered by Pesce and Montabone's Orientalist albums—and by Sevaistre's stereographs—grappled with the determination of modern Italian identity along the lines of class, nationalism, self-knowledge, landscape, social power, and political empire.

Photographs of Persian archeological sites—that is, the ruins of the Achaemenid and Sassanian Empires versus Greek and Roman ruins—are composed and presented in ways that distance them in time and space for the viewer, and emphasize their ethnological value over their cultural value. The narrative relations struck between views of the modern Qajar capital of Tehran and those of the ancient capitals within the albums center upon European ethnological interpretation, asserting the importance of the photographer as historical mediator and severing the past from the present. At the same time, the temporal frameworks of the albums cultivate relational dynamics that anticipate and develop into Orientalist photographic conventions that come to full form in the following decades. The Qajar Shah at the time that Pesce and Montabone completed their projects, Nassir al-Din Shah (1831—96), was an emphatic supporter of photography and solicited European instructors to bring the technology to his regime. He himself became an amateur photographer and was photographed extensively during his reign. This context, in which the Qajar Shah was strategically engaging photography as a means to modernize Persia and to memorialize his identity, generated complicated political and artistic dynamics. Comparison of multiple versions of Pesce's album given as gifts to the Qajar court

and to European diplomats, for example, reveals the importance of principles drawn from the collection and the archive that were also at play in Pavia's and Sevaistre's works.

Across three chapters, I consider the construction and circulation of photographic and stereographic albums made in the 1860s to reveal several important shifts in the social and political history of Italian photography. The scope and theoretical agenda driving my dissertation forward derive from a history of collecting that I see originating in the 16<sup>th</sup> century with Giorgio Vasari's (1511—74) *Libri de' Disegni* as a mode of art-historical education, and *Wunderkammern* as experiments and displays of taxonomic understanding of cultural and scientific knowledge. Such accumulation of images introduced comparative and cumulative methods of visual pedagogy, and new challenges involving the organization, indexing, storage, and presentation of growing collections. So, in addition to attending to the history of photography, the histories of the archive, the collection, and the circulation of photographs drive my research and arguments. The problems set forth within these case studies are situated within a theoretical armature deriving from the collection and the archive as emergent categories within the history of the photograph album.

The archive as an institution, as is well established, was an important aspect of the emergence of the modern nation-state and national identity. Public and official archives were created to concentrate, express, house, and determine the range of acceptable culture, to instruct citizens on how to interpret cultural and national knowledge, and to symbolize the identity and power of the state through possession. The custody and classification of artifacts, documents, and photographs demonstrates the power to decide limits of inclusion and to shape the terms of discourse surrounding national or cultural identity. By its mere existence as an institution—that is, without the necessity of being seen by the citizens it purports to represent—the archive's

authority is already asserted. In other words, the archive is a crucial aspect of “imagined” national identity in modernity.<sup>20</sup>

Via the archive, members of a community or nation conjure other members through their shared connections with a common culture. But images or contents in an archive may also be imagined, in the sense that the archive’s influence over a social body does not require that each member know or see what is in it. The institutional existence of the archive is enough to determine a discursive field operating around it, and does not need to be directly engaged in order have this effect. This fact may either explain or be explained by the tendency of much of the literature on the archive to treat it generically, as a concept underlying larger concepts such as “nation,” “knowledge,” or “memory,” without actually looking inside, pulling out the photographs or contents, or engaging with the historical contexts in which they communicated. At the same time, it is understood on a theoretical level that photography and the archive play important roles in the education of modern vision in the second half of the nineteenth century. Considered as a context for putting images into relation with each other in ways that are instructive or manifest patterns, trends, or natural laws, photo archives must be studied within their historical contexts, according to how they were seen and used.<sup>21</sup> Via the major cases

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<sup>20</sup> This refers to Benedict Anderson’s well-known title, *Imagined Communities*. Costanza Caraffa and Tiziana Serena, “Introduction,” in Costanza Caraffa and Tiziana Serena eds., *Photo Archives and the Idea of Nation* (Berlin, Munich, and Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2015), p. 13—14.

<sup>21</sup> Of course, there is not a limit to the ways that archives may be seen and used. The point is that to understand an archive’s relationship with visual education and knowledge, specific arguments must be made that are necessarily historically situated. Existing literature on the archive tends to either over-theorize the archive without looking closely enough to draw out historical stakes, or to focus too closely upon case studies, performing an anthropology of the archive without generating compelling analysis or knowledge. For compelling studies of photographic archives, see Robin Kelsey, *Archive Style: Photographs and Illustrations for U.S. Surveys, 1850—1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Josh Ellenbogen, *Reasoned and Unreasoned Images: The Photography of Bertillon, Galton, and Marey* (State College, PA: Penn State

outlined above, this dissertation will take an understanding of the archive's role in the imagined community of the nation-state as a point of departure, and show more precisely what defines the archive and how it works when actively engaged, putting it into comparative analysis with the category of the collection, and turning to the photograph album as a microcosm of these categories as modern forms.<sup>22</sup> I will consider the logics and operations by which albums, collections, and archives determine modes of seeing in the second half of the nineteenth century that contributed to the formation of the modern Italian subject, including their relationships with nationalism and with broader aesthetic and social contexts, such as Romanticism, Orientalism, and the emergence of the bourgeois class in Italy.

In "Photographs as Strong History?" Elizabeth Edwards considers the potency of photographs in structuring nationalism and identity. She notes the capacity of photographic media to fulfill a desire for connection, "enabling photographs to function as the connective tissue of a nation."<sup>23</sup> Edwards argues that the "repetition, circulation, and consistent coding that photographs afford facilitate their transformation into national signs."<sup>24</sup> In other words, the contexts of collection and circulation—including reproductions in other media—account for photography's force within narratives of national identity. Archives, collections, and albums are key sites in which photographs fulfill this role, and yet the operative functions of these forms have not been thoroughly analyzed within art history. Pavia's *Album dei Mille*, for example, has a rational point of departure, the alphabetical list of names of Garibaldi's volunteers. The *carte*

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University Press, 2012); Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October*, vol. 39 (Winter, 1986), p. 3—64.

<sup>22</sup> Costanza Caraffa and Tiziana Serena call the album an "embryonic form of the photographic archive in their introduction to *Photo Archives and the Idea of Nation*. Ibid., 11.

<sup>23</sup> Elizabeth Edwards, "Photographs as Strong History?" in Costanza Caraffa and Tiziana Serena eds., *Photo Archives and the Idea of Nation* (Berlin, Munich, and Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2015), p. 324.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 326.



*de visite* portrait cards, which are sourced from various studios and personal albums across Italy, remind the viewer of the diversity and heterogeneity of the Kingdom's human geography, while at the same time equalizing the portraits under the logic of the list, the unified nation which the Expedition symbolizes, and the temporality of the photograph album as a specific collection.

Sevaistre's travel album of Sicily similarly gestures towards the pre-determined itinerary of the European Grand Tour, and yet displaces its expected values with imagery that foregrounds the photographer's presence, underhandedly determining the imaginative visual space for the viewer to inhabit. For Pavia and Sevaistre both, the photograph album deploys a combination of collection and archival tactics and temporalities to engage the viewing subject with competing narratives. Pesce's and Montabone's albums mobilize the potency of the photographer as collector to frame modern and ancient Persian subjects at a temporal distance, while also mobilizing the openness and authority of the archive to propose knowledge claims and emphasize the role of European scientific and political expertise in interpreting Persian cultural heritage. Photography's centrality to my research on the collection and the archive allows me to make the argument that, as a technology, an art form, and a social vehicle, photography and the album were crucial to the development of modes of seeing and principles of possession and mastery that impacted upon the use of imagery to advance nationalism and shape identity in the second half of the nineteenth century, more broadly.

By the time Italy became a unified Kingdom in 1861, economic and industrial inequalities increased between North and South. As Nelson Moe writes, "One of the central ironies of the Risorgimento is that unification split the nation in two, accentuating the

northernness of one part and the southernness of the other.”<sup>25</sup> Within cultural and artistic production, an interest in describing these particular characteristics grew after 1861, reaching a high point towards the end of the century. The problem of identifying southernness as a category both under the umbrella of Italianness and as characteristically “other” was a major motif of visual production in this period, and the South’s historical value—that is, its geography, its artistic patrimony, and its cultural past—was framed and evaluated through multiple lenses.<sup>26</sup> In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the triangulation of photography, the album, and natural science enabled a sweeping expression of anxieties surrounding the “Southern Question” and otherness. Photography, the collection, and the archive were primary means not only for describing and institutionalizing identity and social knowledge, but also for generating the modes of seeing necessary to perceive, understand, and interpret them. Ways of seeing constructed by photographic media and the archive impacted upon the functionality of visual knowledge within society, including subjective and class awareness, and political and social orientation to nationalism and otherness.

## Chapter Outlines

The first chapter of this dissertation discusses the material and conceptual production of Alessandro Pavia’s *Album dei Mille*. It was completed in 1867 to commemorate the Expedition of the Thousand, a defining episode in the Italian Risorgimento, and presents the *carte de visite*

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<sup>25</sup> He continues: “To be sure, Italians had always recognized significant differences among the various people and lands on the peninsula. But in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the forces of Eurocentrism and nationalism converged to produce a nation committed to participating in the civilization of western Europe. In the context of the drive to make Italy a more modern nation, the southern part of the country was identified as different.” Nelson Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), p.2.

<sup>26</sup> Analyses of the Southern Question have been thoroughly treated in cultural and political history and theory. For in-depth discussions, see: Antonio Gramsci, *Il Risorgimento* (Torino: Editori Riuniti, 1977); and Moe.

portrait card of 824 of the 1,092 men known to have participated. The photographs are ordered alphabetically and erratically sourced—although Pavia took many in his own studio—and bound into a massive album. The *Album dei Mille* mobilizes practices of viewing and organization that derive from both the archive and the collection, constituting a case in which contradictory modes of constructing narrative, engaging historical time, and understanding the materiality of photography produce a complex mode of viewership significant to the histories of photography and identity construction in the newly formed Italian nation. Seen from the purviews of the collection and the archive, this episode in the history of photography has implications for understanding how the album and the portrait card shaped the way photographs were viewed and used in the second half of the nineteenth century, and more specifically in nation-building movements such as the Italian Risorgimento. The sourcing and compiling of the *Album* reveals the complicated groundwork of the new Kingdom's social dynamics, and brings into view the depth of the problem of naturalizing diverse cultural and social regions, principally structured around North and South, under a common notion of Italian nationality.

Chapter two considers an alternative photographic history of the Expedition of the Thousand created by the French expatriate Eugène Sevaistre, a commercial photographer living in Palermo, Sicily, during the 1850s and 60s. Two stereograph albums, *Révolution de Palerme: les Barricades* and *Bombardimento e Presa di Gaeta*, document the most significant events of Garibaldi's Expedition of the Thousand. A third stereograph album, *Sicilia: Souvenir Stereoscopici d'Italia*, was marketed as an armchair-travel-style survey of the Sicilian island. As a group, the albums comprise mainly travel and landscape imagery, and build upon the themes from the previous chapter in three major ways: firstly, by extending the visual context of the Risorgimento to include the art-historical importance of Romanticism and the European Grand

Tour; secondly, by orienting the problems of narrative and time in albums to the landscape and archaeology to show other ways in which these problems impacted upon the conceptual categories of the collection and the archive; and thirdly, by harnessing the materiality, visual demands, and circulation practices of stereography, a medium that is often conflated with single-image photography, revealing certain social tensions within the reception of photography and class identity in Italy in this period. The prominence of vision and mediation to nationalism and identity will come to fuller light in this chapter, signaling practices of visual education and subjective conditioning associated with certain photographic media and collection practices. Sevaistre's compositions intentionally emphasize and manipulate the subject's role in stereographic viewing, which has the effect of orienting the narratives of the Expedition of the Thousand and of travel away from institutional authority, consensus, and tradition, and of de-rationalizing the mechanical optics of the stereographic medium. Following upon the modern re-conceptualization of *travel* in favor of *tourism*,<sup>27</sup> Sevaistre's commercial albums undermine the canon of traditional subjects for aristocratic tourism, re-claiming its sites, monuments, and archaeologies for a different kind of viewing based upon a problematically emerging bourgeois class in the Italian South, and upon modernist aesthetics that center subjective experience when viewing the landscape.

Chapter three expands upon the visual dynamics of the "Southern Question" and otherness by looking to two albums created in Qajar Persia between 1858 and 1862, each of which had multiple iterations, intended for different audiences. While the domestic travel album represents a tension within the use of landscape and photography to depict 1860s Italy and to construct perspectives for modern Italian subjects, the foreign travel album, associated with

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<sup>27</sup> Buzzard.

diplomatic missions in this period, brings into view additional dialectics of Italian identity that have to do with the depiction of history, time, and otherness on an international scale. Though these are the same grounds upon which internal otherness is confronted, the tactics and framing with which they are approached by Italian photographers in Iran between 1858 and 1862 lay bare yet another use of photography to stake out Italian nationalism. These works contrast with travel albums such as Sevaistre's in that they posit a relation between viewer and album that is structured by possession and mastery, rather than use as a guide to or surrogate for personal experience of travel. The curious fact that the albums were intended for Persian and European audiences both—slightly differing versions were given to the Qajar King, the Italian King, and other European diplomats—focuses attention upon the albums' internal structural differences, both in terms of variant organizations and narrative orders, and in terms of the compositional structures of individual photographs. Through the logics of the collection and the archive, these albums approach foreign landscape, archaeology, and artistic patrimony to entangle multiple audiences within colonialist narratives. In tracing variations amongst versions intended for different audiences, this chapter argues that visual frameworks of engagement that emerge from understanding the collection and the archive as a theoretical polarity were understood well enough to be used as political strategy, both domestically and internationally. The stakes introduced in this chapter are organized around the modern mandate for new nation states to colonize other nations, which for Italy meant invading Assab in 1882 to eventually form Italian Eritrea in 1890. Focusing attention upon the years preceding these events, I turn to albums and photographs framed by a guise of cultural exploration, rather than political aggression, in order to discover the visual vocabularies and methodologies developed to underwrite culturally Italy's mandate to modernize its colonialist presence, as well as consider the complicated visual

methods by which Italy defined otherness in this period, internally as well as externally, generating an early concept of photographic Orientalism.

## 2. Alessandro Pavia's *Album dei Mille*

In May of 1860, Giuseppe Garibaldi left the coast of Genova with two ships and roughly one thousand men to take the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies comprising the entire southern half of the Italian peninsula and the island of Sicily, from the Bourbons for Piedmont-Sardinia before the Kingdom of Italy was established the following year (Fig 1.1).<sup>28</sup> This event is known as the Expedition of the Thousand, and is one of the most well documented episodes of the Italian Risorgimento. In 1862, Genovese commercial studio photographer Alessandro Pavia set himself to commemorate the event and to honor Garibaldi, his personal friend, by creating a photograph album containing the *carte de visite* portrait of each of the *Thousand*. By 1867 Pavia's efforts had culminated in the *Album dei Mille* (hereafter referred to as the *Mille*), a massive, leather-bound album containing 824 alphabetically arranged portrait cards and numbered list of 1,092 names.<sup>29</sup> The completed album was dedicated and presented as a gift to Garibaldi himself. In addition to this copy, Pavia produced a small number of full editions of the *Mille*, some of which he sold to Italian libraries in exchange for installation payments.<sup>30</sup> The cost of the full album, 460

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<sup>28</sup> The Expedition of the Thousand is considered a turning point in the history of the Risorgimento, Italy's struggle for political unification and independence, which began around 1821 and was completed in 1871. In 1860, the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia was ruled by the House of Savoy and headed by Victor Emmanuel II. In May of that year, after a deal with Napoleon III in which Sardinia ceded Nice to France, general Giuseppe Garibaldi, a native of Nice, conducted the Expedition to conquer the Kingdom of the two Sicilies.

<sup>29</sup> Pavia's list was compiled by April 19, 1862, but it has roughly 70 more names than the official list released by the Consiglio Civico di Palermo, which established a commission to compile the list as early as December 24, 1860. Marco Pizzo, *Repertori del Museo Centrale del Risorgimento 2: L'Album dei Mille di Alessandro Pavia* (Roma: Gangemi Editore, 2004), 19.

<sup>30</sup> There are three full editions of the *Album dei Mille* currently in the collection of the Museo Centrale del Risorgimento da Roma. For a brief description of the museum's records on all three editions in their holdings, see Ibid., 16.

*lire*, prevented its wide commercial distribution beyond a small circle of public institutions and statesmen. Pavia, however, in an effort to further disseminate his massive project and to turn some profit, also created a twenty-eight-page pamphlet containing his comprehensive list of names and three sample photographs, available for purchase from his studio for *1 lira* each.<sup>31</sup> In the end, though, Pavia was bankrupted by the project, and he wrote to Garibaldi personally in 1879, describing his ill health and dismal financial situation. This letter is the last known record of him.<sup>32</sup>

In 2004, the Museo Centrale del Risorgimento da Roma (MCRR) published a hardbound volume that reproduces Garibaldi's copy of the *Mille* and some documents associated with its production, including Pavia's final, desperate letter. An introductory text refers to the *Mille* as an "archive and a monument," signaling its historical status and implying it both documents and memorializes the Expedition of the Thousand.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, the story of Garibaldi's Thousand is mythologized as the decisive event ensuring Italian independence and unity. It was represented broadly by artists, photographers, and journalists at the time and for decades after, and has since

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<sup>31</sup> According to Maria Antonella Pelizzari, the medium annual income in Italy in the 1860s was around *1,500–2,000 lire*, making the cost of a full edition between one third and one fourth of the average yearly income. In addition, Pelizzari identifies a fourth full edition of the *Album* currently in the collection of the Biblioteca Reale in Turin. Maria Antonella Pelizzari, *Photography and Italy*, London: Reaktion Books, 2011, 40, 172.

<sup>32</sup> Pizzo, *Repertori*, 12.

<sup>33</sup> 'Infatti l'Album dei Mille di Alessandro Pavia non è solo un repertorio delle immagini dei Mille, un luogo fisico—l'album—in cui trovano posto le singole foto-ritratto dei vari protagonisti dell'impresa garibaldini, ma è anche oggetto d'arte applicata, ... rappresenta un'unica e importantissima testimonianza documentaria e ancor di più un vero e proprio *archivio*, e, al tempo stesso, un *monumento* fotografico di una pagina della nostra storia... [è un] vasto panorama culturale'. [In fact, Alessandro Pavia's *Album dei Mille* is not only inventory of images of the Thousand, a physical place—the album—in which one can find single portrait photos of the various protagonists of Garibaldi's expedition, but it is also an art object... it represents a unique and very important documentary testimony, and even more so a proper archive, and, at the same time, a photographic monument to a page in our history... it is a vast, cultural panorama.] Translation mine. Pizzo, *Repertori*, 7, 15.



held a prominent place in the historical imagination of the Risorgimento. The exceptionality of Pavia's album is in its promise to convey the reality of the event while personalizing its cast of members through the popular medium of portrait photography and the specificity of an exhaustive list of names. Its characterization, however, as "an archive and a monument" is neither elaborated upon nor theoretically justified in the MCRR's text. Instead of taking for granted the categories of the archive and the monument, I set aside the latter and centralize the archive, conceptually opposing it to the category of the collection in order to establish an armature to understand the *Album dei Mille* as an aesthetic and a historical object.<sup>34</sup> One reason to disregard the category of the monument in a study of Pavia's *Album dei Mille* derives from the fact that it is literally not monumental in scale. Though quite ostentatious as a photograph album, there is only one publicly visible in the MCRR, and all one can see is its cover.<sup>35</sup> As I will discuss in depth, the qualities of the *Album* which gave it traction as a politicizing and commemorative object are tied to its personal scale and the experience, or implied experience, of viewing it privately.

My purpose is not to challenge the *Mille*'s status as a monument; rather, I consider certain viewing practices that it mobilized in order to enable a broader discussion of the implications of Pavia's production of such a work, and to point out certain parallels between the *Mille*, conventions of seeing associated with collections and archives, and national identity formation during the Risorgimento. Tensions within the *Mille* between its unifying tendency and

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<sup>34</sup> Adequately considering the category of the monument in relation to the *Album dei Mille* would constitute another study all together. The MCRR's mention of the word in their text is of little consequence, especially given that it is a translation from the Italian (see previous footnote), and the fact that the author's tone suggests a monumentalising aim of its own.

<sup>35</sup> Other versions of the album are in different states of disrepair and disarticulation in various archives across Italy. For a definition of public, commemorative monuments, see Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monumentality in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 3—8.

its dependence upon the prominence and exaltation of individual names exemplify broader tensions between nineteenth-century practices of collecting and the emerging importance of the archive in the modern imagination. As a statement of inclusion, or collective portrait of Italianness, the *Mille* necessarily makes a statement of exclusion. The list, being decisive and also indicative of certain personal data, such as region of origin, adds a statistical and cartographic component to the collective, commemorative portrait, mapping the new nation through specific faces and places.

Considering this work from a viewpoint constructed by comparing the collection and the archive reveals that Pavia's methods of articulating Italian national identity just after unification are heavily involved with narrative and participatory frameworks associated with collecting, even while the *Mille* overtly signals participation in a documentary genre associated with the establishment of state archives and the projection of a unified national image during the period.<sup>36</sup> Following on decades of statistical projects aiming to portray states of difference amongst the populations of Italy's regions, particularly across the North-South divide, which was also the border of the Bourbon Kingdom before Garibaldi's campaign, Pavia's project aimed to naturalize visual difference under the concept of a social and national collective and the material unity of an incorporated album. Pavia used individual photographs to harness the particularity of historical persons, even while many of the *cartes de visite* in the *Mille* came from other photographers' studios and predated the Expedition.

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<sup>36</sup> Silvana Patriarca explores the history of statistics and archives in Italy from the period between 1815 and 1870, noting in the introduction that "In the period before the proclamation of the Kingdom in 1861, statistical investigations were strongly promoted and developed by 'opposition intellectuals' in their struggle against domestic 'autocratic' regimes and foreign domination... From the 1830s on several private researchers undertook to describe not only single communities and provinces, but also the condition of the peninsula as a whole, as if Italy were already a unified country." Silvana Patriarca, *Numbers and Nationhood: Writing and Statistics in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 3.

The form of the photograph album speaks, moreover, to a notion of bourgeois sociability that could have been perceived as politicized in the context of the Risorgimento and the ouster of the Bourbon monarchy. In particular, the aristocratic decadence associated with the Bourbon rulers of the Two Sicilies resulted in peasant populations that were perceived to be oppressed and defiant, failing to modernize due to the cultural stagnancy and disengaged policies of their monarchs. This contrasts with the major regions of the North, which were industrializing and thus developing a bourgeois class.<sup>37</sup> The photograph album, particularly the *carte de visite* album, and its social use are associated with the rise of this class and its self-definition in the nineteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Of the thousand-plus volunteers for Garibaldi's mission, more than three quarters were Northern, mostly from Venezia, Lombardy, and Liguria. There were only about one hundred Southerners, and, significantly, none were peasants. Thus visually, the *Mille's* collective portrait of Italian heroicism was a picture of "nearly all students or young professional men or artisans with a republican background."<sup>39</sup> The inclusion of social markers in the portrait cards, both in the figures themselves and in the *mise en scene* associated with *carte de visite* studio portraiture, significantly excludes those that were to be the beneficiaries of the Expedition of the Thousand, Southern peasants, who looked different than these bourgeois, northern men and probably did not have their portrait cards made in the first place. A tension between domestic practices with portrait albums and the public nature of Pavia's project, complicated by the fact that it was expensive and not widely circulated, lends a sense of particularity to the *Mille*

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<sup>37</sup> For an overview on the role of bourgeois social values within the conception of the unified Italian state, see Antonio Gramsci, "Quando Incomincia il Risorgimento?" e "Le Origini del Risorgimento," in *Il Risorgimento* (Torino: Istituto Gramsci, 1975), p. 54—83.

<sup>38</sup> For a discussion of the album and its social functions and meanings in the nineteenth century, see Elizabeth Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).

<sup>39</sup> Martin Clark, *The Italian Risorgimento* (London: Routledge Press, 2009), p. 80.

as an object of public commemoration. At the same time, these tensions reflect parallel tensions between the North and the South in the new nation. The collection and the archive are essential categories by which associations between the form and use of the album and its class signifiers are established on both material and perceptual levels.

The *Mille*'s conception and bringing into being involved complicated strategies of picture taking, commissioning, acquiring, and naming. Pavia began compiling the list of names—which plays a key role in the reception of the *Mille*—around 1862, some two years after Garibaldi's Expedition. The names are listed alphabetically and numbered at the front of the album, and the place of birth and first name of each man's father are included in the listings, insofar as this information is known.<sup>40</sup> Some photographs were made in Pavia's studio. Others were commissioned or appropriated. Each image is labeled below with the sitter's number followed by his name—last then first, no punctuation. The album is arranged with twelve *cartes* per page, or twenty-four per opening, and, in Garibaldi's copy, there are no unfilled windows. A range of poses, compositions, backdrops, and garb signals the range of studios in which the portraits were taken (Fig.1.2). Other than Garibaldi, whose image occupies a full page at the front of the album, every sitter regardless of rank, age, or origin is treated equally, allotted his space according to his place in the alphabet. With 1,092 names on the list but only 824 pictures in the album, one can quickly calculate that 268 photographs are missing, and yet every page is filled and orderly, meaning some names and numbers are skipped over.

In a letter to Garibaldi of 1867 or 1868, Pavia claims that omissions in the *Mille* are largely due to deaths. It can be verified, however, that some members of the expedition that appear in the album had died before Pavia began to create it. In the same statement, Pavia

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<sup>40</sup> A typical entry looks like this: '752. Parselli Emilio, di Lorenzo, da S. Daniele (Friuli)'. There is only one woman in the *Album*.

qualifies his efforts, cites his financial and motivational hardships, and emphasizes the fact that he has collected more than 800 images—his defensive tone suggesting that there were other reasons not every name on his list could be substantiated with an image.<sup>41</sup> Given the formal and compositional diversities of the portrait cards, a viewer easily intuitively that images were appropriated from a range of sources including other portrait studios and, more likely, the already existing private albums of the Thousand's families. The single page containing image numbers 498—531, for example, shows multiple framing techniques and compositions, visually signaling a range of provenances (Fig. 1.2). Indeed, proprietors' stamps on the verso sides of many cards in the album confirm a range of studios (Fig. 1.3).

At first glance, *Mille* appears to be dually interested in presenting the Thousand under the umbrella of a coherent identity that could be directly grasped by viewers—thus enacting that identity upon them and strengthening its impact—and in functioning as visual evidence of a real, historical event involved in the construction of national identity prior to the album, or regardless of it. And yet, its two-fold claim to be comprehensive—the “full” list of names and the lack of empty picture windows where images are missing—contradicts itself. The functionality of the *Album dei Mille* has much to do with its ability to present the portraits within it under a unified temporality, while also speaking to the specific existences of the people they depict and making a claim for their importance in the future as historical figures and modern heritage. Comparatively

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<sup>41</sup> ‘Il sottoscritto essendosi proposto di raccogliere tutti i ritratti dei valorosi che fecero parte della gloriosa spedizione di Marsala, per lungo periodo di anni cinque non risparmiò nè dinari, nè fatiche per condurre a compimento un tale lavoro, ed infatti avendone riuniti oltre il n. 800 (quelli mancanti essendo per la massima parte coloro che perdettero la vita sui campi di battaglia)’. [*The undersigned having decided to collect the portraits of all the valorous who took part in the glorious expedition of Marsala, for a long period of five years I have spared neither money nor labour to see through such a job, and in fact have reunited more than 800 (those which are missing are for the most part those who lost their lives on the battlefield.)*] Translation mine. Doc. 5, Museo Centrale Risorgimento Roma (MCRR) 1106/32(3)15, cited in Pizzo, *Repertori*, 23.

engaging the collection and the archive allows for a robust scrutiny of practices of viewership and organization associated with the *Mille*, and grounds a discussion of nineteenth-century Italian identity within these practices, despite the fact that literature on collecting and archiving tends not to address practical and theoretical distinctions between the two. In providing a careful analysis of these categories, I will show that the *Mille*'s own aesthetics involve object-viewer relations that reinforce certain nationalist relations between state and individual, and that notions of time and history inscribed within the reception of and discourses on the collection and the archive inform the *Mille* as an art object with particular importance to the history of photography.

The problem of time embedded in photo albums can be described as a conflict between the visual organization of information within the material, collective context that allows the viewer to construct a narrative within the time of viewing, and the understanding of individual photographs to have material connections with real narratives that are in the past and unalterable. The organization and execution of the *Mille* draw up a particular set of conflicts along these lines, demanding multiple modes of viewership and understandings of time. Taking the *Mille* as a particular, organized set of photographic portraits reveals a play upon the dual tendencies to collect visual data into a set in such a way that it gains explanatory power, and to believe in the medium of photography as an indexical, or perhaps positive or objective, arbiter of truth and specificity that can only be interpreted from a position of posteriority. Furthermore, photography's relationship to history is at stake within these tensions, as the questions of whether photographic records constitute or merely illustrate recorded history, and how acquainted viewers need to be with a particular history or place in order to interpret a photographic record, arise in relation to the *Mille* and its construction of temporality and

narrative. Within the range of the *Album dei Mille*, this problem of photography's capacity to mediate history will be addressed through the collection and the archive as they shed light upon narrative and temporality. In subsequent chapters, this problem is explored via memory and perception, revealing a deeper understanding of how the collection and the archive were essential categories for both mediating history and conditioning its reception.

In *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, Susan Pearce notes in the years between 1500 and 1700 a move away from the accumulation of rare, curious, or esoteric objects in favor of the common or banal. This shift is attributed to an interest in discerning patterns in nature and culture in order to establish abstract, and thus transferable, theoretical categories for creating and visualizing knowledge.<sup>42</sup> According to Pearce, the drive to collect accelerated from 1700 to 1950, enabled by advances in mass reproducibility and the invention of photography. Pearce characterizes this period as one of “concentration upon measurement and distinction, and upon notions of classification as the explanatory paradigm,”<sup>43</sup> and a Romantic desire to gain a more intimate understanding of individual experience. This desire was matched by an emerging preference for panoramic views into which “all aspects of human history and relationships are fitted.”<sup>44</sup> The collection, in Pearce's sense, is a location for the mutual activation of individual objects into an organized narrative according to a systematic and classificatory mode of thinking and knowing.<sup>45</sup>

In the Italian context, which was, in the South, initially determined by Napoleonic statistical practices, the use of collections of artifacts and information was associated with

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<sup>42</sup> Susan Pearce, *On Collecting: An investigation into collecting in the European tradition* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 121.

<sup>43</sup> She notes that these elements are characteristic of Foucault's “classical paradigm.” Ibid., 123.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>45</sup> Furthermore the relationship between the portrait, the state, and the systemic organization of knowledge in this period is well established. See Ellenbogen.

notions of domination and control by foreign and autocratic power, or otherwise with emergent bourgeois notions of a moderate, self-ruling, perhaps paternalistic state.<sup>46</sup> Though there are differences between the administrative types of statistical projects that Patriarca considers and the more culturally- or artistically-driven examples of collections that Pearce has in mind, the association between accumulation, knowledge, and authority that the former describes nonetheless had an effect upon how collections of historical and artistic patrimony were perceived. Even in the Northern regions of Italy, Patriarca describes the role of statistics in the imagination of a unified Italian identity, and the strong association between (ac)counting, or visualizing, and knowledge and control.<sup>47</sup> The appeal of a descriptive or decisive set of collected information, as Pearce and Patriarca both argue, was quite powerful in this period and had strong implications for the developing sense of national identity. What is more, the cultural and moral aspects of this identity were likewise subject to this impulse, and the nineteenth century saw many efforts to use statistics and data sets to describe the moral and cultural makeup of the Italian peninsula in order to support various positions on the national unification of Italy. I would add that, simple as it may seem, the fact of physical possession as an aspect of collection had a strong impact upon its utility as a both a sign and an engine of power.

By the time of the Risorgimento, the exchange of *carte-de-visite* calling cards, and their collection and storage in prefabricated albums, were thoroughly naturalized as social practices across Europe.<sup>48</sup> Emerging alongside the invention of the *carte de visite* and commercial photography, family photo albums served to contextualize the individual within genealogical, cultural, and familial histories, and at the same time depended upon individual portraits to affirm

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<sup>46</sup> Patriarca, 20.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 35—6.

<sup>48</sup> For a history of the *carte de visite*, see Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985).



the collection's specific reality and naturalize the album to the family unit via visible, physical resemblance.<sup>49</sup> In a related mode, publicly-oriented portrait albums created at the time, such as the *Album dei Mille*, were, according to Elizabeth Siegel, "history written as biography, the faces of great men proof of their great deeds."<sup>50</sup> That is to say, the album in general in the nineteenth century was structured by the combination of photographic specificity and generalizing collectivity. Motivations to create public collections such as the *Mille* stemmed in part from a need to engender a connection with historical events via the visual and conceptual categorization of individuals into a system with an overarching logic or purview. It is these senses of organization and totality that characterize the photo album as a collection, unify its contents into a narrative, and justify its collective identification as a closed set. The autonomy of the *Mille* as a closed set, however, is complicated by the scale of the event to which it refers. Approaching it as a collection, then, introduces a productive liminal zone between materially contained narrative autonomy on the one hand, and outward-looking historical reference on the other. In other words, viewing a photograph album that commemorates an important episode in national history would engender two temporal registers for the viewer, one in which they perceive the photographs as a simultaneous unity, and another created by the triangulation of their own subjectivity, the event of the expedition, and the visual disjunction of individual photographs. Moreover, the form of the album references a mode of domestic possession that effects how it was perceived by viewers that were also owners and caretakers of their own, personal photograph albums.

Additionally, thinking of collecting as a practice that subsumes objects under an abstracted concept or narrative theme may ground a reading of Pavia's *Mille* within a discourse

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<sup>49</sup> Siegel, 2—7.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 61.

of collecting that also traces the modernization of identity construction through emerging narrative structures associated with the nineteenth century. Jeremy Braddock calls collecting an inherently modernist practice. He describes a “‘collection aesthetic’... [which] expresses something inherent within modernity—as, for instance, the ‘loss’ of the grand narrative [of tradition] instigates the search for a new social, aesthetic, or political affiliations in the present, or a wish to reinvigorate or rewrite historical traditions.”<sup>51</sup> Braddock grounds the impulse to collect in a modern desire to display objects in such a way as they may gain or produce meaning within and as their collective context.<sup>52</sup> Pavia’s enthusiasm about his project in letters to Garibaldi betrays a feeling of attachment to Risorgimento history in this way. It is as though Pavia views the *Mille* as much more than a census of the Thousand, and as something with legitimate, historical attachment to the Risorgimento, betraying a belief in photography’s indexical connection with that which it depicts, as well as the capacity of images to constitute knowledge and familiarity. To augment Braddock’s characterization of the modernity of the “collection impulse,” I argue that collections comprising photographic material in particular, organized in such a way as to suggest a connection with, or knowledge of, the current moment, offer a visual means of participating in the imaginative production of “historical traditions,” as Braddock calls them, and play a significant role in producing the modern subject as one with habits or faculties of viewing that stem from the photographic collection. So, in addition to the complicated temporal structure of the *Album dei Mille* that I have described, a viewer’s relation to modernity is also at stake.

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<sup>51</sup> Jeremy Braddock, *Collecting as Modernist Practice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), p. 6.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

One of the more significant persons included in the *Mille*, for example, is Francesco Crispi, number 337 (Fig. 1.4). Crispi, born in Sicily, baptized Greek Orthodox, and self-identified as Albanian-Italian, was a friend and advisor of Garibaldi. He played a major role in the Sicilian revolution against the Bourbons in 1848 and served on the separatist parliament that lasted sixteen months before the Bourbons took back control. He subsequently fled to Marseilles, where he met and married Rosalia Montmasson, who is depicted alongside him in the *Mille* as Rosalia Crispi, number 338, and is the only woman in the album (Fig. 1.5).<sup>53</sup> Francesco returned to Italy in 1859 and played a role in convincing Garibaldi to embark upon the Expedition of the Thousand. He was named the Secretary of State in Sicily following the fall of Palermo in the period before its annexation into Piedmont-Sardinia. By the time the Kingdom was declared, Francesco Crispi was widely known for his political career, and was rumored to have participated in the assassination attempt on Napoleon III carried out by Felice Orsini in 1858. In a general election in January 1861, just before the Kingdom was declared, Crispi was made a member of the Chamber of Deputies, a seat he would maintain for the rest of his life.<sup>54</sup>

Francesco and Rosalia Crispi are not marked by any signifier of their specific roles or exceptional status in the history of the Expedition, but simply filed in place according the alphabetical order of the *Mille*. Francesco is depicted in the jacket and necktie that are typical of his portraits throughout his life. See, for example, this portrait from the same period (Fig. 1.6). The broader nuances of Francesco's political identity and role in nation building are subsumed under the collective unity of the album itself. As his career in the government and political persona unfolded—he became the eleventh prime minister of Italy in 1893—Francesco became

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<sup>53</sup> The two were married until 1874. Rosalia was Francesco Crispi's second wife. Clark, 80.

<sup>54</sup> Christopher Duggan, "Nation Building in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Italy: The Case of Francesco Crispi," *History Today*, vol. 52, iss. 2 (February, 2002), p. 9—15.

known as a harsh authoritarian and openly declared himself a monarchist. Despite his role in the unification of the peninsula, Francesco worked, for example, against the annexation of the Papal States less than a decade later. As he appears in the *Album dei Mille*, Francesco Crispi's surplus identities as Greek Catholic and Albanian are veiled by his group membership in the Thousand. Moreover, despite his closeness to Garibaldi as his main advisor, pushing him to embark on the Expedition, both the nuances of Crispi's political differences and his exceptional history as a fighter for Sicilian independence and Italian unity are glossed over. The portrait cards of Francesco and Rosalia Crispi underline the power of the album to, at one and the same time, elevate each specific photograph to an abstract Italian identity that is characterized by the politics and mythology of the Expedition of the Thousand, and to cover over those aspects of personal identity and history that may be in excess of the generalized Italianness of the album. On the other hand, however, a viewer would most likely know a bit about Francesco, and could clearly see that Rosalia was the only woman included, bringing these observations to bear upon their reading of the *Mille* and its transmission of history. In other words, the unifying force of the album as a physical object and of the neutrality of the alphabetical order are undermined by the viewers particular reading and understanding of photographs. The knowledge and participation of the viewer are in this way essential to the functionality of the *Mille* and its capacities to both unify its contents and to involve the viewer in an essential way via the functionalities of the collection and the archive.

To enmesh a history of photography within an effort to distinguish the collection and the archive based upon their respective modes of address not only implicates photography within those modes, it also questions their respective historical importance. Jean Baudrillard grounds a theory of collecting upon the impulse to overcome feelings of social and mortal precariousness

with the establishment of an infinite concept of the self that can accommodate an endless series of individual objects.<sup>55</sup> He seems to be suggesting that by identifying with objects in a collection, one imagines or practices the act of collecting as an exertion of authority over the material world—the capacity to gather material objects into a context whose significance is coextensive with the collector’s or viewer’s will. If we take the album as a metaphor for this mode of self-building, the *Mille* gains particular traction as an object with nationalistic force that is strongly tied to its making and to its viewership. Considering Braddock’s assertion that collecting in the nineteenth century was about a modern impulse to be present to history alongside Baudrillard’s understanding that the mechanics of this impulse have to do with establishing the precedence of the modern subject over the material world by way of gathering objects into sets, a model emerges in which collecting is an act that both determines a modern subject and declares the authority of that act in the same gesture. It is also worth noting Jean-Luc Nancy’s contradictory suggestion that awareness of national or collective identity precedes that of individual identity in the modern era.<sup>56</sup> Nancy argues that individuals discovered themselves as such in relation to nationalist rhetoric and images, and that nineteenth-century Europe thus saw the emergence of a concept of identity in which individuality was subordinate to nationality. Applying this model to Pavia’s *Mille*, though probably not quite right, nor sufficient to appreciate its complexities, may reveal certain particularities within the histories of the Risorgimento and of photography. It may be the case that *Mille* and objects like it constituted the collective identity from which Nancy

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<sup>55</sup> “La collection est faite d’une succession des termes, mais la terme finale en est la personne du collectionneur. Réciproquement, celle-ci ne se constitue comme telle qu’en se substituant successivement à chaque terme du collection.” [*The collection is made of a succession of terms, but the final term is the collector herself. Reciprocally, the latter is constituted as such only by successively substituting itself for each term in the collection.*] Translation mine. Jean Baudrillard, *Le Système des Objets* (Paris: Gallimard, 1968), p. 128.

<sup>56</sup> Jean-Luc Nancy, *Identity: Fragments, Frankness*, trans. François Raffoul (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), p. 12.

argues individual identity stems. Seen this way, the album had the potential to determine personal narratives in addition to the national. The imagined status of the collection as subordinate to, and thus a product of, the compiler's modern identity might seem to reverse here, encouraging some investigation into the collection process.

While according to Pearce and Braddock, a collection's totality gives it meaning, the impulse to collect includes the valuing and selecting of individual objects. Susan Stewart's thought on the "souvenir object" and Baudrillard's on the "antique object" approach the collection by way of the things in it. Stewart writes, "We do not need or desire souvenirs of events that are repeatable. Rather we need and desire souvenirs of events that are reportable, events whose materiality has escaped us, events that thereby exist only through the invention of narrative."<sup>57</sup> Though Stewart is concerned with the souvenir here, her discussion of narrative underwrites her theorization of collections later in her text and explains the types of connections sought in collected objects.<sup>58</sup> For Stewart, the centrality of narrative in activating memory and linking souvenir objects into a conceptual unity is what categorically distinguishes the collection as such. Though she tends to place less value upon the materiality of the collection than I might, Stewart's description of the centrality of narrative to the reception and experience of the collection gets at a critical aspect of the differences I am teasing out between the collection and the archive, and is based upon relations with and amongst particular objects. What she calls "souvenir objects" are made significant by their narrative association, but the nature of that

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<sup>57</sup> Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 135.

<sup>58</sup> For further discussion, see Bruno Latour, "Visual Cognition: Drawing Things Together," in *Knowledge and Society Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present*, ed. H. Kuklick, Jai Press, 1986, <http://www.bruno-latour.fr/node/293>, 15.

significance has to do with a valuation of what they represent, and their relation to historical and experiential time.

Baudrillard's discussion of the antique object aims to explain how the rapport one creates with the antique fosters a feeling of time that is necessarily experienced in the present, providing an affective sense of unity with history. He writes, "The demand to which antique objects respond is one of being defined and being fully realized. The time of the mythological object is the perfect [tense]: it is that which takes place in the present as having taken place already, and that which is founded upon itself, [and is] 'authentic'."<sup>59</sup> For Baudrillard, the antique object's invocation of past time for the viewer is auratic, not literal. The past emerges, as he says, narratively and in the "perfect tense." Thinking of an album as Stewart thinks of the collection and photographs in albums as Baudrillard thinks of the antique allows one to see that cultivating a connection with the past in the present is not necessarily a matter of indexing a tangible or contiguous connection from *then* to *now*, but is rather about producing a feeling of connection to history in the present via narrative.<sup>60</sup> The proper time of the collection is the time of its viewing and use; the collection's formal organization constitutes its narrative unity, and vice versa. That the objects in the *Mille* are photographs resonates with the idea Pavia seems to have had that the medium's function was to maintain its subjects in a forever-frozen present. For him, collecting

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<sup>59</sup> 'L'exigence à laquelle répondent les objets anciens est celle d'une être définitif, un être accompli. Le temps de l'objet mythologique, c'est le parfait: c'est ce qui a lieu dans le présent comme ayant eu lieu jadis, et qui par cela même est fondé sur soi, <<authentique>>'. Translation mine. Baudrillard, *Système*, 106.

<sup>60</sup> Martha Langford insists the photograph album's mode of operation is *oral* in Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), p. 123. She describes "speaking the album" as "the discovery of the album's ordering principle," in Martha Langford, "Speaking the Album: An Application of the Oral-Photographic Framework," in *Locating Memory: Photographic Acts*, ed. Annette Kuhn and Kirsten Emiko McAllister (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), p. 225—6.

photographs of the Thousand into an album made them present to each other in a temporal sense. Indeed, one major effect of the *Mille* as a physical context for the portrait cards is that it naturalizes them in terms of temporality, bringing them into the same moment, and masking their particular provenances as individual *cartes de visite*.

Baudrillard's discussion of a collection's temporality goes further. He claims the collection's organization *replaces* or *abolishes* time,<sup>61</sup> determining its "perfect-tense" narrative.<sup>62</sup> Stewart corroborates, claiming,

the collection seeks a form of self-enclosure which is possible because of its ahistoricism. The collection replaces history with classification, with order beyond the realm of temporality. In the collection, all time is made *simultaneous or synchronous within the collection's world*... Because the collection replaces origin with classification, thereby making temporality a spatial and material phenomenon, its existence is dependent upon principles of organization and categorization... To ask which principles are used in articulating the collection is to begin to discern *what* the collection is about.<sup>63</sup>

Both Baudrillard and Stewart place a high level of significance upon the organization of a collection in the development of its identity or character, but the two are considering private and domestic collections, compiled according to the sensibility of a single subject. Pavia's *Mille* is organized alphabetically, which is rational and in a certain sense arbitrary, and potentially complicates the links drawn by Stewart and Baudrillard between a collection's organization and its character. Martha Langford, on the other hand, attributes special privilege to the organized list in an album. She writes, "What the list preserves with authority is the justification for the

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<sup>61</sup> Baudrillard, *Système*, 135.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 129.

<sup>63</sup> Stewart, *On Longing*, 151—4. Italics mine.



acquisition, which is the anticipated use of the album. Behind the list a conversation has already taken place.”<sup>64</sup> Langford maintains that the photograph album is a narrative genre, even when its order is rational and pre-determined. Given the importance of the list of names to Pavia’s project, maintaining a sense of active narrative amidst pre-determined order is key to arguing for its status as a collection. Apparent discord between its narrative potential and the arbitrariness of alphabetical organization may indeed be productive in terms of actively engaging the viewer with the *Mille* as an aesthetic object and as a vehicle for an important national narrative. That the *Mille* was not directly experienced by a wide audience, but made known to the broader public through Pavia’s abridged pamphlet, his advertisements, and its presence in libraries and the private collections of figures such as Garibaldi, speaks to its function as an object of narrative significance, supporting and supported by already existing understandings of the story of the Expedition of the Thousand. On the other hand, emphasizing to the public through the wider publication of the list of names and sample photographs the physical existence of the full *Album dei Mille*, though many would never see it, underlines the paralleled significance of the photographic record to the historical imagination and to the aura of the *Mille* as an object comprising real connections to people and events.

But in what ways does the *Mille* also work as an archive? Pavia claims his project was not about art, but about commemoration and his love for Garibaldi<sup>65</sup>—he wrote, “I ask you to consider my Album not as an artist’s work, but as a tribute of the admiration and affection of an Italian professing true worship for You, and as a sweet memory of the brave that first followed

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<sup>64</sup> Langford, “Speaking the Album,” 229.

<sup>65</sup> Pavia and Garibaldi were close friends. In a letter to Pavia in 1867, Garibaldi greeted him ‘*Mio caro Pavia*’ [my dear Pavia]—‘Mio’ indicates a level of intimacy and is in excess of a formal greeting—and signs off, ‘*Vostro per la vita*’ [yours for life]. Translations mine. Pizzo, *Repertori*, 23.

you in the magnanimous expedition.”<sup>66</sup> His intentions, in addition to voicing the desire for a personal connection with Garibaldi and the Thousand, reflect an impulse towards archive-building in the sense that he aims to comprehensively gather and house documents of “historical interest for public consultation,”<sup>67</sup> and to establish and qualify a standard of national values. Pavia’s act of commemoration not only records a historical event, it also looks to the future in that his intended audience only begins with Garibaldi and extends to generations to come as an object of modern history, heritage, and identity.

Jacques Derrida understands an archive to be more than a mere repository for things from the past, but necessarily conceived with the future in mind.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, he insists that the futurity of the archive is a futurity of interpretation—archival meaning is not fixed, but continually re-emerges within and for future consideration. In “Archive Fever,” he writes, “[The archive] is a question of the future itself, the question of a response, of a promise, and of a responsibility for tomorrow. The archive: if we want to know what this will have meant, we will only know in the times to come.”<sup>69</sup> This text, whose premise is exploring the possibility of a concept of the archive in the work of Sigmund Freud, describes the complexity of archival production and use for the psychoanalyst, as well as for modern historical and scientific epistemology in general. Derrida argues that archives not only establish norms, they also promise the maintenance and renewal of a set of objects whose potential as historical knowledge and

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<sup>66</sup> ‘Degnatevi gradire il mio Album non come lavoro d’artista, ma come tributo di ammirazione e di affetto di un italiano che professa un vero culto per Voi, e come dolce memoria dei valorosi che primi vi hanno seguito nella magnanima impresa’, Dedicata autografa di Alessandro Pavia insertita nell’Album dei Mille dedicato a Giuseppe Garibaldi [*Pavia’s signed dedication inserted in the Album dei Mille dedicated to Garibaldi.*] Translation mine. Pizzo, *Repertori*, 25.

<sup>67</sup> Julie Bacon, “Archive, Archive, Archive!” *Circa Art Magazine*, no. 119 (Spring 2007), p. 51.

<sup>68</sup> He writes, “The archive has always been a *pledge*, and like every pledge, a token of the future.” Jacques Derrida, “Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression,” trans. Eric Prenowitz, *Diacritics*, vol. 25, no. 2 (Summer 1995), 18.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

meaning will never be exhausted, or even fixed. Or more to the point, it is by being consulted and used that the archive continues to build, and remains essentially open and emergent: “The archivist produces more archive, and that is why the archive is never closed. It opens out of the future.”<sup>70</sup> An archive’s claim to legitimacy is a claim of the legitimacy of its regime of selection and inclusion that will address the future dialogically via the materiality of the past and the present.

Though his thinking here is based upon a conflict between memory and externality, we may simplify Derrida’s description of the impulse to archive as an awareness that “we cannot fully apprehend the cultural patterns of our time,”<sup>71</sup> suggesting a desire to gather what is culturally legible into a safe place so that it may be interpreted by the future, and also to preserve oneself in the archive with the very same act. What I have characterized as a commercial decision on Pavia’s part to offer “sample” versions of the *Mille* may also reveal what Derrida calls the archival impulse. Pavia includes with these “samples,” after all, the most important evidence of his comprehensive effort to archive the Thousand: the list of names. Thus, the MCRR’s diagnosis of the *Mille* as an archive may be understood as a gesture towards its tendency—and Pavia’s desire—to “shape memory and consciousness.”<sup>72</sup> That is, if the *Mille*, as an archive, is a receptacle for identity, it is one that is grounded in a specific materiality and moment, but always-already expanding towards the future. Moreover Pavia’s own appeals to be remembered for his patriotism and dedication via the album fits with this characterization of the act of archiving as opening towards the future, driven by an impulse to materially affect the future and to insert oneself into historical memory. An archive does not include the concept of a

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>71</sup> Bacon quotes the *Compte de Lautréamont*. Bacon, “Archive,” 51.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 53.

final word, nor does it, paradoxically, assume authority of meaning. It does, though, aim to establish what is recordable. As Derrida writes, “The technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its very coming into existence and in its relationship to the future.”<sup>73</sup> That is to say, as institutions, archives assert the parameters of inclusion and exclusion, what is significant for later generations, establish structures of acquisition, storage, and relation amongst objects, and dictate the production or generation of new materials that may enter the archive based upon these standards or modes. Alongside this, the fact of materially gathering and possessing objects in an archive re-emphasizes the archive’s authority to act upon the future.

Perhaps more so than materiality and the documentary impulse, we may take this sense of futurity as an essential criteria of the archive. Julie Bacon writes, “With the archive *spirit* in mind, the act of collating a mass of information or data, making a survey, or creating documentation does not necessarily constitute an archive where the *primary* motive is to provide a resource of something else to be undertaken,”<sup>74</sup> distinguishing the archive from the collection by merit of the former’s futurity. The promise that the contents of the archive will be looked at and interpreted differently in the future is what constitutes the archive’s essence. Additionally, Bacon reminds us, “[T]he archivist is concerned with provenance... This contributes veracity to the archives, and so corroborates the order they recommend.”<sup>75</sup> By Bacon’s reading, in the archive, the individual histories of objects support the legitimacy of their organization by associating them with reality, rather than with the idiom of a collector. This is another significant distinction with the collection, for which the opposite is true—the organizing principle of the

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<sup>73</sup> Derrida, 17.

<sup>74</sup> Bacon, 52.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

collection lends significance to the things it contains and is often synonymous with the eye of the collector. Said another way: in the collection it is the organizing principle that precedes the appreciation of objects, but in the archive, organization is vulnerable to variation and re-interpretation and is preceded by the historical legitimacy of the objects it contains.<sup>76</sup>

Two significant distinctions between the collection and the archive are emerging. The first has to do with temporality and time, the second with organization, materiality, and narrative.<sup>77</sup> Discussion of the collection focuses upon establishing its relationship with the present. A collection's links with the past are on a level of narrative and memory—that is, viewing a collection engenders a knowledge of pastness that can only be experienced through its performance in the present. The archive, on the other hand, speaks to the future. The “spirit” of the archive, as Bacon calls it, is its promise regarding the future importance of the objects within it.<sup>78</sup> Engaging with an archive does not imply that its set of objects is definitive, or that its

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<sup>76</sup> There is another sense in which the archive may be considered. ‘Archive’ is often used to indicate a standardising yet incomplete body of data by which other things can be normalized or measured. Michel Foucault describes the archive as a ‘system of statements... within a density of discursive practices’, meaning that archives enable knowledge claims by providing standards of difference and verifiability. See Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 229. In this sense, the archive has the power to identify, to name, and to exclude. As Allan Sekula writes, an archive is a ‘double system: a system of representation capable of functioning both *honorifically* and *repressively*. This double operation is most evident in the workings of photographic portraiture’. See: Sekula, p. 6. The photographic projects Sekula discusses, such as Cesare Lombroso’s 1878 criminality study, *L’Uomo Delinquente*, published about ten years after Pavia’s *Album*, are based upon physiognomy and the idea that “the key to identity could be found in the merest trace of the body’s tactile presence in the world” (34). Sekula describes a “remarkable parallelism and tension between the desire to measure and the desire to look” (44). Putting portraits into an archive allows them to speak beyond their own identities to their identifying relationships with other images and with abstract ideas.

<sup>77</sup> The distinction between genres depends more upon how objects are organised than upon how individual objects are treated.

<sup>78</sup> Derrida’s discussion in ‘Archive Fever’ is much more extensive than I have discussed it here. Their main argument is that the archive’s logic is a dialectic based upon a tension between futurity and death drive. The authors juxtapose the concept of the archive as a container with the concept of the archive as a set of material object to show that archiving is more than *collecting*

arrangements are final, even if the objects themselves are seen to have concrete relations to some type of knowledge.

Though both an archive and a collection may be understood as perpetually incomplete sets of objects, the natures of their respective incompleteness are distinct. A collection's inventory may grow, but its organizing principle must remain the same; the collection essentially *is* its organizing principle. Re-ordering a collection would destroy it. Contrarily, the archive is marked by its ongoing vulnerability to re-organization, which implies new and on-going possibilities of meaning.<sup>79</sup> It is telling, along these lines, that private collections—of artworks, prints, family documents, etc.—often enter into archives once they no longer have the ability to grow or to be relevant on a personal level. Confronting the *Album dei Mille* by way of both the collection and the archive means examining its organization from conception to completion. As noted above, 268 of the Thousand on Pavia's list are not represented photographically, but rather are skipped over. This indicates that at a certain moment in the gathering process, Pavia decided to stop. He declared his collection complete, and handed it over to Garibaldi without leaving interstitial space for future additions (though there are several blank pages with pre-cut picture windows in the back). Inserting new images into the *Mille* without disturbing the alphabetical order would literally require disassembly. Hypothetically speaking, if Pavia had been able to obtain an image for every name on his list, the album would then be terminally complete. The list and the specific references it aims to make determine the boundaries of the *Mille* as a concrete series. And yet,

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things, and is a creative act determined by material and technological methods and constraints. They write, 'there could be no archiving without titles (thus without names and without the archontic principle of legitimization, without laws, without criteria of classification and heirarchization, without order)'. The provenance and 'realism' of archived objects do not enable the authentic aura of the archive—it is discursive before it is auratic.

<sup>79</sup> 'The interest in an artist's archival approach does not lie in its 'challenge to the system' of the archive, but in its consideration of its own systematizing function'. Bacon, "Archive," 55.

the supremacy of the list lends a potential openness to the photographs. The act of indexing the images takes on the burden of real, historical connection, leaving the choice of photograph—the specific compositions, prints, etc.—with less responsibility to convey the Thousand as a particular group. Pavia’s choices of photographs, though often determined by circumstance and availability, regain a sense of personal preference and openness, implying the potential to replace specific images with another one of the same person. This aspect is most significant regarding historically significant or recognizable figures. For example, the important officer Nino Bixio, as I will discuss below, had been photographed many times throughout the Risorgimento, and Pavia would have had a range of likenesses to choose from. Along these lines, I find the tension created by the list within the album’s organizing principle to be a productive one.

The *Mille*’s alphabetical system prevents the type of narrative telling of accumulation and significance that Siegel and Langford signal as the basis of the collection.<sup>80</sup> Langford writes, “the photographic album can be understood by recognizing its original function as a mnemonic device for storytelling.”<sup>81</sup> For her, albums become inaccessible when they are removed from the contexts of their making, and are dependent upon a performative, narrative discursive practice for their very existence.<sup>82</sup> Stories told over private albums are double chronologies: that of the album’s creation, and that of the family genealogy that the album represents. However in Pavia’s *Mille*, there is no sense of chronology, genealogy, or geographical reference represented in the portraits’ order, nor is the story of their accumulation by Pavia made visible. My question

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<sup>80</sup> Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 123—4.

<sup>81</sup> Langford, “Speaking the Album,” 224.

<sup>82</sup> Of family albums held in public institutions, Langford writes, ‘In a public collection, we have neither respondents nor guides. No one is shaping these albums into digestible narratives; no one is filling in or glossing over their lacunae or “intertextual” references’. *Ibid.*, 124.

becomes: what might account for the *Mille*'s discursive context?<sup>83</sup> For Langford, the answer is that this context must always be performative, even if the album was not made exclusively for private use. She writes, "For the photographic album to fit within a framework, its vitality must somehow be renewable; typological predictions and the promise of performable ritual must be attainable within the changing conditions of the present... The photographic album must shift from the absolute solidity of material culture to a state of in-between, fully realizable only in performance."<sup>84</sup> Though the salience of performance is maintained, there is a slippage here between the collection and the archive within this language in its reference to promise and futurity. This is to say, according to Langford's logic, the *Mille*'s status as a future-looking, public, commercial object does not preclude it from the category of the collection, but it does provoke its additional consideration as an archive.

As individual photographs, the portraits in the *Mille* attest to the real occurrence of 824 distinct, photographic events. Yet, as Ariella Azoulay writes, "Photography is much more than what is written on photographic paper. The photograph bears the seal of the photographic event, and reconstructing this event requires more than just identifying what is shown in the photograph." She is referring to what she coins the "civil space of photography," which she explains thus: "[N]ot only is it impossible to reduce photography to its role as a producer of pictures, but in addition its broad dissemination over the second half of the nineteenth century has created a space of political relations that are not mediated exclusively by the ruling power of the state and are not completely subject to the national logic that still overshadows the political arena." Azoulay describes the potential of photography to create an imaginative space that is

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<sup>83</sup> See Foucault's chapters on 'The Description of Statements' and 'Rarity, Exteriority, Accumulation' in Foucault, *Archaeology*, 106—25.

<sup>84</sup> Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 152.



inherently political, and explores the tensions between photography as “documentary” and the discursive structures that support it.<sup>85</sup> By isolating the *Mille* as an archive that has the potential to define an imaginative political space, I engage Azoulay’s arguments in order to ask how it may politicize viewers, or equip them with specifically political knowledge, in addition to the historical knowledge it more overtly bares forth. Applying her vision of nineteenth-century photographic dissemination to the form of the album suggests that it may function as a coherent yet imaginative space in which images act with qualitative force. Perhaps early photograph albums are precisely what Azoulay has in mind. Her argument also points to an important distinction between numerical or statistical archiving in the nineteenth century and photography, and therefore raises the problem of the particular kinds of political power photographs may bring to bear. Though understanding general trends that relate nationalism and archiving in this period is important to an analysis of the *Mille*, zeroing in upon the visual qualities and political potentials of photographic archives as Azoulay does is crucial to fully grasping their reception, aesthetics, and political agencies.

Sustaining attention to the question of individual photographs in the *Album dei Mille*, I note Elizabeth Siegel’s assertion that in the mid-nineteenth century, technological constraints dictated a homogenization of studio conventions and thus a narrow regime of compositional standards that had the effect of equalizing portraits, offering sitters a limited vocabulary with which to express individuality. She writes, “In the carte de visite, individual character appeared to be on display; yet the very means by which photographers attempted to differentiate their sitters and elicit personal expression often ended up suppressing that individuality. What resulted instead was evidence of group membership, as each sitter’s portrait resembled others across the

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<sup>85</sup> Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (New York: Zone Books, 2008), p. 14, 12.

nation.”<sup>86</sup> Siegel argues that the conventions of the studio enacted a normalization of visual vocabulary for *carte de visite* portraits, and that the ubiquity and rigidity of this vocabulary resulted in the suppression of individuality by a regime of visual and compositional uniformity. If we orient this argument to Azoulay’s assertion that this uniformity constitutes an inherently political visual field, we begin to see the stakes of what Siegel describes. Indeed, recognizing that class uniformity is the essence of Siegel’s argument allows us to move past it to see that significant exceptions to this rule and the degrees to which individual photographs distinguish themselves have important implications as well.

The *Mille*—despite the fact that it is a product of the same technological era of which Siegel writes, if not the same culture—juxtaposes visually diverse images that were clearly produced in a range of studios. Opening to any page reveals that there is no conventional rigor or visual, compositional similarity to unify these images, despite the codes of class embedded in the bourgeois medium of studio portraiture and the social exchange of the *carte de visite*. This is to say that, while Siegel is correct in the sense that a certain class homogeneity is manifest across the *Album dei Mille*’s portraits, there are other factors to consider along the lines of her argument. Instead of recognizably similar studio conditions, it is the pretext of the *Mille*—the Expedition of the Thousand—that unifies the persons depicted. Or more precisely, the viewer’s assumption that there is a shared characteristic amongst the figures depicted which justifies their collective unity in the album discounts the importance of standardized visual signifiers, lending the portraits more license for individual autonomy. By foregrounding the narrative of the Thousand and the quality of Italianness that it represents, the *Mille* effectively glosses over the visual signifiers of class that are inherent in the medium of studio portraiture and embodied by

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<sup>86</sup> Siegel, *Galleries*, 35.

the Mille themselves. Group membership is conceptual and historical, allowing visual details to work amongst and against each other to differentiate individual persons and faces. Given that the conceptual unity against which these details stand out is based upon an episode in national history, it must be asked to what extent this history needs to be known by viewers for the *Mille* to be properly perceived before considering the particular contributions it may have made to historical understanding, or as I suggested in my discussion of Azoulay, its politics.

I find an interesting parallel in Alexander Gardner's (1821—82) *Photographic Sketchbook of the War*, published in 1866, which is contemporary with Pavia's *Mille* and shares the goal of commemorating a national event via the documentation of individual aspects in a collective context. It presents to the American public 100 photographs depicting buildings, individuals, group portraits, and battlefields taken over four years during the American Civil War. Where the *Sketchbook* differs from the *Mille* is in its inclusion of explanatory texts. What is most striking is that the *Sketchbook*'s preface explains to the reader that they do not need the event of the war to be explained because they, implicitly and as an American, already know that story. The text reads:

In presenting the Photographic Sketchbook of the War to the attention of the public, it is designed that it shall speak for itself. The omission, therefore, of any remarks by way of a preface might well be justified... Verbal representations of such places or scenes may or may not have the merit of accuracy but photographic presentments of them will be accepted by posterity with an unbounding faith.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Alexander Gardner, "Preface," *Gardner's Photographic Sketchbook of the War* (Washington, DC: Philip and Solomons, 1866).

Might we take Pavia's textual silence to carry the same rhetorical meaning—that viewers of the *Mille*, as Italians, already know everything they need to know in order to understand it?<sup>88</sup> Or, that photographic images are simply more convincing than words? Is Pavia counting on the fact that his *Mille* will be “accepted by posterity with an unbounding faith?” If indeed previous knowledge of the event is required to interpret the *Mille*, the importance of performance—the act of bringing supplemental knowledge to bear—becomes that of activating the *Mille* as a visual and mnemonic object. One could imagine a situation similar to the one Siegel and Langford describe of the family album in which the images are meaningless until illuminated by a narrator with inside, familial knowledge. Langford writes,

Albums are virtually useless unless examined in the company of their compilers, or at least within members of their circle, who can interpret the *social arrangements and signs*....The album is a meeting place, not an encyclopedia. When we sit and look at an album together, we do not necessarily look at every image... A photographic album fits together like a kit of parts, by a system of association that tellers and listeners know well and readily supply during the album's presentation.<sup>89</sup>

Langford's opposition of the album to the encyclopedia glosses over a significant undercurrent in viewing practices in the nineteenth century deriving from the development of the encyclopedia in previous century, directly applied to the photographic album. Concepts of classification and coherence that accompanied the encyclopedia and encyclopedic knowledge cannot be severed from the aesthetics of the album, despite the latter's resonance with the personal or familial. Nonetheless, Langford effectively points out here that because the *Mille*

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<sup>88</sup> As a *rhetorical* demand, it is not important that everyone who may have seen the *Album* understood it, or possessed this ‘Italian intuition’. What is significant is the *Album*'s expectation that they would do so.

<sup>89</sup> Langford, “Speaking the Album,” 226.

does not spell out its narrative, but instead asks for a performer of that narrative, it is in a sense a meeting place for Italians to become Italians.

The imagined community of the Thousand produces the virtual community of Italians as readers and keepers of the story that unified the nation.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, Langford's characterization of a looking practice in which not every item is viewed with the same attention seems spot on. The size and scale of the *Mille* encourage its skimming, rather than an even and measured examination of each and every photograph. This kind of looking is in fact guided by differences amongst the details that emerge for the viewer, catching attention by way of appearing remarkable in relation to the other photographs on the page. I would also add that Pavia's three-photograph samples of the album re-emphasize this point, suggesting that one does not really need to see all the photographs in order to figuratively see the Thousand. So, in addition to a dependence upon the viewer's knowledge of the event, and the temporal nature of its representation as knowledge or memory, the *Mille* causes the viewer's attention to oscillate between the general and the specific, a tension that has been important throughout this discussion. The scale of the specific, I emphasize, is more minute than the individual person. Due to the visual qualities of the studio portrait cards that I have been discussing, specificity registers for the viewer on a scale of hairstyles, clothing, studio props, placement of hands, compositional formats, etc. Each individual's *look*, as well as likeness, are on display in the *Album dei Mille*, and the photographs may represent regional diversity as much as they do political or military unity.

On the first page of his diary of the Expedition of the Thousand, *Da Quarto al Volturno: Noterelle di Uno dei Mille* (From Quarto to Volturno: Diary of One of the Thousand), Giuseppe

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<sup>90</sup> See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), p. 9—12, 67—111, 194—5.

Cesare Abba (1838—1910)—who is the first name on Pavia’s list, number one of the Thousand (Fig. 1.7)—describes a hotel dinner scene “gathering of all the dialects of Italy,” in Genoa on the fifth of May, 1860, just before Garibaldi’s arrival in the city and the commencement of the Expedition.<sup>91</sup> Though this account was not published until twenty years after the evening it describes, it represents the gathering of the Thousand as a political and cultural housing of representatives from all of Italy’s regions.<sup>92</sup> As a linguistic analogy for the mission, it is somewhat remarkable that Abba’s *Diary* calls Italians “Italians” before the Kingdom was established in 1861.<sup>93</sup> But the analogy between the *Diary* and Pavia’s *Mille* is not merely in their respective suggestions of a unified Italian identity. More significantly, it is in their common glorification of the name. There are 141 distinct names used in Abba’s first-person journal, seventy-nine of which are also represented in the *Mille*. In some passages, the names are rattled off as a list—a mere roster of presence—and not elaborated upon. Abba also accounts some men’s deaths, injuries, or interactions with locals in towns, and is careful to name all parties. At around 200 largely-printed pages, the *Diary* certainly makes an effort to pack in the names of individual men, while at the same time gathering them under the identifying umbrellas of the

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<sup>91</sup> ‘... in questo albergo, la gran sala era tutta occupata. Si mangiava, si beveva, si chiacchierava in tutti i vernacoli d’Italia’. [...in this hotel, the great room was fully occupied. We ate, we drank, we chatted in all the vernaculars of Italy.] Translation mine. Giuseppe Cesare Abba, *Da Quarto al Voltorno: La Noterelle da Uno dei Mille* (Milano: Progetto Manuzio, LiberLiber E-Book, 2000), p. 11.

<sup>92</sup> Gabriele D’Autilia explains, ‘I Mille erano per lo più lombardi, veneti, liguri, e toscani, in gran parte professionisti e intellettuali, e anche operai e artigiani, e soprattutto studenti’. [*The Thousand were for the most part Lombards, Venetians, Ligurians, and Tuscans, in large part professionals and intellectuals, and also workers and artisans, and above all students.*] Translation mine. Gabriele D’Autilia, *Storia della Fotografia in Italia dal 1839 a Oggi*. Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 2012, 94.

<sup>93</sup> Later in the journal, Abba laments the deaths of his enemies saying, ‘but we are all Italians’, after winning a skirmish in Sicily and hearing Sicilians prey. He ‘felt tears come into his eyes’. Abba, *Da Quarto*, 54.

Thousand and, more broadly, Italians.<sup>94</sup> The effect of this insistence upon naming in a popular account of the event is to validate its historical occurrence via specificity.<sup>95</sup> The *Diary*'s systematic and totalizing strategy resonates greatly with that of the *Mille*, and fits the logic of the collection as described above. The technique of gathering individual elements into a collective context for the purpose of creating order whilst requiring an audience to activate and read that order anchors identity claims not only in the comparative and systematic ordering of materials, but also in their performative engagement and appreciation by an audience. A viewer of the *Mille* simultaneously responds to its structure in order to glean its sense of unity—and thus identity—while also calling upon specific knowledge of a national, historical narrative in order to activate the album as a collection.

Additionally, Abba's and Pavia's shared emphasis upon naming is a linguistic analogy for the Risorgimento itself. Italian dialects, then as now, are often incomprehensible to each other. Yet names do not have to be translated.<sup>96</sup> Both the *Mille* and the *Diary* take care to convey the geographical origin of each person they name, suggesting there is nothing inherent to the names that distinguishes them regionally. Thus, naming may be part of a rhetorical strategy that founds Italian unity quite literally upon an already existing accessibility and commensurability of individual identities.<sup>97</sup> It is as if the *Mille* implies that the names do not need translation or

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<sup>94</sup> In addition to naming many of the Thousand, Abba names many men from the opposition, and men and women that he and others encounter. He also claims to have seen Alexander Dumas in person in Catania. Abba, *Da Quarto*, 145.

<sup>95</sup> Giuseppe Mercenaro, "Il Fotografo dei Mille: Tutti i Volti che Fecero l'Unità d'Italia," *Finestra sul Risorgimento: Cultura & Spettacoli* (1 Giugno, 2003).

<sup>96</sup> This is a sweeping generalization and the purpose of this paper is not to perform a linguistic study. The point here is that in depending upon names so forwardly, Abba's *Diary* presents the aspects of language that are indeed entirely comprehensible across dialects.

<sup>97</sup> Many of the Risorgimento's leaders spoke languages other than Italian. Cavour's mother tongue was French, for example, and Garibaldi was born in Nice. Giuseppe Mazzini was born in Genoa when it was under French rule, and went into exile in Marseilles. He also lived many

introduction—and nor do the faces—thereby calling upon viewers’ intuitive abilities to recognize Italianness in the names and images, and mirrored in themselves. Abba mentions throughout his journal that he is encountering Italians, regardless of where they are from or whether they are part of the Thousand. In the *Mille* and the *Diary*, names serve as touchstones in a sea of linguistic and visual difference, providing points of contact with history that are affective—as in Baudrillard’s account of the antique object—and structure and enable a narrative—as in Stewart’s account of the souvenir. In other words, there are modes of readership enacted by the emphatic use of names in the *Mille* that allow it to be cast as a collection due to claims of specificity. Where the *Mille* departs from the logic of the collection has to do with the way the names and the images are ordered.

If one casually browses the *Mille*, no meaningful order stands out, visually leaving the portraits vulnerable to re-ordering without injuring their conceptual unity. However, the rigor of numbers and names—both in the process of collection and in their aesthetic presentation—precedes and determines the images’ order. Though the primacy of an organizational method should signal the *Mille*’s status as collection, there is a sense in which its order does not do enough. What alphabetization has in organizational force, it lacks in narrative structure; what it has in rationality, it lacks in aesthetic effect. The 824 images that the *Album* conveys twenty-four at a time are presented in such a way that each portrait maintains a sense of autonomy from the organizational structure. Their placement in the pages tells neither the story of Garibaldi’s expedition, nor Pavia’s process of collecting them. Rather, visual and contextual connections at most describe an abstract Italianess, rooted in a sense of material authenticity that, as Baudrillard says, is articulated in the “perfect tense.” Because the provenance of each image obviously varies

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years in England. See Jean-Yves Frétigné, *Giuseppe Mazzini: Père de l’Unité Italienne* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2006), p. 385.



but is not apparent, their simultaneity is a matter of visual experience and their context in the album. This means that the collective “portrait” of the Thousand to be gleaned comes specifically from the visual experience of the photographs and not from their order, or even the narrative that may be told over them.

Furthermore, Susan Pearce points out a moralizing link between form and context in the nineteenth century, implying that within the logic of collecting, the container served the formal function of ethically validating items within it. She relates this to the 1859 publication of Charles Darwin’s *The Origin of Species*, which equated inclusion and categorization with survival and superiority, which at the time were “applauded as ethical qualities.”<sup>98</sup> Pearce cites a connection between this ethical principle and the use of the collection as a conduit of national and civic pride. And, as I’ve briefly mentioned above, statistical efforts since 1815 in Italy were associated with nationalism, bourgeois republicanism, and governmental authority. As Pearce writes, after 1851, with the rise of “great temporary international exhibitions...national pride, imperial glory, the mastery of history, and the progress of technology are woven into a seamless whole.”<sup>99</sup> Her argument, that the collection as a form is a statement about national identity and the hegemony of the state over history and knowledge, fits with Pavia’s stated aspirations for the *Mille* as a patriotic gesture. Pearce ends her chapter on “classic modernist collecting” thusly:

The modernist exploration [of collecting]...demonstrates the central fact that organized material is knowledge, and knowledge is organized material. The belief that material display creates both knowledge and proper social relationships is a fundamental aspect of the European *mentalité*, matched by the corresponding belief that material evidence

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<sup>98</sup> Pearce, *On Collecting*, 133—5.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 136—7.

embodies distinctions which can be determined by thought to reveal the pattern of things.<sup>100</sup>

But in our case, the organization of the *Mille* does not in itself reveal or even support any real knowledge about the Thousand, their mission, or their individual fates. For example, extracting and examining the set of 140 men indexed as Genovese—that is, those hailing from the city in which Pavia’s studio was based—reveals curious inconsistencies among the photographs. Of the 140 names, sixteen do not have corresponding portraits,<sup>101</sup> and eight are mentioned by name in Abba’s *Diary*. Simone Schiaffino (1835—60), for example, whose death Abba records on May 16, 1860, is number 906 in Pavia’s *Mille* (Fig. 1.8). The image occupies a relatively small, oval space in the centre of the card, and appears to be a photograph of a painting. In it, Schiaffino’s eyes are nearly shut, or rather, it is ambiguous whether his eyes are cracked in a low-cast gaze, or if his lids are lowered completely. But even if his eyes are closed, this cannot be a death portrait. According to Abba’s record, the dead were not collected on May 16, 1860, but left behind “in glory,”<sup>102</sup> and Schiaffino’s body was abandoned upon a hill above Catalafimi, mingled with those of his fellow Garibaldini, as well as those of his Bourbon opponents. No one could have recorded his death-portrait. So where did Pavia get Schiaffino’s image?<sup>103</sup> Even while it is possible that Abba’s account was fabricated and photo number 906

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>101</sup> Omissions are more frequent towards the end of the list. This may suggest that Pavia collected the photographs in numerical order (i.e. alphabetically), losing his fervour towards the end. Within the first fifty names of men from Genova, there are only two images missing—the 46<sup>th</sup> (#296) and the 50<sup>th</sup> (#327). Within the next set of fifty (51—100), five are missing (#s 426, 478, 614, 651, and 654). The remaining nine omissions are among the last forty Genovese names.

<sup>102</sup> Abba, *Da Quarto*, 55—6.

<sup>103</sup> According to *Le Temps*, this is a portrait of Schiaffino on his death-bed, draped in the flag of the *Mille*. A scale difference between the image depicted in *Le Temps* and the one in the MCRR’s reproduction of the *Album* may suggest that the album contains a drawn or lithographic

was indeed taken from a death portrait, the likelihood that Pavia was appropriating photographs from private albums must be conceded. The implication is that the integrity of the domestic album could be compromised for Pavia's nationalist and commemorative project—perhaps another analogy for the Risorgimento. That is, the literal possession or ownership of the portrait in a public and nationalistic collection is an important aspect of the album's politics, and speaks to the institutionalization of the archive in general in the nineteenth century along these lines.

Another notable example in the *Mille* is Nino Bixio's (1821—73) portrait (Fig. 1.9). Bixio was a military captain, organizer of the Expedition, captain of one of its ships, and “Garibaldi's right hand man.”<sup>104</sup> He is number 123 on Pavia's list and takes his place within the pages as if he were anyone. Bixio, who was photographed extensively in the 1850s and 60s, is depicted in a photograph from 1862 in the MCRR's photographic collection in his military regalia (Fig 1.10). But in the *Mille*, Bixio is depicted in a black vest, jacket, and bowtie with a watch chain leading from his next-to-upper-most button into his right pocket. He is dressed as a gentleman, not a military officer. In addition to being an officer, Bixio was also a member of *La Giovine Italia* (Young Italy), a political movement founded by Giuseppe Mazzini (1805—72) in 1832 with the aim of establishing an intellectual and moral base for Italian activists fighting for national unity.<sup>105</sup> Perhaps this former aspect of his identity is meant to be conveyed—his status as a citizen and his history among the thinkers and activists of the Risorgimento, rather than his

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copy of the original death-portrait photograph. ‘Garibaldi, étape 2,’ *Le Temps*, Genève: Le Temps, (23 Juillet, 2010), [http://www.letemps.ch/Page/Uuid/3ab22ea4-98f3-11df-91c3-aef925c978a6/Garibaldi\\_%C3%A9tape\\_2](http://www.letemps.ch/Page/Uuid/3ab22ea4-98f3-11df-91c3-aef925c978a6/Garibaldi_%C3%A9tape_2).

<sup>104</sup> Bixio was made a captain in 1849 by Garibaldi and had earned a gold medal for military valour in 1849 and a Military Cross of Savoy in 1859.

<sup>105</sup> Young Italy's motto was “God and the People.” Its goal was “Unity and the Republic.” Mazzini sought to instill highly intellectual and moral ideals within a new group of young Italian activists. “To achieve these ideals he required the fusion of ‘Thought and Action’.” Arrigo Solmi, *The Making of Modern Italy* (Port Washington, NY and London: Kennikat Press, 1925), p. 27.

military rank. Or perhaps his appearance is supposed to be banal, attending only to the community of images of which he is a part. Or, could Bixio have chosen the image that Pavia included? It is striking that his military identity would be subsumed in an object designed to commemorate a military event. The *Mille* may be suggesting that direct signification of official identity is not necessary because its viewers would already know the important names. Indeed, images of Bixio in officer's garb were far more common than images such as the one in the *Mille*. In this sense, Bixio is shown in two ways that would have been unfamiliar to his contemporaries—as a gentleman, and as one of many, in no way made to stand out. This speaks to a subordination of the individual to the logic of the collection, and the primacy of a collection's unity over that which it contains. Viewed this way, the common Italianness of the *Mille* is more prominent than a figure like Bixio. The question then becomes: is this Italianness an effect of the *Mille*, or does it refer to and depend upon ideas of Italianness already existing in the minds and lives of viewers? In Baudrillard's words, "Even when the external motivations are powerful, the collection never escapes its internal systemization, it constitutes at best a compromise between the two: even when the collection makes itself into a discourse for others, it is always first a discourse [addressed] to itself... One cannot for sure relate the thematic complexity of a collection to its real openness to the world."<sup>106</sup> Here, he is problematizing the idea that a collection can refer outside of itself, or relate to the real world in any appreciable way, due to the hegemony of the organizing principle over the contents. Or, in Langford's words, "The organization of photographs in an album is based on the photographic integer, which is

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<sup>106</sup> "Cependant, meme là où la motivation externe est forte, la collection n'échappe jamais à la systématique interne, elle constitue au mieux un compromis entre les deux: meme si la collection se fait discours aux autres, elle est toujours d'abord un discours à soi-même... On ne peut donc jamais conclure de la complexité thématique d'une collection à son ouverture réelle sur la monde." Baudrillard, *Système*, 146—7, 148. Translation mine.

mounted image by image, page after page... photographs *say the same thing in different ways*. What appears initially to be a general theme in an album often turns out to be a single subject revealed in as many ways as the compiler can muster.”<sup>107</sup> Asking whether Bixio’s portrait conveys his individuality as a historical figure, or whether he is just one of the Thousand, tests the interpretive efficacy of both the collection’s formal organization and its conceptual unity.

As has been mentioned, any opening of the *Mille* presents a range of images that appears to be diversely sourced. Combined with the arbitrariness of alphabetical order and the understatement of omissions, this seems to say that Pavia’s driving agenda was simply inclusion by any means necessary. Photograph number 434 of Felice Ferrighi (dates unknown) from Vicenza, for example, is a photograph of a plaster death cast (Fig. 1.11). Logically, it cannot be the case that he was killed during the Expedition. The most likely explanation of this photograph is that Ferrighi died sometime after, but before Pavia could reach him to solicit his portrait. For a death-cast to be made, it would have had to have been paid for and executed in a timely manner after Ferrighi’s death and kept by his family. But if Pavia was able to track down the family, why would they not give him a portrait from their album, or allow him to copy one? The most likely explanation is that none existed. His death cast was the first likeness ever produced of Felice Ferrighi. Like Schiaffino’s portrait, what was intended to be private has been made public, taken leave of the family album and presented as a data point among others to commemorate a historical event. Moreover, in a subsequent edition of the *Mille*, which is now housed at Castello Sforzesco in Milan, Ferrighi’s picture is all-together absent, supporting my hypothesis that his likeness in Garibaldi’s edition at the MCRR was a singular photograph and donated to the *Mille* by Ferrighi’s family, but not copied or reprinted for various editions.

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<sup>107</sup> Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 144—5.

The ability of these photographs to slip between private and public platforms in this way may have been built into the conventions of commercial photographers and studio portraitists since their emergence in the 1850s. Expanding upon Seigel's characterization of studio portraiture's tendencies to oppress the individualities of sitters, Langford claims that *cartes de visite*, when "properly executed," would "strike the right balance between public and private personae."<sup>108</sup> She argues, like Seigel, that the visual vocabulary of the studio was limited in this period, but reminds us that the genre of the *carte de visite* was one of *social* expression.<sup>109</sup> Following Langford, it is important not to overlook the fact that, although the portraits in the *Mille* do not share the same origin, nor were many of them likely taken for the purpose of entering the *Mille*, each individual portrait may nonetheless be considered as a publicly-minded statement of self. As such, these portraits are always seen to be in possession of some level of individuality, even as they are subsumed by the *Mille*'s order, unity, temporality, and idea.

In a group of photographs that were all produced in Pavia's studio, we see a range of compositions and formats. For example photograph number 131 of Bonan Ranieri (1815—71) shows the full figure standing with his right elbow resting on a pedestal, holding a hat in his right hand, weight on his left leg, and the right casually crossed in front (Fig. 1.12). We see the studio backdrop and furniture, all of which is unremarkable, and Ranieri is staring at the camera. Number 231, Giovanni Cappiero (dates unknown), is seen in three-quarters profile with a dark jacket, looking to the right of a hard-edged vignette frame (Fig. 1.13). Number 572, Moisè Maldacea (1822—98), is seen in a bust view wearing a captain's uniform, straight on, gazing out

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>109</sup> Langford writes, "A visit to the photographic studio was the opportunity to play-act before the camera, and some curious performances were recorded. But as any large collection of mid-nineteenth-century photography proves, the most popular role, far and away, was the public self." Ibid.

from a soft-edged, vignette (Fig. 1.14). In addition to several other compositional formats found in Pavia's own portraits, the verso sides of some of these *cartes de visite* differ in color and stamp style, though they all bare the same information about Pavia's studio at "Piazza Valoria No. 4, Genova" (Fig. 1.15). These differences may suggest a number of things. Perhaps the change in backing represents a range of time over which Pavia identified and found the Thousand, and was simply also changing the style of his logo for commercial reasons. Perhaps different stamps or colors of ink were associated with different assistants, or prices, or quality. It is also highly possible that these photographs range in format because they were taken *before* the Expedition, and Pavia still had negative plates on hand, and had only to re-print them for the *Album dei Mille*, rather than obtain another sitting. Several of the men whose photographs are stamped with Pavia's logo are also listed as hailing from Genova. It is also possible that Pavia borrowed or bought negatives from other photographic studios, printed them on his own cardstock, and branded them with his own stamp. Information about the production of individual photographs, however, was concealed in the album's original design, and was only obtainable due to photographs that have fallen out or gone missing to reveal the verso side of the photographs on adjacent pages (this was the case of the edition of the *Album dei Mille* in the Civico Archivio Fotografico of the Castello Sforzesco in Milano).

As an intact album, the *Mille* gathers photographic artifacts into an arbitrary yet rational context in such a way as to cause them to create relationships among themselves. No opening is more important than any other, but at the same time, no two are the same. The point is that the heterogeneity of the images is what comes across when viewing the album, even without knowing the details of their production and despite the arbitrary and equalizing organizing principle and limited visual range of studio conventions. The *Mille*'s unity is material—the fact

that the 824 *cartes* are gathered in a regular way into a banal type of object—and thematic—the commemoration of a historical event. The assertion of national identity depends upon structures of viewership associated with both archives and collections. That is, affective relationships with individual portraits drive feelings of authenticity and specificity that connect the viewer with the Thousand by way of their individualities. Alphabetical order decides their placement within the pages and the relationships they take with one another, but this order has little effect upon the autonomy of each image. On the other hand, the story of the Expedition underwriting the *Mille* must be understood and performed by knowing viewers. From the names and the faces emerges the collective unity of men whose historical connection is valorized and justified by their collective and primary identification as Italians. Discovering whether is it a collection or an archive—or a monument for that matter—has not been the purpose of my inquiry. Rather, by questioning the *Mille* via both categories, I have understood better how it structured and was structured by certain modes of viewing associated with collections, archives, and albums, and begun to touch on the politics of these modes of reception, as well as their effects.

As I argued, Pavia's *Album dei Mille* works intentionally to bring the photographs to a state of contemporaneity with each other. Their provenances are naturalized to the physical context of the album, and the sitters depicted are present to each other, regardless of whether they are living or dead; boys, men, or women; and whether their likeness was taken before or after the event the album commemorates—the event that transformed them from individuals into the Thousand. This temporal naturalization allows viewers to approach the *Mille* as a collection, narratively experiencing it in real time, the temporality of viewing dovetailing with the temporality of the *Mille* itself. Yet at the same time, its necessary attachment to a historical event and the rational, alphabetical organization of the contents according to a list, along with the



intentions of the *Mille*'s maker, open it to the archival sense of futurity in which its reference and use will continue to determine the values of the objects inside. That Pavia visually diminishes evidence of each photograph's provenance and each sitter's regional origin encourages its circulation as, paradoxically, an object not tied to a specific place, and perpetuates the on-going re-reading that characterizes the archive. Moreover, the features that make it useable for my research are precisely those which characterize it as an archive, such as the list of names which indexes the images, and the institutionalization of the album itself due to its historical value and nationalistic intentions.

While Alessandro Pavia's *Album dei Mille* is a significant work both in terms of the history of the Risorgimento and the histories of the album, the collection, and the archive, as a single object it is limited in its ability to fully explore these themes. For example, the aesthetic and discursive contexts of the Risorgimento were informed by literary and artistic movements such as Romanticism and travel albums and literature via landscape and archaeology, rather than portraiture. Tropes associated with the "Southern Question," or the problematic political and cultural relations between northern and southern regions in nineteenth-century Italy, are masked in the *Mille*, and are better illuminated by looking at other works that aim to depict and characterize the places and spaces of modern Italy, rather than just the faces. Other photographic albums that are contemporary to Pavia's work directly treat the events of the Expedition of the Thousand, engaging with the concepts and modes of viewership associated with the collection and the archive, while also opening to visual, aesthetic, and discursive themes that shaped the national imagination as well as the use of photography as an artistic medium engaged with Romantic and Orientalist styles. In looking at landscape and travel albums produced within Italy

and abroad, I will advance the arguments made in this chapter regarding the functionality of the album as a form, and regarding the visual politics of Risorgimento Italy.

### 3. Eugène Sevaistre's Southern-Italian Stereograph Albums

Garibaldi's Expedition of the Thousand was visually represented and distributed across a wide array of media with varying political and narrative frameworks. Alessandro Pavia's patriotism was both exceeded and countered in other photographic projects involving the expedition and its aftermath in the South. A remarkable example, an album called *Album Storico Artistico: Garibaldi nelle due Sicilie*, organized by the Terzaghi brothers at their Milano studio 1861 (Fig. 2.1), lithographically reproduced photographs taken by the well know French photographer, Gustave Le Gray (1820—84), and by the lesser known French photographer Eugène Sevaistre. The images are embedded in a robust text recounting the history of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the narrative of Garibaldi's mission, and its political outcomes. The *Album Storico Artistico* was highly nationalistic and emphasized the revolutionary spirit of Sicilians in relation to the Risorgimento. The supposed "Italianess" nascent within the hearts of Sicilians is referenced, for example, in the section of the text on the history of Sicily before Garibaldi's arrival, the political and historical fulcrum that catalyzed their latent desire to join a unified Italy.<sup>110</sup> This version of the story is, of course, propagandistic and intended to justify the implementation of northern customs and policies in the South. Indeed, these fraught dynamics that characterized the unification of the North and the South underwrite a majority of the polemics involved in the formation of Italian identity in this period.

The annexation of the Two Sicilies and geographic unification of the Italian peninsula and island of Sicily made the "Southern Problem" a concrete component of Italian nationalism

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<sup>110</sup> See "Le due Sicilie primo dello Sbarco di Garibaldi," *Album Storico Artistico: Garibaldi nelle due Sicilia* (Milano: Fratelli Terzaghi Editori, 1860—2).

and identity. In addition to the event of Garibaldi's Expedition of the Thousand, landscape, archaeology, and artistic patrimony were mined as bases of common Italian culture and identity, as well as difference. Compiling photograph albums of landscapes gave rise to reflections upon the geographical and art-historical dimensions of Italianness as it was being constructed in the latter years of the Risorgimento. Eugène Sevaistre (Fig. 2.2), a commercial photographer born in Normandy on the last day of 1817, was based in Palermo from 1858 until at least 1864,<sup>111</sup> where he opened a studio and created two stereograph albums documenting Garibaldi's Expedition and one stereographic travel album of Sicily.<sup>112</sup> Sevaistre did not, like Pavia, have ambitions to make a nationalist or patriotic statement with his works. He sold his images commercially in Italy and abroad, and they were reproduced in projects such as the *Album Storico Artistico*. Though he organized sales catalogues according to the narratives of the Expedition or to travel itineraries associated with the Grand Tour and bound them together as albums, the stereographs were separable from their collective contexts, available for individual purchase. The medium of stereography, which required the use of a viewing device and individual photo cards, necessitated the detachment of views from the physical context of an album to be seen one at a time. This major shift in the nature of the album driven by Sevaistre's use of stereography, rather than the *carte de visite*, reveals certain aesthetic and social aspects of album viewership along the lines of the collection and the archive that did not pertain to the *Album dei Mille*. That is, the

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<sup>111</sup> He may have stayed later, according to a photograph taken of him in the early 1880s by Giuseppe Incorpora. Carmelo Bajamonte, Dario Lo Dico, and Sergio Troisi, *Palermo 1860: Sterescopie di Eugène Sevaistre* (Palermo: Gruppo Editoriale Kalós, 2006), p. 11, 18.

<sup>112</sup> According to Emanuele Bennici, Sevaistre only ever created two other albums, both of which are in the collection of the Canadian Center for Architecture. They are titled, "Souvenirs Stereoscopiques d'Espagne" and "Souvenirs Stereoscopiques d'Italie." See Emanuele Bennici, "Nota su uno Stereoscopista Francese: Eugène Sevaistre" (Palermo, Febbraio, 2015) [https://www.academia.edu/10992972/Nota\\_su\\_uno\\_stereoscopista\\_francese\\_Eug%C3%A8ne\\_Sevaistre](https://www.academia.edu/10992972/Nota_su_uno_stereoscopista_francese_Eug%C3%A8ne_Sevaistre)

private nature of stereographic viewing introduces a different set of parameters to the experience of time and the construction of narrative than did Pavia's album, and touches upon other social and aesthetic contexts that characterize this moment in nineteenth-century Italy. Sevaistre's commercial rather than patriotic motivations opened his works to facets of Italianness that shed light upon modern—but not necessarily nationalist—identity formation.

The albums Sevaistre created around Garibaldi's Expedition of the Thousand focus upon two sites, Palermo, a large city taken in May and June of 1860, and Gaeta, a coastal town and one of the last sites conquered in February of 1861. Though there were several official photographers accompanying the Thousand on their excursion, including Gustave Le Gray, a significant number of independent photographers had followed, like Sevaistre, the Expedition of the Thousand either in part or in whole, producing similar albums or photographs documenting the events, initiating a proto-documentary genre of spectacular war photography.<sup>113</sup> Sevaistre's works, *Révolution de Palerme: les Barricades* (hereafter referred to as *Palerme*), containing 31 views,<sup>114</sup> and *Bombardimento e Presa di Gaeta* (hereafter referred to as *Gaeta*),<sup>115</sup> containing 39

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<sup>113</sup> Marina Gnocchi e Silvia Paoli, "L'album 'Sicilia' di Eugène Sevaistre," in Carmelo Bajamonte, Dario Lo Dico, and Sergio Troisi, *Palermo 1860: Sterescopie di Eugène Sevaistre* (Palermo: Gruppo Editoriale Kalós, 2006), p. 26. Indeed, war photography has a brief history already by 1860, and some of the earliest known war photographs can be dated to the 1849 uprising in Rome. For a discussion of the history of war photography and associated genres in the nineteenth century, see Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2003).

<sup>114</sup> In the collection of the Archivio Storico Comunale di Palermo, there is a set of printed cards (not articulated into an album) numbered 1—31 (with the exception of numbers 8, 13, 14, and 24). The Archivio Fotografico del Castello Sforzesco in Milano possesses a numbered set of 1—24 (with some discrepancies in the numbering), pasted into the back pages of the sales catalogue for *Album Sicilia*. Remarkably, some of the numbering is inconsistent across the two sets (the former is not digitized).

<sup>115</sup> The Siege of Gaeta was the last military event of the Expedition of the Thousand and concluded in February of 1861.

views,<sup>116</sup> survey their respective titular towns in the aftermath of Garibaldi's conquest, depicting street barricades, destroyed buildings, and deserted base camps staged with dead bodies or soldiers posed in wait. The Terzaghis' *Album Storico Artistico* draws largely from *Palerme*.

The travel album, *Sicilia: Souvenir Stereoscopici d'Italia* (hereafter referred to as *Sicilia*) surveys "all of Sicily," suggesting that it comprehensively conveys all significant views and sites on the island, simulating the Sicilian leg of a European Grand Tour itinerary (Fig. 2.3). The landscapes, architecture, and artworks of Sicily, subjects familiar to Europeans within the artistic context of the Grand Tour since the seventeenth century,<sup>117</sup> are presented in 250 stereoscopic views organized into sub-series by location. The scant literature that exists on these albums refers to the Grand Tour for the conception of this album, and claims that it was meant to be marketed as an auxiliary product, perhaps a narrative document of the photographer's official participation.<sup>118</sup> As I will show, however, despite the association with traditional European tourism, close analyses of the images in *Sicilia* in their collective context suggest a set of aesthetic and experiential values that are distinct from those of the Grand Tour, and modes of narrative progression and engagement that likewise do not pertain to the Tour's conventions for documentation, representation, or collecting. In a sales catalogue, Sevaistre indicates a price per image, one *franco* each for fewer than 100 cards, and two *tari* each for 100 or more (Fig. 2.4), suggesting that the stereographs were not intended to be experienced as a tour or series at all, but

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<sup>116</sup> This album is preserved as an autonomous sales catalogue at the Archivio Fotografico del Castello Sforzesco in Milano. There are 38 images in this set, numbered 1—8, then 10—39. There is no space left in the catalogue for the missing number 9.

<sup>117</sup> Sergio Troisi, "Sicilia, 1860," in *Album Sicilia: Viaggio ottocentesco di Eugène Sevaistre*, Carmelo Bajamonte, Dario Lo Dico, and Sergio Troisi, eds. (Palermo: Gruppo Editoriale Kalós, 2007), p. 21.

<sup>118</sup> Dario Lo Dico, "Viaggiatori Fotografi e Fotografi Viaggiatori," in *Album Sicilia: Viaggio ottocentesco di Eugène Sevaistre*, Carmelo Bajamonte, Dario Lo Dico, and Sergio Troisi, eds. (Palermo: Gruppo Editoriale Kalós, 2007), p. 29—34.

were to be collected as individual souvenirs and re-contextualized into other, private albums.<sup>119</sup>

Images from *Palerme* and *Gaeta* were similarly available for purchase, and the former is included at the back of the sales catalogue for *Sicilia*.

Sevaistre's strategies for depicting Sicily include emphasizing his own interactions with landscape, architecture, and archaeological sites, creating ambiguously engaging and distancing images. His aesthetic engagements with Romanticism offer insight into the visual discourses surrounding the Risorgimento and the othering of the Italian South during and after unification.<sup>120</sup> Additionally, the popular form of the stereograph and its use for documentary and travel imagery signals class tensions within the former Two Sicilies as they recovered from years of Bourbon rule. The social history of stereography and its closer proximity to commercial entertainment, relative to other forms of photography, serves as an indicator of the emergence of a bourgeois class across Europe. The reception of the medium in Paris or Milano, in other words, would be conditioned by an industrialized market in different ways than its reception in Sicily, which industrialized at a much slower rate. This is to say that the medium itself may be

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<sup>119</sup> Serious collectors, however, would have wanted full sets. Collection of the full series existed as a practice, though it was less common than selective collecting.

<sup>120</sup> For a general discussion of the intrinsic "othering" that occurs within the development of the modern nation state, see Corey Johnson and Amanda Coleman, "The Internal Other: Exploring the Dialectical Relationship between Regional Exclusion and the Construction of National Identity," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 102, no. 4 (July 2012), p. 863—80. Additionally, the Risorgimento itself is the origin of this problem. In Nadia Urbinati's words, "The Southern problem was unquestionably related to the way in which the political unification of the country was implemented, as an 'occupation' of both the local and the central government by the moderate liberals of the North." Nadia Urbinati, "From the Periphery of Modernity: Antonio Gramsci's Theory of Subordination and Hegemony," *Political Theory*, vol. 26, no. 3 (June 1998), p. 371—2. See also: John A. Davis, "The South, the Risorgimento and the Origins of the 'Southern Problem,'" in *Gramsci and Italy's Passive Revolution*, ed. idem (London: Harper and Row, 1979), p. 67—103 and Sidney G. Tarrow, *Peasant Communism in Southern Italy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967).

productively considered as an element of identification along the lines of social class and modernization.

As Umberto Eco notes in his two-volume tome on the nineteenth century, a bourgeois class did not arise in Italy until the last quarter of the century, and even later in the South.<sup>121</sup> At the same time, the South boasted impactful revolutionary energy in the early years of the Risorgimento, and carried out a successful, if short-lived, revolt against the Bourbons in 1820, one of the first political events propelling the Risorgimento as a movement of independence, and again in 1848.<sup>122</sup> This is to say that, in the South, there was a sense of the oppressive weight of aristocratic rule for decades before Garibaldi's mission, and revolution and independence were, arguably, tangible parts of the southern consciousness, perhaps more so than notions of national unity.<sup>123</sup> While economically and politically, a bourgeois class may not have emerged in the South until decades later, there is evidence of social and political impetus to oppose foreign rule and desire to self-define a modern identity.<sup>124</sup> Thus, in Sevaistre's landscapes, documentary

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<sup>121</sup> Eco writes, "Rispetto alla Gran Bretagna, alla Germania, e alla Francia, in altri paesi europei quali l'Italia, la Russia, e l'Austria-Ungheria il processo di affermazione delle borghesie inizia soltanto nell'ultimo quarto dell'Ottocento e avviene comunque nell'ambito di una società che vede la persistenza di mentalità, istituzioni, e meccanismi economici tipici dell'*ancien regime*." [*With respect to Great Britain, Germany, and France, in other European countries such as Italy, Russia, and Austria Hungary, the affirmation of the bourgeoisie only began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and thus happened in a social environment that saw the persistence of the mentalities, institutions, and economic mechanisms typical of the ancien regime.*] Umberto Eco, *L'Ottocento: Il Secolo delle Macchine*, vol. 1: Storia, Filosofia, Scienza, e Tecniche (Milano: Encyclomedia Publishers, 2015), p. 270. Translation mine.

<sup>122</sup> See Beth Saunders' comments on Alberto Mario Banti and Roberto Bizzocchi's *Immagini della nazione nell'Italia del Risorgimento* (Roma: Carocci Editore, 2002) in *Developing Italy*, 8—9.

<sup>123</sup> For a discussion of ideologies informing the Risorgimento in the South of Italy, see Nadia Urbinati, "From the Periphery of Modernity: Antonio Gramsci's Theory of Subordination and Hegemony," *Political Theory*, vol. 26, no. 3 (June 1998), p. 370—91.

<sup>124</sup> David Lowenthal discusses the impulse to generate direct or "original" connections to heritage, history, and geography when nationalism and independence are at stake. As he writes, "National identity requires both having a heritage and thinking it's unique." David Lowenthal,



photographs of bombed and barricaded cities, and tourist accounts of Greek and Roman ruins, and their lithographic reproductions, I seek alternative political dynamics within his compositions, which are attentive to the viewer's spatial and temporal proximity.

The Terzaghis' *Album Storico Artistico*'s heavily rhetorical positioning of Sicilian subjecthood as essentially already-Italian reflects a nationalist ideological mechanism to justify the geographic inscription of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies within a unified Italy while at the same time asserting the idea that moral, cultural, and economic development were not needed to bring the populations of those territories into the Italian spirit. The inscription of the Two Sicilies' political history into the nationalist rhetoric of the Kingdom of Italy after 1861 involved a delicate negotiation of identity around revolutionary and moderate viewpoints, and the positioning of earlier uprisings against the Bourbons within the conceptual boundaries of the Risorgimento more broadly.<sup>125</sup> While the huge amount of text precludes the *Album Storico Artistico* from the category of the photograph album as I have been considering it in this dissertation, its role as a vehicle for the circulation of imagery underlines the importance of photographs of the Risorgimento to Italian audiences. Moreover, the forcefully patriotic rhetoric of the text makes clear that images on their own, even when grouped together or put in a certain order, do not convey a particular narrative or political position.<sup>126</sup> The framing and performance

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"Identity, Heritage, and History," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, John R. Gillis, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 47.

<sup>125</sup> For a historiographic review of Risorgimento political thought, see Isabella Maurizio, "Nationality Before Liberty? Risorgimento Political Thought in Transnational Context," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, vol. 17, no. 5 (2012), p. 507—15.

<sup>126</sup> In T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), chapter 1, p. 9—20, Clark discusses the problem of whether visual forms can be interpreted to have intrinsic politics. He argues that they cannot, but rather that there are "complex links which bind art and politics in this period." He writes, "I want to explain the connecting links between artistic form, the available systems of artistic representation, the current theories of art, other ideologies, social classes, and more

of a narrative is brought to bear upon photograph albums, whether via text or the modes of viewership associated with the collection and the archive.

The frontispiece of the *Album Storico Artistico* reads (Fig. 2.1), “Scritta da B.G., con disegni del vero, le Barricate di Palermo, ritratti e battaglie, litografati da migliori Artisti” (*written by B.G., with drawings from life, the Barricades of Palermo, portraits, and battles, lithographed by the best Artists*). Photography is not mentioned, but rather the terms that signal the album’s value seem to be “dal vero,” meaning “from the truth” or “from life,” and “Artisti,” or “artists,” which is capitalized. It is likely, however, that in 1860 the phrase “drawings from life” was meant as shorthand for photography, and describing the lithographers as the “best artists” might mean to praise their mechanical skill, rather than genius of invention.

Reproductions of Sevaistre’s works were taken from stereographic views, rather than straight photographs, and in most cases favor one half of the stereo image, rather than interpret the stereoscopic view. Compare, for example, “Incendio del Monastero della Badia Nuova,” (Fig. 2.5) with its stereographic source, “Incendie du Monastère de la Badia Nuova” (Fig. 2.6) (both translate to *Fire at the Badia Nuova Monastery*). The lithograph seems to be based upon the right-hand side of the stereograph, and, other than some minor cropping, does not alter or add to Sevaistre’s composition. The album also includes many plates that illustrate events by depicting human action, such as “Demolizione del Castello di Palermo” (*Demolition of the Castel of Palermo*) (Fig. 2.7), “Entrata di Garibaldi in Messina” (*Garibaldi’s entry in Messina*) and “Combattimento alle Mure di Capua” (*Battle at the Capua Walls*) (Fig 2.8). These action scenes do not have photographic sources, given their sketchier handling, variation in line and shading,

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general historical structures and processes.” My argument throughout this dissertation is an attempt to track one realm of relations between art and politics within photograph albums, the sensibilities of the collection and the archive.

and depiction of cloudy sky. The preservation of Sevaistre's compositions suggests that they were valued as photographs, that that value could be maintained in a lithographic reproduction of high fidelity, and that Sevaistre may have been more widely known than the literature suggests.<sup>127</sup>

In the *Album Storico Artistico*, one may identify whether the left or the right image on Sevaistre's stereographic cards was used. There is one image in particular, however, which I suspect was based upon the stereoscopic appearance of the original. That is, the lithographic drawing was based upon viewing Sevaistre's print through the device and trying to recreate the three-dimensional effect. "Baricata dei Napolitani a Porta Nuova" (*Neapolitan Barricade at Porta Nuova*) (Fig. 2.9), copied from the eighteenth stereograph in Sevaistre's album *Révolution de Palerme: les Barricades* (Fig. 2.10), recreates the original, somewhat odd scene, but with a condensed and wrapping sense of space with visual emphasis on the immediate foreground that imitates the effect of looking through the stereoscope. The darkening and dramatizing of the rugged terrain and puddles between the two figures seated amongst the barricade materials imitates the shift in attention that occurs when looking at a stereographic image, namely an emphasis upon the fore- and middle ground that is not apparent when looking at an image without the device.

Lithographic, engraved, and woodblock printing were the most common ways that photographs were circulated to large audiences in this period, and it was typical to augment scenes by adding figures in action to render consumable images that more effectively tell a story.

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<sup>127</sup> Sevaistre's albums were also reprinted 50 years later, at the anniversary of Palermo's liberation from the Bourbon monarchy by the Palermo-based photographer Giuseppe Incorpora (1834—1914) Lo Dico, "Ritratto," 21. A copy of *Album Storico Artistico: Garibaldi nelle due Sicilia* is held in the Biblioteca della storia moderna e contemporanea in Rome. The lithographs in the book do not credit sources, but all seem to have been made by the Terzaghi brothers' studio in Milano.

This suggests that, despite photographic technology's association with veracity, photo-reportage in the 1860s was not felt to show things "as they actually were." Rather, publishers modified photographic images to comply with viewers' expectations to see human figures carrying out scenes or events of interest. For example, in the lithographic reproduction of one of the earliest war photographs by Stefano Lecchi (1805—59/63) taken during Rome's war of liberation in 1849, a salted paper print documenting the ruins of Porta S. Pancrazio, four figures and a dog are added in the foreground, perhaps to introduce scale and provide a proxy for viewers. (Figs. 2.11 and 2.12) The images reproduced from Sevaistre's stereographs, though, do not make many additions or edits to the original compositions. With two exceptions in eleven images, Sevaistre's compositions are faithfully copied. In the *Album Storico Artistico*, "Casa distrutta delle bombe nella piazza della Lumia" ("Houses destroyed by bombs in Lumia square") (Fig. 2.13), is made from the sixth image in *Palerme* (Fig. 2.14), which has the same title (in French). Below the title, the Terzaghis' print also includes a translation of a second text from Sevaistre's stereograph card, "22 persone sono rimaste sotto le rovine il 29 maggio 1860" (*twenty-two people remained under the ruins May 29 1860*). The lithograph, like the stereograph, shows a view of two perpendicular rows of houses seen from within the piazza. Nearly the entire upper half of the center house's wall is missing, and a pile of rubble, or "ruins," is lying in front of it, taking up almost the entirety of the foreground. That the sensational story behind this image—that twenty-two people were left under the ruins, to perish or to be rescued—is described in a caption rather than pictorially dramatized implies that the photograph itself is valued for its role as real witness, rather than graphic reporter or illustrator.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Here, I am referring to the belief in the indexical nature of photography, and the perception of aura around the fact of the photographic camera having "actually been there" and recorded or

Despite Sevaistre's apparently politically neutral stance on the subject matter of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, his imagery of the destruction of the cities of Palermo and Gaeta were reproduced in a lithographically illustrated and highly patriotic history of the Risorgimento. The lithographic album was a major vehicle of distribution for these images within the Kingdom of Italy, confirming that Sevaistre's imagery was embraced within moderate, patriotic rhetorical efforts to describe Italy's common identity. Paradoxically, the concurrent distribution of the stereograph cards across Italy and in France offers ways of seeing Sicilian subject matter and cultural heritage that are decidedly outside of these nationalist frameworks, providing both alternative, bourgeois perspectives as well as individualist or Romanticist viewpoints that created a space for Italians to explore multiple subjectivities within the new Kingdom and nation.

By extending the visual context of the Risorgimento to include the art-historical importance of Romanticism, the European Grand Tour, and the theme of travel, I will show how these contexts were entwined with nationalism and othering, and, more importantly, illuminate the role of photography in their elaboration. Departing from the genre of portraiture that was central to my discussion of Pavia's *Album dei Mille*, I consider how landscape imagery trafficked in nationalist visual discourses, and how imagery of archeological sites and artistic patrimony became part of the nationalist imagination via specific photographic techniques. Moreover, by harnessing the materiality, visual demands, and circulation practices of stereography, a medium that is often overlooked or conflated with single-image photography within art history, this chapter reveals social tensions within the reception of photography and class identity in Italy in this period. The mediation of vision by the album will come to fuller light in this chapter, signaling practices of visual education and subjective conditioning that build upon my discussion

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traced reality directly. See Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1980).

of the collection and the archive in the previous chapter. Additionally, the politics and culture of the Southern Question emerge more fully, as I explore the visual strategies and practices that othered the South whilst also incorporating it into the Kingdom's modern, national identity.

In my investigation of Romanticism, I will consider its political orientation during the Risorgimento, putting pressure upon the reductive notion that Italian Romanticism was essentially patriotic rather than driven by aesthetic concerns, and conversely, challenging the notion that Romanticism more broadly was not political or nationalistic.<sup>129</sup> In questioning the roles of subjectivity, embodied perspective, and the importance of individual aesthetic response or contemplation, I show how Sevaistre's works engage with Romanticism, and how these elements may work for or against nationalist identity, arguing that subjective response was harnessed and politicized as a vehicle for nationalist identification.

Themes of landscape and travel in Sevaistre's works make obvious certain tensions between aristocratic modes of reception associated with the European Grand Tour and bourgeois or Romantic aesthetic responses that came to be valued within painting, literature, and eventually photography, throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>130</sup> Time, history, and place bear upon this discussion and constitute axes of distinction across the categories of the collection and the archive, and across modes of reception that pertain to Sevaistre's works. Additionally, the albums' engagement with the "Southern Question" becomes entwined with Romanticism in

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<sup>129</sup> See: Joseph Rossi, "The Distinctive Character of Italian Romanticism," *The Modern Language Journal*, vol. 39, no. 2 (Feb., 1955), p. 59—63; Kenneth McKenzie, "Romanticism in Italy," *PMLA*, vol. 55, no. 1 (March, 1940), p. 27—35; Franco Ferucci, "Italian Romanticism: Myth vs History," *MLN: Italian Issue*, vol. 98, no. 1 (Jan., 1983), p. 111—117; and Joseph Luzzi, "Did Italian Romanticism Exist?" *Comparative Literature*, vol. 56, no. 2 (Spring, 2004), p. 168—191.

<sup>130</sup> See Adrian Lyttelton, "Creating a National Past: History, Myth, and Image in the Risorgimento," in eds. Albert Russell Ascoli and Krystyna von Hennberg, *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento* (Oxford and New York: Berg Publishing, 2001), p. 27—74.

terms of the latter's thematic treatment of "the other" and construction of the modern bourgeois subject. The prospect of reading Italian Romanticism against the grain of sentimental political allegory promises much greater insight into the symbolic valences of landscape imagery and its engagement with the viewing subject. Furthermore, nineteenth-century Italy's fraught relationship with Orientalism derives from depictions of the South, informing a discussion of foreign travel albums in the next chapter on diplomatic photograph albums created by Italian photographers in Persia in the late 1850s and early 60s.<sup>131</sup> The medium of the stereograph—which hinges upon creating a sense of proximity for the viewer—further frustrates the experience of viewing ruins and landscapes in Sevaistre's albums, becoming symbolic of the dialectics of inclusion and exclusion that defined cultural and political understandings of Southern Italian identity.

Sevaistre's images were sold not only by his Palermo studio, but also by several photographic studios in Paris.<sup>132</sup> The images were available for sale individually, and were not necessarily collected as a pre-constituted series, but piece-meal, likely to enter into other, personal albums and collections. International commercialism such as this was not uncommon for photographers in the 1850s and 60s, and Italy in particular was a place from which large amounts of photographs were exported and where technical and artistic experiments were

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<sup>131</sup> As David Forgacs writes, The Kingdom of Italy's drive, which began in the 1880s, to acquire colonies and dominions overseas meant that the imagined spatial structure of centre and periphery, dominance and dependency, which had been created at home was now reproduced at an international level." Though my third chapter will consider the period before Italy's colonial activity, which began in the 1880s, Forgacs speaks to transnational aspect of Italy's orientalism that will bridge between this chapter and the next in my dissertation. David Forgacs, *Italy's Margins: Social Exclusion and National Formation Since 1861* (Cambridge and New York: University of Cambridge Press, 2014), p. 3.

<sup>132</sup> See Emanuele Bennici, "La Sicilia di Eugène Sevaistre nella Edizione di Henri Plaut" (Palermo, Dicembre 2016).  
[https://www.academia.edu/30770212/La\\_Sicilia\\_di\\_Eug%C3%A8ne\\_Sevaistre\\_nella\\_edizione\\_di\\_Henri\\_Plaut](https://www.academia.edu/30770212/La_Sicilia_di_Eug%C3%A8ne_Sevaistre_nella_edizione_di_Henri_Plaut)

conducted.<sup>133</sup> Stereography as a medium carries unique weight, however, in that it comprised both photographic technology and an optical device to combine two slightly different images, entailing its own methods of use and storage. The market for stereographs developed somewhat differently than that of other photographic forms such as the *carte de visite*, and the medium earned a reputation that was less serious and “artistic” than that of photography more generally. Paradoxically, while stereography was regarded as entertainment in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, it engaged at the same time with cutting-edge scientific and philosophical discourses, suggesting that users and collectors of stereographs were simultaneously consuming them as toys or pastimes, engaging with the latest advancements in optical science, and learning about their own faculties of perception through this use. Following from the mixed social reception of collecting stereographs, the medium’s utility in the mid-nineteenth century as an indicator of status or class becomes murky, yet nonetheless telling.

A problematization of distance and proximity derived from the mechanical requirements of stereography sets a framework for subjectivity, narrative, memory, vision, and aesthetic experience in Sevaistre’s albums. An analysis of Romanticism as a relevant art-historical context additionally shows how these questions of subjectivity and proximity may have served a politics that was particular to Southern Italian identity, regardless of what Sevaistre may or may not have

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<sup>133</sup> I am thinking particularly of what was known as the so-called Roman School of Photography, “which included French, British, and Italians within its informal circle. Rome’s photographic community was one of the most professional in Italy at this time, providing a wider network of commercial distribution and offering its members the opportunity to exhibit their photographs internationally.” Beth Saunders, *Developing Italy: Photography and National Identity during the Risorgimento, 1839–1859* (PhD Diss., City University of New York, 2016), p. 6; On the commercial strategies of nineteenth-century photographers, see: Piero Becchetti, *Fotografi e Fotografia in Italia, 1839-1880* (Rome: Quasar, 1978); Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); and Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).



intended. The production and circulation of bourgeois forms such as the stereograph and the album must be carefully considered as well, with attention to class within the dynamics of othering at play in Southern Italy.

By the time Sevaistre had arrived in Sicily, the island was already popular amongst foreign photographers, Palermo had boasted a robust and growing commercial studio scene since at least 1854, and many photographic images of the island were in wide circulation.<sup>134</sup> Foreign photographers attracted to Sicily “rode the wave of the Grand Tour,” as Dario Lo Dico describes, hoping both to research the ancient and classical artistic patrimony of the island, and to document the changing contemporary urban landscapes during and after unification. Perhaps Sevaistre, who was not finding much success in his native France, “rode the wave” to Palermo in search of more popular subject matter or a more robust market.<sup>135</sup> As the albums were sold in both Italy and France, the markets of the latter were perhaps eager for images of barricades as a

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<sup>134</sup> The first photographic studio was opened in 1840 by Romualdo Trigona di Sant’Elia (1809—77), a prince who ordered daguerreotype equipment and manuals from Paris in January 1840, soon after the technology’s debut. The first stereographs made in Palermo are credited to Stefano Bugliarelli in the late 1840s. By the late 1850s a “squad” (*drappello*) of French photographers were in Palermo, and most stayed through the 70s. See Paolo Morello, “Appunti per una Storia della Fotografia a Palermo,” in *Fotografi e Fotografie a Palermo nell’Ottocento* (Firenze: Fratelli Alinari, 1999), p. 13—5.

<sup>135</sup> Lo Dico also claims that, because Sevaistre made his living with photography, he cannot be considered an artistic or cultural participant in the Grand Tour’s wake. “Eugène Sevaistre, così come gli altri fotografi stranieri che giungono in quegli anni in Sicilia e a Palermo, non appartiene a quella categoria di artisti o viaggiatori che, sulla scia della cultura del *Grand Tour*, giungevano nell’Isola spinti da intenti puramente conoscitivi e speculative. Egli è un fotografo che vive della sua attività.” [*Eugène Sevaistre, so much like the other foreign photographers that went in these years to Sicily and Palermo, does not belong to that category of artists and travellers who, on the cultural wave of the Grand Tour, arrived to the island driven by purely speculative and curious intentions. He is a photographer who made his living in this activity.*] Dario Lo Dico, “Ritratto di un *Fotoreporter* Ottocentesco,” in Carmelo Bajamonte, Dario Lo Dico, and Sergio Troisi, *Palermo 1860: Sterescopia di Eugène Sevaistre* (Palermo: Gruppo Editoriale Kalós, 2006), p. 17, 22.

matter of contemporary history, if not for a Grand-Tour-armchair-travel album.<sup>136</sup> This may also explain the naming of *Palerme* in French, and Sevaistre's decision to emphasize the revolutionary aspect of Palermo's liberation from the Bourbon monarchy in the title, referencing previous Palermese attempts at liberation such as the revolution of 1848 or the "last victorious barricades" erected in Paris in February of the same year.<sup>137</sup>

*Palerme* and *Gaeta* were thought of, or marketed as, both documentary and entertainment, characterized by a proto-documentary style that supplemented social desires for reportage with photographic images.<sup>138</sup> Likewise, *Sicilia* provided a framework for bringing what was far "near," as a proxy for foreign travel. Stereography, which entails a viewing apparatus which is private, or, more strongly, isolating, both in the sense that one viewer looks into the device at a time, and only one stereographic card could be loaded into the device at a time, facilitated a mode of viewing which further sensationalized its subject matter, implying a private relation to images associated with visual indulgence and desire. Certain tensions between the documentary nature of the subject matter and the spectacular, stereographic way of viewing it complicate potential interpretations of *Palerme* and *Gaeta* as either journalism or entertainment, especially given their status as collectible commodities.

A temporal tension, moreover, between the viewer's direct presence to the scene, versus an impression that they are looking at a photographically captured past, conditions the absorption into memory of the events depicted. That is, insofar as memory has a role in the construction of a

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<sup>136</sup> For a brief history of barricades in France and Paris, see Eric Hazan, *A History of the Barricade* (London and New York: Verso Books, 2015).

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>138</sup> Newspapers were not yet being illustrated with in-text, half-tone photography, but lithographic reproductions of early war documentary photographs were circulating since the 1850s. As Sontag argues, "Being a spectator of calamities taking place in another country is a quintessential modern experience" (18). See also her description of the history of the proto-documentary genre of images and prints of war and violence in Sontag, 40—58.

sense of national identity, levels of mediation and temporal distance come to qualify an individual's intimacy with nationalist imagery.<sup>139</sup> A central conflict underlining *Palerme, Gaeta*, and *Sicilia* has to do with how the viewer is positioned to, on the one hand, incorporate them into a historical knowledge base, and on the other hand, consume and collect their images as souvenirs—mnemonic objects which focus and enable narratives—while negotiating the particular visual demands and conditions of stereoscopic viewing.

Additionally, the international distribution and French authorship of these albums opens them to multiple frameworks of viewing and modes of relation for Italian viewers. As will become clearer below, the opportunity afforded to Italian viewers to see their histories and landscapes from the position of the bourgeois subject played an important role in modernizing modes of seeing photography. The prospect of acquiring Grand Tour knowledge, for example, reverses the dynamics in which Italians were objects or hosts of the Tour, rather than Tourists. This international and political framework surrounds a mechanics of vision that conditions the reception of cultural and national heritage. If these albums are to be considered in terms of their relation or contribution to nationalist identity formation, how they function in terms of creating or referring to memory is paramount.

In a study opposing memory and history, Pierre Nora argues that during the revolutionary period of the mid-nineteenth century, the concept of “real memory”—what he calls embodied “life...social and unviolated...taking refuge in gestures and habits, in skills passed down by unbroken traditions, in the body's inherent self-knowledge, in unstudied reflexes”—was usurped

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<sup>139</sup> For a discussion of the history of the relationship between memory, material commemoration, and identity, see John R. Gillis' introduction to *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, John R. Gillis, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 3—23.

by the *archival* impulse.<sup>140</sup> The topics of Nora's inquiry are the mechanisms by which social and cultural knowledge are constituted, protected, transmitted, and enacted. He identifies a shift during modernity whereby perception and intuition became less powerful tools for understanding the history of one's own identity and community, and the material trace or object gained traction as the arbiter of historical truth. What he seems to be grieving is the loss of direct access to personal and societal knowledge through experience to the need to record and externalize, and to preserve history in visual and material form, relying "entirely on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image. The less memory is experienced from the *inside*," he writes, "the more it exists only through its exterior scaffolding and outward signs."<sup>141</sup> The promise of the stereograph to bring the viewer, literally, into the presence of actual historical objects or scenes may be considered an attempt to mitigate this loss. More to the point, the collection and its modes of viewership and engagement answer to the logics of the archive that Nora identifies as detrimental to meaningful engagement and memory.

Nora is writing of the period in which the nation-state was being constructed across Europe, focusing upon the institutionalization of the public collection and archive in order to stake out national identity. He is also writing about modes of perception that shaped collective understandings of nationalism and identity. The stakes are in the degree to which history is a matter of individual, internal, direct recording by the individual, versus the degree to which it relies upon what he calls "prosthesis," the external image or object that mediates history,

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<sup>140</sup> While it might be a stretch to call Sevaistre's albums *archives*, Nora's use of the term refers to archival modes of perception and valuation. This is at the heart of my inquiry into the album's documentary functions, their capacity to convey history as a base for identity, and in their construction of the subjectivity of the viewer via certain relations with time and narrative. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations*, vol. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring, 1989), p. 8,13.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 13. Italics mine.

obscuring its contours and distancing it in time. Said another way, narrative and time undergo shifts within the representation of history as it pertains to identity because of a lack of direct experience and the reciprocal rise of the archival impulse.<sup>142</sup> Nora identifies the temporal dimension of his argument thusly: “Memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the *eternal present*; history is a *representation* of the past.”<sup>143</sup> The problematization of perception around the status of the subject, the proximity of narrative, and the quality of time underwrite Nora’s opposition of memory and history, and the particular loss or complication associated with modern history that he laments. It is interesting that Nora locates this problem in the conflict between modernization and nostalgia for “primitive societies” in light of the emergent frameworks in Italy characterized by the paradoxical construction of southern Italy as perpetually behind modernity, while also mining it as a source for modern identity via history and heritage.<sup>144</sup>

Siegfried Kracauer considers these problems in direct relation to photography. Asserting that photographs tend to capture and present the merely formal and superficial, he discusses

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<sup>142</sup> Nora, 17.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 8. Italics mine.

<sup>144</sup> Nora writes, “The ‘acceleration of history’ confronts us with the brutal realization of the difference between real memory—social and unviolated, exemplified in but also retained as the secret of so-called primitive or archaic societies—and history, which is how our hopelessly forgetful modern societies, propelled by change, organize the past. On the one hand, we find an integrated, dictatorial memory—unself-conscious, commanding, all powerful, spontaneously actualizing, a memory without a past that ceaselessly reinvents tradition, linking the history of its ancestors to the undifferentiated time of heroes, origins, and myths—and on the other hand [modern] memory, nothing more than sifted and sorted historical traces.” Ibid., 8. Walter Benjamin echoes this assessment when he writes, “Since the end of the [nineteenth] century, philosophy has made a series of attempts to lay hold of the ‘true’ experience as opposed to the kind that manifests itself in the standardized, denatured life of the civilized masses.” Walter Benjamin, “On Some Motifs in Baudelaire,” *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), p. 156.

photography's profound incongruity with meaningful memory.<sup>145</sup> The nature of the fragmentariness of photographs and that of the fragmentariness of "memory images" are terminally distinct. The former attends to space and time, while the latter attends to value or meaning for an individual. That is, while photography records the looks of things in a particular time and space, memory recalls what "means something," selectively forgetting whatever does not, actively "skipping over years or [changing distances in] time." Kracauer writes, "Memory images are out of kilter with photographic reproduction... While photography grasps what is given as a spatial (or temporal) continuum, memory images preserve the given in so far as it means something... From the viewpoint of memory images, photography seems a jumble of things made up in part of detritus."<sup>146</sup> In other words, the visual trace offered by the photograph does not relate ontologically to the memory image obtained by experience. They are incompatible, "out of kilter," as photographs, according to Kracauer, seem to obey the archival impulse, while real memory traffics in experience.

Narrative and performance attempt to mediate the gaps between the photographic trace and meaning, creating or rescuing it from the photograph in order to describe or grasp at history. This, however, is always inefficient. The selective forgetting and embodied engagement performed in memory is overwhelmed by photography's excessive inclusion of the minutest physical detail that is exhaustively and arbitrarily presented and preserved.<sup>147</sup> Baudelaire writes,

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<sup>145</sup> Kracauer writes, "Photography does not preserve the transparent features of an object or person but records it from whatever position as a spatial continuum. The ultimate memory image outlasts time because it is unforgettable; the photograph, which does not mean or conceive the memory image, must be assigned essentially to the instant of its emergence." Siegfried Kracauer, "Photography" (1927), *The Past's Threshold: Essays on Photography*, ed. Philippe Despoix and Maria Zinfert (Zurich and Berlin: Diaphanes, 2014), p. 34.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 30—1.

<sup>147</sup> Walter Benjamin writes, "It is indeed a different nature that speaks to the camera than that which speaks to the eye; different above all in the sense that a space saturated by a person who is

in “Salon of 1846,” that “eclecticism,” or disgressionless and unthoughtful inclusion of visual elements, and the fragmentariness of mechanical copying, or mere technique, disrupt or negate the two elements required of good, modern painting: memory and individual passion or emotional connection.<sup>148</sup> Baudelaire’s distinction between unengaged, manual copying, such as engraving, and good, modern painting relies upon the same criteria that Kracauer and Nora describe to distinguish memory’s subjective connections to individuals and the excessive and uninspired details offered by the photograph or the archival trace.<sup>149</sup>

When history and identity are concerned, as they are in Sevaistre’s works, Nora’s and Kracauer’s understandings of memory and photography offer crucial terms for understanding how albums configure historical narratives and subjective relations with them. Baudelaire’s contention that there is something categorically modern and universalist in the combination of feeling and knowledge introduces additional stakes to the evaluation of how memory and the visual trace operate to condition identity.<sup>150</sup> Kracauer contends that photographs, by preserving the superficial or formal in a merely spatial and visual way, tear the trace from the object,

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conscious is superseded by one saturated unconsciously.” Walter Benjamin, “Small History of Photography” (1931), *On Photography*, trans. Esther Leslie (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), p. 67. Benjamin understands consciousness in two senses: psychoanalytically, as that which is selective in terms of perception and memory, and aesthetically, as an individual looking and being aware of others looking back, feeling sensation as specific relations in space and time. Benjamin, “On Some Motifs in Baudelaire,” p. 155—200.

<sup>148</sup> Baudelaire argues that unity, which is required for memory, derives from an artist’s sense of individual connection and transcending of exact detail and mechanical copying. He writes, “Memory is the great criterion of Art,” and discusses the difference between mimicking and interpreting via the specificity and confidence of the artist’s own point of view. See, Charles Baudelaire, “Salon of 1846,” *Art in Paris 1845—1862*, trans. Jonathan Mayne (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965), p. 80—116.

<sup>149</sup> Indeed, to the nineteenth-century mind, certain types of drawing and printmaking were not entirely distinct, but were all under the category of mechanical images, characterized by rote copying rather than inspired design. See Steve Edwards, “‘Fairy Pictures’ and ‘Fairy Fingers’: The Photographic Imagination and the Subsumption of Skill,” *The Making of English Photography: Allegories* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), p. 23—66.

<sup>150</sup> Baudelaire, 61.

creating a visual language in which new grammars are determined, based upon photographic forms rather than subjective attachment to meaning. In this way, he reflects Nora's anxiety that the archival impulse, or the exultation of the materiality of the trace, alienates actual experience and meaningful memory or comprehension.<sup>151</sup> This opening that both Nora and Kracauer see between the photograph and its referent is precisely where the conflict between the collection and the archive takes place. Are photographic traces and fragments open to future interpretation and re-arrangement, or can narrative connections in the present preserve their meaning? While Kracauer would contend, rightly, that the answer to this would change over time, focusing upon the years in which Sevaistre's images were produced and circulated reveals the importance of this problem to the use of images to politicize modern viewers.

Baudelaire argues that good painting, i.e. images that engage memory and individual connection, last into the future, imprinting upon viewers.<sup>152</sup> Using these theories of memory and photography to evaluate how the categories of the collection and the archive function to generate national histories and identity provides insights that extend well beyond Sevaistre's works, and potentially shape a better understanding of nineteenth-century photography along these lines. Moreover Baudelaire's concerns with modern viewership and its characteristic functions bring to the fore the potential politics of conditioning identity via albums that contend with history, memory, and the photographic or archival trace. The category of the collection introduces the possibility of direct engagement in time with images that represent memories or traces of history via the performance or re-counting of the collection's narrative. At the same time, recourse to the material or photographic trace for the establishment or recovery of memory assumes the

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<sup>151</sup> Kracauer writes, "external decoration [in an old photograph] has become something autonomous." Kracauer, 29.

<sup>152</sup> He praises Eugène Delacroix, writing "[his] painting leaves a deep impression whose intensity increases with distance, sacrificing detail to whole." Baudelaire, 59.



endurance of the trace over time, its veracity, and its availability to interpretation. Joan Copjec writes, “The distinction between the disembodied voice, which conveys knowledge and power, and the embodied voice, which conveys the limitation of both, is underwritten by a simple opposition between the universal and the particular, the latter conceived as that which ruins the former.”<sup>153</sup> She means here that the performance or recitation of a collection, represented by what she calls the “embodied voice,” particularizes or specifies an experience as real, but in a way that contends with the “disembodied voice” of the universally true, or the enduringly (materially, visually) real. This seeming reversal of the logics of the collection and the archive actually points out the inner tensions that bring these categories together as a polarity. In looking at memory in the mid-nineteenth century via the lens of the collection and the archive, we see a dialectics of reception associated with photography and the modernization and politicization of the subject.

Within this context of flux between direct memory and archival reference or recording, Nora discusses the emergence of *lieux de mémoire*, or sites of memory, which express the frustrating attempt to experience the temporally distanced archival trace in present time in order to embody memory and achieve an affective of sense of identity. *Lieux de mémoire* are:

fundamentally remains, the ultimate embodiments of a memorial consciousness that has barely survived a historical age that calls out for memory because it has abandoned it. They make their appearance by virtue of de-ritualization...*Lieux de mémoire* originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory, that we must deliberately create archives. [They] are *lieux* in three senses of the word—material, symbolic, and functional. Even an apparently purely material site, like an archive, becomes a *lieu de*

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<sup>153</sup> Joan Copjec, *Read My Desire: Lacan Against the Historicists* (London and New York: Verso, 2015), p. 184.

*mémoire* only if the imagination invests it with a symbolic aura...*Lieux de mémoire* are created by a play of memory and history, an interaction of two factors that results in their reciprocal overdetermination.<sup>154</sup>

The crisis of history and memory during the moment of revolutionary trauma in Europe is, for Nora, productive of a dialectical category, the *lieu de mémoire*, in which the will to “truly” remember, frustrated by the impossibility of direct experience and the lack of means to embody and express history, embraces the archival impulse. A cycle between material sign and historical referent, between trace and meaning, overdetermines the faculties and instincts of memory. Said another way, as the will to remember becomes more deeply felt and its imaginative capacity becomes more vivid, its grasp upon the real and the present slip away, devaluing its attachment to history. Displacing this value onto the material trace, the document, or the archive, and thereby onto a fixed and receding quality of time, dialectically reinvigorates the will for embodied memory whilst irreparably distancing it from the subject.<sup>155</sup>

This category of relating to memory and history might be key to understanding the viewer’s relationship to Sevaistre’s works because a significant element of Sevaistre’s style is creating an experiential tension between immersion and exclusion for the viewer. A major

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<sup>154</sup> Nora, 12, 19.

<sup>155</sup> In Nora’s words, “It is clear that without the intervention of history, time, and change, we would content ourselves with simply a schematic outline of the objects of memory. The *lieux* we speak of, then, are mixed, hybrid, mutant, bound intimately with life and death, with time and eternity; enveloped in a Möbius strip of the collective and the individual, the sacred and the profane, the immutable and the mobile. For if we accept that the most fundamental purpose of the *lieu de mémoire* is to stop time, to block the work of forgetting, to establish a state of things, to immortalize death, to materialize the immaterial, [...] it is also clear that they only exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications.” Ibid., 19. See also his continued discussion through page 24 of the same article. While there is an important argument here about the definition of the archive to be found here, as I described in the previous chapter, I will hold comment upon this issue until the final chapter, which takes up again the problem of the archive in the case of Cesare Lombroso’s practice of criminal anthropology.

question for the albums becomes: to what degree are they meant to be viewed as “real traces,” providing authentic connection to events and places in themselves and in past time, and to what degree do they function as self-sufficient, or self-referential narratives, active in the present time of viewing, intimately including the viewer in their telling? This is, at its core, a question of comparing the collection and the archive as paradigms of engagement. Or, in Nora’s terms, how much does the viewer as a subject contribute to the meaning and value of the albums by directly experiencing the views and committing them to embodied memory, and to what degree do the stereographs, as photographic traces of past events, represent the historical narrative to the viewer in a concrete form, holding in place the pastness of events represented? The categories of the collection and the archive mediate the crisis to which Nora points in a more concrete way, providing concepts to reconcile the temporalities of memory and direct experience through visual narrative.

The role of memory in navigating the categories of the collection and the archive as they pertain to the album as a vehicle for identity can be traced to Jean Baudrillard’s thought on nineteenth-century collecting’s roots in a desire to assert identity via the selection and possession of objects, as discussed in the previous chapter.<sup>156</sup> If we follow also upon Kracauer’s assertion that photographs are antithetical to memory because they fragment physical reality into image-traces, providing excessive detail that is not connected to memory or meaning, it must be asked how and if narrative or subjective connections may be recreated amongst or within photographic fragments. On the one hand, Baudrillard’s conviction that collecting asserted identity by finding

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<sup>156</sup> As cited in the previous chapter, Baudrillard writes, “La collection est faite d’une succession des termes, mais la terme finale en est la personne du collectionneur. Réciproquement, celle-ci ne se constitue comme telle qu’en se substituant successivement à chaque terme du collection.” [*The collection is made of a succession of terms, but the final term is the collector herself. Reciprocally, the latter is constituted as such only by successively substituting itself for each term in the collection.*] Translation mine. Baudrillard, 128.

meaning amongst objects via the act of contextualizing and ordering them in a particular way suggests that the photographic fragment may take on fixed relations to meaning via the collection and, more precisely, the collector. On the other hand, Kracauer's claim that "If photography is a *function of passing time*, then its factual meaning will change depending upon whether it belongs to the realm of the present or to some period of the past,"<sup>157</sup> suggests that by nature, photographs inherently must be reinterpreted in the future and are open to new principles of arrangement and interpretation. Another way to frame this distinction is to recall Baudrillard's understanding that the collection fosters a feeling of time that is necessarily experienced in the present, providing an affective sense of unity with history. The subtlety here is between the feeling for historical connection and the claim of historical truth, or an elision of the diegetic space of stereoscopic viewing and the "real" space of the travel or archeological photograph. Parsing this distinction promises a better understanding of how Sevaistre's albums conditioned identity via the presentation of the contemporary history of the Risorgimento and Sicily's archaeological heritage via travel.

The lithographic reiteration of Sevaistre's *Palerme* points to how differently photographic images may be made to function in terms of memory and documentation. In the *Album Storico Artistico*, the lithographic reproductions are seen alongside other images and alongside huge amounts of didactic text. The truth-claims reside within a referential logic by which the hand-made images prove the veracity of an ideologically driven text that refers to a concrete, self-evident past. Nora's anxiety is realized here, as text supplies historical memory, and image fulfills a desire for direct connection. The text over-determines the visual narrative, preventing the lithographs from being experienced directly or as a collection. The *Album Storico*

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<sup>157</sup> Kracauer, 35.

*Artistico* is neither a collection, nor an archive, and replaces both categories' interpretive capacities with a political or ideological hammer. Its blatantly nationalist rhetoric is so forceful, in fact, it leads one to wonder whether the Terzaghi brothers were working against other circulations of the images. As such, *Album Storico Artistico* serves as evidence that Sevaistre's stereographs needed to be reframed in such a heavy-handed manner in order to reclaim them from less nationalistic discourses and circulations. The transformation from stereograph to lithograph likewise subtracts an important element of Sevaistre's original work, the optical mechanics of stereoscopy.

As stereographs, the experience of Sevaistre's views is unaided by textual information, and individual views are taken out of the context of other imagery, seen immersively through a device which blocks all other visual input. In this sense, the viewer potentially feels themselves to be present to the scene, visually exploring three dimensional space that extends before them on a scale that is in relation to their body. In order to understand Sevaistre's approach to presenting narrative, documenting events, and to generating subjective proximity or distance in his works, the medium of stereography and its history must be explored more deeply.

Stereoscopic technology was introduced in 1838, the year before the daguerreotype, as an optical device exploiting the principle of binocular vision, allowing a viewer to see a "three-dimensional" image by combining two pictures, each seen separately by one of the eyes.<sup>158</sup> Photography, on the other hand, was conceived as a form of drawing, or an extension of the visual-manual skills associated with draftsmanship or sketching.<sup>159</sup> The discourses surrounding

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<sup>158</sup> The earliest stereoscope, called the Wheatstone after its maker, was made with two mirrors set at an angle allowing a viewer to see two images facing each other, set tangentially at either side of the head.

<sup>159</sup> For a pre-history of photography and discussion of its emergence, see Geoffrey Bachten, *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press,

the emergence of an optical device such as the stereoscope can be traced distinctly from those surrounding the concepts of drawing and recording that underwrote and drove photographic experimentation culminating in the invention of the daguerreotype in 1839 and the calotype in 1841.<sup>160</sup> A certain conflation of single-image photography and stereoscopy, however, has haunted the literature since the 1850s, most likely because of their early use together, or more precisely, the use of photography to furnish images to be used with the stereoscope. Since then, the question of whether there exists an aesthetics proper to stereography has not been rigorously addressed, and the material and conceptual differences between single-image photographs and stereographs that may comprise distinct aesthetics have not fully been parsed. A more precise understanding of this medium will be necessary to fully developing the aesthetic questions I will pose below regarding proximity and subjectivity in Sevaistre's work. As Karcauer notes, stereography was, by the late 1850s, conceived to give the illusion of motion and action, suggesting that realism and instantaneousness motivated certain uses of the medium, allowing viewers to actively record memory in their own time, through visual and physical participation.<sup>161</sup>

Critical literature on stereoscopy, including Oliver Wendell Holmes' (1809—94) essay, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph" of 1859, often fails to hold open a consistent conceptual distinction between photographs and stereographs. Sir David Brewster's (1781—1868) slightly earlier volume on stereoscopy discusses its technological and scientific foundations, as well as its

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1997). Drawing's position as superior to the traditional media (painting, sculpture, and architecture), is significant to photography's transcendence as a medium of drawing in the nineteenth century. For a foundational, technical discussion of art media and methods, see Giorgio Vasari, *On Technique*, trans. Louisa S. Macle hose (New York: Dover Publications, 1960).

<sup>160</sup> For a discussion on the relationship between the development of drawing and the invention of photography, see Bachten.

<sup>161</sup> Karcauer, 63.

role in art and entertainment. Brewster, an early inventor of stereoscopic devices and theorist of their applications, considers the close relations between photographic and stereographic technologies, providing an account of their co-use that distinguishes their specific qualities while acknowledging the necessity of their combination as a commodity, visual experiment, and philosophical toy.<sup>162</sup> According to Holmes and Brewster both, two consistent distinctions between photography and stereoscopy are the latter's production of conditions of viewing analogous to "natural vision," and their rendering of *solidity*. The very name, stereoscope, derives from the Greek terms *stereo*, meaning solid, and *skopion*, to see.<sup>163</sup> Holmes' emphasis upon direct presence as a quality of stereographs is deeply entwined with notions of tactile vision, or "visual touching." I aim to investigate briefly the aesthetic experience that follows from stereoscopic viewing in terms of, firstly, how seriously stereographs were thought to bring viewers "present" to the scenes or objects viewed; and secondly, following from this, whether viewers were understood to form real memories directly, rather than consider the images to be substitutes for memories, or souvenirs. It is common within the literature on stereoscopy to claim that the viewer will actually be—or feel himself to be—at the scene depicted.

To use and view an album of stereoscopic images in the mid-nineteenth century, one would take one card at a time, place it in a viewing device, put the device up to one's face, look at the image for some moments, retract the device from the face, take the card out, put the card back, and move onto the next. An instruction manual called *Italy Through the Stereoscope: Journeys In and About Italian Cities*, created in New York in 1908, guides a viewer through 100

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<sup>162</sup> David Brewster, *The Stereoscope: Its History, Theory, and Construction, with its Application to the Fine and Useful Arts and to Education* (London: John Murray, 1856; republished by Forgotten Books, 2012).

<sup>163</sup> Britt Salvesen, "Invention: The Giant Eyes of Science," *3D Double Vision* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2018), p. 15.

stereoscopic views of Italy on an “arm-chair tour.” The 608-page text commences with a sequence of five instructions for using a stereoscope, worth quoting at length:

- (A) Experiment with the sliding rack which holds the stereographs that suits the focus of your eyes. This distance varies greatly with different people.
- (B) Have a strong steady light on the stereograph...
- (C) Hold the stereoscope with the hood close against the forehead and temples, *shutting off entirely all immediate surroundings. The less you are conscious of things close about you, the more strong will be the feeling of actual presence* in the scenes.
- (D) First, read the statements in regard to the location on the maps of a place you are about to see, so as to have *already in mind* when you look at a *given view* just where you are and what is before you. After looking on the scene for the purpose of getting your location and the points of the compass clear, then read the explanatory notes. On the maps, you will find given the exact location of each successive standpoint and the exact range of the view obtained... The map system is admirably clear and should make one feel, after a little, quite at home in Italy.
- (E) Do not look over the stereographs too rapidly—this is the greatest mistake people make in using them. Each stereograph should be studied and pondered over. Usually illustrations and photographs merely serve as embellishment or supplement to the text or reading matter of the book or article. In this case that order is reversed. The *stereographs form the real text*, and all that is given in this text is their proper use. Dr. Holmes well said: “It is a mistake to suppose that one knows a stereoscopic picture after he has studied it a hundred times. There is such an amount of detail that we have the same sense of infinite complexity which nature gives us.” By taking time to note some of these



numberless details, we are helped as in no other way to feel that we are in the presence of the places or people represented before us.<sup>164</sup>

Clearly, this use precludes the literal storytelling over the family album that Elizabeth Seigel discusses (see previous chapter). It is impossible to really look at *Sicilia, Palerme*, or *Gaeta* together with another person because of the stereoscopic viewing device, which brings the proverbial “dark room” straight to your face, blocking out everyone and everything else.

At the same time, following the example of *Italy Through the Stereoscope*, it is also impossible to look at the stereographic cards and read the guide book at the same time. Despite step four telling the reader to prepare themselves by reading the texts first, the most streamlined use of the guide would have to have been performed by a pair, one person reading as the other looks. Indeed, the guiding text is written in the present tense, prompting the viewer/reader to “now, look down” at architectural details, past monuments, or into doorways. Moreover, the stereoscope had become a highly popular device by 1860, and was advertised as an interactive, social device to be enjoyed together in the home. As Erkki Huhtamo writes, “The construction of the stereoscope may imply that it is a solitary and isolating ‘peep medium,’ but the producers of stereoviews did their best to counter such an interpretation. The device was depicted [advertised] as a vehicle for social interactions and togetherness within the domestic circle.”<sup>165</sup> In *Italy Through the Stereoscope*, texts are written as first- and second-person narratives in the present tense, implying that the images are meant to be seen whilst the text is being read. Direct imperatives are given to the viewer/reader. For example, the description of a single stereographic panoramic view of Naples and Vesuvius which goes on for twelve pages, reads on the third page:

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<sup>164</sup> D. J. Ellison, *Italy Through the Stereoscope: Journeys In and About Italian Cities* (New York and London: Underwood and Underwood, 1908), p. 20. Emphasis mine.

<sup>165</sup> Huhtamo, 76.

“Directly below us to the left, observe the dome of a church with windows between the ribs. To the right of the church is a peaked roof, and over the farther extremity of this roof, notice a dark narrow street that extends away in front of us like a broad black line...”<sup>166</sup> Guiding a viewer through this kind of tedious examination would require, at the least, referencing back and forth between the text and the stereograph. It is worth remarking also that the texts refer to things “beyond the current view” of the stereo-cards—informing the viewer of additional, unseen contexts beyond the frame, behind objects, or inside of buildings—and beyond the time of the current view.<sup>167</sup>

The trope of the dark room additionally furnishes a conceptual, if metaphorical, link between photography and stereoscopy. In lieu of rehashing the history of the *camera obscura*, the centuries-old drawing aid and requisite predecessor for the photographic camera, I point out that the device has philosophical resonance well beyond its technological role as a drawing aid throwing projected images in light onto a flat surface, which it was photography’s aim to “fix.” Despite the obvious allusion to Plato’s cave, the key question does not center upon perception of “the real” versus awareness of the mechanisms of representation. Rather, the problem for the current study is more precisely that of the subjectivity of seeing and the concentration of temporality and bodily awareness within the viewer. As Jonathan Crary remarks about Goethe’s 1810 *Farbenlehre*, “the dark room seems to establish categorical relations between interior and exterior, between light source and aperture, and between observer and object...a closing off of [an] opening dissolves the distinction between inner and outer space.”<sup>168</sup> Though neither Goethe

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 286.

<sup>167</sup> These texts often digress, telling stories of what the author experienced at these sites on previous visits.

<sup>168</sup> Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1990), p. 68.

nor Crary is concerned with stereoscopy here, the latter is discussing modern looking devices that have the effect of sealing the viewer off from awareness of the world, or of their physical body within that world, concentrating their attention within visual, perceptual experience.

As attention becomes internalized, visual perception becomes the limit of, or merges with, self-awareness. Under these conditions, narrative must unfold internally, and thus register a different mode of aesthetic perception than does looking at a printed photograph album. Said another way, auxiliary requirements for looking at stereo-views, such as reading textual descriptions, having them read aloud by another person, or simply being familiar with the content, could only supplement the essential effect of the stereoscope, which was the production of a sense of actual presence to the scene, both spatial and temporal. Perhaps paradoxically, this sense of spatial and temporal presence has the effect of concentrating the viewer's attention and awareness within their own subjectivity and immediate field of perception. The virtual privacy experienced when viewing stereoscopic cards through a device impedes the viewer's tendency and ability to, as Susan Stewart explains, "acknowledge with a statement of membership the community of readers."<sup>169</sup> As I have suggested regarding the example of *Italy Through the Stereoscope*, this barrier may not have been truly sustained in looking at travel stereographs, either because a viewer would oscillate between image and textual guide, or because it would literally be a communal activity, involving a second person as a reader of the text. The contexts in which Sevaistre's images would have been used—perhaps not in any order whatsoever, and in the absence of a textual guide of any length—could have been quite varied. Nonetheless, the fact that they had to be seen through a device was an unavoidable constraint that effected both their production and use. The potential for stereography to engender an effect of direct presence and

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<sup>169</sup> Stewart, 91.

experience suggests a remedy to Nora's loss of embodied memory production, allowing viewers of stereographs to perceive subjects and places directly, in embodied, virtual space and time.

A problem arises, however, around the level of mediation that the stereoscopic apparatus performs, versus the visual burden placed upon the viewer. Literature on stereoscopy from the middle of the nineteenth century takes issue with stereographic viewing in terms of its tactile and immersive qualities. The most acknowledged text from the period, Holmes' "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," at one point gestures towards distinguishing the medium from single-image daguerreotypes by claiming that its illusionistic quality is so strong that the senses are tricked into perceiving the *solidity* of forms.<sup>170</sup> He explains the mechanics of binocular vision, and claims that it is a learned process by which the mind "*feels round*" an object seen in two different images by each eye, respectively, forming a third image.<sup>171</sup> It is also important for Holmes that the apparatus of the eyes and mind are in the proper, "natural" state for the faculty of binocular vision to function properly. If one were to get too drunk, for example, or to put physical pressure on an eyeball, depressing it, the mind may not be able to merge the two images provided by the eyes into a single picture. It is also striking that Holmes writes of a third image,

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<sup>170</sup> Holmes explains in this same article that photography in general has the effect of separating form from matter.

<sup>171</sup> This assertion that the mind produces a third image from the two seen by each eye respectively is curious indeed. It underscores what Ellenbogen writes of Holmes, that the latter did in fact believe fundamentally that we see the world in pictures, but it also greatly destabilizes our ability to conceptualize images as material things nell'ambito di Holmes. If images can be in the mind and do not require a physical medium, how principles of vision, according to Holmes, correlate with stereoscopy may become slippery. I would attribute some importance to the idea that Holmes believes that human vision is a matter of images *produced by the mind* as distinct from those seen by the eye, and thus equates the separate images on stereographic cards to be analogous to stimuli, or those lower-order pictures that the eyes as receptors are accustomed to seeing. Further parsing Holmes' use of the terms "vision" and "perception" might be useful if we are to take seriously this three-picture model of vision. It is clear that the mind's third image is the privileged object of human vision. Is this third image, though, according to Holmes, already in itself a perception, or does the mind act upon it further?

suggesting that the viewer produces an additional picture in their mind through the mechanics of binocular vision. This third picture, created by the viewer through the act of looking may be understood to be coextensive with the viewer themselves, existing only to them. Holmes' reluctance to determine whether stereography replicates "natural" vision or produces a third picture through optical mechanics leaves open the question of cultivating or educating vision, and whether this plays a role in the perception or production of memory.

Brewster repeatedly discusses the importance of proper equipment, such as lenses, their proper use, and a baseline functionality of the organic faculties of seeing.<sup>172</sup> To him, using the stereoscope entails an augmentation of the organs of sight, by which stereoscopic seeing requires practice, learning, or habituation to the device, but the result produced is equivalent to natural vision. In other words, Brewster seems to position stereoscopy in relation to sight as a tool for learning about or manipulating the mechanics of vision itself, and not necessarily for producing novel or impossible views.<sup>173</sup> The education of the eye, in his view, is in the realm of *how* to see in a controlled or artificial context, i.e. through a stereoscope, and does not contribute something new to *what* the eye is able to see. Between Holmes' invocation of a third image in the mind of

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<sup>172</sup> Brewster writes, when viewing a stereographic portrait, "no portrait ever painted, so statue ever carved, approximate in the slightest degree to the living reality now before us... the two [sides of the card] instantly start into all the realness of life. [Yet] many persons experience a difficulty in seeing the portraits single when they first look into a stereoscope, in consequence of their eyes having less power than common over their optic axes, or from their being more or less distant than two and a half inches... We known persons who have lost the power of uniting the images, in consequence of having discontinued the use of the instrument for some months; but they have always acquired it again after a little practice." Brewster, 67—8.

<sup>173</sup> Brewster writes that he disagrees with Wheatstone, who claims that there is a difference between "*ordinary binocular vision* and binocular vision through the stereoscope." According to Brewster, "...in reality there is none. The theory of both is exactly the same. The muscles of the two eyes unite the two dissimilar pictures, and exhibit the solid, in ordinary vision; whereas in stereoscopic vision, the images are united by reflexion or refraction, the eyes in both cases obtaining the vision of different distances by rapid and successive convergences of the optical axes." Ibid., 24.

the viewer, an extension or product of the visual apparatus, and Brewster's equivocation calling stereographic illusion a demonstration of natural vision, there seems to be an agreement on three basic components of viewing a stereograph: an embodied, individual, perceptual experience; a contribution to the production of a three-dimensional illusion; and learning about the mechanics of vision and how they may be manipulated.

As Rod Bantjes emphasizes in a recent essay, stereoscopy was often used in the mid-nineteenth century as a tool to experiment with the contingency and embodiment of natural vision. It was thought to disturb notions of the consistency of a faculty such as natural vision. Stereoscopy, Bantjes argues, rather than proving "classical" or Euclidean principles of perspective inherited from the Renaissance, was more commonly understood to deploy tactics to exploit the subjective, tactile nature of seeing, and furthermore that these lines of thinking and experimenting were established since the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>174</sup> So, while Holmes foregrounds the tactile aspects of seeing, he does so in line with what Bantjes argues is a quite common understanding of stereoscopy's principal use, which is not, significantly, tied to photography or to two-dimensional pictures, but rather to optical principles of binocular vision and the perception of space and form.

Flat images creating illusions of space using single-point perspective—the arrangement of objects within a Cartesian projection of space to produce an illusion of depth along receding site-lines—fix the viewer at a certain position relative to the surface called the "vanishing point."

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<sup>174</sup> In the conclusion, Bantjes summarizes: "The figure of veridical sight suggested by the *camera obscura* and Renaissance perspective did not define for Enlightenment scientists the epistemic relationship between 'the' observer and the external real. Neither Descartes nor any of the Enlightenment philosophers who followed him accepted that sight was not mediated, in epistemologically problematic ways, by the body. There was an ongoing debate in the Classical period in which Berkeley and his followers emphasized the tactile and contingent nature of perception in opposition to the ideal of veridical sight." Rod Bantjes, "Reading Stereoviews: The Aesthetics of Monstrous Space," *History of Photography*, vol. 31, iss. 1 (2015), p. 52—3.

This is to say that the visual elaboration of distance is a key feature of single-point perspective's illusion of space and pictorial unity. The viewer is fixed to a single, privileged viewpoint, following a single line of sight to its limit. The stereograph runs counter to both of these aspects of classical perspective, quite obviously in its presentation of two separate images to the eyes, but also in its use of visual proximity, rather than distance, to create an illusion of space (Think of Holmes' famous description of branches reaching out of a stereograph to scratch the viewer's eyes). This is the important point. It is the intuitive relations amongst extreme foreground and ambiguous depth, rather than infinite but rational recession into a background, that is characteristic of the stereoscope's spatial magic. Rather than assuming a privileged vantage, the viewer's spatial relation to the image remains geometrically unfixed. The eye, which is free to move around "solid" objects, is un-anchored from a fixed perspective. Foreground objects and atmospheric middle space are the key elements that both engage the viewer through sensual contact and scale relation, and leave them floating between a fixed pictorial space and their own subjectivity. Furthermore, Bantjes links this principle of foregrounding objects to Romantic aesthetics, citing painters that leave ambiguous the viewer's position relative to their compositions or feature visually significant forms in the foregrounds to create strong, yet sometimes undefined or limitless, senses of depth.<sup>175</sup>

Despite art-historical arguments relating Cartesian perspective to asserting the supremacy of the viewer over the viewed, stereographic vision lends agency to the viewer by freeing the eye to traverse real, rather than rational, space according to a temporality determined by their body. Within nearness-oriented strategies, such as those employed by stereographs or certain Romantic paintings, the intuitive projection of space arises from an awareness of the possibility of touch, or

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<sup>175</sup> Bantjes also notes that this is how Renaissance, or "classical," artists were instructed *not* to paint. Bantjes, 43.

a desire for close-by objects to share the viewer's space and scale. If we turn to an image from *Sicilia* of an ancient wall in the town of Agrigento (Fig. 2.15) and consider the composition of space, it becomes instructive that the basic structure of single point perspective is so overtly sketched out, and yet the space between the foreground and what is identified as the Concordia temple in the distance is rendered so inaccessible. The triangular schema with a temple marking the vanishing point would seem to suggest a rationality of space and geometrically regular foreshortening of the image's depth. And yet, near and far elude any sense of continuous spatial connection. The turned-up stones in the foreground are the most forceful elements of spatial illusion in this stereograph, projecting out towards the viewer and disorienting the single-point scheme that would otherwise be traceable and effective on a flat surface.

When perceiving great distances, the axes of vision, or the directionality of the gaze of each eye, are nearly parallel, and are not therefore subjected to the laws of binocular optics. "For objects in the near to middle distance (up to about six feet) our eyes converge noticeably and see 'around' the object... When we look at more distant objects, the optical axes are parallel, and the retinal images are effectively identical."<sup>176</sup> Meaning, the perception of three-dimensional, solid object by binocular vision is a phenomenon which occurs only within six feet or so of the viewing subject. It follows, then, that nearness always had to be an essential component of stereoscopic experiments. Solidity, which Holmes identifies as a novel quality of the stereograph, must be thought of in tandem with proximity. This is to say, as generally as possible, that the fundamentally subjective illusion of space generated by stereoscopy requires a viewer's recognition of, or encounter with, a proximate, solid body from which surrounding and relative space are intuited. From a practical perspective, Brewster discussed the importance of

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<sup>176</sup> Salvenen, "Invention," 27.



appropriate distance—both perceptual and technical—to the stereoscope and its production of visual solidity.<sup>177</sup> His detailed descriptions of the focal depth of stereographs and the correct distances for viewing them through a device invest greatly in questions of positioning and closeness for the production of solidity. He was clearly aware that the principles by which the stereoscope functioned had strict spatial constraints originating with the scale of the human visual apparatus, its physicality or tactility, and, as a binocular apparatus, its preference for the near. Stereography capitalized on the immediacy of subjective vision to convey a sense of real space and time, engaging the viewer in the establishment of memory, while also ensuring them via the veracity of the photographic trace.

As a final point regarding the medium of stereography, it is significant that Holmes ends his article by demonstrating that photographic and stereoscopic technology necessitate the collection of images into reference databases or archives. The essay ends by returning to the concept of educating the eye, not in terms of the mechanics of binocular vision, but in terms of a sort of visual connoisseurship that may be gained from studying a collection of images. While the utility of the stereographic collection is justified in the same way as the photographic, the value of the stereographic card is in its conjuring of direct presence of the subject to the object, and the “multi-sensory” experience that goes with it. For Brewster, the stereograph is an instrument of education for reasons that hark beyond the empirical values of drawing, accuracy, and exhaustive detail associated with photography.<sup>178</sup> That the viewer of a stereograph of a great

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<sup>177</sup> See Brewster, 131—52.

<sup>178</sup> Brewster writes, “Unless he teaches through the eye, the great instrument of knowledge, by means of truthful pictures, or instruments, or models, or by the direct exhibition of the products of nature and of art, which can be submitted to the scrutiny of the senses, no satisfactory instruction can be conveyed...[By the stereograph] the works of human hands—the structures of civilization, will stand before the historian and the antiquary, as well as the student, in their pristine solidity...[objects of knowledge] will display themselves in the stereoscope as if the

monument, for example, can, via the image, *touch* the monument in its “pristine solidity,” feel upon their face the very sun that illuminates the stereograph, and scrutinize the object of study using multiple senses, departs from the epistemic values more generally associated with Enlightenment encyclopedias and atlases, and with photography as a drawing tool capturing precise and exhaustive detail.

The means to visual education that Brewster outlines rely more upon subjective contact than standardized and comparative cataloging and collecting, speaking to the complex or dialectical status of stereoscopy in the nineteenth century outlined by Britt Salvesen. She explains how didactic writing on stereoscopy often encouraged viewers to take for granted the compatibility of stereographic imagery with natural vision or objects, underplaying or ignoring the subjective aspects of the device. The dual implications in didactic and dramatic writing about stereoscopy, Salvesen argues, were that viewers were encouraged to learn about, or master, vision itself and “the scientific principles of the perception of three-dimensionality before indulging in its pictorial pleasures.”<sup>179</sup> At the same time, objects viewed in stereographs were seen as “autogenerated entities,” existing for the viewer in “almost magical isolation from one another and from the everyday world.”<sup>180</sup> “Autogenerated entities” implies personalized and singular appreciation of objects, created by and within the very act of viewing.<sup>181</sup>

The “shock” that viewers were repeatedly entreated to accept as part of the experience of stereography encouraged a partial submission to the device, which has been critiqued as a submission to social or political power under capitalism, marking the commoditization of the

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observer were placed at their base, and warmed by the very sun which shone upon their walls.” 195, 199.

<sup>179</sup> Salvesen, 94.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>181</sup> Think back to Goethe, Cray, and the “dark room.”

image and bourgeois modes of image consumption and collection. Salvensen complicates this by pointing out that a certain “compromise between knowledge and belief [associated with the stereoscope] is simultaneously at work in the life history of the bourgeois subject in the capitalist exchange economy. In instructive discourse as well as in practice, stereoscopy imposed and maintained a hermeneutic based on the individual personality while at the same time establishing the viewer as one of a group, as a member of modern society.”<sup>182</sup> While it is not problematic in itself that the mode of education offered by stereography was focused upon an individual subject learning about vision as much as learning about objects, places, or monuments, it does raise the question of the mode of experience offered by war-documentary albums such as *Palerme* and *Gaeta* and a touristic album such as *Sicilia*. The issues of subjectivity, touch, and the education of the eye in relation to stereography raise the question of how viewers were to experience these albums and their individual images. Were viewers engaging directly and immediately, to the point of creating their own memories, or were they sharing in the memories and experiences of the photographer? What are the natures of narrative and temporal experience given these relational aspects and the formal context of the album or series?

In Sevaistre’s stereographs documenting the physical effects of the Expedition of the Thousand, subjects such as bombed buildings, barricades, and dead bodies are presented, in some cases, as if to suggest that the event is ongoing. Images in *Palerme* are labeled with titles that include dates ranging from May 29 to June 6, 1860. In *Gaeta* individual images are not dated. Both albums mix scenes of preparation and aftermath, sometimes within a single image. For example, there are shots taken from within base camps, equipped with untouched stacks of cannon balls ready for use against the Bourbons, with dead, uniformed bodies lying beside them,

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<sup>182</sup> Salvensen, 219.

but showing no signs of injury. There are also images of barricades in the streets and soldiers crouched behind them, preparing for confrontation, as well as images of totally destroyed buildings. That is to say, Sevaistre offers his customer a selection of moments from Palermo's revolution—before, during, and after—that they can choose from, depending upon how they want to imagine the event, or represent it within the context of their own, private album. While the stereographic cards represent narrative moments and are numbered as if to suggest a sequence, their order does not follow a progression nor does it create a coherent temporal unfolding of the several-day skirmish in Palermo.<sup>183</sup> Moreover, Sevaistre's compositional choices tend to foreground his presence and choices, reminding the viewer of his personal authorship. The photographer himself remains present as the originator of the views, which are read as the product of his personal experience and inclinations. In addition to being attached to the events of Garibaldi's expedition, that is, the albums bear the time-stamp of Sevaistre's presence to the scenes. As Baudelaire argued in *Salon of 1846*, modern art and its interpretation ought to reflect active authorship via the unification of aesthetic sense and specific, individual point of view.<sup>184</sup> The element of authorship, or presence of aesthetic choice and point of view, distinguishes Sevaistre's work in an important way from Alessandro Pavia's *Album dei Mille*.

As argued in the previous chapter, Pavia's *Mille* works intentionally to bring the photographs to a state of contemporaneity with each other. Their provenances are naturalized to the physical context of the album, and the sitters depicted are present to each other, regardless of whether they are living or dead, boys or men, and whether the particular likeness was taken

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<sup>183</sup> The concept of combining temporalities will also be important to Grand Tour imagery and the aesthetics of travel. I am reminded of *capriccio* paintings associated with the Grand Tour (to be discussed below) that synthesize the temporalities of different art-historical moments by combining anachronistic monuments into a single composition.

<sup>184</sup> Baudelaire, 44—5.

before or after the event the album commemorates, the event that transformed them from individuals into the Thousand. This temporal naturalization allows viewers to approach the *Mille* as a collection, narratively experiencing the album in real time, their temporality of viewing dovetailing with the temporality of the *Album dei Mille* itself. Yet at the same time, its necessary attachment to a historical event and the rational, alphabetical organization of the *cartes de visite* according to a list, along with the monumentalizing intentions of the *Mille*'s maker, open it to the archival sense of futurity in which its reference and use will continue to determine the values of the objects inside and understanding of the event which it commemorates. That Pavia visually diminishes evidence of each photograph's provenance and each sitter's regional origin encourages its circulation as, paradoxically, an object not tied to a specific place, and perpetuates the on-going re-reading that characterizes the archive. Pavia's authorship emerges in the monumental, patriotic values he wished to attach to the object as a whole.

Sevaistre's temporal tactics, on the other hand, tend to isolate or block the viewer from imagining the time of a real event. The stereographs, rather than absorbing the viewer, supply a composite narrative that visually emerges from multiple sources: the photographer's presence and compositional choices, specific historical events, and previous knowledge of the events and actors supplied by other images and media. Like the *Album dei Mille*, the disharmony of the images in *Palermo* and *Gaeta* brings them together into a single present as a collection. Although different chronological or narrative moments are shown, they are all in the past. This homogenizing of pastness in the collection serves to neutralize the viewer's attachment to them, generating a contemplative distance rather than direct experience or presence. More plainly stated, Sevaistre's assertion of his authorship and the specificity of his view work against the visual immersion associated with the mediums of stereography.

But in what ways do the temporalities of these albums by Pavia and Sevaistre, described in terms of the collection and the archive, produce a space that has a politics, or manages to politicize its viewers? To begin to answer, I turn back to Susan Stewart, and quote her at length on the temporal interruption of narrative by what she calls digression. She writes:

In the detail of a movement, we see the possibility of using detail to digress, to inscribe a circle around an object in order not to divulge it...Narrative digression articulates the narrative voice, its control over the material, and consequently its control over the reader's passage toward closure. Instead of offering the reader transcendence, the digression blocks the reader's view, toying with the hierarchy of narrative events. What counts and what doesn't count must be sorted. The digression recaptures the tedium of the journey, the incessant and self-multiplying detail of a landscape, a detail which nearly erases the landmark by distracting the reader's attention...In the detail of action we see narrative triumph over everyday temporality, forcing the reader to participate in the speed of the narrative. In either case, the reader must acknowledge with a statement of membership the community of readers.<sup>185</sup>

"Digressions" may be read as the interventions photographers make that affect the narrative temporality of their albums in such a way as to disrupt the illusion that a viewer is present to the scene. Stewart is discussing the author's voice in relation to the temporality of the narrative, or more specifically, the power relations that arise amongst authorial interventions, narrative temporality, and the "everyday temporality" of the viewer.

It is within these power relations—the ones that determine the temporality of an album's narrative in relation to the temporality of the reader, that we may find certain political

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<sup>185</sup> Stewart, 30—1.

mechanisms not only of the albums that are the topics of this dissertation, but also the categories of the collection and the archive in the nineteenth century in general. A major, effective difference between Pavia's rational, alphabetical structuring and Sevaistre's conspicuous personal idiom is that while the latter's works function as collections because of this quality, it is ultimately too personal, and cannot take on a focused, monumental, or memorializing meaning as the former's works do. The order and integrity of *Palerme* and *Gaeta* can be broken and altered *not* because they are not collections, but because, as individual pictures, their temporal relations with the events they depict compete with those into which they enter with the viewer. Whereas Pavia's patriotism and rational organization provide a collective focus for the portraits, Sevaistre's interpretive work is less consistently accessible, leaving images vulnerable to re-contextualization.

The *Album Gaeta* (Fig. 2.16), comprising 39 images, has several cards that do not show scenes of the Expedition at all, though most bear titles and content related to the siege. Even more so than *Palerme* and *Sicilia*, their numbering does not correspond to a narrative order. Depictions of aftermath and destruction precede those of preparation and unused artillery. Orienting, panoramic overviews and specific monuments and architecture are interspersed throughout. The first image (Fig. 2.17) shows the steam pipe of a ship, “colpito dai cannone piemontese” (*hit by Piedmontese canons*), sticking up above the water in the harbor, while the last image shows a path excavated by the Piedmontese army to reach Gaeta's main piazza (Fig. 2.18).<sup>186</sup> These parentheses seem to frame an episode of military ingenuity, emphasizing in the titles the strategies and technologies used to take the town. Images 4 and 5 are panoramas, views that could have easily been part of *Sicilia* had they come at the beginning of the series. Images

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<sup>186</sup> This strange composition was lithographically reproduced in the Terzaghi's *Album Artistico Storico*.

16 and 17 are views of the Castello Angioino Aragonese taken from a high peak, one of the most picturesque views one can take in Gaeta because it emphasizes the unique geography of the town, with its Castello jutting out into the Mediterranean, surrounded by water on three sides (Fig. 2.19).

The Castello Angioino Aragonese was built between the sixth and seventh centuries, and has been consistently referred to as an important feature of the town since its realization.<sup>187</sup> These panoramas and touristic, monumental views provide the context of Gaeta's unique geography on the western coast of Italy, surely one of its main values. In image 17 of the Castello, however, the Capella Reale is visible on the highest point of the Castle's tower. It was commissioned by the Bourbon King Ferdinand in 1849, and would thus have functioned as a symbol of monarchy and foreign domination. It is the only architectural element in the image above the horizon line and is the main resting point for the eye. Viewed through the stereoscope, it appears to be on the same pictorial plane with the Castle itself. The significance of the Capella Reale may not have been known by Sevaistre, however, and it would likely have been read by viewers in a variety of ways, depending upon their familiarity with Gaeta and orientation to the Bourbon monarchy. The eighth image in *Gaeta*, "Cattedrale di S. Erasmo colpita dai bombardamenti" (S. Erasmo Cathedral hit during the bombardment), presents Gaeta's most significant religious site from a picturesque vantage point. Significantly, it is depicted before any damage was done (but perhaps other sides of the structure, not seen in the image, were damaged, rather than the façade) (Fig. 2.20).<sup>188</sup> Titling the image with vague information of its fate

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<sup>187</sup> "Castello Angionio-Aragonese," Pro Loco Gaeta.

[http://www.prolocogaeta.it/documenti.aspx?IDDoc=55#\\_=\\_](http://www.prolocogaeta.it/documenti.aspx?IDDoc=55#_=_)

<sup>188</sup> Its complete name is Cattedrale dei Santi Erasmo e Marciano e di Santa Maria Assunta. It was hit twice during the siege of Gaeta in 1861, one projectile hitting the sacristy, one hitting the apse. The damage was repaired within a few years. It is still standing.



compounds its value as both a tourist's view and a memento of threatened cultural patrimony. Indeed, this image needs nothing from the context of the other images in *Gaeta*, except, perhaps, knowledge of the siege which it corroborates. The variety of temporal, geographical, and political orientations within *Gaeta* suggests that Sevaistre aimed to embrace a range of images to appeal to different tastes, allowing his customers to be drawn to his images as mementos of the siege of Gaeta across a spectrum of values, from picturesque memorializations of its historical or geographic identity to contemporary demonstrations of military technology and physical and political change.

The sixth image in *Gaeta*, “Entrata fortificata della città,” (*Fortified entrance to the city*) is taken at a high angle with no indication of vantage point or ground upon which the photographer would have been standing (Fig. 2.21). The angle at which the camera tilts down makes it appear almost flat—a ground plane at an oblique angle relative to the picture plane. It offers information about the spatial dimensions and layout of the entrance to the city, as would a bird's eye map. In the seventh image, “Cappella eretta dal Papa Pio IX nel 1848 distrutta dalle bombe” (*chapel erected by Papa Pio IX (1792—1878) in 1848 destroyed by bombs*), the view is lowered to the ground level, in front of the narrow opening of the entry way, which is bound on the left side by the façade of a destroyed chapel (Fig. 2.22). By including the chapel's history in the title card of the image, Sevaistre reminds the viewer of a particularly fraught episode of Risorgimento history in which the pope fled Rome to take refuge in Gaeta during a revolution of 1848. In the midst of a brief Venetian Republic, its independence from Austrian rule, and strategic annexation into the Kingdom of Piedmont, Pius IX had refused to offer support to the cause of independence, effectively destroying his image as a reformer and solidifying anti-clerical sentiment within unification movements. Following the assassination of the Roman

Prime Minister, Pellegrino Rossi, and a period of turmoil in Rome, the pope fled to Gaeta. An assembly declared a Roman Republic, ending the Pope's temporal power. Pius IX called upon France to defend his position, and was able to defeat Garibaldi's defense of the short-lived Republic in 1849 and return to Rome.<sup>189</sup> Though these independence efforts of 1848 and 49 were not ultimately successful, they mark a significant turning point for the Risorgimento in which papal authority decisively opposed itself to revolutionary movements. Highlighting the pope's temporary sanctuary in Gaeta, Sevaistre's image condenses this history into a modern timeline beginning with Pius IX's architectural contribution and ending with an index of its destruction. As a political narrative, the bombed chapel embodies the collapse of papal authority as the origin of the Risorgimento's success, marking its physical endpoint in Gaeta within a potent symbol of a destroyed chapel erected by a pope that had previously beaten Garibaldi and refused to support independence. Emphasizing modern history in this way, Sevaistre structures a narrative of Italy that does not depend upon its ancient or classical patrimony, but rather is defined by modern, political events that mark the architecture and the landscape.

The most on-topic images in the series, in the sense that they illustrate the siege of Gaeta, are the fourteen ranging from 18 to 31. The first, "Corpo di guardia della batteria Santa Ostia" (*Guard at the Santa Ostia battery*) (Fig. 2.23) is shot between two parallel walls, framing a view looking down onto five soldiers—four sitting, and one standing—in the ruins of a destroyed building. There is a partial wall remaining, which is parallel to the picture plane and frames the interior space of the image while also providing a white backdrop for the standing soldier, who is also tightly framed by a domed doorway directly behind him. Like "Cappella eretta del Papa Pio IX" (Fig. 2.22), the physical confines of this stereograph are mostly limited to the middle- and

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<sup>189</sup> See Saunders, 11—12.

foreground, providing an effective stereoscopic illusion of space and textural relief on the ground and other surfaces. Like the antique wall in Agrigento (Fig. 2.15), however, the topography between the extreme foreground and the middle ground where the soldiers are seated is uncertain. Stones and rubble rise from the foreground, forming a flat, but partial obstruction, establishing a spatial scale relative to the viewer. Another space is visible behind the group, defined by darker ground and another seemingly ruined building, behind which a cliff drops to the sea. A hazy, flat landscape appears in the distance as a backdrop, characteristic of stereographic distance.

The scene enacted by the figures comes across as anachronous and ambiguous. The four soldiers seated to the left and slightly in front of the standing one all turn to face him, presenting the backs of their helmeted heads to the camera. The soldier on the right is standing quite stiffly, with his left arm bent in front of him as if a jacket could be draped over it. His position is a bit odd, because it is clear that he would not have emerged from the doorway that is framing him, as the wall beside it is missing. His position relative to the other soldiers suggests he may be addressing them. All of the figures are posed, of course, as photographic technology in 1860 did not yet allow for action shots. The title tells the viewer that these are guards, but the postures of the four seated figures is certainly at rest, with little evidence of attention, other than the possibility that they might be listening to the standing soldier. It also seems eminently possible—and is indeed likely—that this image was taken after the siege had ended, leaving the ruins that we see at the Santa Ostia battery. The *mise en scene* is incongruous with the action of the scene, undermining the truth-value supposedly attached to photography, signaling an imaginative and constructed register for interpreting narrative.

The next two images present the opposite scenario: dead soldiers, unused artillery. “Postazione della batteria Conga” (*Work post of the Conga battery*) (Fig. 2.24), for example, shows a receding, outdoor space framed on the right by a high wall and on the left by a lower wall, in front of which is an arrangement of pyramid-shaped stacks of canon balls. The space recedes towards a low wall in the middle-back ground. Hazy, flattened scenery of mountains is visible behind it. At almost even intervals in the receding space, objects are placed along the corridor, including two dead bodies that stretch across horizontally. The first group of objects is some kind of drapery and a rimmed hat, possibly a helmet, lying on its side with its opening facing the viewer. A reclining figure lies at a close distance behind. He is on his back, with head towards the left of the image and feet towards the right. The man’s right arm is visible, extended straight at his side, and he is wearing a jacket, vest, trousers, and hat. This is probably Sevaistre’s assistant.<sup>190</sup> In line behind him is another bundle of light-toned drapery, followed at an equal distance by another figure lying on his back, turned 180 degrees with his head to the right and his feet to the left. This figure is tilted slightly towards the camera, with his hips and torso tilted up to the camera, legs stacked on top of each other. He is dressed differently than the gentleman in the foreground; the tone of his pants almost exactly that of his shirt, and he wears no hat or cap. It is apparent that this image is staged, and that Sevaistre did not try to conceal this fact, given the dress of the front-most figure. And perhaps more strongly than in image 18, the temporality of this scene is painfully contradictory, purporting to show us aftermath in the form of death, contextualized by a *mise en scene* of untouched, perfectly stacked pyramids of canon balls. Even the ground and walls bare no traces of bombing or weapon use. The “dead” figures do not display obvious injury. A bit like the presentation of S. Erasmo (Fig. 2.20), Sevaistre is

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<sup>190</sup> It is speculated that this assistant appears often in Sevaistre’s works, and we do indeed see him in all three albums.

gathering and presenting temporally heterogeneous elements of a single narrative within a single image, summarizing and synthesizing for the viewer a description of a place and something that could have happened there.

Stereograph number 20, “Cadaveri” (*Cadavers*) (Fig. 2.25), is more dramatic in composition within this group of fourteen. It includes two figures reclining on the ground; one appears to be Sevaistre’s assistant (he is wearing the same clothes) and the other is wearing a uniform. The composition is structured by a progression of four canons overlapping each other in series, receding towards the right, the fourth barely visible behind the third. In the foreground between the foremost canon and the picture plane, the figure dressed in uniform lies on his back with his head towards the viewer and feet pointing towards the right. He is approximately horizontal, but there is some foreshortening because his legs are resting lower than his torso, in a dip in the ground. The figure’s left arm is reaching out from his body, and the hand rests on the base of the canon beside him. His right arm is extended out beside him, culminating a crucifixion-like pose. The other figure lies in a similar pose with his feet towards the viewer, in the space between the first and second canon. These figures are lying at an oblique angle to each other, which is emphasized by the broken stones or planks next to them that visually extend the axes of their bodies. Barely visible behind the front canon is a neat stack of ammunition. In this image, Sevaistre makes similarly little effort to conceal his staging of the scene, in particular by the repetition of the same model—probably models—as dead bodies. Rather than forming a narrative sequence, the images serve as alternatives to each other, allowing a customer to choose amongst different moods and compositions for their favorite dead-soldier picture.

The remainder of this group of images showcase other batteries, ruined streets, damaged buildings, and dead soldiers, including two, numbers 24 and 25 that reference dead Bourbon

soldiers in their titles, who are shown lying in empty fields without weapons, presumably to avoid showcasing Bourbon military power (Figs. 2.26 and 2.27). Images of ruins in this group do not specify locations, but are called “destroyed street,” or “ruined edifice.” While thematic unity associates them as a series, the stereo cards in *Gaeta* open themselves to individual selection and purchase by viewer, likely to enter into other personal albums, or to be used in a social or family context as entertainment. While the visual effect of many of the stereographs is such that the viewer may feel present to the scene while viewing it, their re-contextualization of the cards into personal albums or collections renders a mode of viewership in which the subject’s political orientation to the historical events dovetails with their experience of stereoscopic seeing.<sup>191</sup> In these ways, Sevaistre’s albums work as archives, presenting artifacts with tangible provenance that are open to reinterpretation and re-contextualization. At the same time, his authorial presence foregrounds a narrative that is his, constructed in and of his time experiencing and photographing the site, closed to further elaboration or additions. This effect is further emphasized by the fact that *Gaeta*’s sales catalogue was an autonomous album, which was not the case for that *Palerme*, which is autonomous as a series, but physically incorporated into the larger *Album Sicilia*.

Of *Palerme*’s imagery, thirteen of the twenty-four images depict barricades, and eight depict ruins. In contrast to *Gaeta*, *Palerme* does not include reenactments of fighting or death. It does, however, include figures in eight images, and in quite bizarre manners. It is additionally interesting that this series is included at the end of a sales catalogue for *Sicilia*, which is now in the collection of the Archivio Fotografico at the Castello Sforzesca in Milano. Though some of these images were incorporated into the *Album Storico Artistico*, as mentioned above, I take the

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<sup>191</sup> See Kracauer’s discussion of the “observant attitude” characteristic of nineteenth-century viewers of photographs in Kracauer, 64—6.

presentation of the series in French as a prompt to search for compositional and organizational elements that might construct, or be constructed for, an audience with a background or politics that do not have personal stakes in the Risorgimento or the South of Italy. Sevaistre's handling of stereoscopic proximity, the temporality of his images, and the elaboration of narrative and movement in *Palerme* suggest the strategic use of documentary stereography to orient the viewing subject to the images in a particular way. By structuring an experiential encounter of *Palerme* that is slightly different than that of *Gaeta*, Sevaistre demonstrates distinct approaches both to framing individual viewership and to organizing or ordering an album that resonate with problems of identity during the Risorgimento.

Sevaistre often uses human figures across *Palerme* to complicate stereoscopic space. There are four images in particular in which the figures play an orienting role and appear near the centers of the compositions, and another group of four in which the figures are disorienting, hidden, or appear in only one half of a stereographic pair. The intentional manipulation of stereoscopic illusion disturbs both the unity of the space and the viewer's ability to enter into it. In drawing attention to the mechanics of stereography, Sevaistre implicates the viewer in those mechanics while also distancing them from the composition by placing the figure too far into the space to serve as a surrogate for the viewer. This generates ambiguous relations in which the viewer is partially taking the place of the figure in the stereograph, and also looking at them. At the same time, the visual apparatus enters into the attention of the viewer who must both perform and overcome the mechanics of stereoscopy to create an illusion of space.

The first group, those in which a human form is included in the foreground or active middle ground of an image, comprises images 10, 12, 18, and 21 (Figs. 2.28, 2.29, 2.30, and 2.31). In 10, "Barricades de la rue Macqueda pèrs le 4 cantons," a small child sits right of center

on a wide barricade partially made of paving stones stretching across the width of a street. One looks upon the boy and barricade from a balcony above, and up the street to another barricade, followed by a third, and then a fourth. Along the left side of the composition, a receding row of balconies—identical to the one upon which the photographer is presumably standing—extends out into space, hanging over the wide, empty street below. The closest balcony beyond the one Sevaistre was standing upon to take the photographs is covered in plants and a single, leafed branch reaches over the handrail into the empty space between the buildings, hovering over. Its position at the extreme right of the frame, and the fact that the two sides of the stereograph seem to be exposed or printed differently (the right side is a bit darker than the left), cause this branch to flicker, or to vibrate, refusing to settle into a solid form. The plant's unstable gesture, moreover, is pointing down towards a mysterious, unstable form in front of the foremost barricade that appears to have been moving at the time of exposure. As a dark mass, it obscures part of the barricade, and slightly widens where it comes into contact with the ground. Immediately to the right sits the small boy atop the barricade, facing the picture plane. He is too small and far away to give any perceptible facial or gestural signals, and it is clear that he is holding still intentionally. Some vertical forms in the background between the second and third barricades may be human figures in motion, indicating the low threshold for movement and corroborating the notion that the boy has been instructed to sit still. Other than sitting upon it, the boy is not interacting with the barricades or the space between them, but rather is turned the other way, looking out of the frame in the direction of the ripped-up street.

A metaphorical reading might identify this boy as of the “old” Palermo, or of the patriots of Palermo sacrificing for the fight against the Bourbon monarch (a metaphor reinforced by the street stones torn up to make a barricade), but a practical understanding of his presence is both



simpler and more compelling. The boy orients the scale of the image and its three-dimensional space, undermining or displacing that of the viewer who can easily occupy the position of the photographer on the balcony. A multiplication of barriers between the viewer and the picture plane, which should not be felt to exist in a stereograph, is constituted by the following: the rail of the balcony from which the exposure was made; the barrier in the foreground upon which the boy is seated; the boy himself, whose gaze directs attention out of the frame; and the amorphous shape that flickers in the foreground, sharing a visual plane with the overhanging plant. At the same time, the high angle and empty middle ground of this composition allow for an activated center space and the apprehension of solid objects existing in three dimensions. By maintaining the integrity of stereographic space, according to conventions such as Brewster's, or those outlined in the guidebook to *Italy through the Stereoscope*, and yet checking the viewer's proximity to the scene via the compositional barriers just listed, Sevaistre generalizes the time and place of the image, even while it documents a specific time, place, and event. This allows a mode of viewership in which the imagination can fill in specific details where signifiers, such as barricades, fail to refer to a precise context. Without introducing viewers to the overall place (panoramic view), or providing narrative coding (such as "Entrata" in *Gaeta*) some images in *Palerme* function at a certain distance from the viewer that, in visually or spatially alienating them from their stereographic experience, activates subjective faculties of imagination and memory, further encouraged by the documentary titles. There is more reason to believe that this would be the case if we grant that *Palerme* was intended to be seen most of all by French audiences that may not have been familiar with the city of Palermo.

The figure in image 12, "Incendie du Palais Carini (face)" (Fig. 2.29), which is overall less complex, functions similarly. This figure is close to the center of the frame, sitting upon the

base of a street lamp, which he holds onto with both hands, and looks into the space of a piazza with his back to the camera. I would posit that this is, again, Sevaistre's assistant. The composition is a straight-on shot of a building whose façade has been destroyed on the right side, seen from across a piazza. A bit of each building to the right and left of the Palais Carini is visible. The construction of this image would be reasonably straight forward, if not for the confounding presence of the sitter, and the direction of the street lamp that he seems to be using as a prop. The tendency of the viewer to identify with the sitter here is obvious enough; he is in the center of the frame, gazing at the object of interest from a reasonable distance. In stereoview, however, the lamppost that he is holding with both hands extends, like the plants in image 10, bizarrely and equivocally into the piazza. Its angle in the air becomes uncertain, and whether it is points slightly towards the ground-plane or is parallel with it is quite ambiguous. That the figure holds the lamp with both hands marks his agency over it, and the viewer, in turn, inhabits this confounding agency, acting to disorient the otherwise squared-off space created across the piazza between the picture plane and Palazzo Carini's façade.

Image 21, however, "Avant postes, des Palermitains dans l'Albergheria pendant la Trêve" (Fig. 2.31), features a shadowy figure near the exact center of the composition. With his back to the viewer, he faces a deserted, ruined street looking towards one barricade followed by another. The image was exposed at street level, with the photographer standing more or less on the same ground as the figure. The rough texture of the road allows the viewer to visually measure it in its entirety as it recedes up to the first barricade, tactilely confirming that the standing figure is about half way between it and the picture plane, serving as a spatial anchor and signifier. As a proxy for the viewer, however, the figure's role is once again confounded. Unlike the seated figure in image 12, who sits quite close to the picture plane and viewer, this figure is

midway into the space. It becomes ambiguous as to whether the viewer's perspective resides with Sevaistre or with who is probably, once again, his assistant. Because this figure seen from behind is at a middle distance from the viewer, almost beyond the point at which binocular optics activate the middle-ground, it becomes more difficult for the viewer to imagine this figure as their surrogate. If, on the other hand, the viewer is meant to inhabit the photographer's gaze, their physical and temporal relation to the figure become quite vivid and personal. Either way, it seems that "Avant postes" is about looking at barricades; it is not about barricades.

Image 18, "Barricade des Napolitains, près de Porta Nuova" (Fig. 2.30), presents an interesting and singular case. Again, a seated figure is seen from behind, part of the way into the space of the image, functioning as a surrogate viewer. There is another figure on the far right of the foreground, though, who is all but cropped out of the left-hand image. When looking at any stereograph of reasonable quality, the eyes are free to roam around the three-dimensional image, once focused. In all stereographs, the edges of the frame may become unstable or fuzzy, impossible to see clearly with both eyes for the simple fact that the visual information available to each eye varies at the borders. In the case of image 18, the right side of the stereographic pair shows a figure seated upon the ground, facing the viewer with his feet on the ground, knees in front of his chest, and back resting against a barrel that is part of a barricade. His elbows are wrapped around his knees, and his hands are clasped in front of him, drooping slightly, creating a diamond shape with his arms and head. In the left image, we see only the vertical form of his right leg and the elbow draped over it. The rest of the figure is cropped. These forms would likely not be identifiable as a human arm and leg without referencing the right-hand image. This maltreated figure might not be significant—after all, it is the other figure seated on the barrel that draws more focus in this image and orients the viewer to the stereoscopic space. And yet,

Sevaistre's treatment raises the question of his intentionality and precision in composing stereographic views.

Across the series, three other images contain figures restricted to the peripheries of the frame to such a degree that they only appear in one half of the stereographic pair. In image 11, "Incendie du Palais Carini (profil)," for example, we spot on the left side of the left frame a very carefully placed head and shoulders of a man leaning against a wall, who is precisely cropped from the right-hand side (Fig. 2.32). Image 16, "Avant postes, des Palermitans dans la rue Toledo pendant la trève" (Fig. 2.33) shows on the right-hand side a figure standing in the road near a balcony that completely obscures him from view in the left image. And finally image 19, "Maison détruite par les bombes Place du Marché neuf (exterieur)," an odd and complex image, features a partially blurred, seated figure in a chair on the left of the left-hand image, which is nearly cropped altogether from the right (Fig. 2.34). The recurrence of this phenomenon, and the painstaking placement of the single figures in 16 and 19, leads me to believe that Sevaistre was inserting these "trick" figures intentionally.

In contrast with *Sicilia*, which displays a certain lack of editing, *Palerme* bears evidence of a quite precise and intentional photographer. The use of foreground objects and figures to activate stereoscopic space is consistent across this series—though there are a few exceptions—regardless of the point of view chosen for a composition. That Sevaistre was inserting figures on the margins and experimenting with visibility shows his investment in the medium of stereography and its viewing experience, not just photographing and documenting Palermo after the Expedition of the Thousand. His inclusion of precise dates on the labels of the images hints at ambitions to report the events journalistically, however the staging of the images and the absence of real action undermine this pretence. The only image in the series that seems to be taken from

life, i.e. not with intentionally posing figures, is the curious number 19. The titular subject of this image, a destroyed house, is featured in the background, across an open piazza containing many objects that activate and fill out the stereoscopic space in the middle- and foreground, distracting from the house and discouraging the viewer's eye to wander to it. We see a woman in a white dress apparently taking water from a fountain in the center of the image. She is transparent and blurred, having not been in front of the camera for the entire duration of Sevaistre's exposure. As an exception to the rule, this figure serves my argument that Sevaistre's compositions were quite posed and controlled, and demonstrates the length of his exposures. All these visual oddities and tricks with figures underline Sevaistre's careful attention to composition and his willingness to play with a subject such as Garibaldi's siege of Palermo.

While such an approach may indicate a lack of politics on Sevaistre's part, the persistence of his authorship and embodied view create a significant political function for *Palerme*. Sevaistre offers Italians alternative positions from which to take in the narrative of the Mille in Palermo that share in the viewpoints of the bourgeois subjects that were looking at the same images in France.<sup>192</sup> The technical aspect of visual proximity elemental to the stereograph is paralleled by Sevaistre's temporal proximity and presence, preserved through compositional strategy in individual images. While the latter may serve to undermine the viewer's ability to seamlessly enter into the illusionistic space of the stereograph created through the principles of their own binocular vision, the tension established is enough to encourage, potentially, a reflection upon questions of spectatorship and authorship relative to Italian imagery. The friction created through the disruption of the viewer's role in producing stereoscopic space and their

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<sup>192</sup> The distribution of *Palerme*'s imagery across Italy has been established by the recurrence and reproduction of the images in other forms such as the *Album Storico Artistico* in Milano and Giuseppe Incorpora's reprinting of the imagery as photographs in Palermo fifty years later. There is a nearly complete, disarticulated set held in the Archivio di Stato in Palermo.

illusion of direct presence within it by Sevaistre's assertions of authorship becomes a space of self-questioning and awareness of alternative vantages. In the context of the Southern Question and the uneven social and economic development of the South, Sevaistre opens imagery of Garibaldi's mission to perspectives shaped by both visual frustration and internationalism, as it was significant that the photographer was a French expatriate exporting his work in France and in the former Sicilies, alike. These politics will become clearer when we consider *Album Sicilia* and its presentation to an Italian audience.

To summarize Sevaistre's Risorgimento albums, *Album Gaeta* and *Révolution de Palerme* frame contemporary historical events as proto-documentary views and as commodities. That they do not chronologically report a history or cohere as narrative progressions does not mean that they do not have a historical relation to the events, nor that they cannot provide real and affective historical connections for viewers and collectors. The stereographs function more broadly as souvenirs, or collectible and archivable objects, because of the particular ways in which viewers must engage with them. The albums construct modes of seeing that simultaneously isolate the viewing experience, putting weight upon the viewer's temporal and subjective engagement with the scene and allowing them on the one hand to experience the stereoviews as new memories, and distance the viewer through the digressive interventions of the photographer's idiosyncratic visual play. The prospect of grasping the historical events of the Expedition of the Thousand and incorporating them into a sense of national identity becomes one in which the viewer must negotiate their own subjectivity over the tensions Sevaistre embeds both in individual compositions and across the series as collections.

As Michael Holquist writes of the novel in his introduction to a book of essays by Mikhail Bakhtin,

[H]istories differ from novels in that they insist on a homology between the sequence of their own telling, the form they impose to create a coherent explanation in the form of a narrative on one hand, and the sequence of *what* they tell on another... The novel, by contrast, dramatizes the gaps that always exist between what is told and the telling of it, constantly experimenting with social, discursive, and narrative asymmetries.<sup>193</sup>

The argument is that there are different tactics for the construction of narrative and time, and that although something may not conform to the disciplinary requirements of history or journalism, there are other methods for constructing historical relationships through modes of telling or showing. This assumption underlies the arguments in this chapter and the previous one, regarding the efficacy—or the potential efficacy—of photograph and stereograph albums as politicizing and educating forms. The manufacture of relationships with contemporary histories that are self-selected and require imaginative participation from a viewer is precisely the activity by which national and cultural identities may be influenced or shaped. Individual stereographs in *Gaeta* and *Palerme* bear the marks of Sevaistre's subjectivity and aesthetic choices, facilitating different levels of inclusion and participation on the part of the viewer, potentially in ways that are productively frustrating.

In *Sicilia* as well, there are varying and contradictory ways in which images rely upon each other to create a collective context, seem to document an individual's particular experience of travel, and become available as separable, autonomous commodities. More to the point, tensions between the categories of the collection and the archive are productive precisely within the narrative potential of albums, and the shifting, multifaceted burdens placed upon the beholder in the reception of narrative. In all three of Sevaistre's albums, the images function as partial

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<sup>193</sup> Michael Holquist, "Introduction," Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. xxviii.

souvenirs, but also remain partially dependent upon their collective context in a series, bound together in an album. The ambiguous play between thematic coherence and autonomy that renders the stereographs simultaneously a determined series and a set of souvenirs suggests an ambiguity within the albums' status as collections or archives. Moreover, the medium of stereography complicates the role of memory and the efficacy of the category of the souvenir, in that viewing stereoscopes was understood in the nineteenth century to provide visual experiences, rather than pictures, allowing the viewer to form her own, new memories, rather than use a picture as an aid for recall.<sup>194</sup> The bodily involvement and sensory isolation of viewing a stereograph render viewers that are in one sense co-authors of the observed, while at the same time consciously exercising, or educating themselves about, the faculty of vision as it is related to touch and the perception of space. An additional factor, however, are the discursive, aesthetic, and cultural contexts that also informed the albums' receptions.

The themes of subjective participation, narrative construction, and identity take on different dimensions in Sevaistre's travel album of Sicily, which is, on the surface, more commercial and less political than *Palerme* and *Gaeta*. The subject matter of the Italian landscape motivated significant polemics related to nationalism during this period, which were further complicated by photography.<sup>195</sup> While Italy's value within the European aristocratic imagination of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was associated with its classical, medieval, and early-modern artistic patrimony, new meanings for landscape were sought within Risorgimento cultural production that ranged from the direct association of geography with

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<sup>194</sup> See Huhtamo, 74.

<sup>195</sup> For a discussion of the Italian landscape as a crisis of representation during the Risorgimento, see Maria Antonella Pelizzari, "Retracing the Outlines of Rome: Intertextuality and Imaginative Geographies in Nineteenth-Century Photographs," in ed. Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan, *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003), p. 55—73.



national identity, to the aesthetic pursuit of art forms that derived from modern experience, rather than classical or catholic artistic traditions. The political valence of the landscape in this period, as Jens Jäger notes, was two-way: While landscape was used to bolster the idea of the nation, the project of nation building likewise politicized the landscape, creating imagery that required particular modes of reception and interpretation.<sup>196</sup> The medium of photography added to this dynamic certain elements of objectivity, proof, or indexicality that changed the ways in which landscape images were circulated and consumed. Additionally, the European Grand Tour and its legacy informed the genre of travel imagery and albums in ways that Sevaistre and his markets contended with, as both tourism and landscape imagery shifted according to social, cultural, and technological modernization.

The problematization of the Grand Tour's use as a lens through which to view artistic production in this period encourages an art-historical re-thinking of its influence, further suggesting that understanding the complex social dynamics of the Risorgimento and the emergence of a bourgeois class in modern Italy impact an understanding of how Sevaistre's stereographic landscapes and travel-images functioned. Class dynamics across the North and the

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<sup>196</sup> He writes, "The function of photography to represent a nation by images of (symbolic) landscape was by no means self-evident. It required a connection between the national movement, a receptive public, and an intellectual framework in which landscape photographs were 'read' and generated meaning. This intellectual framework consisted in three key elements: first: objectivity had to be inscribed onto photographs to allow viewers to interpret the scenes as 'true representations of nature.' Second, the photographed scene—that is the landscape itself—had to be embraced as a national symbol; this required a strong connection between certain landscapes on the one hand, and national character and virtue on the other. Third, prevailing aesthetic conventions had to frame the viewing of landscapes and steer the interpretation of landscape photographs in the direction of these associations." Jens Jäger, "Picturing Nations: Landscape Photography and National Identity in Britain and Germany in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in ed. Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan, *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003), p. 117—8. See also Françoise Cachin, "The Painter's Landscape," and Marcel Roncayolo, "The Scholar's Landscape," in ed. Pierre Nora, *Rethinking France: Les Lieux du Mémoire*, volume 2: Space (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 295—382.

South form a context in which travel and landscape imagery work within multivalent aesthetic and social registers. As the problem of Italian identity was shaped both by relations within the Italian peninsula and by relations with the rest of modern Europe, the South was often leveraged between two positions: geographically cohesive with the nation, and Italy's "internal other." As northern cities modernized and generated cultural and artistic representations around this identity, the South was seen as at odds with industrial progress and a hold out from Italy's archaic cultural and artistic past. So while the landscape served, in a sense, the most basic justification for the Italianness of the former Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, it was subjected to competing value systems along both socio-political and artistic lines. The European Grand Tour, moreover, was constructed upon a certain paradigm in which southern Italy was defined by its ancient history and patrimony, and in which inhabitants represented an older, unmodernized social order.<sup>197</sup>

As Jeremy Black claims, the Grand Tour underwent certain changes from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, characterized by patterns of democratization and institutionalization brought on by technological advances, such as the railroad, and cultural trends such as the standardized tour guide.<sup>198</sup> These changes are entangled with questions of European identity in this period. Black writes, "Culture is often at the cusp between cosmopolitanism and xenophobia, between the wish to be part of, and to appreciate the foreign, the different, the outside world; and concern and fear about just that process, and about the apparent threats to identity and integrity

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<sup>197</sup> See "Of Bourbons and Barbarism, 1848—1860" and "This is Not Italy! Ruling and Representing the South, 1860—1861" in Moe, 126—83.

<sup>198</sup> See, Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 3—5. On the standardization of the travel guidebook and changes in the cultural and social aims and status of travel in the nineteenth century, see James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture,' 1800—1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

that they pose.”<sup>199</sup> Eighteenth-century Grand Tourists were the first to explore these tensions, Black claims, and the literature, images, and guides that they produced mediated the experience of difference and the attractive fear of traveling for tourists of the next century.<sup>200</sup> According to Black’s argument, modern technologies—presumably including photography—shifted the cultural and social dynamics by which travel and tourism were related to identity formation, and by the nineteenth century these tropes were thoroughly mediated. Tourists were no longer on the vanguard of cultural exploration of the other. The South’s otherness was taken for granted as tourism became more about an itinerary of cultivation than about exploration.<sup>201</sup> Black also notes the shifting value of the landscape across this period, pointing to Romanticism, writing, “[At first,] there was no cult of the countryside: tourists traveled as rapidly as possible between major cities, and regarded mountains with horror, not joy. The contrast with nineteenth-century tourism, and its cult of the ‘sublime,’ dated from Romanticism, not earlier.”<sup>202</sup> Perhaps it was against the rigidity of the well-established itinerary of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that desires for direct experiences of nature, rather than cultural tourism, emerged. The emerging bourgeois class found in the Romantic, sublime, or picturesque landscape ways to reject the aristocratic conventions of the Grand Tour. Indeed, the concept of the picturesque in this period is also associated with the negotiation of the pleasing and the terrifying.<sup>203</sup> In considering Sevaistre’s travel album through this lens, I question the degree to which the context

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<sup>199</sup> Black, 3.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>201</sup> For a discussion of the ideals of the Grand Tour and the standardization of itineraries and means of travel, see Buzard, 109—30.

<sup>202</sup> Black, 3.

<sup>203</sup> “The picturesque has often been considered as a safe middle-ground, a composite category, happily mediating the dangerous Burkean opposites of the Sublime and the Beautiful.” John Whale, “Romantics, Explorers, and Picturesque Travelers,” in *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape, and Aesthetics since 1770*, ed. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 176.

of Southern Italy matches this broader pattern of the modernization of tourism and travel as outlined by Black, keeping in mind the dynamics of otherness and difference that were playing out across the peninsula and the formation of the “Southern Question.”

A framework opposing Grand Tour and Romantic conventions for landscape situates *Album Sicilia* at a crossroads of cultural itinerary and subjective engagement. Though Sevaistre’s presence in Palermo was part of a trend of non-Sicilian<sup>204</sup> photographers opening studios in the city and exporting views of Sicilian subject matter, Dario Lo Dico contends that Sevaistre was the first to endeavor a “photographic Grand Tour,” directly engaging the customs and itineraries of the elitist cultural tradition of European travel and cultivation. I suspect, though, that the story and conditions of Sevaistre’s sojourn in Palermo may involve some interesting, if unclear, biographical circumstances that account for certain aspects of his approach to Sicilian scenes. Sevaistre did not join *La Société Française de Photographie*, which was atypical for French photographers of his generation, and had few personal attachments and no family.<sup>205</sup> Without many historical records concerning the photographer or his life, it is difficult to posit precise connections between his biography and his style and practice. Yet the seeming solitude that structured his life may be reflected in his approach to depicting travel. Some literature on Sevaistre points to the influence of Romantic painting and literature, which emphasized subjective or emotional experience in opposition to the rationalization of space and time in

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<sup>204</sup> Northern Italian photographers were also engaging in this practice, such as the Milanese Luigi Sacchi. At the time, of course, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was under Bourbon rule, distinct from the sovereign Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, which would expand via the Expedition of the Thousand to become the Kingdom of Italy.

<sup>205</sup> The Archivio Biografico Comunale di Palermo also has no record of Sevaistre or his studio. Lo Dico et al suggest he may have been homosexual, and refer to his assistant with whom he produced these albums, and who sometimes appears in the images.

modernity and aristocratic, or academic, aesthetic values.<sup>206</sup> Sevaistre's methods of composition and framing corroborate the notion that solitude and private journey, rather than cultural education, were guiding values. Thus, while an understanding of Sevaistre's *Sicilia* is served by comparing it with Grand Tour itineraries, image making, and collecting, an examination of his stereographs in comparison to other such views produced at the time reveals more complex motivations and aesthetic concerns. Moreover, the works betray multiple, perhaps competing, relations to narrative across the series.

Lo Dico's association of *Sicilia* with the Grand Tour is largely based upon its organization according to the Tour's itinerary. Cities and sites included in *Sicilia* are: Palermo, Monreale, Caltanissetta, Segesta-Calatafimi, Agrigento (Girgenti), Caltagirone, Siracusa, Catania, Taormina, and Messina. This itinerary, as Sergio Troisi comments, privileges the major urban and archaeological sites of Sicily as they were established in the seventeenth century for the Grand Tour. Sevaistre's particular treatment, though, hints at a scientific interest in regional flora and the volcanoes Etna and Stromboli as geological sites, and an aesthetic interest in the particularity of his own experience.<sup>207</sup> My close reading of *Sicilia* suggests that the cultural and aesthetic contexts of travel and collection associated with the European Grand Tour, the emerging visual conventions associated with Romanticism, and identity conflicts surrounding the unification of Italy all shape Sevaistre's approach to the travel album. Like *Palerme* and *Gaeta*,

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<sup>206</sup> For a definition of Romanticism, see the entry "Romanticism" in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern World*, ed. Peter N. Stearns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), accessed online 16 September, 2018.

<sup>207</sup> Troisi writes, "L'itinerario seguito da Sevaistre ripercorre quindi quello già da tempo sperimentato: Palermo, Messina, Taormina, Catania, Siracusa, Caltagirone, Girgenti, Calatafimi, Segesta; sono le tappe di un viaggio che privilegia le maggiori realtà urbane e soprattutto i più celebrati siti archeologici che avevano costituito a partire, dal Settecento, l'attrattiva forse maggiore per il soggiorno in Sicilia, insieme alla fascinazione—anch'essa con un nucleo mitico, seppure rinnovato della nuova scienza geologica—dei vulcani, dell'Etna e dello Stromboli." *Ibid.*, 23.

*Sicilia* negotiates competing impulses within the definition of the modern subject and their relationship to cultural history, artistic patrimony, and national identities. The categories of the collection and the archive, and themes of subjectivity, temporality, and proximity, continue to structure my approach to all these concerns as they bear upon *Sicilia*.

The European Grand Tour was a practice beginning in the mid-seventeenth century in which primarily British—and later other European and American—aristocrats would follow an established circuit around Europe in order to see and acquire artistic treasures as a form of noble education and development of taste. Throughout the history of the Grand Tour, travelers documented their expeditions in several forms including journaling, sketching, printmaking, and painting. So, in addition to travelling, the Grand Tour is associated as strongly with collecting as it is with artistic and visual education and connoisseurship. In fact, many published accounts, whether textual or visual, are called *collections*, rather than journals or albums. In the context of the Tour, the role of the collection as a tool and site for education extends beyond mere memory aid or receptacle for souvenirs. The history of collecting artistic objects or comparative views that originates with Giorgio Vasari's *Libro de' Disegni* inscribes the process of gathering images into a collective context to delineate categories in the service of art-historical knowledge. The two major purposes of collecting, according to this lineage, are to initiate the cultivation of a formal connoisseurship by which users could learn to recognize the style of specific artists via their technique and handling, and to make visible broader art-historical trends and associations of artists, revealing the "origins" of styles or formal techniques and conventions, as well as patterns of ascent and decline.<sup>208</sup> Collections from Grand Tours had dual value as material objects or

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<sup>208</sup> Vasari's production of the *Libro*, moreover, points towards an increased emphasis upon drawing and its importance as an aspect of visual and artistic education, a point which will be significant to my discussion of stereography as a medium.

commodities on the one hand, testifying to the elevated social status of the collector as possessor, and played a role in the visual and art-historical education of the collector, as well as in the cultivation of their aesthetic taste and, perhaps, that of others who may have used or observed the collection.

Thus, the Grand Tour is historically significant for its bringing together of collecting and education, or self-cultivation, via a narrative of travel. “Education and pleasure” were the primary purposes of the Grand Tour at its height, and different cities were associated with specific sets of benefits or pleasures.<sup>209</sup> Though Rome was perhaps the most significant stopping point on the Grand Tour itinerary, Southern Italy was not a requisite, and cities south of Rome were not necessarily included. This can be accounted for, in part, by the “danger and discomfort” reported of the physical journey from Rome to Naples and, from there, the practical matter of having to hire a ship to go to Sicily.<sup>210</sup> As Rosemary Sweet writes, Grand Tour visitors to Naples and Sicily would expect physical discomfort and exertion, given that one of the primary draws was the mountainous rural landscape.<sup>211</sup> The populations in southern cities, moreover, were not to be engaged, and were described in many accounts as primitive, uncivilized, and even dangerous.<sup>212</sup> These very dynamics of landscape and danger are those cited by Black in his discussion of the Romantic shift in travel around the nineteenth century.

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<sup>209</sup> “The Italian cities offered a rich range of benefits, including pleasure (Venice), Classical antiquity (Rome and its environs, the environs of Naples), Renaissance architecture and art (Florence), the splendours of Baroque culture (Rome and Venice), opera (Milan and Naples), and warm weather (Naples).” Black, 3.

<sup>210</sup> Also for this reason, very few women travelled to the South on the Grand Tour. Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690—1820* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 164—98.

<sup>211</sup> She explains that climbing Mt. Vesuvius or Etna might have been a means for British travellers to display their physical superiority to the Italians. Sweet, 55.

<sup>212</sup> See Edgewood, “Naples,” *Stereographic Tour Of Italy*.

When it was included, Southern Italy's status on the Tour was distinctive in that its major draws were views of ancient Roman, Greek, and Etruscan artifacts and the natural beauty of its landscapes, and sometimes a certain appeal of its "morally hazardous" decadence, hot climate, and singular, if "primitive" culture.<sup>213</sup> This is in contrast to the motivations underlying sojourns in Rome, where Tourists expected to stay longer, to engage in social life and culture as a part of their grand education, and to collect contemporary artworks and luxury goods. Naples and the South were seen as a moment of respite on the Grand Tour itinerary following rigorous and immersive stays in Rome. Rather than inserting oneself into what was seen as an elevated milieu of artists and cosmopolitan life, plunging south to Naples and Sicily meant engaging with art-historical sites from a distance, and seeking personal aesthetic experience and pleasure, rather than socializing with local artists and dealers or participating in urban life.<sup>214</sup> Within the Grand Tour, then, the South was regarded as the stage upon which cultivated travelers could venture in order to observe from a private distance untouched—or untouchable?—landscapes and preserves of ancient culture, while perhaps experimenting in the debased pleasures enjoyed by those Southern city dwellers that were markedly unenlightened by artistic education, democratic government, or modernity.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> There are even some accounts that Naples and the *mezzogiorno* were not particularly valued by Grand Tourists in terms of art and architecture, but rather for the sensual and cultural experience. Ibid., 165, 167, 261.

<sup>214</sup> This latter point has been recently contested by Melissa Calaresu, who points to prints and paintings produced in Naples in relation to the Grand Tour that focus upon urban life and the lives of contemporary Neapolitans. Melissa Calaresu, "Making Naples: Illustrated Guide Books and the Creation of a Visual Tradition," *Descrivere una Città: Early Modern Guidebooks in Naples* symposium at Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max Planck Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome, May 28, 2018.

<sup>215</sup> For a discussion of cultural production surrounding the southern half of the Italian peninsula in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Nelson Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). Melissa Calaresu has recently argued that Naples in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was indeed depicted in travel guides



Significantly, this suggests that the landscape and environs of southern Italy were long-standing symbols of the South and its backwardness in time, and were characterized by cultural difference and an attractive incompatibility with the civilized traveler. Because the Southern landscape was already producing meaning in this way before unification and modernization—the shifts outlined by Black—its existing codes may have been resistant to the new, Romantic modes of seeing that emerged in the nineteenth century. For example, Théophile Gautier (1811—72), in a novel about three young travelers to Naples, *Arria Marcella: Ricordo di Pompei*, published in 1852, points out a perceived irony of a modern railway stopping in Pompeii. In Gautier’s story, the boys laugh at the oxymoronic sign reading “Pompeii station,” balking at the juxtaposition between “a Greco-Roman city and a railway stop.”<sup>216</sup> The joke is that even something as modern as the railway could not bring Naples and Pompeii into modern time.

Indeed, southern Italy’s appeal as a place of mythical time and culture grew stronger with the modernization and industrialization of northern Europe, which led to a perceived decadence and growing sense of nostalgia for ancient cultures preserved there. The South functioned as a counter-point for the redistribution of values from aristocratic tourism to Romantic travel, and its landscapes maintained most of their status as ancient sites inhabited by uncultivated peoples during the nineteenth century. Art-historical interest tended to be constrained to classical ruins,

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as an urban center, and that there was an essential quality of the urban sought in Naples which should not be overlooked. I mean here to contrast the urban flavors that were presented within travel imagery from Italy, in which experiencing Rome as a tourist was an education or cultivating activity, and experiencing Naples and southern cities was adventurous, perhaps destabilizing, expanding a traveler’s inner aesthetic faculty in a Romantic sense, rather than refining their taste in an academic sense.

<sup>216</sup> “I tre amici scesero alla stazione di Pompei, ridendo tra loro per il miscuglio di aulico e moderno che balza gli occhi leggendo queste parole: *Stazione di Pompei*. Una città greco-romana e uno scalo ferroviario!” [*The three friends disembarked at the Pompeii station, laughing amongst themselves at the courtly-modern mix-up that flicked the eye reading the words: Pompeii Station. A Greco-Roman city and a railway stop!*] Pierre-Jules Théophile Gautier, *Arria Marcella: Ricordo di Pompei* (1852), Pompei: Edizioni Flavius, 2007), p. 16.

and sociological interest tended to treat inhabitants as provincial or primitive preserves of a previous epoch.<sup>217</sup> In Rome, by contrast, travelers would spend the majority of their time exploring Renaissance and Baroque masterpieces, architecture, and “princely collections,” in addition to the important activity of visiting the studios of contemporary artists residing in and between Piazza Spagna and Piazza del Popolo to commission portrait paintings and busts to ship home, though ancient Roman sites were of course included. Visiting these studios was considered a “perfect opportunity for displaying one’s taste.”<sup>218</sup> Cities further north in Italy, such as Florence, Genova, and Milano, were not only considered modern cities, they were also places where household goods, such as furniture, candlesticks, or other “luxury goods” were to be purchased.<sup>219</sup> Items such as these that were, upon returning home, to enter into the everyday lives of the Grand Tourists, directly became a part of the domestic representations of their owners, embodying and displaying the very cultivation they underwent on the Tour. That desired items such as marble for a chimney or silverware would be acquired in northern cities suggests that those cities were perceived to be current in matters of domestic taste and industrial production.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> The temporal framing of southern subjects as primitive or “originary,” in contrast with the modern temporalities of northern places is not only significant in terms of cultural production and tourism. As I will show in chapter three, biological bases for temporal difference was sought in natural and biological science, evolutionary theory, and the concept of atavism only slightly later in the century.

<sup>218</sup> Flavio Boggi, “Viscount Berekhaven’s tour of Italy in 1842—3: Collecting ‘articles of taste’ for the Bantry House,” *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 29, no. 2 (Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 314.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 319—20. Jeremy Black points out that, in addition to northern Italian cities, Paris was very much considered a place within the Grand Tour where one would attempt to learn and acquire objects of personal and domestic style. Black, 4.

<sup>220</sup> Moreover, tourism to northern Italian cities was modernized for European travellers much earlier than tourism to the South following the decline of the Grand Tour. The commoditisation of pre-arranged travel packages by train, for example, pioneered in the 1860s by Thomas Cook, did not reach into southern Italy. A principal reason was lack of adequate train access. For a discussion of modern tourism contrasted with the notion of aristocratic “travel,” see Buzard, 1—79.

From the perspective of the Grand Tour, not only was the South considered unique in terms of its backward, if picturesque, culture,<sup>221</sup> it was treated as a supplement to the Tour, even as it grew in frequentation through the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. French Grand Tourists, as noted by Cesare de Seta, would have visited Italy exclusively, rather than the whole of Europe, and thus would have attended more to comparing and evaluating the different cities and regions of Italy. De Seta also suggests that, for French travelers, the Grand Tour may have been oriented more strongly towards pleasure—i.e. sensual and aesthetic experience—than to artistic connoisseurship and education.<sup>222</sup> If we consider his claim that, for the French, the Grand Tour itinerary resembled a nuanced and focused sensual expedition around Italy, we may gather that Sevaistre was indeed following more than just the rough outlines of the Tour, and that his personal style, though indeed *personal*, was not novel because of this, and was perhaps pitched towards a French audience expecting more of an individual account than an inventory of key monuments. If we step back and think of *Sicilia* as a whole, however, Sevaistre's consistent use of panoramic views of urban sites to initiate each series follows a certain formulaic tradition of the Grand Tour, including *vedute*, or panoramas, to orient the viewer and to present a comprehensive understanding of a city's geography. As another French traveler, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu (1689—1755), famously wrote of his travels to Italy, for example: “When I arrive in a city, I always go up to the highest bell tower, or up the highest tower, to have a total view, before

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<sup>221</sup> It is possible to have a discussion of Sicily and the landscape in French Romantic literature. Maybe this is not necessary. See Urban Mengin, *L'Italie des Romantiques* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit Imprimeurs-Éditeurs, 1902).

<sup>222</sup> He writes, “Gli inglese potevano dividere le loro passioni tra Parigi e una o più città italiane: i francese non hanno questo imbarazzo. Pertanto, spesso, il loro Grand Tour s'identifica con il *voyage en Italie* o *d'Italie*.” Cesare de Seta, *L'Italia nello specchio del Grand Tour* (Milano: Rizzoli, 2014), 233—4.

seeing the single parts, and upon leaving I do the same thing, to fix my ideas.”<sup>223</sup> Conventions for structuring a personal collection of Tour imagery therefore underwrite the experience of travel itself—determined by the task acquiring certain views—as well as the narrative and aesthetic presentation of souvenirs and images. Furthermore, the prospect of marketing *Sicilia* to Italians—a population that would not have participated in Grand Tour culture as travelers, but rather as hosts or as objects—opens it to use as a modernizing tool in the sense that the aristocratic associations with Grand Tourism would have been directed towards Italians, perhaps putting pressure upon the socio-political relations between the Bourbon monarchy, which symbolized old-world aristocracy, and the Southern Italians they ruled over in the Two Sicilies. This is to say that specific political and technological contexts temper the applicability of the Grand Tour as a historical source for Sevaistre, and yet the aesthetic categories and conventions hailing from the Tour, as Troisi and Lo Dico insist, in part shaped the reception of Sevaistre’s project.

Before discussing further the ties between the Grand Tour, collections as tools to educate taste, and the positioning of art-historical knowledge as a matter of Italian national identity, a better understanding of the types of imagery associated with the Grand Tour will help situate Sevaistre’s stereographic albums. A common type of image known as *vedute* were characterized by panoramic overviews accurately encompassing entire cities, often looking out from a high point over the city and towards a body of water.<sup>224</sup> The word *panorama* itself only emerged in the late eighteenth century as a technical term to describe “a specific form of landscape painting

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<sup>223</sup> “Quando arrivo in una città, salgo sempre sul più alto campinale, o sulla torre più alta, per aver una veduta d’insieme, prima di vedere le singole parti; e nel lasciarla faccio la stessa cosa, per fissare le mie idée.” Quoted in De Seta, 214. Translation mine.

<sup>224</sup> For a definition and description of the emergence of the painted *veduta*, see Stephan Ottermann, *The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider (New York: Zone Books, 1997), p. 28—30.

which reproduced a 360-degree view,” and the broader or “metaphorical” use of the term began almost simultaneously.<sup>225</sup> While a panoramic view is rightly understood to mean a very wide, or even fully circular overview of a real landscape from a high viewpoint, its emergence relative to the particular form of 360-degree painting bears with it a certain historical context that resonates with questions of audience and subjectivity. Stephan Ottermann calls the panorama “the pictorial expression or ‘symbolic form’ of a specifically modern, bourgeois view of nature and the world. [It] was in one respect an apparatus for teaching and glorifying the bourgeois view of the world; it served both as an instrument for liberating human vision and for limiting it and ‘imprisoning’ it anew.”<sup>226</sup> In other words, the modes of seeing associated with the panorama are as much about mapping out the totality of a place, presenting it from a single, elevated viewpoint, as they are about celebrating the viewpoint itself as a privilege of the modern bourgeois subject. Goethe, reflecting upon his one and only sea voyage, a trip from Naples to Palermo, emphasizes the embodying effect of the panorama by considering it in the extreme, based upon his experience being completely surrounded by water with no land in sight. He writes: “No one who has never seen himself surrounded on all sides by nothing but the sea can have a true conception of the world and his own relation to it. The simple noble line of the marine horizon has given me, as a landscape painter, quite new ideas.”<sup>227</sup> At the same time, Goethe’s invocation of “true conception” suggests that the subjectivity of the body may be overcome by the perfect panoramic view.<sup>228</sup> In this sense the panorama, along with photography, introduced new frameworks into the visual culture of the Grand Tour that contributed to the shifting status of travel during the

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<sup>225</sup> It is not known who coined the term, and the form of painting with which it arose was invented simultaneously by several European painters around the year 1787. Ottermann, 6.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>227</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Italian Journey: 1786—1788*, trans. W. H. Auden and Elizabeth Mayer (London: Collins, 1962), p. 220. Cited in Ottermann, 8.

<sup>228</sup> Ottermann, 13.

nineteenth century, and gave a new signifying capacity to the embodied viewpoint. According to Ottermann, this simultaneous liberation and restriction of the subjective gaze “corresponds directly to the economic and political situation of the bourgeoisie under the absolute monarchs of Europe, as burgeoning hopes encountered new frustrations” during the revolutionary period.<sup>229</sup> Significantly, panoramic images were more frequent at sites in southern Italy, such as Naples and Palermo in favor of the more intimate urban views that were commonly made in cities such as Rome.<sup>230</sup>

Another curious type of imagery popular amongst Grand Tourists called *capriccio*, were wholly fictitious, composite views, usually of ruins, that grouped together archeological sites and locations into proximate configurations that did not actually exist. See, for example, works created by the French painter Hubert Robert (1733—1808), who spent years living in Rome, calling himself the “best painter of ruins in the world,” and creating historical fantasies such as “View of the Port Ripetta in Rome,” in 1766 (Fig. 2.35). This painting depicts the Pantheon set on a high, stepped bank, next to the Palazzo dei Conservatori of Campidoglio, above the Port Ripetta, located on the Tiber river. The pastiche of this scene will be immediately obvious to anyone with knowledge of the city. A combination of ancient, early modern, and contemporary (the Port was constructed in 1703) architecture is displayed here, with detail and atmosphere that suggest a neutralized temporality, giving the sense that “the buildings were all built at the same

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<sup>229</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>230</sup> Melissa Calaresu, “Making Naples: Illustrated Guide Books and the Creation of a Visual Tradition,” *Descrivere una Città: Early Modern Guidebooks in Naples* symposium at Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max Planck Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome, May 28, 2018. In this talk, Calaresu argued that the characterization of the popularity of *vedute* in Naples was not as ubiquitous as Rosemary Sweet describes it. She did, nonetheless explain the significance of such views in southern cities as one that stems from valuing individual experience, enjoyment, and respite in the south after visiting the rigorously educational city of Rome.

time,” according to one blogger.<sup>231</sup> I would agree that the sense of time conveyed in this painting tends toward a unified, mythical pastness, rather than an accumulation of architectural periods from different moments in history, which would have been quite accurate to the mood of Rome. This in itself is not particularly remarkable in terms of style, but the fact that Robert’s—and a multitude of other painters’—*capriccio* paintings were highly popular amongst Grand Tourists in the eighteenth century suggests that the purpose of acquiring artworks of Tour subjects was not to possess accurate likenesses of the sites, but to have pictures that summarized overall aesthetic impressions from a city. These paintings were valued as objects with pleasing visual effects and allusions to a rich artistic and architectural patrimony—capstones for educations received. After 1839 and the invention of the daguerreotype and the calotype, image making in the context of the Grand Tour began to take on a more documentary role, with photographs serving as mementos of the scenes witnessed or as proof of the tourist’s presence. The value placed upon summary, painterly composition, and generalized atmospheric effects, however, did not disappear entirely and were applied to imagery of the North, Rome, and the South alike. Panoramic views of Naples, for example, produced by the famous Giacomo Brogi (1822—81) studio seem to combine elements of the *veduta* and the *capriccio*, showing an overview of the city with drawn-in smoke coming from the mouth of Vesuvius, making this panoramic view both a real setting and a characteristic scene, invoking the dangerous nature of southern land (Fig. 2.36).

Troisi situates Sevaistre’s compositional choices for the album within a context of precarious and even confused aesthetic values associated with views of Sicily during modernity. He writes that although the Grand Tour itinerary and its aesthetic values still existed in the

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<sup>231</sup> <http://arthistoryblogger.blogspot.it/2011/09/hubert-roberts-view-of-port-of-ripetta.html>

cultural imagination, their hegemony was already waning by the time Sevaistre arrived on the island. There was a tension emerging, he argues, within the “perceptual models” brought to bear upon Sicilian content that had to do with both an Italian drive to modernize and with the technical conditions of photography. This tension recalls a particular conundrum affecting conceptions of Southern Italy during these years. As Nelson Moe describes, “modernity also generates a longing for those picturesque aspects of the world that are being destroyed.”<sup>232</sup> Moe is articulating a conflict not just within Italian efforts to become modern, but also a tension between Italian cultural efforts to be “in time” with the rest of Europe, and a northern feeling of nostalgia for antiquity that accompanied its own modernization and urbanization. Moe also notes that the project of unification itself was conceived as a bourgeois project, and in this sense, at odds with the aristocratic tradition of the Grand Tour. He writes,

One of my overarching points is that representations of the South were structured and animated not simply by the spirit of nationalism but by the new forms of bourgeois civilization developing at the time in Tuscany, Lombardy, and Piedmont. The rise of both nationalism and bourgeois society in Italy during the second quarter of the nineteenth century are in fact closely interrelated trends. The nation that takes form between 1848 and 1861 will be fundamentally bourgeois both in conception and practice.<sup>233</sup>

His point here is that images of the South were constructed according to social and cultural changes originating in the North, implying that bourgeois aesthetic frameworks were imposed upon southern subject matter.

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<sup>232</sup> Moe, 19.

<sup>233</sup> He also writes, “emergent bourgeois sensibilities foster an accentuated interest in the picturesque dimensions of the south, a heightened curiosity in an area viewed as different from other regions.” *Ibid.*, 86.



The use of photography and the bourgeois form of the album to convey the content and values of a Grand Tour itinerary might have presented aesthetic and commercial conflicts for Sevaistre, pushing him to rethink his presentation of “all of Sicily,” and to seek out an aesthetics that would convey his project to multiple bourgeois audiences—in his native France, across Italy, and in Sicily—that wished to see the region fulfilling a role within the modern project of Italian unity. On the other hand, the medium of stereography carried a slightly different class rapport, and though it began as a bourgeois pastime, had come to be seen as a popular, less socially elevated form by 1860.<sup>234</sup> Could it be that the Grand Tour itself, insofar as it was losing ground as a socially elevating practice in the face of a modernizing society, simply lingered longer in southern Italy, which culturally lagged behind the wave of modernity even as it politically expelled the Bourbon monarchy? Multiple tensions existed for southern Italy during the Risorgimento, as the Kingdom found its modern, bourgeois identity by simultaneously othering the South as outside of modern time and including it in within the nationalist project of unification.<sup>235</sup>

*Album Sicilia: Souvenir Stereoscopici d'Italia* surveys “all of Sicily” not as a travel guide or companion, but as a surrogate or substitute for touristic travel to the island. Yet at the same time, the pictures’ materiality as stereographs, separable from the series or album, and the visual conventions deployed by the photographer to emphasize his own presence and perspective, lend the images a sense of singularity or preciousness which most are not interesting enough to live up to. The extent to which the images relate to each other as a series derives equally from their

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<sup>234</sup> Erkki Huhtamo, “Inside Stereoscopic Mania,” Britt Salvesen, *3D Double Vision* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2018), p. 76.

<sup>235</sup> See Gramsci, “Quando incomincia il Risorgimento?” and “Il problema della direzione politica nella formazione e nello sviluppo della nazione e dello Stato moderno in Italia,” *Il Risorgimento*, 54—9, 86—118.

allusions to the Grand Tour tradition and the narrative of Sevaistre's personal, physical journey that they visually elaborate. Thus their status as souvenirs, collector's objects, or parts of a series becomes a bit complicated or confused. Marina Gnocchi and Silvia Paoli argue that what Sevaistre manages to shake off of Grand Tour conventions is most of all the "souvenir" effect of images. Instead, they say, the photographer, while maintaining the "visual typologies and iconographies of the *voyage pittoresque*," develops an inclination for a "strictly naturalistic picturesque voyage" as he "attempts to render an enchanting description of the natural context of a city from a predetermined point of view."<sup>236</sup> What they seem to mean is that while some of the images legibly traffic in the conventions of Grand Tour aesthetics and expectations, Sevaistre's own personal style emerges within the stringent naturalism which he applies to his treatment of the vegetation and natural beauty of the landscape, and that this is a recognizable modification of the concept of vantage point privileged by the Grand Tour tradition. The use of stereography, moreover, adds the perceived value of "being there" to the photographic medium, which was also understood to offer accuracy, rendering the exact features of the landscape.<sup>237</sup> Genre scenes are conspicuously absent from *Sicilia*, and that scientific or encyclopedic values reflected in Sevaistre's treatment of cacti and other flora on the peninsula manifest only in cases in which natural specimen are the direct subjects of a composition. In other settings, such as urban views, the photographer tends not to emphasize the natural formations that such views would typically include, such as Mt. Etna, Monte Pellegrino, Monreale, etc. If we compare, for example, his

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<sup>236</sup> Gnocchi and Paoli write, "Nei paesaggi ripresi da e verso la Villa Belmonte all'Acquasanta, il condizionamento di tali tipologie visive e iconografiche da *voyage pittoresque* è evidente, e Sevaistre sviluppa una tendenza strettamente naturalistic ache privilegia un'estetica del pittoresco, nel tentativo di rendere incantevole la descrizione del contesto naturale della città dal punto di vista prescelto." Marina Gnocchi and Silvia Paoli, "Paesaggi da Villa Belmonte all'Acquasanta," in Bajamonte, Lo Dico, and Troisi, *Palermo 1860*, p. 36. Translation mine.

<sup>237</sup> Jäger, 122. Though he claims that the photographer's point of view is of less value to photographic landscapes, and the "artistic interpretation" was repressed.

view called “Il Molo e Monte Pellegrino” (Fig. 2.37) with a typical image of the same subject created by the Brogi studio (Fig. 2.38), we see that Sevaistre allows the mountain, whose name is in the title, to remain washed out, atmospheric, and barely visible. Though the latter image was produced later, around 1890, more advanced photographic technology does not fully explain this difference in the visual registration of the mountain. Giorgio Sommer’s (1834—1914) view of the same mountain taken between 1860 and 67 (Fig 2.39) indeed registers both the mountain and harbor below in high detail. The same can be said of Robert Rive’s (b. 1825) 1865 rendering of the subject (Fig. 2.40). Even in 1848, Rev. George Wilson Bridges (1788—1863) managed to capture both the mountain and the harbor in a photographic print from a paper negative (Fig. 2.41).

Comparison with a photograph by the Alinari studio created between 1915 and 20 called “La villa Belmonte, ai Piedi del Monte Pellegrino a Palermo” (Fig. 2.42) with Sevaistre’s eight-stereoscope series from *Sicilia*, “Paesaggi de villa Belmonte all’Acquasanta,” ranging from image 37 to 44, gives rise to the same distinction noted in comparing Sevaistre’s and Sommer’s views of the harbor and Monte Pellegrino (Figs. 2.43, 2.44, 2.45, 2.46, and 2.47). Sevaistre does not attempt a full view of the mountain. Instead, he takes intermittent views from the path leading from the villa to Acquasanta, the first six of which are titled “Panorama preso alla villa Belmonte,” (panorama taken at the villa Belmonte) and the last two, “la villa Belmonte.” The first two views are nearly identical compositions. Sevaistre’s camera looks out over a curving shore at mountains on the other side. The photographer has not moved positions between shots 37 and 38, but has simply lowered his camera. Image 39 maintains a similarly wide angle and panoramic perspective, but advances along the path enough that the sea is no longer in the shot. All subsequent images feature vegetation, in focus and in the foreground, often with a partial

view of the mountain. Images 43 and 44, simply titled “La villa Belmonte,” feature the nominal villa in the background, out of focus and obscured.

These choices and repetitions point to an apparent lack of editing on Sevaistre’s part, if we consider *Sicilia* as an intact album. Yet, the preservation of slightly different versions of more or less the same composition also betrays a sense of self interest, or a fetishization of the slight differences of subjective viewpoints captured from one moment to the next, perhaps conjuring a twentieth-century image of a passionate photographer taking shot after shot just as quickly as he can advance his film roll (Sevaistre was using wet-plate collodion, a cumbersome and demanding medium that required the immediate development of single glass negatives after they were exposed). Instead of describing the experience of traveling along the passage from villa Belmonte to the Acquasanta in a geographically legible manner, this micro-series celebrates moments of idiosyncratic appreciation at irregular intervals and with irregular framing. That the points of interest are named in the titles and all but omitted in the images only highlights the photographer’s contrary disinterest in them, and preference for that which is close at hand, catching his attention, or literally laying his path.

Regarding the degree to which the landscape determines or is determined by the viewer’s relation to it, and the extent to which natural features are weighted with emotional or aesthetic metaphor or symbolism, Sevaistre employs two main modes for framing nature: near and distant. Image numbers 40 and 43, for example (Figs. 2.46 and 2.47), offer two alternatives for framing a group of succulents on the side of the mountain on which the photographer is standing. The former image shows a path in the left foreground, between the plants and the picture plane. In both, the plants are in close-up, as in portraits. Images such as these, in which proximity to a spatially cohesive and autonomous cluster of vegetation, set up a rapport between the viewer and

plants in which the latter almost seem to be gazing back at the viewer, recalling Baudelaire's criteria for the establishment of memory.<sup>238</sup> In 40, other natural elements, such as the dark, underexposed tree directly behind the succulents acts as a visual block, restricting the viewer to the shallow space inhabited by the plants, between it and the picture plane, similar to the way a backdrop would act in a nineteenth-century studio portrait. In this same stereograph, many of the long leaves reach out in curving gestures towards the viewer, creating a strong spatial effect through the stereoscope, traversing the limit of the picture plane and the width of the path upon which photographer/viewer is standing. That the features of the landscape interact with the viewer in this way, that they tend to reach out or return the gaze, reminds the viewer of their own subjective presence, anchoring the experience of viewing to the time of the image. Though in general Sevaistre's interest in flora may be partially attributed to the "encyclopedic gaze" of the photographic camera or the influence of naturalist travel studies, these compositions do not present their subject matter as specimen, objectively comparable or representative of genus or type.<sup>239</sup> They appear figurative, and orient the viewer to the time and space of the images.

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<sup>238</sup> Baudelaire, 59.

<sup>239</sup> Enzo Dubbini describes how representations of landscape transformed after the mid-eighteenth century, citing the philosophies and works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Bernadin de Saint-Pierre, and "the great naturalist" Alexander von Humboldt. He writes, "The description of landscape developed greatly after the mid-eighteenth century, both in painting and in literature, as it benefitted from the experience of men of letters, artists, and scientists. A sensitivity to nature inspired by the philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, merged with investigative methods that relied on the observation of places, climates, vegetation, and the mineral world in an attempt to comprehend the specific characteristics and the invariables of diverse contexts... Saint-Pierre found flora, fauna, and mineral formations to be just as worthy of interest as monuments and architecture or rites and customs, and he envisioned them within an overall conception of the landscape, which he understood as formed both spontaneously and artificially... In the concept of nature's infinity, Saint-Pierre saw the mark of a cosmic order inevitably conditioning human experience. A similar tension accompanied the traveller intent on discovering new things, urging him on in his obsessive quest for a primal matrix that forms and organizes all things. Dubbini, 81—4.

In other images of Agrigento, Siracusa, or Taormina, similar framing and focus are applied to landscape features, such as single trees or groups of plants, and to ruins, which sometimes take on an appearance between landscape, architecture, and figure. In image 195, “Antiche muraglie di Agrigento” (Fig. 2.15), play between distance and proximity, landscape and architecture, and landscape and subjectivity engage the viewer in an act of seeing that involves visual movement and spatial conjuring. Through the stereoscope, foreground objects emerge to meet the viewer, but the uncertain terrain of the middle ground fails to disclose its dimensions. Concordia Temple is small in the distance, but recognizable from the previous image in the album, 194 “Tempio della Concordia, preso dal Tempio di Giunone Lucina” (Fig. 2.48), which is identified in the title. The progression from 194 to 195 can be measured by the few steps Sevaistre seems to have taken from behind the columns of the Giunone Lucina temple, which are close in the foreground in 194, framing the view of Concordia. It strikes me that the temple is named in 194 but not in 195, which refers only to the ruins of an ancient wall, because it appears sharper and more resolved in the latter. This is likely caused by an over-exposure in 194 due to the proximity of the Lucina temple’s columns, which block light from entering the camera on the sides of the frame, causing the center to over expose. On the other hand, however, the textual aid provided by the title tells the viewer what the subject matter is, and directs them to look from Lucina to Concordia, narrativizing the experience of looking and eliding the photographic act with the act of viewing. The temporality of this image is thus bound to the time in which it was taken, representing the memory of that moment. Viewers looking through the stereoscope, repeating or inhabiting the camera’s gaze per the titles instructions may feel close to Lucina temple in space, but not in time.

The composition of 195, “Antiche muraglie,” comprises the stones of an antique wall receding sharply into the background in a nearly vertical foreshortening. In the extreme foreground, the wall’s ruins stretch across the entire width of the frame, then converge at a vanishing point, marked by the Concordia Temple about two thirds up the height of the image. The left side of the hill is well lit, while the right falls in relative shadow. In the extreme foreground just to the left of the vertical axis created by the crest of the hill, two large stones lift up towards the viewer, almost parallel to the picture plane. These stones are just barely touching each other. They have different shapes and sizes, and their spatial relations become gestural as they push away from the space behind them, confronting the viewer. While it would be an overstatement to assert that Sevaistre’s treatment of this stone group is portrait-like, I would nonetheless posit that the main subjects of this stereograph are these stones and their role as intermediary between the viewer and the remains of the antique wall. When looking at this image, the eye easily wanders along the path of ruins and back, quickly traveling to and fro, and yet virtual or imaginative entry into the space, such as walking along the wall to reach the temple, is inaccessible. In other words, while the visual experience of “Antiche muraglie” is immersive, the illusion of “being there” is confined to the shallow space in the foreground. The stones both touch the viewer and keep them at bay. How the stones interact spatially with each other transforms their forms into gestures, adding interest through animation and personification. The stones are not quite animated enough to seem wholly figurative, and yet, they serve as a surrogate viewer of the scene. Ultimately, the roles that these stones fulfill in this composition are more than just spatial barriers and markers of proximity. They also allow the viewer to enter into a subjective relation with them as quasi-figurative objects. Images such as those taken near the temple at Concordia or the villa Belmonte all’Acquasanta present landscapes that include the

viewer via the photographer's framing devices, rather than as real or imagined spaces that are open to the viewer to explore on their own terms. The stones and cacti in these images become animated to a certain degree, and yet nonetheless say little about how to experience the landscapes.

Space, proximity, and perspective play strange roles in Sevaistre's urban and architectural views as well. Though the panorama appears as a general format, Sevaistre's use of wide, high views and cityscapes is geared more towards fixing the viewer to a particular vantage than to providing them with an omniscient overview of a place. For example, "Panorama preso sopra Porta Nuova (la Cattedrale)" (Fig. 2.49), looks over Palermo from a high point and mentions two important monuments in its title. The composition, however, is dominated by an empty piazza and the viewpoint is confined by the thick walls of the balcony from which the shot was taken. In this way, Sevaistre's *vedute* of Sicily are particular compared to those of his peers. Giorgio Sommer, for example, like Sevaistre was a foreign photographer who transferred to Italy in the 1860s to make commercial photographs, and also produced stereoscopic views of the Italian South, including many Grand Tour sites of Sicily. In Sommer's works from 1860—67, we see much less emphasis upon landscape and isolated subjectivity than in Sevaistre's *Sicilia*. Sommer's views tend to offer detailed perspectives of artworks, architecture, and ruins, as well as close-cropped participatory views of urban genre scenes and crowded city streets (Fig. 2.50). As I have already pointed out regarding his view of Monte Pellegrino, Sommer's photographic treatment tended to be evenly focused and free of atmospheric disturbance. His balanced compositions and even focus create an open and inclusive perspective, from which the viewer may peruse the image, taking it in detail by detail without losing sight of the composition overall. Even the more provincial, picturesque topics in Sommer's oeuvre open to the viewer, providing a



vantage point within the frame that the viewer may imaginatively occupy. Sevaistre, on the other hand, photographs cityscapes from elevated positions looking down rather than over, and selects desolated urban settings that emphasize empty, ambiguous space. Images containing figures are often blurred or moody, rather than carefully posed as in *Palerme* and *Gaeta*, encouraging a reflective or brooding aesthetic response that more readily converges with the Romanticism than with an appreciation for the modernity and urbanism of Sicilian cities embraced in many of Sommer's views (Figs. 2.51 and 2.52).

When seen together, images in *Sicilia* fall into relation with one another based upon subtle spatial differences from shot to shot, emphasizing the experience of travel rather than the end-goals of tourism.<sup>240</sup> Instead of traveling from one major site to another, the progression of images records Sevaistre's bodily movements, i.e. shifts in his vantage point, within the same setting. Typical photographs from the 1860s showing the sites and landscapes of Sicily, such as those distributed by large studios such as Brogi, Alinari, and Anderson, follow Sommer's example, presenting evenly focused, postcard renderings of environments for the viewer to peruse (Fig. 2.53), for example, an Alinari panorama of Palermo, taken only meters from Sevaistre's viewpoint in "Panorama preso sopra Porta Nuova (la Cattedrale)". In breaking with these trends or conventions, Sevaistre makes space in his images for the itinerant temporality of the traveler, fixing the viewer to his own vantage point, rather than those pre-determined ones that characterized both the out-dated Grand Tour image and the newly commoditized commercial travel print of the modern photography studio.

Additionally, the repetition of a singular scene emphasizes the specificity of each stereoscopic exposure and the compositional choices carried out by the photographer. The first

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<sup>240</sup> Buzard, 18—79.

five images in the Messina series are all titled “Panorama di Messina,” and each shows a slightly varied panoramic view of rooftops (Figs 2.54, 2.55, 2.56, 2.57, and 2.58). The latter two distinguish themselves by depicting the same tall dome rising above the other rooftops to meet the height of the camera. In 64, the first of the domes, at the bottom of the composition we see the top of the wall behind which the photographer was standing (Fig. 2.57). In the next shot, the wall does not appear and the shot is taken from a slightly higher angle, based upon the relationship between the dome and the other rooftops (Fig. 2.58). By emphasizing his own, small movements across the series of stereographs, Sevaistre foregrounds not only his own travel in Sicily, but also his own visual experiences and techniques as a photographer. As I have argued, the persistence of Sevaistre’s subjective presence diverts or undermines the “magic shock” of the individual stereographic view.

There are many examples across *Sicilia* in which Sevaistre uses different tactics to distance the viewer from his stereographic scenes. A particularly striking example, image 74, titled “I Quattro Cantoni” from Messina (Fig. 2.59), looks onto a nearly empty urban street corner from an oblique angle, and seems to have been taken from about waist-height. Though we clearly see the outline of a female figure in white, standing with her back turned, attending to something in a storefront on the far right of the scene, the viewer is also aware of the shadowy presences of several other figures caught in motion and thus obscuring the foreground. A white blur to the left of the white-clothed form on the right appears to be a figure bent over, working around a low table covered with fruit, which contrasts with the figure because it is in focus. The lower-left side of the scene is smudged over by the moving presences of several forms. Glimpses of semi-transparent legs, shirts, and heads give clues that these blurs are human figures, demonstrating the long exposure time and the low threshold of movement. Not only does

Sevaistre maintain his own presence as photographer in *Sicilia*, images such as this also remind the viewer of the mechanics of the apparatus, including both the photographic exposure and the optical device.

The smudged, blurred figures in the left foreground of “I quattro Cantoni” reiterate how Sevaistre blocks the viewer from entering the image on their own terms. They darken the image, emphasizing its surface and obscuring a sidewalk receding into the frame, that otherwise would have contributed to the depth of the image, pushing the eye along the perspectival axis created by the receding row of buildings on the opposite side of the street. Seen through the stereoscope, this smudge quite literally blocks our view into Messina, holding the viewer on the other side of the picture plane, with the photographer, or at the least constricting our attention to the empty space that occupies the center foreground of the composition instead of encouraging our eye to wander into the middle-ground space activated by the device. The next view, number 75, also called “I Quattro Cantoni,” depicts the same street corner; only this time, it seems Sevaistre has simply taken a big step to the right and made another exposure (Fig. 2.60). We can now see almost directly down the street until it ends about two blocks away with the washed-out façade of a two- or three-story building.

What is absent from stereograph 75, relative to 74, is the cloud of moving figures, as well as the white-clad lady by the storefront. The latter has presumably been cropped, but where have the others gone? All that remains of the smudged crowd is the figure seated upon the left-hand curb. Even more mysteriously, the figure on the right of the frame that, in image 74 was bent over a low table is still there, but here appears to be standing. It is not worth fixating upon who these figures are or where they went. There is a temporal distance between these two stereoscopic views and its effects upon the viewer’s relation to the scene. If the case is as it

appears to be, that Sevaistre made one exposure, stepped to the right, and made another, the intended effect would seem to be that the viewer is imaginatively in the place of the photographer. Multiplying the number of views upon a scene without providing a fuller or more comprehensive sense of the setting reminds the viewer that they are limited to the photographer's choices and framing. Moreover, the narrative difference between the two shots documents the temporality of the scene as Sevaistre encountered it. Giving preference to the temporality of picture-taking, rather than that of viewing, causes the image to under-perform as a surrogate for travel experience and undermines the viewer's coequality with the scene. Prominent authorship signals to the viewer that *Sicilia* is to be read as a Sevaistre's *tour* collection, asserting the significance of his execution of a particular itinerary, and organized according to his experience and visual preferences. At the same time, the strength and specificity of this authorship transcends the concept of the set itinerary, closely narrating a personal experience of travel. The categories of the collection and the archive coexist within the strength of each photograph's attachment to its provenance and detachability from the context of the album, and their over-determination according to Sevaistre's narrative authorship.

Primarily through structuring subjective modes of seeing based upon individual experience and temporal presence, whilst digressing to his own time of traveling and taking photographs, Sevaistre creates stereographs that both include and exclude the viewer, that offer views which may be culturally expected, but may also open them up for criticism and reflection. I am struck by the picturesque series of three images showing a rowboat through grasses on a lake with passengers and rowers. They are the last images in the roughly 44-image series of Siracusa (Figs. 2.61, 2.62, and 2.63). The latter two reiterate Sevaistre's favored practice of including two very similar views of the same subject matter in slightly different compositions.

While the Siracusa series overall depicts the archaeological sites, monasteries, and cathedrals that the city was known for, and the customary panoramic views constituting the thirty-fifth through fortieth images, these last three depict figures in nature. While the title of the first image of the three, number 167, “Il Fiume Anapo,” geographically situates scene at a specific river in Siracusa, the other two, both called “La Fontana Ciana e il Papiro,” refer instead to a local mythology, *ciane* nymphs that inhabited the area. At the same time, the leisure activity of boating may signal a shared culture with the rest of Europe in which cultivated society enters nature in order to enjoy it, rather than remaining stuck “in nature” in the primitive sense. As Moe has pointed out, climate and environment had long been tied up in descriptions of Southern Italy’s backwardness. Demonstrating a relationship with nature that looks similar to that of more northern and modern European cities may be read as a claim of Sicily’s assimilation to bourgeois society.<sup>241</sup> Moreover, the availability of this perspective to southern Italians provided position outside of the nationalist one argued for in the *Album Storico Artistico*, and atypical of when Sicilians were hosts of the tour, objects to be viewed along with the ruins and monuments.

Sevaistre’s inclusion of multiple views of the same subject—bringing attention to his own physical movements with the camera at the site—emphasizes his own temporality and process of producing or collecting views. This seems to fulfill a categorical criteria of the collection that it is organized by idiosyncratic selection and attachment to specific images. And yet, I would argue that this repetition also reads as documentation in a certain sense, raising the question of to what degree Sevaistre saw himself as creating records intended for future viewers.

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<sup>241</sup> The picturesque as a category was also fraught regarding Italy. As Moe writes, “The vision of Italy that takes form between the eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries alternates between denunciations of backwardness and exaltations of picturesqueness...Backwardness and the picturesque are two sides of the same coin.” He also discusses that a major aspect of the cultural efforts of Southern Italy during unification was the assimilation with the rest of Europe. Moe, 17, 19, 21.

By including multiple views of single subjects and emphasizing his photographic choices, Sevaistre brings attention to the album's omissions, as well as to the infinite possibilities for composing and exposing a photograph. That so many of *Sicilia*'s stereographs lack visual clarity—they do not compete on the market by showing more or better detail or particularly impressive perspectives—we get the impression that they were to be valued for their specificity as visual objects and experiences in themselves, rather than for their ability to provide information about specific artworks or architectural sites. In this sense, they work as documents of Sevaistre's photographic choices, which he could, of course, continue to make so long as he has the physical ability and the equipment. The series, then, in the sense that it works as an archive, documents pictorial authorship and the photographer's aesthetic response, distinct from the subjects depicted.

By opening the potential of the travel series in this way, Sevaistre liberates it from the itinerary of the Grand Tour, even though it remains in the background as a pretext. Rather than collecting impressions of monuments or merely indexing his presence in specific places, *Sicilia* constructs a stereographic space that is at the same time highly idiosyncratic and open to additions and re-organizations. Via their specificity as photographic objects, the stereo-cards in *Sicilia* de-emphasize the particularity of their subject matter and foreground the role of the photographer, which comes into tension with the viewer's role in activating three-dimensionality and solidity in stereoscopic looking. As Renzo Dubbini describes the impact of optical devices such as the stereoscope upon landscape imagery in the nineteenth century, "Technology opened a new field for individual experience... If the gaze was to become more penetrating, it had to trust the magic of the optical device, because optics enhanced the powers of both vision and invention

and offered the mind of the artist an opportunity to create a new universe.”<sup>242</sup> The medium granted agency and intimacy for the viewer to participate in the production of a three-dimensional illusion and to potentially or virtually undergo an experience to create memory. At the same time, because of the tension Sevaistre builds in to the feeling of stereoscopic intimacy by asserting his own presence, the temporal specificity of each view becomes over-determined, turning the images into someone else’s souvenir, opening them to other meanings and contexts.

In conclusion, *Album Sicilia*, which superficially refers to armchair Grand Tourism, navigates an itinerary whose history is fraught with tensions regarding the cultural status of southern Italy. Though the context of the Grand Tour provides ample justification to collect and curate into series images and views from the region, the legacy of Sicilian Tourism suggests a certain devaluing of southern-Italian artistic and cultural content, or rather casts its value within a retrograde mythology of primitivism and temporal distance from modernity. Sevaistre’s approach to this content was structured by Romantic values such as personal subjective experience, intuitive temporality and spatial perception, and the symbolic or metaphorical use of natural elements to establish narrative, personal connection, and aesthetic experience. These tactics, as well as others Sevaistre used to centralize his own subjectivity and to determine the viewer’s visual access and participation, embody the potential to influence or construct political and cultural identities in the context of the Italian Risorgimento. Collecting and archiving, moreover, bear conceptually upon the notions of narrative and time that inform these identifying practices within the use of albums and stereographs. To better understand the politics and techniques of picturing landscape and archaeology in the history of Italian photography, the next chapter looks at Romanticism, Orientalism, and travel in foreign contexts, specifically in several

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<sup>242</sup> Dubbini, 116, 118.

albums created in Persia by Italian photographers between 1858 and 1862. Dynamics of othering that defined the Southern Question domestically take on different forms, as photography is used to picture identity and the album is used to frame, contextualize, and narrate it, politicizing and conditioning viewers at the same time.



#### 4. Orientalism before Empire: Italian Photographers Abroad, 1857—62

Sevaistre's domestic travel album, *Album Sicilia*, reveals how landscape, archaeology, and artistic patrimony were used as foundational concepts to shape national identity. The unification of the peninsula necessitated an exploration of its geography within an Italian framework in order to re-write a nationalist history in place of disparate, territorial ones.<sup>243</sup> Thus travel served important political and aesthetic roles in the construction of cultural Italianness and the establishment of Italy as a nation. Travel and exploration in other lands were likewise necessary gestures for establishing the nationhood of Italy on an international scale, and for ensuring its status as a modern, European state capable of colonialist activities such as knowledge production and orientalist cultural production. The significance of archaeology to nationalist origin stories, such as the Greek and Roman ruins Sevaistre photographed within Italy, finds a curious parallel in foreign archaeology and its use by Europeans to argue for the otherness of non-European cultures and peoples. The emergence of Orientalist photography in the 1850s and 60s reflects certain nationalist concerns that couples visual knowledge with political identity and power.

Expanding upon the ways in which internal otherness is confronted in Sevaistre's images of Southern Italy, this chapter explores a set of albums made by Italian diplomat-photographers in Qajar Persia between 1857 and 1862 and their use of photography to conjure identity by

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<sup>243</sup> Adrian Lyttleton writes, "If, in fact, there is a sense in which the national past of 'Italy' can be said to have been truly 'invented,' it consists in the translation of events and personages from the local to a peninsular context." Adrian Lyttleton, "Creating a National Past: History, Myth, and Image in the Risorgimento," in Albert Russell Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg, eds. *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), p. 28.

othering foreign landscape, archaeology, and people. Two photographers, Luigi Montabone and Luigi Pesce, were in Tehran as diplomatic and military representatives, respectively, and produced photograph albums that survey significant modern and ancient cultural sites, honor the courts with studio portraits, catalogue visual knowledge about Persian “types,” and document the experience of the diplomat in Qajar Persia. As in *Album Sicilia*, the albums that Montabone and Pesce produced span the modern and the ancient, the urban and the rural, and artistic and architectural patrimony. Rather than offering their collections of photographs for sale, however, both photographers produced multiple iterations of their albums intended for specific audiences and included works by other European photographers. The albums engage—in different ways, determined in part by the audiences for which they were intended—with the sensibilities of the collection and the archive to position Persian subject matter within the narrative bounds of Italy’s emergent, modern identity.

Certain visual strategies within individual images and across the albums work to orientalize the landscapes, architecture, archaeology, and people of Qajar Persia, and to establish a visual rapport of distance and fragmentation in space and time. Compared with Sevaistre’s play with proximity and presence, these orientalist images emphasize the presence of the photographer to establish the distanced expertise of their authorship. This rapport underlines the physical experience of the albums as possessions and a discursive rift between European photographers and viewers and the Persian subjects depicted in the albums. This chapter will consider photographic Orientalism as it functioned for these works, and analyze the strategies of identification and othering that contributed to these albums’ participation in the development and politicization of Italian national identity during the key years of the Risorgimento. The categories of the collection and the archive illuminate the construction of subject positions and modes of

viewing that underwrite Orientalist photography in the nineteenth century more broadly, revealing that stereotype and fantasy within imagery do not alone constitute Orientalism.

Luigi Pesce, a Neapolitan lieutenant colonel who had been in Persia since 1848, employed by the Qajar Shah, Nassir al-Din, to train and to modernize his army, created an album for the Qajar Prince, Ardeshir Mirza (1807—66), containing seventy-six images, including twenty-eight of the capital in Tehran, eight portraits of Nassir al-Din Shah and his court, nine mosques, nine city views from across the Dynasty, ending with an eighteen-image series of ancient Persian ruins in Persepolis, the ceremonial capital of the Achaemenid Empire, or the first Persian Empire (550—330 BCE), and Tak-i Bostan, which contains large rock reliefs from the Sassanid Empire, or the last Persian empire before the rise of Islam in the region. Pesce is credited as the first person to have ever photographed these sites in 1857, though he was active as an amateur photographer in Persia as early as 1852. Another version of his album, less robust at forty-two images, contains only images from Tehran, two ancient mosques at Sultanieh, and eighteen images of Persepolis and Tak-i Bostan. It was given as a gift to the English diplomat Henry Creswicke Rawlinson (1810—95) with a written dedication in 1860. Rawlinson's abridged version omits portraiture all together, and its geography is limited to the modern and ancient capitals, with the exception of the two mosques at Sultanieh. Twenty-six images are duplicated, appearing in both Prince Ardeshir's and Rawlinson's albums, though not in the same order, and most of these show ruins of Persepolis and are signed by Pesce. The smallest known version of this album was given to Nassir al-Din Shah, and contains only thirty-six prints, primarily dedicated to depicting ancient sites.<sup>244</sup> Montabone's works, created only a few years

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<sup>244</sup> The Shah's album is in the collections of the Golestan Palace in Tehran. Leila Moayeri Pazargadi and Frances Terpak, "Picturing Qajar Persia: A Gift to Major Henry Creswicke Rawlinson," *Getty Research Journal*, no. 6 (2014), p. 52.

after Pesce's, were produced according to "scientific" aims as dictated by the photographer's diplomatic mission. The openly knowledge-seeking framework in which Montabone worked led him to compose and to organize views of Qajar Persia that could enter the Italian archive as objects of study and fascination. Dynamics of possession and mastery at play across both Pesce's and Montabone's albums characterize the multivalent, telescoping, and transnational mechanisms of othering and identification that served the formation of Italian nationalism via foreign travel and the photograph album in this period.

In considering these works, a useful concept of *Orientalism* must take into account the relations between Italian and Persian actors that enabled the production of these images in a political context largely dominated by Russian and English imperialism, known as The Great Game. At the same time, Nassir al-Din Shah's enthusiasm for photography generated a setting in which portraiture was embraced by Persian subjects, and in which "photography became the dominant medium of artistic representation in Iran."<sup>245</sup> In other words, a mixture of imperialist attitudes and artistic collaboration produced a context in which multiple actors contributed to the production of Pesce's and Montabone's albums. Certain visual tactics work to present Persian material within ambiguous cultural and temporal boundaries, signaling an Italian imagination of otherness, while nodding at the inclinations of a Shah with a deep interest in being photographed and in teaching the art to his court. The Shah's approach to modernizing his dynasty via embracing the West and invitation of European photographers opened the door for the establishment of an Orientalist archive. As some scholars have noted, the Shah's own collection

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<sup>245</sup> Ali Behad, "The Power-ful Art of Qajar Photography: Orientalism and (Self)-Orientalizing in Nineteenth-Century Iran," *Iranian Studies*, vol. 34, no. 1/4 (2001), p. 142. And: "Much of the Orient was unfamiliar with photography and, for Muslims, posing would have been seen as contradictory to Islamic iconographic tradition, which historically discouraged the reproduction of the human figure." Keri A. Berg, "The imperialist lens: Du Camp, Salzmann and early French photography," *Early Popular Visual Culture*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2008), p. 9.

of Orientalist photographs of his courts and harems marks his participation in Orientalism's damaging stereotypes and fantasies that continued to develop through the decades that followed.<sup>246</sup> In the early years of Orientalist photography, however, orientalist narratives were guided by knowledge claims more so than by literary fantasy. In the 1850s and early 60s, photographic projects such as Pesce's and Montabone's experimented with viewership in order to politicize and to aestheticize the relations amongst self and other that went on to enable and to express the real power dynamics and the orientalist cultural stereotypes associated with colonialism later in the nineteenth century.

My art-historical construction of a definition of *Orientalism* in this chapter will draw upon the literature on Orientalist photography, seeking an understanding that is based more concretely upon the visual analysis of a specific set of images. Photographs of Qajar Persia taken before 1880 constitute a massive lacuna in the literature on Orientalist photography. While these subjects nominally appear in many texts on the topic, they do not impact upon theorizations of photographic Orientalism as they currently stand.<sup>247</sup> One important study considers a set of *missions héliographique*, or heliographic missions, undertaken by the French photographers Maxime Du Camp (1822—94) and Auguste Salzmann (1824—72) in Egypt between 1851 and 56. Keri A. Berg describes the use of these early albums to generate an image of the Orient that is emptied of content to serve as a canvas for the European imagination.<sup>248</sup> While her thesis along these lines is useful to my study of Pesce's and Montabone's albums, Berg's project is based upon works that were sold commercially and were created in particular cultural and

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<sup>246</sup> Nassir al-Din Shah used photography as a tool to exert and display his personal and dynastic power. For a discussion, see Behad, "Power-ful Art."

<sup>247</sup> I refer particularly to Ali Behdad, *Camera Orientalis: Reflections on Photography of the Middle East* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

<sup>248</sup> Keri A. Berg, "The Imperialist Lens: Du Camp, Salzmann, and Early French Photography," *Early Popular Visual Culture*, vol. 6, iss. 1 (2008).

political contexts that differed greatly than those of Qajar Persia. In Berg's cases, the aesthetic expectations that European markets dictated for the picturesque or exotic representation of Eastern subjects encouraged the heavy-handed use of Orientalist visual tropes, such as spatial emptiness and temporal confinement of figures and monuments within a mythical or irrelevant past.<sup>249</sup> The works in my study exploit the narrative possibilities garnished by the form of the album and the modes of viewership dictated by the categories of the collection and the archive to situate and politicize visual knowledge and experience, in addition to representing Persian culture, history, and identity according to primitivist stereotypes.

Two problems for the present discussion stem from, firstly, the fact that, while Italian diplomatic missions objectified Persian subjects in their intent to document them as objects of cultural and scientific knowledge, the practical and political conditions of production were determined by power relations and exchanges involving multiple, transnational actors.<sup>250</sup> Secondly, photography's role in investigating and presenting Qajar culture and history was both excursive and romantic.<sup>251</sup> That is, a tension between the medium's capacity to truthfully convey architectural, archaeological, and cultural information and its capacity to generate or to bolster fantasies about Persian culture and people manifests in multivalent ways. In focusing upon specific imagery and its production and circulation, I derive a working definition of photographic

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<sup>249</sup> See Ayshe Erdogdu, "Picturing Alterity: Representational Strategies in Victorian Type Photographs of Ottoman Men," in Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson, eds. *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing race and place* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 122.

<sup>250</sup> While Italy had diplomatic presence in Persia, the significant colonialist presences at the time were Russia and England, who were engaged in what was known as "The Great Game." Italy later colonized North Africa in the 1880s.

<sup>251</sup> Donna Stein, "Three Photographic Traditions in Nineteenth-Century Iran," *Muqarnas*, vol. 6 (1989), p. 112.

Orientalism that captures the complex and subtle power relations that shaped Pesce's and Montabone's albums.<sup>252</sup>

Certain post-colonialist re-thinking of Orientalist cultural production after Edward Said's arguments in *Orientalism* has re-focused upon specific objects and networks of exchange at the risk of depoliticizing this field of art-history all together.<sup>253</sup> As Berg explains, however, "a nexus of technical, aesthetic, and political signification born from the marriage of photography and the Orient plays out... one photograph at a time." The "intellectual imperialism" that was coupled with the visual and the material in early Orientalist photography was entwined with political power, the visual and discursive construction of identity and otherness, and the technological practice and material exchange of photographs.<sup>254</sup> Though Berg's theoretical arguments regarding the aesthetic strategies of Orientalist photographs is largely correct, she does not address the conditioning of viewership that is illuminated by thinking in terms of the collection and the archive. Said writes in the new preface to *Orientalism*:

There is a difference between knowledge of other peoples and other times that is the result of understanding, compassion, careful study, and analysis for their own sakes, and on the other hand knowledge—if that is what it is—that is part of an overall campaign of self-affirmation, belligerency, and outright war. There is, after all, a profound difference

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<sup>252</sup> Maria Antonella Fusco notes that these albums and this history of Italian photographers in Persia in the 1850s and 60s represent a moment in which another "orient" was possible, before the outright political imperialism and colonialism that structured Edward Said's theorization of orientalism. See Maria Antonella Fusco, "Un altro Oriente era possibile," *La Persia Qajar: Fotografi Italiani in Iran 1848—1864*, a cura di Maria Francesca Bonetti e Alberto Prandi (Roma: Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, 2010), p. 7.

<sup>253</sup> See Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts, "Orientalism's Interlocutors," in Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts, eds. *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Photography, Architecture, Photography* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 1—18. And Ali Behad, "The Orientalist Photograph," in Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan, eds. *Photography's Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013), p. 12—13.

<sup>254</sup> Berg, 2, 4.

between the will to understand for purposes of coexistence and humanistic enlargement of horizons, and the will to dominate for the purposes of control and external enlargement of horizons, and the will to dominate for the purposes of control and external domination.<sup>255</sup>

This suggests that the motivations for image production are as important to understanding Orientalist imagery as are the pictures themselves. I posit a hybrid approach wherein the question becomes: How do photographs and albums construct modes of viewership that establish or encourage the discursive or political orientations that Said describes? The categories of the collection and the archive are crucial to answering this because they reveal how viewers are engaged or burdened to contribute meaning, and how temporality is fixed or opened relative to narrative and knowledge. A methodological shift towards photograph albums as concrete objects gets closer to the nexus of complexities that surround the field of Orientalist photography, fostering the critical examination of the visual foundations that create or signal the otherness of the depicted subject via the possessive or masterful perspective of the viewer. Like Sevaistre's travel album, the relative proximity and distance granted to the viewer in these images determines their ability to experience the albums as collections and archives. In addition to the prospect of experiencing the scenes directly in such a way as to establish memory, Pesce's and Montabone's albums draw upon emergent discursive structures that define and later institutionalize Orientalism in Europe. Transcending the romantic or embodied position of the individual, these images also establish a dynamic of expertise that transforms and codifies Orientalist imagery into Orientalist knowledge. In addition to the concerns regarding the

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<sup>255</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978, 1994), p. xix.



reception and aesthetics of the travel album explored in the previous chapter, the establishment of knowledge of the other takes on a scientific tone in these works.

Photographs taken in Persia by Montabone and Pesce tend to position the European subject within the guise of scientific expert, rather than pleasure tourist.<sup>256</sup> This distinction impacts upon the albums' temporal structuring of narrative, suggesting to the viewer various levels of usefulness or relevance of Persian culture and patrimony in the present and future. The albums generate certain cultural power dynamics by temporally and narratively positioning viewers. Compositional strategies of distance and proximity confine landscape and archaeology within an imagined past, let them speak to a modern present, or both. As Barthes has formulated, the "three tenses of photography" refer to the present time of the viewer, the time the photograph was taken, and the historical past of the subject depicted in the image.<sup>257</sup> Distinguishing these three tenses may be helpful in tracing which temporalities are emphasized in Orientalist imagery. This temporal trifecta is complicated, however, by the relative geographical distances different audiences for the albums had, and by the fact that, as albums, tensions between the collection and the archive shape the reception of time and narrative.<sup>258</sup> Furthermore, mechanisms of othering at play in domestic Italian visual production offer interesting comparison with the visual and discursive mechanisms of Orientalist photography in this period. Comparing the ways that

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<sup>256</sup> David Bunn discusses a more overt example of this dynamic in relation to colonialist landscape imagery created in South Africa in the nineteenth century in "'Our Wattled Cot' Mercantile and Domestic Space in Thomas Pringle's African Landscapes," *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 127—73.

<sup>257</sup> Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1980), p. 97.

<sup>258</sup> Brenda L. Croft writes that in nineteenth-century orientalist and colonialist photography, the assumption of geographical distance or remoteness was foundational to their reception. See Brenda L. Croft, "Laying Ghosts to Rest," in Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson, eds. *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing race and place* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 20.

southern Italy was orientalized relative to northern Europe, as explored in relation to Sevaistre's works in the previous chapter, sheds light upon the hybrid subject positions that informed Italian transnationalism and proto-imperialistic travel.<sup>259</sup>

The long history of contact and exchange between the Italian peninsula and the region of Persia went into an abeyance during the eighteenth century, and was partially re-established in the middle of the nineteenth, during the Qajar Empire and the peak years of the Italian Risorgimento. Since 1848, Italian military officers had worked in Persia as instructors, including Pesce, the first Italian photographer in Persia<sup>260</sup> who photographed Tehran's courts and archaeological sites between 1852 and 57 using calotype and albumen silver processes. Soon after, the Italian statesman Bettino Ricasoli (1809—80) sent a diplomatic mission to Tehran following the 1857 diplomatic visit of Farrok Khan Gaffari (1812—71) to Torino and signing of a treaty of "business and friendship" with the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia. In 1862, a more robust mission was enacted by Marcello Cerruti (1808—96), a diplomat who had studied with Giuseppe Mazzini, worked as a foreign consular officer through the 1830s, 40s and 50s, and was a member of the *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica di Roma*, and the *Società Archeologica Orientale di Germania*. Though Cerruti and his mission itself are not the foci of this chapter, these professional associations provide evidence for Cerruti's orientation to diplomatic missions, suggesting that he viewed archaeology and artistic patrimony as having political dimensions, or that archaeology as a discipline was practically related to diplomacy and travel (Fig. 3.1). These political, or nationalist, dimensions resonate within the physical collection, possession, and institutionalization of cultural artifacts, and within the discursive and narrative frameworks by

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<sup>259</sup> See Roberto M. Dianotto, *Europe (In Theory)* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

<sup>260</sup> Maria Francesca Bonetti and Alberto Prandi, "Italian Photographers in Tehran 1848—60," trans. Christina Cawthra, *History of Photography*, vol. 37, iss. 1 (January, 2013), p. 18.

which Italian knowledge about material culture and its history are framed for the national imagination.<sup>261</sup> Cerruti's mission employed illustrators and photographers to document its progress and to collect images that could be of scientific or educational use.<sup>262</sup>

The mission's official photographer, Luigi Montabone, received instructions to "carry out all those tasks deemed necessary for the later illustration of the Mission Report or that might be of service for various scientists, Naturalists in particular. Sig. Montabone will be responsible for numerous copies of objects, ancient monuments, inscriptions, portraits, etc."<sup>263</sup> The suggestion here that ancient monuments and portraits were of interest to "Naturalists" refers to the nineteenth century discipline of natural history, which was characterized by the collection, description, and classification of natural objects, and a growing "concern with the distinction between variety and species and the interest in patterns of geographical distribution."<sup>264</sup> It would seem from Montabone's brief that the two categories of interest were the documentation of Italian presence and travel itinerary, and the collection of specimen to be returned to Italy and analyzed by "Naturalists."

In his official capacity as photographer to Cerruti's diplomatic mission, Montabone produced the album, *Ricordi del Viaggio in Persia della Missione Italiana 1862*. The suggestion that Montabone's photographs were to be of value to naturalists complicates their

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<sup>261</sup> Cerruti's mission had three branches—military, diplomatic, and scientific—and was intended to explore possibilities for trade opportunities, in particular regarding Italy's prospective right to export silkworms.

<sup>262</sup> This was not a unique practice, but follows the model of France's 'heliographic missions' of the 1850s, "a large body archaeological and architectural study, sponsored by the French government, that sought to collectively record and catalogue historical sites, initially in France and then, in keeping with French exploration of the Orient, throughout the Middle East." Berg, 4.

<sup>263</sup> Archivio Famiglia Cerutti, Palermo, m.s. letter, Giacomo Durando a Marcello Cerruti, *Missione in Persia n. 3*, Torino, 13 Aprile 1862. Quoted in Bonetti, 27.

<sup>264</sup> Paul L. Farber, "Discussion Paper: The Transformation of Natural History in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the History of Biology*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Spring, 1982), p. 149.

straightforwardly journalistic attachment to a diplomatic mission and enters them into a disciplinary structure in which knowledge flows from object to subject via the figure of the expert. As will become clear, the mission and the album that it produced regarded the cataloging and possession of imagery that could produce knowledge as intimately related to the establishment of Italy's international identity as a modern European nation. Additionally, the establishment of modes of looking related to this subjecthood predates the wider discursive establishment of Orientalist motifs and institutions in the following decades. The largest version of *Ricordi del Viaggio* is now held in the Golestan Palace archives in Tehran and contains seventy-two images.<sup>265</sup> Another version, held in disarticulated form at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venezia, contains sixty mounted photographs and depicts aspects of diplomatic travel, portraits of the Shah, his son, and his court, and views of landscapes and significant monuments and works of architecture organized by location and presented in the order in which the mission was conducted.<sup>266</sup> This latter version was likely the official one presented to the Kingdom of Italy at the mission's end.

While recent scholarship has recognized the importance of these albums along the lines of establishing Italian presence in Qajar Persia and the role of Italian photographers in the introduction and development of photographic technology there, they are yet to be art-historically analyzed via the categories of the collection and the archive, or in terms of the aesthetic contexts that informed them, namely Orientalism, natural history, and travel.<sup>267</sup> The

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<sup>265</sup> This is the version held by the Biblioteca Reale in Torino.

<sup>266</sup> For a historical account of this mission and the album, see Angelo M. Piemontese, "The Photograph Album of the Diplomatic Mission to Persia (Summer 1862): Part 1," *East and West*, vol. 22, no. 3/4 (September–December, 1972).

<sup>267</sup> A recent exhibition being the major exception. See Maria Francesca Bonetti and Alberto Prandi's catalogue, *La Persia Qajar: Fotografi Italiani in Iran 1848–1864* (Roma: Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, 2010).

photographs in *Ricordi del Viaggio* employ multivalent signifying capacities of landscape, architecture, and archaeology that underwrite a dynamic visual vocabulary of otherness also at play in Sevaistre's depictions of Sicily. Understanding Orientalism and Romanticism as artistic contexts supports an exploration of the role of the viewer, illuminating the importance of reception and subjectivity as aesthetic elements of these albums and their imagery. Additionally, the reconfiguration of order across iterations of Pesce's albums generates different narratives, temporalities, and modes of relation, and confirms the importance of these concerns to the production of the albums.

The contested art-historical terrain of Italian Romanticism provides an insightful framework for exploring possible aesthetic values associated with Orientalism, as the two terms share some of the social and political contradictions that define Italy's struggles to unify and to modernize. The problem of whether a Romantic style in painting and literature existed in Italy in the nineteenth century remains somewhat of a polemic, focused around the issues of the status of the individual and the foci of aesthetic emotion. The close association of Italian Romantic style and the Risorgimento enables a glossing over of the two that needs to be unpacked, as the role of Romanticism in Italian political history is unique compared with other European Romanticisms due to Italy's lack of unified political history (the only exception being Napoleon's rule). As Adrian Lyttleton explains,

[In Italy] there was no tradition of sacred monarchy. Only ancient Rome was a possible point of reference. But the Roman tradition was both too local and too universal to serve as a satisfactory foundation for national identity, although the relationship of national history to Roman history remained a key problem. In this search for tradition, romantic historical culture was to play a crucial role... The seduction of Romanticism was that it

was new and could be used as a metaphor for revolt against established authority: but also that it underwrote the preoccupation with the search for the sources of the peculiarity of ‘national genius...’ The Romantic turn implied a rediscovery of the historical sources of a national individuality.<sup>268</sup>

Romanticism’s symbolic function as a rejection of foreign authoritarianism, most pointedly the neo-classicism associated with Napoleonic rule, goes hand in hand with its archaeological function, mining cultural history for the origins of Italianness. Moreover, the aversion to neo-classicism may have to do with Italian anxiety over the representation of Italian culture abroad, as the style is associated with recycling of Roman and Renaissance imagery, glorifying Italy’s cultural past.

According to some arguments, the ideological alignment of Italian Romantic painting with the Risorgimento precludes it from privileging subjective or emotional experience associated with other European Romanticisms. In his provocatively titled article of 2004, “Did Italian Romanticism Exist?” Joseph Luzzi describes two general problems standing in the way of Italy’s membership in this style. The first is that an appetite for historicism led to a sense of detachment from the present, or an ironic alienation of the viewing subject from the experience at hand due to a surplus of information and an awareness of historical time.<sup>269</sup> The second is that in place of sentimental individuality as a mode of engagement, Italian works tended to emphasize feelings of either political or Catholic moral unity in order to engender more practical effects of collective awareness.<sup>270</sup> In other words, the emotional sentiment of the individual in the present moment was not the end of artworks. Rather, an emphasis upon collective values was

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<sup>268</sup> Lyttleton, 31—3.

<sup>269</sup> He cites Nietzsche to make this point. See Joseph Luzzi, “Did Italian Romanticism Exist?” *Comparative Literature*, vol. 56, no. 2 (Spring 2004), p. 168.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

a means to generate an emotional register for political or religious awareness of group membership and unity.

Interestingly, Luzzi turns to the theme of travel, more precisely the Romantic trope of crossing the Alps, in Italian literature for his case studies. He mentions that landscape is not deployed as a confrontation between the forces of nature and the imagination of man, as he says it was in French or German works, but is rather treated as explorable geography in which a traveler could find himself through a kind of metaphorical archaeology. That is to say that for Luzzi, landscape's value was in its potential to affirm Italian culture's continuous historical existence from the ancient to the modern via the metaphor of archaeology. According to this approach, the Italian landscape does not participate in the natural sublime, but was rather the groundwork of a collective, historical sublime.<sup>271</sup> The trope of travel, it would follow, was about journeying to cultural origins rather than communion with nature. More basically, Luzzi argues that nature was not presented in an essentialized form, but was valued as the matrix of cultural interventions from the past that provide the bases of a historical identity for Italians seeking to forge a sense of communality in the present and for the future.<sup>272</sup>

Archaeology and cultural patrimony become co-extensive with the landscape itself, and the photographic representation of the land may have thus functioned as a direct encounter with

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<sup>271</sup> For a discussion of the aesthetic relations amongst geological knowledge and identity, see the chapters, "The Geological Dilemma: 'Hills Whose Heads Touch Heaven,'" and "A Sacred Theory of the Earth: 'The Ruins of a Broken World,'" in Marjorie Hope Nicholson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: the Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1997), p. 144—224.

<sup>272</sup> If we also consider Joel Snyder's assertion that photographic landscapes from the 1850s to 70s tended to be valued for their "mechanical... unimagined, earthbound, factual" qualities, it follows that in photographing landscapes under the assumption that the potential to convene with archeology and history was of value, this value was a matter of fact, rather than of interpretation. Joel Snyder, "Territorial Photography," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 176.

common heritage. The question of photography becomes one of “the cachet of visual truth,”<sup>273</sup> coupled with the vantage granted to the viewer and the mobilization of photographs in collections, archives, and albums. Luzzi’s assertion that landscapes were treated as locations to forge connections with a cultural past, gaining intimate knowledge of archeological heritage as a means to establish one’s participation in an ongoing history reflects the terms of memory formation discussed in the previous chapter. The mediation by photographs and albums of the landscape as seen through this Romantic lens, then, focuses attention upon the burdens of viewership for the performance of Romantic historicism. If, in other words, Italian Romanticism’s aesthetics derive, in part, from the cultivation of historical or cultural memory, modes of viewership play a crucial role in understanding the contours of these aesthetics.

Benedetto Croce’s contribution to the Romanticism problem is the differentiation between *moral*, *artistic*, and *philosophical* romanticism. He writes, “we should distinguish a *moral romanticism* (sentimentalism, sense of contrast between aspiration and reality, *mal du siècle*, etc.); an *artistic romanticism* (indifference to organic unity, artistic fragmentariness, emphasis on the content of a work of art, in contrast to the classical balance of form and content); and a *philosophical romanticism* (attainment of truth through imagination and intuition rather than through reason alone).”<sup>274</sup> Joseph Rossi, in citing Croce, agrees with Luzzi in attributing neither moral, artistic, nor philosophical Romanticism to nineteenth-century Italy, but rather characterizes their Romanticism as political, caused by their “suffering from a feeling of national inferiority complex... inclined to dwell on the mythical or historical past glories of the

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<sup>273</sup> Berg, 2.

<sup>274</sup> Benedetto Croce, “Le definizione del Romanticismo,” in *Problemi d’Estetica* (Bari: Laterza, 1949), p. 297—98, quoted in Joseph Rossi, “The Distinctive Character of Italian Romanticism,” *The Modern Language Journal*, vol. 39, no. 2 (Feb., 1955), p. 59.



race, to find therein inspiration for a future national redemption.”<sup>275</sup> He goes further to say that this political Romanticism was seen as a viable opposition to classical or academic styles, associated with Italy’s recent history of Napoleonic and foreign rule, and thus became a signal of sympathy with the values of independence and national unity during the Risorgimento. This aspect of Romanticism was underlying the style in a broader sense, and served to unite political opposition with local, or nationalist, aspects of perception and expression.

Similarly to the role of the Grand Tour’s legacy in the reception of Sevaistre’s travel album of Sicily, the prospect of Romanticism may be understood most productively as a grappling with the social, political, and cultural disposition of Italy during the Risorgimento. The problem of how to perceive oneself as a modern, political subject was at the heart of the problem as reflected in photographic projects such as Sevaistre’s, Pesce’s, and Montabone’s. In other words, though certain aesthetic elements commonly associated with French or German Romanticisms may be absent from or transformed in these photographic works, an urgency of asserting self-hood—which always requires the delimitation of the other—is at play in the travel albums that are the subject of this chapter. A photographic mode of asserting self-hood is couched in the relations in space and time that the viewer takes with the subject of an image. When landscape and archaeology are the subject matter, the mechanisms of identification and non-identification (or, othering) find their principles in Romanticism and Orientalism. A tension between the treatment of Greek and Roman ruins and the treatment of Persian ruins presents an interesting and informative comparison. As Eva-Maria Troelenberg writes, “[since] the age of Romanticism...it is the Mediterranean paradigm, oscillating between Orientalist and classicist narratives, that may provide the most continuous line of thought for the emergence of modern

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<sup>275</sup> Rossi, 62.

Italian identities between constructions of ‘self’ and ‘other.’”<sup>276</sup> Moreover, the relations between knowledge and domination entangled within Orientalist practices of the nineteenth century are directly implicated in the collection and archivization of images and artifacts.

Frameworks defining Orientalism that derive in large part from Said’s work emphasize the projection of European values and fantasies onto “oriental” subjects, focusing upon European cultural production and the stereotypes that they served to canonize.<sup>277</sup> As Berg notes in her work on French examples in Egypt from the 1850s, landscape often presented the Orient as empty, depopulated geography, made blank as a screen for European projections and imagination. While this is also true of many of the photographs in Pesce’s and Montabone’s albums, these works were produced in a context in which the Qajar Shah, Nassir al-Din, was an enthusiastic supporter of European photographers and went to great lengths to develop the art and technology of photography as a modernizing force within his dynasty via the conscription of European practitioners and instructors.<sup>278</sup> While the assumption of colonialist power relations is indeed relevant, these particular and complex conditions of cultural exchange and interaction are better served by a more precise examination of the operative Orientalisms carried forth in these albums. That is to say, the political dynamics associated with Italian international presence at this moment do not necessarily reflect the features of imperial dominance associated with Orientalist styles more broadly.

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<sup>276</sup> Eva-Maria Troelenberg, “Introduction: Constructions of ‘Otherness’ between Idea and Image in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Italy,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max-Planck-Institut*, vol. 59, iss. 1, Visualizing Otherness in Modern Italy (2017), p. 9.

<sup>277</sup> The best discussions of orientalism and photography to date are Ali Behad, *Camera Orientalis: Reflections on Photography of the Middle East* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016) and Ali Behad and Like Gartlan, eds. *Photography’s Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013).

<sup>278</sup> For a discussion of Nasir al-Din Shah’s enthusiasm for photography as a modernizing force in Qajar Persia, see Donna Stein, “Three Photographic Traditions in Nineteenth-Century Iran,” *Muqarnas*, vol. 6 (1989), pp. 112—130).

In a study on Italian Orientalist travel writing in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Barbara Spackman argues that, “the porous and riven national identities of Italian travelers [to the Middle East] positioned them differently than their British and French counterparts in relation to the predominantly Muslim world in which they found themselves.” She characterizes such travelers as “accidental orientalist,” referring to the historical posture of the Italian peninsula within the Mediterranean region and “the fact that Italian was the *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean for centuries.” Coupled with the fact that through the eighteenth century until 1861, Italy had been fragmented and dominated by western and northern powers, this Mediterranean rapport positioned Italy differently than other colonial powers such as Britain, France, and Russia. Additionally, Spackman writes,

The Italian case departs significantly from those of Britain and France, where philology, secularization, and the discipline and institutionalization of Orientalism went hand in hand in the nineteenth century... Italians who traveled to the Middle East in the nineteenth century did so without the backing of state power with imperial ambitions, or of cultural and scientific institutions of the sort that supported British and French powers and those associated with them.<sup>279</sup>

While she may be overstating when she writes that Italian travelers did not have imperial ambitions, her characterization of the bureaucratic and institutional backing of Italian missions as diminutive compared with other imperial powers makes the important point that the stakes of Italian travel had more to do with shaping identity than with asserting it. Spackman continues that for Italian travelers, “the political instability of home leads to a heightened volatility of identity abroad, one that allows the reversibilities between Orientalization and Italianization to

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<sup>279</sup> Barbara Spackman, *Accidental Orientalists: Modern Italian Travelers in Ottoman Lands* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), p. 1—2.

become visible.”<sup>280</sup> This reversibility between Orientalization and Italianization finds two analogies—one: the Kingdom of Italy othered and orientalized by northern Europe; two: the othering and orientalizing of southern Italy by the North, or the “Southern Question.” These telescoping dynamics of othering play out in Italian travelers’ orientations to foreign lands, encounters, and itineraries and complicate and the ways they document and represent their travels.

Montabone’s *Ricordi del Viaggio in Persia della Missione Italiana 1862* loosely recapitulates the narrative of voyage by replicating its itinerary, but it also makes some departures that distance the viewer from the time of the photographs. Given the mandate that Montabone retrieve views that would have value for naturalists, it is important to question how seeing them this way structured the viewer’s relationship to them temporally, and as cultural artifacts. The historical circumstances of the mission, which was the first to be conducted under the name of the Kingdom of Italy, include underhanded trade interests and military maneuverings, as well as ambitions to assert “Italy’s reborn prestige.”<sup>281</sup> In 1862, Cerruti pushed forward a mission that the late statesman Camilio Cavour (1810—61) had set in motion several years earlier, being sure to demonstrate, “that outward pomp which earns due respect among orientals.”<sup>282</sup> While the pretexts for the mission were diplomacy and trade—a crisis in the silkworm market prompted the need to secure open trading with the Qajar dynasty—the tone of the mission was about confirming Italy’s international status as a European cultural and scientific power, and thereby its modern and national identity. Cerruti, a member of the *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica di Roma*, and the *Società Archeologica Orientale di Germania*, would have viewed archaeology

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<sup>280</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>281</sup> Piemontese, 257.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid., 256.

and artistic patrimony as having political dimensions. These political dimensions were dependent upon the physical collection, possession, and institutionalization of cultural artifacts, and upon the discursive and narrative frameworks by which Italian knowledge about material culture and its history was framed for the national imagination.<sup>283</sup> Montabone, as official photographer, received instructions to “carry out all those tasks deemed necessary for the later illustration of the Mission Report or that might be of service for various scientists, Naturalists in particular. Sig. Montabone will be responsible for numerous copies of objects, ancient monuments, inscriptions, portraits, etc.”<sup>284</sup> The two categories of interest imposed upon the photographer were the documentation of Italian presence in the form of travel itinerary, and the collection of specimen to be returned to Italy and analyzed by naturalists.

Though at least three versions of this album have been identified, the one in the collections of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice was likely the official one of the mission itself.<sup>285</sup> Its audience was thus the Kingdom and its state, and the images serve the archive of Orientalist knowledge. The prospect of an Orientalist archive, however, goes beyond the form of a physical archive of visual objects and includes what is called the “shadow archive.” Brian Wallis, referencing Allan Sekula, describes the “shadow archive” thusly:

Almost from its inception, the photograph was perceived as a form of currency within a closed system. As currency, the photograph ascribed value by both quantifying things and placing them in a circulating system that emphasized their similarity to or difference from

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<sup>283</sup> Cerruti’s mission had three branches—military, diplomatic, and scientific—and was intended to explore possibilities for trade opportunities, in particular regarding Italy’s prospective right to export silkworms.

<sup>284</sup> Archivio Famiglia Cerutti, Palermo, m.s. letter, Giacomo Durando a Marcello Cerruti, *Missione in Persia n. 3*, Torino, 13 Aprile 1862. Quoted in Bonetti, 27.

<sup>285</sup> Angelo M. Piemontese claims to have identified three versions of the album, citing two that remain in Tehran. See “The Photograph Album of the Italian Diplomatic Mission to Persia (Summer 1862): Part 1,” *East and West*, vol. 22, no. 3/4 (September—December, 1972), p. 263.

other things. This system, generally perceived as an archive, attempts to give coherence and meaning to seemingly random components. Every photograph, Sekula says, takes place in a “shadow archive,” that ultimate imaginary ranking and organizing of information implied by the very selective and classificatory nature of photography.<sup>286</sup>

In relation to a set of eugenicist daguerreotypes of slaves in the Antebellum South, Wallis discusses how photography’s production, circulation, and achivization in the pursuit of anthropological knowledge constituted additional, or collateral “shadow archives,” which established stereotypes and politicized visual language. In considering the official photographs Montabone produced for the mission which were to be “of use to natural scientists,” one must pay attention also to the collateral effects of this archive, and how the politics of the mission shaped both the literal archive, or album, as well as the “shadow archive.”

The framework of natural history, moreover, emphasizes the importance of the narrative of collection as essential to the album’s meaning. That narrative was the mission itself, and the time and experience of Montabone gathering visual specimen. This is to say that the process of collecting and Montabone’s relationship to the subjects of his photographs structures their potential interpretations. Thus, his *Ricordi del Viaggio* mobilizes the capacity of collections to circumscribe narrative limits, while also positing the potentials of the archive to establish norms and knowledge, and to open to alternate interpretations or discursive contexts. The burden of interpretation was placed upon the album’s intended audience—natural historians and scientists—circumscribing them within an identity of expertise. This gesture was not singular within Montabone’s album, but was indeed foundational to Orientalist photography in this

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<sup>286</sup> Brian Wallis, “Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz’s Slave Daguerreotypes,” *American Art*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Summer, 1995), p. 46—7. See also Allan Sekula, “The Body and the Archive,” *October*, vol. 39 (October, 1986), p. 3—64.

period. Said otherwise, once part of the Kingdom of Italy's official archive, the act of viewing *Ricordi del Viaggio* dictated an identity of expertise and interpretation that could only be performed by those non-Persians who were not the subjects of the images. The danger of the shadow archive exists in this realm, in which viewers not only possess photographs as knowledge of the other, but generate for themselves the identity of non-other, politicizing their faculties of viewing. The capacity of the collection to generate narrative prompts viewers to perform this identity, whilst the function of the images as visual knowledge draws upon the archive's flexibility of organization, allowing the imagery in the photographs to be applied within discursive and political power schemes that continued to develop into the Orientalism that was institutionalized throughout the following decades. The attachment of the photographs to the mission and the physical form of the album equally enable the dual capacities of the collection and the archive to function in this way.

Natural history in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries may be described as the effort or impulse to explain the world according to principles of evidence and reason. The inclusion of cultural and physical—geological and biological—history under the same expository devices generated projects such as encyclopedias and natural history museums, the most visible and lasting products. Practices of collecting and archiving are certainly implicated with such projects, as are practices of travel, interpretation, and perception. As Sue Waterman writes, natural history as a discursive practice was a “transition from a century that saw geology grow from a gentleman's leisurely pursuit into a true science.”<sup>287</sup> Methods and orientations to travel and knowledge were structured around the goals of collecting and archiving information to be useful within rational discourses for generating knowledge. Photography and the album offer the

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<sup>287</sup> Sue Waterman, “Collecting the Nineteenth Century,” *Representations*, vol. 90, no. 1 (Spring 2005), p. 101.

prospect of systematically collecting and displaying empirical evidence, and, importantly, in generating or framing the interpretive narratives by which it would transform into knowledge and transform its viewers into the informed. It is significant, as Waterman's assertion suggests, that travel and geology underlie the development of natural-historical discourse. The transitions from Grand Tourism to Romantic travel discussed in the previous chapter are thus foundational to the development of natural history, and may be seen as such in *Ricordi del Viaggio*. These transitions are also represented in naturalist literature and art from this period, and reflect how the landscape underwent new modes of scrutiny and took on new symbolic capacities that were founded upon the mixing of subjective interpretation, or narration, and a belief in the efficacy of empirical evidence that could be collected and archived.<sup>288</sup>

While this definition of Natural History encompasses a broad range of topics and disciplines, it is most visible as a framework for Montabone's portraiture. Comparing, for example, works created by American ethnologist and photographer Edward S. Curtis (1868—1952) at the beginning of the twentieth century with “type” portraits included in Montabone's album, we see many formal similarities (Figs. 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5). Curtis worked with scientific missions in the American West to photograph Native peoples and tribes, most famously producing *The North American Indian* beginning in 1907, funded by J.P. Morgan with a forward by Theodore Roosevelt. Curtis' works frame his ethnological images within a discourse of “preserving a vanishing culture,” and catalogue eighty different tribes, presenting individual portraits and typical scenes to showcase summaries of Native American culture. While Curtis' works were created several decades after Montabone's, they relate in their use of Naturalism as a

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<sup>288</sup> See also: Gary Totten, “Naturalism's Histories,” *Studies in American Naturalism*, vol. 5, no 1 (Special Issue: Naturalism's Histories, Summer 2010), p. 1—7; and Bonnie Lee Grad, *An Analysis of the Development of Daubigny's Naturalism Culminating in the Riverscape Period (1857—1870)* (PhD diss., McIntire Department of Art, University of Virginia, 1977).



justifying structure, but do not reflect the photographic techniques of anthropology, which aim towards comparative anatomy. Rather, the images are glosses on culture and custom, generating a visual language to identify social types.

A concept of the specimen, deriving in part from the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot in the previous century, is applied to natural-historical photographs of people and monuments alike. The Oxford English Dictionary defines “specimen” thusly: “1. A means of discovering or finding out, an experiment; 2. A pattern or model; 3. An example, instance, or illustration *of* something, from which the character of the whole may be inferred; 4a. a single thing regarded as typical of its class, a part or a piece of something taken as representative of the whole; 4b. An animal, plant, mineral, or person, a part or portion of some substance or organism, etc., serving as an example of the thing in question for purposes of investigation or scientific study.”<sup>289</sup> A common characteristic amongst Montabone’s and Curtis’ works is a tendency to cast the subjects of naturalist portraits as behind or outside of modern time, thus subject to the gaze of the camera without coeval agency. Compare, for example, a group portrait from *North American Indian* (Fig. 3.4) with a similar one from *Ricordi del Viaggio* (Fig. 3.5). There is a resonance in these images between the scientific concept of the specimen and the social concept of the type, or stereotype. A conflation of precision with truth underwrites the slippage between these two concepts, and is bolstered by the understanding that photography had the capacity to precisely report physical and cultural truths. The narrative frameworks that explicitly and inexplicitly surround the production of the albums condition the impact they make as scientific and social knowledge.

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<sup>289</sup> Oxford English Dictionary Online.  
<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/186018?redirectedFrom=specimen#eid>

Written accounts of Cerruti's mission document its locations and dates, and reflect a predisposed insincerity regarding its diplomatic pretexts. For example, a suspicion that the mission of 18 men and over 200 crates was intentionally delayed in Tabriz, in North-West Persia, because the Shah did not want to leave his Summer vacation home in the cooler region of Mazandaran is cited by Filippo de Filippi (1814—67), a professor of zoology and comparative anatomy who served as the director of the mission's scientific branch.<sup>290</sup> The admixture of scientific goals and assumptions of Persian decadence and incompetence reflected in much of the correspondence surrounding the mission suggest an orientalist attitude from the outset. This attitude was oriented to the prospect of Italy's emerging identity as a modern nation and the establishment of a colonialist rapport with Persia, rather than to an assumption of dialogic, coeval, or diplomatic exchange. Cristoforo Negri (1809—96), head of Italy's Consular Division at the time, wrote, "Once Italy seemed to aspire to the glory of a scientific expedition, and it was during the mission to Persia with which she associated various persons capable of diffusing and illustrating the fine arts and natural sciences, that expedition was hastily decreed," highlighting the nature of the mission's aspirations.<sup>291</sup> Though the contours of a certain power dynamics and orientations to cultural exchange are already obvious in these commentaries, the visual conventions and practices within *Ricordi del Viaggio* demonstrate how photography was central to the advancement of these dynamics and their incorporation of knowledge of the other into nationalist identity.

In "Photography's Discursive Spaces," Rosalind Krauss explores the idea that photographs may function upon multiple discursive registers, depending upon their compositions and contexts, and makes the broader point that different photographs of the same object may

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<sup>290</sup> Piemontese, 258.

<sup>291</sup> Cristoforo Negri, *Gazzetta di Milano* (July 16, 1863), cited in *Ibid.*, 259.

participate in entirely different discourses at the same time.<sup>292</sup> Photographic portraits likewise may function across multiple discursive registers, often several at a time. Wallis makes a useful distinction between the “portrait” and the “type,” the former participating mainly in social discursive spaces, and the latter primarily in the scientific. He writes of the “type” that it “formally discourages style and composition, seeking to present information straightforwardly,... appears to have no author,... [and] is clearly situated within a system that denies its subject even as it establishes overt relations between mute subjects.”<sup>293</sup> In other words, “type” photographs, generated according to methods and assumptions that information could be truthfully and straightforwardly conveyed to serve comparison and knowledge, necessarily silence the subject of the image, even if they appear to participate in the production of the photograph by posing for it. These are the photographs of natural history. On the other side, the “portrait,” in Wallis’ terms, is of value because of the visibility of the sitter’s relationship to the photographer and the viewer. The “portrait” photograph allows the voice and agency of the sitter to determine the appearance of the image, “underscores the individual’s right to personhood, ... and signaled their place in society.”<sup>294</sup> Wallis also reminds us, however, that, “the meaning of representation is governed not only by who makes the image, but also by who looks.”<sup>295</sup>

*Ricordi del Viaggio* begins with four portraits of Nassir al-Din Shah (Figs. 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, and 3.9). The first three are hand-colored studio portraits, two of which are vignettes that do not show background imagery or spatial context. In the fourth, Montabone centers the figure against an outdoor backdrop, standing adjacent to a brick portico. A shallow depth of field focuses the

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<sup>292</sup> Rosalind Krauss, “Photography’s Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View,” *Art Journal*, vol. 42, no. 4, The Crisis in Discipline (Winter, 1982), p. 311—319.

<sup>293</sup> Wallis, 54.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

eye upon the Shah and his immediate surroundings, blurring a bright background and a tree that marks the left edge of the frame. The figure faces the camera in a performatively natural pose, presenting the symbols of his regalia and costume to the viewer. A chair sits to the left of the figure, placed outdoors for the sake of this photograph. The first three portraits as a group depict the Shah—who was emphatic about being photographed—as a multi-faceted individual. Hand coloring and retouching with ink in the third portrait extends the length of his thick mustache and adds detail to his shoulder tassels and jewel-encrusted sword, enhancing his physical presence and commemorating his station. In the first image, he wears a western-style coat and his hat lacks the regal decoration that it bears in the following three. Naturalistic flesh tones, careful coloring of his clothing, and his direct return gaze render a modern Shah that is in touch with both the East and the West. The fourth image, however, undermines the Shah’s agency, calling him before a backdrop at the Royal Villa of Niyavaran in Tehran that was used throughout the album as a backdrop for photographs of Persian types. His pose and presentation are over-performed, and belie the self-determination strived for the previous images. The setting introduces Montabone’s photographic act to the narrative, reminding the viewer that Montabone dictated the conditions of this image, and remove its potential to circulate socially as a “portrait,” collected in a family album or exchanged as a *carte de visite*.<sup>296</sup> Visually, the four portraits of the Shah traverse the discursive spaces of the “type” and the “portrait” as Wallis defines them. Insofar as the Shah can be considered a participant in these photographs, willingly posing, returning the gaze with different degrees of presence, that the audience of the album was the Italian mission and naturalists complicates the “discursive space” in which these images were generated and circulated.

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<sup>296</sup> Compare this with Alessandro Pavia’s mobilization of the social valence of the portrait card.

Naturalist or ethnological interests appear more blatantly later in the album, for example the forty-fifth image of a “Soldato Persiano” (Fig. 3.3). Here, the presentation of type comes across more concretely than the feeling of a specific portrait, and the photograph enters the collection as a visual aid to understanding something generic about Persian soldiers, rather than something about an experience or a narrative, or a particular soldier. Another portrait of “Soldati Persiani” appears nine images later, and is hand colored (Fig. 3.10). Curiously, the three soldiers are photographed in the Royal Villa of Niyavaran, the same location in which the fourth portrait of the Shah was created. One figure is seated at the bottom of a staircase, while another stands to the right with a bayonet over his shoulder. A third figure is seated in the background, out of focus and hand-colored. In comparison with the photograph of the soldier type, this image serves a complimentary function of presenting a picturesque version of the Qajar military, conforming to Orientalist tropes of ineffectiveness, lack of modern knowledge and standards, and lazy decadence.<sup>297</sup> The casual postures and variety of color in the clothing of all three figures suggests irregularity and disorganization. In other words, the album possesses both the document and the picture of the Persian soldier.

These two modes of imagery are complimentary to each other in the context of the album: the black and white photograph lends veracity and precision to collection’s overall statement, and the hand-colored scene vivifies the imagined Persian soldier’s life and character. Both photographs, however, present “type” images, according to Wallis’ definition, and yet resonate upon different discursive registers, the natural-historical and the imaginative, or cultural. The portrait of the individual soldier serves future study on the authority of its indexical,

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<sup>297</sup> For a discussion of Orientalist stereotypes in photography, see Christopher Pinney, “‘Stern Fidelity’ and ‘Penetrating Certainty’,” *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), p. 17—71.

photographic relationship with the soldier as specimen. Yet in the mission's official photographic record, it is experienced through the narrative of explorative diplomacy, in which the photographer's view encompasses not only scientifically relevant detail, but also overall impressions of a foreign place, which serves as an organizing principle for the collection. The group portrait registers in the realm of the "shadow archive," whimsical enough to conjure a fuller stereotype of the Persian soldier and his characteristics and lifestyle, hinging upon the "cachet of truthfulness" associated with photography.

As an additional consideration, a group portrait of eunuchs in the album displays a comparatively organized corpus, playing into Orientalist fantasies about Persian harems and the ancient customs of their courts (Fig. 3.11). The representation of the eunuchs in this orderly portrait, also taken at the Royal Villa of Niyavaran, serves as a documentation of courtly life. Their organization before the camera suggests the documentary use of photography useful for ethnographic study and trusted as showing things "as they are." Recycling this outdoor setting that is unremarkable on its own sets a tone of photographic standardization and equalizes the Shah with his eunuchs and soldiers. Indeed this set of three images taken at the same locations is suggestive in its leveling of the Qajar court's hierarchy, mocking Nassir al-Din's enthusiasm for being photographed by leveling him with his eunuchs and soldiers via the natural-historical gaze. In addition to this expression of photographic power and authorship, the privilege of viewership swells beyond the honor and station of the Shah, objectifying his position and its political, historical, and cultural justification. The naturalist gaze exists in and for this premise of visual naturalization of objects of study, offering the identity of expert to the viewer who may compare, interpret, and discern the other in the context of the archive.

While the mission itself was the framework for *Ricordi del Viaggio* and disposed it to function in this way, the albums created by Luigi Pesce a few years earlier betray similar dynamics without the determining mandates of Montabone's assignment. Pesce, working as a military instructor, practiced photography independently of his official role, and exchanged his works as gifts with both Persians and Europeans. In the early 1850s, when Pesce began photographing Qajar Persia, the Kingdom of Italy did not exist. He was therefore not, technically speaking, in the region as an Italian, but rather hailed from the Bourbon-controlled Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Spakman's discussion of the complicated and subtle identity relations involved with Italians traveling in the Middle East before 1861 speaks to Pesce's situation exactly. A certain flexibility or malleability of national identification based upon cross cultural exchange and the political instability of the Italian peninsula in the decade before 1861 form the backdrop of Pesce's approach to his time in Persia.

The version of Pesce's *Album Fotografica della Persia* now at the Getty, which bears a dedication to the English diplomat Henry Rawlinson dated 12 May, 1860, contains forty-two images, predominantly by Pesce himself. The first nineteen survey architecture and monuments in Tehran, beginning with a distant and oblique view of the "Porta di Governo a Teheran" (Fig. 3.12) An interlude of two images of mosques, simply named "Grande ..." and "Piccola Moschea in Rovina a Sultanie" separates the Tehran series from a series made in Persepolis and Taq-i Bostan, which comprises twenty-one images, or the second half of the album. These locations are quite distant from each other; Tehran sits between Soltanieh and Persepolis, which is just to the South of what today is the city of Shiraz. In other words, this is not a travel album in the sense that it does not follow an itinerary in which one place leads to another, or where the experience of travel is emulated with compositional and visual cues, as in Sevaistre's *Album*

*Sicilia*. It is rather an album of Persianness, featuring the contemporary capital and ancient ceremonial capitals. The much longer version of the album, which was owned by Prince Ardeshir, surveys eleven regions, including Tehran and Persepolis which come first and last respectively, and contains eight portraits and twelve religious structures—mosques or tombs—that do not appear in Rawlinson’s version. This album is now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, to which it was donated by a curator of Islamic art in 1977 with no detailed records of its provenance. Its decorative lacquer cover depicting the Shah hunting on both the front and back, inside, was likely commissioned by Pesce to a local artisan (Fig. 3.13). The Rawlinson album’s cover, however, is leather-bound, decorated with Qajar floral motifs.

Henry Creswicke Rawlinson was a British diplomat, military officer, and linguist who copied Persian cuneiform inscriptions. During his first appointment in Persia as a linguist beginning in 1835, Rawlinson was a communications liaison between the British envoy in Tehran and the Qajar court, including the Shah. Part of his time in Persia was spent in the region of Kermanesh, where the Taq-i Bostan ruins are located. Rawlinson scaled the important Rock of Behistun, where Darius the Great made inscriptions detailing his military endeavors, which were repeated in three languages—Old Persian, Babylonian, and Elamite—vertically ascending the steep face of the rock. Rawlinson made paper-maché casts of all three scripts and published interpretations of his findings. He was also a collector of Persian antiquities, and donated a significant set of artifacts to the British Museum between 1850 and 1859. Pesce offered his album to Rawlinson six days before the latter’s final departure from Tehran on May 18, 1860. It was a personal gift, with a friendly dedication, suggesting that the two had likely met in the capital and shared interest in the archaeology of Persepolis and Taq-i Bostan.<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>298</sup> Pazargadi Terpak, p. 47—50.



One striking inclusion in Rawlinson's album that was not part of the one given to Prince Ardeshir, shows the "country house" of the Russian ambassador to Tehran (Fig. 3.14). The photograph is situated in front of the house from an angle that suggests the possibility of walking up the stairs and going inside. Looking from the left towards the one-story façade with four open windows and a tall, wide entryway, the eye ascends a set of four brick steps shaded by a tree. A broom resting along the steps suggests the home's preparation for guests, yet the absence of figures suggests a temporal separation between the work of cleaning the place and the arrival of the viewer. The broom's abandoned placement paradoxically creates a physical obstacle for going up the stairs, while also emphasizing the directional sight line that leads from the viewer's immediate space and into the home. The narrative that I am reading here celebrates the presence of the Russian ambassador, and, by proxy the viewer, by signaling the place's up-keep and excluding the worker(s) who would have used the broom. The broom on the stairs roots the image to the present moment, creating a temporal continuity rather than a sense of centuries of disuse. Decorative potted plants, chairs, and benches visible on the terrace likewise emphasize the nowness and the "welcome" that characterize this view. To put it in terms of Barthes' three temporalities, the time of the photograph being taken and the historical time of the depicted country house elide. Thus the viewer's time can more easily enter into the temporality of the photograph.

The only other image in the album to take such small-scale architecture as its subject appears six pages earlier in the album, the "Tomba del Kan di Kiva a Teheran" (Fig. 3.15). Khiva, a state that existed primarily in what is now Uzbekistan from 1150 to 1920, was severely diminished by the arrival of the Russians in the mid-nineteenth century, and by 1873 became a Russian protectorate. Pesce's reference to this contemporary history and inclusion of colonial

presence in his presentation of Tehran for an English diplomat signals that western presence in Qajar Persia and “The Great Game” were matter-of-fact aspects of an account of the region, though Leila Moayeri Pazargadi and Frances Terpak suggest in their study of Rawlinson’s album that Pesce’s tone may have been tongue-in-cheek regarding references to Russian presence.<sup>299</sup> The tomb, which is viewed from the front, maintains a distance from the viewer in this composition. The direct sunlight on the façade contributes to the stillness of the image, in contrast to the senses of movement and time-of-day that the sunlit tree and its shadows bestow upon the Russian ambassador’s country house. While the respective subject matters of the two images—a country home and a tomb—inherently signal different temporal registers—present, living, and past, dead—their visual comparison is telling. The country home presents a narrative into which the viewer may imaginatively enter, and the tomb is an artifact, to be looked at from *this* side of the picture plane and studied. Or, in Barthes’ terms again, the tomb photograph’s three temporalities are quite distinct. While its simpler architecture contributes to its lower threshold of interest, the deadpan framing and direct, bright light further remove the tomb from a participatory temporality. Moreover, the tomb as the symbol for Khanate of Khiva alongside the Russian country home reads as a foregone conclusion about the irrelevance of Persia’s dynastic past for its modern political destiny.

The opening image of the Rawlinson album is also striking in that it frames the “Porta del Governo,” or the entrance to the capital, from a low angle and a distance that diminishes the architecture that is partially covered by trees (Fig. 3.16). The city behind the Porta is concealed,

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<sup>299</sup> “The ‘Great Game’ was the strategic rivalry between the British and Russian Empires vying for supremacy in Central Asia. More than a Souvenir of Rawlinson’s life and station in Persia, [Pesce’s] album reflects his achievements in philology, archaeology, and the world of diplomacy. A personal gift from Pesce, the colonel of infantry cum photographer, to Rawlinson, the major-general cum diplomat-scholar, the album’s prints provide insight into how images contributed to imperial agendas and nation building.” Ibid., 50—1.

and the expanse of dry dirt occupying the foreground and nearly half of the picture suggests to the viewer that this terrain continues beyond what is shown in the photograph, namely through the Porta, past the wall extending from it to the left of the frame, and behind the trees, to where some low, distant mountains are barely visible on the right. At no point in the album is there a panorama, or general overview, of the city, which was a key type of image associated with travel photography and the Grand Tour, as discussed in the previous chapter.<sup>300</sup> The panorama would have served the important function of orienting the viewer to the city and has a robust tradition in travel imagery and literature. Often taken from a high point, it established a sense of overall geography while providing the viewer with sense of positionality.<sup>301</sup> But in “Porta di Governo,” the low viewpoint and loss of focus towards the extreme foreground, on the contrary, exile the viewer to the outskirts beyond the wall, rather than inviting them through the *porta*. The potential implication of passageway is closed off in the outer portals to the right of the frame, embedded in trees that are not of particularly impressive dimensions but still manage to dwarf them, and visually blocked by a low row of stones to the right of the composition. It is clear in this image that the viewer is to see Tehran from afar, even as other views in the album approach their subjects more intimately. The lack of panorama and overview as narrative signposts suggests to the viewer that, rather than engage the images as a traveler or armchair tourist, imaginatively venturing through the city, they were to study the photographs from a safe

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<sup>300</sup> The panorama was also typical in “orientalist albums,” as Ali Behad writes, “albums of late-nineteenth-century European tourists and travelers to Turkey... invariably begin with Panoramic views of Constantinople.” *Camera Orientalis*, p. 6.

<sup>301</sup> Also see last chapter. As Montesquieu famously wrote of his travels in Italy, “When I arrive in a city, I always go up to the highest bell tower, or up the highest tower, to have a total view, before seeing the single parts, and upon leaving I do the same thing, to fix my ideas.” (Quando arrivo in una città, salgo sempre sul più alto campinale, o sulla torre più alta, per aver una veduta d’insieme, prima di vedere le singole parti; e nel lasciarla faccio la stessa cosa, per fissare le mie idée.) Quoted in De Seta, 214. Translation mine.

distance, emphasizing instead the materiality of the album as a physical object. In terms of the collection and the archive, this visual and narrative distance privileges the time of viewing, concentrating the experience of the album within the actions of turning the pages and scrutinizing the photographs that offer architectural detail within a halted and distant framework. At the same time, displacing the diegetic impact of the album from Tehran as a city to the time and place of viewing suggests that the order of the images, which does not support a narrative journey, does not matter to their meaning.

Discerning the construction of modes of viewership via the collection and the archive is significant for understanding elements of photographic Orientalism that have to do with the construction of attitudes and practices of viewing, beyond the visual tropes and stereotypes that mark Orientalism as a style within individual images. Recalling arguments in the first chapter of this dissertation, Jeremy Braddock describes a “‘collection aesthetic’... [which] expresses something inherent within modernity—as, for instance, the ‘loss’ of the grand narrative [of tradition] instigates the search for a new social, aesthetic, or political affiliations in the present, or a wish to reinvigorate or rewrite historical traditions.”<sup>302</sup> Braddock grounds the impulse to collect in a desire to display objects in such a way as they may gain or produce meaning within and as their collective context as a way to embrace and to orient history politically.<sup>303</sup> Another way to frame this would be to emphasize the notion that by associating objects with their presence in a collection made for or by a specific audience, the production of meaning and interpretation of value become the burden of the beholder, who through the process of beholding becomes aware of their identity and politics. In cases such as Pesce’s and Montabone’s albums,

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<sup>302</sup> Jeremy Braddock, *Collecting as Modernist Practice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), p. 6.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

the distance which allows the “rewriting of historical traditions” is two-fold in the sense that the cultural and geographical distances compound with the “collection aesthetic.” A politics of looking thus enters into the act of collecting that determines the grounds upon which historical or naturalist knowledge is defined for collections comprised of foreign objects and views.<sup>304</sup> This works alongside the archival impulse, which opens objects to multiple, future interpretations, and harnesses the political positioning associated with the collection. While the power dynamics associated with archiving are certainly at play in these Orientalist photograph albums, they are entangled with the construction of subjectivity and the performance of narrative associated with collecting. In other words, the capacity of the archive to categorize, collate, and naturalize knowledge goes hand in hand with the collection’s tendency to cultivate a mode of viewership characterized by possession and expertise. Understanding of the impact and functionality of Orientalist photography derives from both of these elements.

The seventeen images of Tehran following “Porta del Governo” comprise three types—fourteen architectural façades, two empty thrones, and one rural landscape taken from the periphery. The series ends with a shot of “Porta Nuova a Teheran,” the innermost passage of the entryway complex depicted in the first image (Fig. 3.17). In this case, the shot is taken from a higher angle, slightly above human height, from the inside, and features a horse or a donkey with a load on its back, blurred from the neck up due to its own movement. Pesce’s signature is neatly dodged out of a shadow in the lower left corner, as it is in the majority of images in the album. That the passageway is open and visible would suggest that the viewer may imagine passing through it, leaving the city center of Tehran, and yet this gesture towards the viewer’s virtual presence to the scene is undermined by the high perspective of the shot, which denies the viewer

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<sup>304</sup> See Linda Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient,” *Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), p. 33—59.

a foot on the ground. The visual distance characterizing the first and last images in the Tehran series—parentheses on a photographic tour of the city—sets a tone of essential difference for the viewer, setting the modern capital of Tehran apart in time and space.

Many of Pesce's architectural images from Tehran depict façades straight on, rendering photographs that are valuable for study, rather than mementos or proxies for travel. Figures tend to be subsumed under the grandeur of the architecture, such as in the "Bazar Emyr a Teheran," (Fig. 3.18). Though posed, the seated figures do not collaborate with the photographer the way Sevaistre's standing figures do (he often used his assistant), nor do they establish scale in the same way. Instead, they further ornament the monumental architecture that seems out of use and preserved in time. Though they are vaguely looking in the direction of the photographer, they do not participate with him, nor with the viewer, and the unspecified reason for their presence contributes to senses of anachronisity and decadence that form the core of Orientalist stereotypes. In other words, they seem to be there only because the photographer wanted them to be, much like the "dead" bodies dragged into Sevaistre's scenes of the siege of Gaeta. The timeless and imposing façade anchors them to the distant past, emphasized by their visual distance from the viewer, which is in turn closed off by the loss of focus at the immediate foreground. The figures embody the stereotype of the restless, decadent, orientalized Persian, whose culture locks him in the past with nothing to do. At the risk of over-reading Pesce's objectification of these figures, Sevaistre's personification of stones in his depiction of the Concordia Temple provides an interesting comparison. Through the visual proximity of the stereograph, Sevaistre rendered two small boulders gestural, whereas Pesce leaves these figures in ambiguous relation both to their setting and to the viewer, seated there like rocks. Moreover, a lack of narrative progression or association across the album, and the lack of orientation to place

usually provided by the panoramic view, diminishes the viewer's investment in figures and architecture.

It is helpful to remember that Pesce's photographic activity in Persia was peripheral to his primary role as a military instructor. Though he was prolific and valued as a photographer by several audiences, including the Qajar court, his work reflects his personal choices and understanding, informed by cultural and artistic contexts. To be more specific, the senses of distance and objectification in his works were not mandated by a brief to render photographs useful to naturalists, as it was in the works of Montabone. Reading Pesce's albums as autonomous constructions allows the teasing out of certain elements of photographic Orientalism, elements that derived from a broader, emergent visual vocabularies, conventions, and conceptions about how imagery of Persia should look, while at the same time claimed a pretense of objectivity. In his dedication to Nassir al-Din Shah, Pesce "proudly underlines the priorities of his photography campaign, drawing attention to his autonomy in the undertaking, which should have actually had the Shah's support."<sup>305</sup> While it may be said that Pesce was interested in collecting knowledge, he was also attentive to the aesthetic value of his photographic works, and to the narrative efficacy of the multiple albums he compiled.<sup>306</sup> The consistency and prominence of his signature on the surface of nearly all of the photographs further emphasizes Pesce's authorship and control.

The transformation of Persia's architecture and archeology into knowledge—a well-studied aspect of Orientalism's effect of control, or "intellectual imperialism"—relies upon the technical authorship of the photographer himself. Berg writes,

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<sup>305</sup> Maria Francesca Bonetti and Alberto Prandi, "Italian Photographers in Iran," 20.

<sup>306</sup> There are several more than the two I look at closely. One was given to Count Emilio Cavour, another to Wilhelm I of Prussia, and one to yet another English diplomat, Edward Backhouse Eastwick. *Ibid.*, 22.

The quest for knowledge, as Said and others have documented, is a form of intellectual imperialism, Europe, chiefly France and Great Britain, using academic discourse and practices as a way to dominate the Orient. Napoleon's colossal *Description de l'Égypte* succeeds where his military campaign failed in that its exhaustive documentation and analysis symbolically conquers, controls, and contains Egypt between the covers of a bound book. A key difference between Napoleon's expedition and those of Du Camp and Salzmänn is the camera, the tool that, as Arago argued, allows one man to do the work of hundreds. The once collaborative scientific mission becomes a one-man/one-machine show.<sup>307</sup>

In this passage about the impact of photography upon the pursuit of knowledge as an Orientalist activity, Berg touches upon the broader problem of photography and natural history that hinges upon the construction of the photographer, collector, or viewer as expert. The invocation of "discourse and practices... contained between the covers of a bound book," makes the point that photograph albums function as microcosms of the broader discursive and political gestures of Orientalism. This is to say that as objects, collections, and archives, Orientalist photograph albums make the greatest impact in their construction of a mode of viewership that can be performed by the album alone—"a one-man/one-machine show." Pesce's emphasis upon his own authorship, like Sevaistre's, becomes a quasi surrogate for the viewer to become the author of the album's narrative, in the latter's case leaving a barrier intact in the name of scientific objectivity, particularly in photographs of ancient archeological sites. That is, Pesce's albums go beyond Sevaistre's along these lines by holding open the distances in place and time, which draws more attention to Pesce's photographic acts and the physical fact of the album as

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<sup>307</sup> Berg, 4.



such. Lacking the stereographic features and narrative associations that characterize Sevaistre's works, the three aspects of photographic time outlined by Barthes are held further apart, and viewers identify with the time of the photographer and of their own viewing, absorbing the power dynamics inscribed therein. The fact that Orientalist photograph albums have this effect is based upon their functions as collections and as archives that at the same time generate a specific and affective mode of viewership characterized by the authority to determine and perform a narrative, and offer fragments of knowledge that may be re-arranged into new discursive formations.

In Rawlinson's album, the group of seven images following the first *Porta* show different parts of the royal palace and its several courts. "Entrata del Palazzo Reale a Teheran," shows, from a medium distance, a virtually unpopulated entry façade to the royal court guarded by a horse or donkey, and a seated figure against the façade at the far left of the image, out of focus (Fig. 3.19). The next photograph is a detail of the Alabaster throne, followed by a shot of the first court (Fig. 3.20), then the second court, then a wide view of a different throne, rotated ninety degrees. The next two photographs are the third court (Fig. 3.21) and its Grand Salon (Fig. 3.22), respectively. Though the numerical accounting of the court buildings suggests a progression or hierarchy, the images neither establish criteria of comparison, nor do they highlight or celebrate distinguishing features across the court buildings. For example, the first court is seen from the low perspective of a viewer approaching the façade, proceeding alongside a long reflecting pool with a view of an empty throne. The second court is seen from a higher angle, as if from a window of a facing building, but does not give a sense of placement or situatedness. Tall trees that stretch vertically across the frame screen the view and partially block the mosaic pediment, a significant decorative feature. The image following this survey of the royal palace is set again at

the first court populated by a crowd gathered for the Grand Ceremony of the New Year (Fig. 3.23).

The diversity of compositions and perspectives across this set of images suggests that these images are Pesce's "snapshots,"<sup>308</sup> captured casually as he encountered the views. As Elena Marconi writes of the Romantic album as a form, its eighteenth-century roots in the personal diary render it a space of heterogeneity. When viewed in an album, each item or view, she says, "has the capacity to reveal its intimate significance,"<sup>309</sup> based upon its relation to the viewer and their knowledge of its provenance. This is to say that the narrative function of the Romantic album, in Marconi's thinking, is often not in its sequential organization and presentation of a story. Rather, the telling of the album by the maker, or by those familiar with its contents, generates its narrative function. At best, the narrative provided by Rawlinson's album is an account of Pesce's wanderings, rather than an architectural survey of the Qajar court. While Marconi may see the nineteenth-century album as inherently Romantic along these lines, I would say this status additionally depends upon the relational qualities of the narrative threads collected in an album, and how they allow a viewer to tell or to imagine a story based upon a surrounding cultural or discursive context. As Susan Stewart explains, "In an album of photographs or a collection of relics, the past is constructed from a set of presently existing pieces. There is no continuous identity between these objects and their referents. Only the act of memory [or projection] constitutes their resemblance."<sup>310</sup> Knowing the intended audiences of the several versions of the album allows us to consider how acts of memory and projection were aspects of

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<sup>308</sup> I put quotes here because the concept of the snapshot did not exist until several decades after Pesce's death.

<sup>309</sup> Elena Marconi, "Album Romantico," in *L'Ottocento in Italia: Le Arti Sorelle, Il Romanticismo 1815—1848*, a cura di Carlo Sisi (Milano: Mondadori Electa S.p.A., 2006), p. 305

<sup>310</sup> Susan Stewart, *On Longing*, 145.

its reception. Berg's statement about Orientalist views as empty canvases for the projection of fantasies, for example, underscores the importance of the subject position of the viewer, and the discursive or aesthetic projections they would bring to bear upon the open landscape. Insofar as this is a question about Orientalism, the problems become: how does the viewer imagine their own time, subjectivity, and relation to the images depicted; how concretely in the past do they understand the narratives the images invoke to be; and how do they consider the architecture of Qajar Tehran to be related to the archaeology of Persepolis?

The second half of Rawlinson's album, showing the archeological sites of ancient Persepolis and Taq-i Bostan, focuses solely upon ancient artifacts. Fifteen of the twenty-one photographs show tightly cropped details of inscriptions or reliefs. Again, there is no panorama or general view to provide a sense of place, and, with a few exceptions, the dimensions of the works depicted are not all together clear. The Prince Ardeshir's album likewise omits a panoramic or orienting view of the archeological site. And yet, Pesce had produced such a shot in 1857 or 58, titled "Veduta Generale di Persepolis presa dalla Montagna," or *General View of Persepolis taken from the Mountain* (Fig. 3.24), likely taken at the same time that he took the photographs included in the albums. The intentional omission of the general view signals several things. Firstly, the viewer is denied the perspective of masterful surveyor and must rely upon the series of images to reveal the site piecemeal. This denies the rapport of the traveler—who like Montesquieu, "first travels to the top of the highest bell tower" to endow himself with an overall understanding of a place—and instead forces a scientific rapport, in which the object photographed is severed from its context as a specimen for scrutiny and cataloguing.

In denying this sense of visual mastery to the viewer, Pesce disposes them to follow more closely his narrative and compositional assertions. Jennifer Wallace, citing Michel de Certeau,

writes about walking as a metaphor for language, “viewing a city from a skyscraper is an act of ‘reading’ it while wandering through the streets is an act of ‘speaking’ it.”<sup>311</sup> Withholding the panorama in favor of Pesce’s own views on the ground emphasizes his role as narrator. Although this particular picture is not included in the album, it follows the rule described by Berg for early Orientalist photography by which landscapes appear desolate and empty receptacles for the European viewer’s imagination. Travel and imaginative movement within the site are not emulated, confining the viewer to his own side of the picture plane, and confining his movement to the turning of the album’s pages. The narrative experience becomes about the album as an object, pointing to its functionality along the lines of the collection. In terms of the collection and the archive, this archeological series draws upon the archival principles to frame the images as significant for future knowledge, removable from their contexts and open to multiple organizations and configurations. Indeed, as many images are duplicated across the two albums, they are presented in entirely different orders. And yet, the experience of viewing is informed by both the idiom of the collector and by existing knowledge about the archaeological site and its history.

In addition to the omission of a general, orienting view, there are few compositional clues that allow the viewer to imaginatively participate in the scenes or grasp the scale. Compared with Sevaistre’s series in *Album Sicilia* on the Greek and Roman archaeological sites in Siracusa, Pesce’s Persepolis series denies the viewer imagined or experiential entry to the site, as well as a sense of relatable scale by omitting the general view and human figures from the images. See, for example Sevaistre’s “Tomba d’Archimede,” in which a figure physically interacts with the architecture, standing in as a surrogate viewer and giving a sense of the human scale of the

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<sup>311</sup> Jennifer Wallace, *Digging the Dirt: the Archaeological Imagination* (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., 2004), p. 44.

ancient site (Fig. 3.25). The sixty-third image in Ardeshir's album, an exception to Pesce's rule of showing architectural details straight-on and without context, engages perspective and scale in a self-referential way, in which architectural and natural elements relate to each other in space, but the composition does not offer the viewer a point of entry or sense of scale (Fig. 3.26). In this image, Pesce utilizes a stone, possibly the remnant of an ancient column, in the immediate foreground to block the viewer spatially from the relief sculpture which is the subject of the image. The stone also blocks the view of the regressing space between this relief and the structure behind it to the right, giving a sense of uncertainty to the physical distance and scale.

In Rawlinson's album, the image titled "Entrata Principale a Persepolis," the principle entrance, appears as the thirteenth image in the Persepolis series, or thirty-fourth in the album as a whole (Fig. 3.27). Again, we see the main *Porta* from an oblique angle, which partially disorients the photograph's sense of directionality (Presumably, one would enter from the left, passing through what remains of the entryway). The perspective does not, however, invite the viewer to enter through, but rather positions them to best make out the sculptural detail of the figures on the right side of the structure, and to appreciate the texture and weight of the ancient architecture. It seems possible that an image that appears earlier, called simply "Ruine a Persepolis," (Fig. 3.28) is also the "Entrata Principale" seen from a different angle. If indeed these two photographs depict the same object, this slippage in Pesce's naming seems almost intentionally misleading or disorienting, and underlines the fact that the organization is not meant to simulate physically moving around the site or to provide accurate, art-historical information, but was composed based upon Pesce's responses to a collection of photographic fragments which he curated into concrete albums. As Walter Benjamin wrote on the history of narrative in the nineteenth century,

Historically, the various modes of communication have competed with one another. The replacement of the older narration by information, of information by sensation, reflects the increasing atrophy of experience. In turn, there is a contrast between all these forms and the story, which is one of the oldest forms of communication. It is not the object of the story to convey a happening, which is the purpose of information; rather, it embeds it in the life of the storyteller in order to pass it on as experience to those listening. It thus bears the marks of the storyteller much as the earthen vessel bears the marks of the potter's hand.<sup>312</sup>

While Pesce's albums are not stories in the sense that Benjamin here describes, their narrative operation is bound up with his description of Pesce as a storyteller. A sense of unity of the Persepolis and Taq-i Bostan images would have to come from visual similarities or references that Pesce draws from page to page. By refusing to organize the images in the album according to an order in which a viewer would experience them on site, Pesce implies that the order does not matter, and that their value as images is archival, and yet their names and provenance do not matter. In other words, they may be re-interpreted and arranged according to multiple modes of inquiry, and their meaning is not contingent upon being seen as a series or as specific artifacts of a relevant cultural history. Indeed, the fact that these images are arranged differently across different albums reiterates this tension between the categories of the collection and the archive, and impresses his authorship upon the viewer. Pesce's photographs bear his literal signature "much as the earthen vessel bears the marks of the potter's hand."

Of the twenty-one archeological images, fourteen are titled "Bassi Rilievi," or low reliefs (Fig. 3.29). They are all straight-on views, with the matrix of the relief parallel to the picture

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<sup>312</sup> Walter Benjamin, "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire," 159.

plane, tightly cropped and occupying most, if not all, of the frame. Spatial and topographical contexts in the margins of some of these images hint at the physical situation of the low reliefs, though these edges are often faded due to the deterioration of the salted paper prints over time. I would also point out that the title “low relief” was used a bit too freely, as figures and animals emerge in quite high relief, some arms of men and legs of horses appearing entirely in the round (Fig. 3.30). There are indeed plenty examples of true low relief in the album, which makes this un-nuanced naming all the more vexing. One image that appears in both Ardeshir’s album and Rawlinson’s album, “Iscrizione coneiforme a Persepolis,” displays a cuneiform inscription panel from an oblique angle and the corner is torn in both images (Fig. 3.31). A significant discrepancy, however, is that the photographs are inserted in the albums with a difference of 180 degrees. One of them is “upside-down.”<sup>313</sup> Furthermore, the oblique angle and partial cropping of the cuneiform text suggest that Pesce did not aim to document an intact, legible inscription, but rather treated this as a view, emphasizing his own perspective. That both prints are significantly torn obviates the fact that the paper negative from which they were made was itself torn, and that this photograph was not valued for its ability to convey the inscription itself. The value of this image is rather its function as a relic of an ancient past and system that no longer carry meaning.

In a study on the political and disciplinary history of archaeology, Jennifer Wallace writes,

The meaning or interpretation which is given to a particular [archaeological] discovery is dictated by the beliefs and culture of the archaeologist and not by objective scientific

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<sup>313</sup> It is possible that the photograph in the Wilkinson album was inserted incorrectly by conservators or handlers. In the catalogue, media for this image shows the photograph in the orientation in which it appears in Rawlinson’s album.

criteria obtained from excavation... Objects which are unearthed are not unequivocal and self-evident in meaning but are part of a symbolic system of a past culture...

[Archaeologists] “translate” the objects the objects they find into a narrative which seems to hold together coherently for a particular site.<sup>314</sup>

Wallace’s implication that archaeology is a discipline in which there is not universally useful objective knowledge for the interpretation, or even description, of artifacts highlights the role of the practitioners in both framing and creating its meaning. While the specific forms of the inscribed characters in “Iscrizione coneiforme a Persepolis” would likely have added knowledge value, it is reduced to a provision of contact or indexicality, without legibility or function.<sup>315</sup> To treat an archeological artifact in this way emphasizes the significance of Pesce’s photographic excursion to the site, and asserts a mode of reception that responds to the visual qualities of the photograph itself, in the time it was taken. This is especially striking given that both audiences—Rawlinson and Ardeshir—would likely have appreciated the script and valued its legible reproduction.

To refer back once more to Barthes’ three temporalities, this torn salted paper print with no meaningful top or bottom tells the viewer that the historical time of the object depicted is irrelevant in itself. A tension between the visual precision of the photographic medium and the imprecision of naming and categorization recalls tensions between the collection and the archive. The angle from which the inscription panel is photographed suggests that the photographer was standing slightly above, looking down, according to the orientation in Rawlinson’s version. This embodiment of the photographer is unique in comparison with other photographs of reliefs,

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<sup>314</sup> Wallace, 14.

<sup>315</sup> This is only compounded by the fact that it was, of course, possible for experts to decipher the text at the time.



which aim to match the sculptural surface with the picture plane. This sense of embodiment situates the photographer, and thereby the viewer, at the scene. From this perspective, the viewer may imaginatively inhabit the position of a tourist, present to the cuneiform inscription as a captured glance, even without the benefit of a broader spatial context. The exercise of finding pictorial or aesthetic value can be performed in the “time that the photograph was taken” and the “time of the viewer.” Again, remembering that both Rawlinson and Ardeshir may have viewed a “study copy” of the inscription—Rawlinson had made and published paper maché casts of similar subject matter—confining them to such a vantage point serves to assert the photographer’s agency and choices.

To briefly summarize the main points regarding Pesce’s album for Rawlinson, I have argued that its narrative impact is in the act of assembling and collecting the images. Its temporal structure is based upon the visual distance inscribed within the compositions and the disjunctive order of the series, failing to reference their original contexts. Rawlinson was meant to relate to the photographer himself and to identify with his presence and acts of photographing, collecting, and assembling. Indeed, the characterization of Russian presence in the region as inviting and familiar to the viewer contrasts with the spatially and temporally distant presentations of Tehran’s architecture. The absence of portraiture signals a disinterest in the modern Qajar dynasty, despite the fact that the production of the album was supported by the Shah’s enthusiasm for photography as a modernizing force. Several individual images use figures to provide scale, making the architecture easier to study, and to contribute a sense of timelessness and irrelevance to the populations of Qajar Tehran. Following from this, the material fact of the album and its status as a personal gift generate a dynamic of possession and mastery. Pesce collected viewpoints and arranged them for Rawlinson in such a way as to celebrate his personal

views, and to offer these views as fragments for contemplation. To put it more simply: the meaning of this album is Pesce's access to and mastery of the subject matter, which could in turn be given as a gift. The archival statement made is that certain architectural and archeological views will be significant for future study, but more so will be Pesce's act of photographically gathering them. When considering the album owned by the Prince Ardeshir, we see different narrative emphases that treat collecting and archiving differently.

The version of the album housed at the Metropolitan Museum, called the Wilkinson album after the curator who donated it in 1977, was originally owned by the Qajar Prince Ardeshir Mirza, uncle to Nassir al-Din Shah. More extensive and complex than Rawlinson's album, the Wilkinson album contains seventy-six prints and begins with a comprehensive list of its images, organized by geography. With eleven sites total, this album, like Rawlinson's, begins with a series from Tehran and ends with an archeological series from Persepolis and Taq-i Bostan. Sultanieh appears as the fourth featured site, containing four photographs, none of which appear in the shorter version. The first image in the album, which was likely not taken by Pesce himself, but by Henri de Couliboeuf de Blocqueville, was shot from a terrace or rooftop, looking across the city (Fig. 3.32). Like many of Sevaistre's views of Palermo, the structure on which the photographer was standing is included in the lower frame, concretely situating the viewer on a specific architectural structure. This view, though, does not look down onto the streets of Tehran, but is directed across the city's rooftops, featuring in the center the dome of a mosque that rises above the horizon, visually entering the rhythm of the rolling mountains seen in the background. Instead of gleaning an overall idea of Tehran as an urban place, this view emphasizes its relationship to the landscape, or more precisely, to the mountains that contain it on one side. The high perspective does not allow for a sense of life or movement, and one does not see any entry

points or harbors, as was typical of panoramic views in European tour albums such as Sevaistre's.<sup>316</sup> The distance between the dome and the mountains in the back is ambiguous, and there is no way in or out of the city. This lends to a sense of isolation in space and time.

It is not until the sixth image in the album that we see an entryway, the same "Porta Nuova a Teheran" (Fig. 3.17) photograph that closes the Tehran series in Rawlinson's album. Here, it is called "Porte du Gouvernement," or *Government Gate*. An entirely different image is called the New Gate (translates to *Porta Nuova*), and is the same image that appears in Rawlinson's as "Porta della Citadella." Other discrepancies in naming occur throughout the Tehran series of the two versions, including the image that appears in Rawlinson's album as "The Entrance to the Royal Palace," and is called "La Sublime Porte," for Prince Ardeshir's version. It can only be surmised that the latter version would be named with greater precision, given that the Qajar audience would have been familiar with the monuments. There are no images of Russian or European presence in this album, but rather additional views of the mosques, people, and palaces of the Qajar court.

The fourteenth image in the Wilkinson album, "Palais du Shah," is taken from a medium distance directly in front of the façade, which stretches across the composition and continues past the left and right edges of the frame (Fig. 3.33). What is immediately striking about this image in contrast with similar images in Rawlinson's album is that there are figures interacting with each other and with the architecture. Some are turned towards each other in conversation, and two

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<sup>316</sup> Renzo Dubbini writes, "In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the process of constructing the urban image almost always resulted in a realistic sort of representation that emphasized careful description, architectural forms, and delineation of the *relationships of those forms to their surroundings*." And, "The ground-level view was for less attentive tourists who busy themselves with admiring 'picturesque' nooks or who are unable to vary the usual 'itineraries.' An aerial view, to the contrary, promised extraordinarily clear detail and a complete panorama." Dubbini, 49, 57. Italics mine.

figures look out from open windows on the upper left. The Shah himself is seated at the center of the frame under a large portico. The viewer is positioned on a stone path leading up to the palace. These figures and their activity signal the palace's current use and allow the viewer to imaginatively participate. The space and time of the viewer and the photograph are brought together, and the figures return the camera's gaze. Though there are images in the album that work against this tendency, this image brings the photograph's time into the viewer's temporality. To put in terms of Barthes' three, the time of the picture being taken and the historical time of the subject depicted are closer together, and the depiction of human activity brings the viewer's temporality close as well. This is an exception to the rule, however, and the duality, or, more strongly, duplicity, of multiple temporal registers and perspectives within the Wilkinson album serves to assert the presence and agency of Pesce as he selectively controls Prince Ardeshir's place within the narrative experience and disrupts the relational qualities of time, despite the fact that the Prince's familiarity with the subject matter would guide his narrative experience of the collection of photographs beyond what Pesce may have been able to appreciate. By ordering images according to his own values, Pesce determines a narrative that undermines courtly hierarchies and matches the ethnographic tone of Rawlinson's album.

It is particularly interesting to consider the use of portraiture in this album, which, like in Montabone's, uses naturalist or ethnographic frameworks to mock conventional studio portraits of court figures, most notably of the Shah. The first portrait, the twentieth image in the album, is titled "Un Femme Armenienne de Tehéran" (Fig. 3.34), followed by a group portrait, "Les Eunuques." Three portraits of the Shah follow (Figs. 3.35, 3.36, and 3.37), then a photograph of Prince Ardeshir, himself (Fig. 3.38). Two photographs of paintings follow, and the final image in the Tehran series shows the twelfth-century Tower of Torgul, which Nassir al-Din Shah later

restored. The first portrait in the album is a “type” photograph, showing an un-named woman seated before a plain background, dressed to represent Armenian women in the capital, Tehran. Opening the series of portraits in this way establishes a naturalist or ethnographic rapport between the camera and the subject of the portrait, setting a tone that carries over to subsequent views. Indeed, the second image, showing fourteen eunuchs ranging in age, likewise displays an oriental type that would have fascinated a European audience.<sup>317</sup>

A useful concept explored by Christopher Pinney regarding such dynamics in Orientalist photography is *transculturation*, which he derives from the work of Mary Louise Pratt and James Clifford “to signify a contact zone characterized by confrontation and interaction. This exchange can flow in both directions (from the colonizer to the colonized and vice versa).”<sup>318</sup> Particularly within portraiture, this concept works against two others: *purification*, in which distinct ontological zones resist each other, usually resulting in the essentialization of the other by the photographer; and *autonomy*, in which “the limits of the above terms are marked by recognizing that vast swaths of the visual and material culture in colonial contexts stemmed from enduring traditions and developed in ways that were not significantly impacted by colonialism.”<sup>319</sup> Turning to the Shah’s portraits after the ethnologizing views, we see the Shah standing before a plain sheet background, similar to the one before which the anonymous Armenian woman was photographed. In the first, Nassir al-Din is wearing European coat and trousers with a Persian robe, hat, and sword. He looks out of the portrait with an expressionless face, similar to the Armenian woman’s return look. He is dressed similarly in all three portraits that appear in

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<sup>317</sup> See the sections, “The Exotic” and “The Erotic,” in Behad, *Camera Orientalis*, 59—67.

<sup>318</sup> Christopher Pinney, “What’s Photography got to do with it?” in Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan, eds. *Photography’s Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013), p. 34—39.

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

sequence here, changing his posture and expression. In the second portrait, he is photographed at three-quarters length, holding his belt and leaning with his hand upon a table, looking off to the right of the frame. His moustache is retouched by hand to appear thicker and longer. While this portrait bears forth more psychological presence and authority than the previous image, the order in which it is placed subjects it to an ethnologizing framework, diminishing the traits of the Shah's individuality, subsuming them under a camera whose authority has been proven greater. Though the Shah's emphatic participation in being photographed is well documented, his dynamic sense of self is, across these portraits, countered by the agency of Pesce's camera and by the latter's agency as a collector, ordering the views within the pages of the album.

The next region to be surveyed, Khorasan, comprises what is now northeastern Iran, Afghanistan, and some of central Asia. The city of Masshad and its courts are introduced in the first six images, followed by six views of historically significant tombs from rural areas in the region. The final and thirteenth image shows a large cemetery in Masshad that is dense with gravestones and seen from a high angle. This group of images repeats certain patterns established in the album's treatment of Tehran, beginning with a wide shot that works to isolate the place in the past (Fig. 3.39). In this composition, two figures stand in front of a high wall, facing the camera. The placement of the camera again seems to be on a roof, hinted at by the ledge that cuts across the lower right corner of the image. Behind the figures, a clothesline of sheets or carpets hangs along the wall, and architecture rises up behind them, none of which is depicted in further detail later in the album. The angle of the shot again gives no view of entry and exit points, nor of the city's populations. The bright sun locks the structures in a sense of stillness, and the figures' placement on the photographer's side of the wall leaves the city "alle spalle," or at their shoulders, referring to an Italian idiom that translates to leaving something behind, in the past.

In the next image, showing the principal gate of Masshad from a high angle, perhaps the second story of a the facing side of the courtyard, is sparsely peopled, including seated figures and standing groups in various levels of motion (Fig. 3.40). The dispersal of unengaged, seated and reclining figures recalls certain tropes discussed above, according to which people of the orient have no present occupation. There is a lack of activity and sociality here, no exchange market or ceremony, despite the fact that it is a public space, and figures laze about in their own decadence, oblivious to modernity and modern time. While the title and focus of this image, and others near it in the album, is the architecture, the figures contribute to an all over compositional sense of stillness and disuse. At the same time, images from Masshad specify monuments and architectural sites in their titles, and offer views that aggrandize their significant features, even while signifying deep temporal distance.

Pesce's lack of specificity in naming or cataloguing his photographs of ancient sites in the Wilkinson album is striking in comparison. In the inventory at the front of the album, below the eleventh heading for "Farnistan ou Fars," an inscription reads "Les 18 photographies sur les pages no 59, 60, [...], 75, 76 presentant les Ruines de Persepolis." Yet, there are photographs of Taq-i Bostam, in particular the first image of the series, which shows a detail of low relief. This same image is the last photograph in Rawlison's album, in which it bears the inscription "Bassi Rilievi a Takt-i bustan a Kirmachiah" (Fig. 3.41). Pesce's slippage between the two sites and lack of precision in titling compared with the first fifty-eight images in the album suggests a lack of attention to ancient sites compared with the modern sites depicted earlier, in particular those of Tehran. The implication that ancient Persian history would be less important or less legible to Prince Ardeshir may be counterintuitive, and yet Pesce offers little in terms of inventory or itinerary. Perhaps the case may be that Pesce made assumptions about Ardeshir's pre-existing

knowledge about the sites and did not think detailed descriptions were necessary. At the same time, however, Pesce had indicated his desire for credit as the first person to photograph the sites. That his signature appears on the images, but he does not indicate in the index that he in fact knew the details of the objects he was photographing reads as a signal that the sites have greater significance as a pretext for his images than they do as real archeological sites with cultural or historical value.

The photographic Orientalism of Italian photographers in Qajar Persia in the 1850s and 60s establishes modes of viewership to formulate pictures of and knowledge about Persia that become the content of Orientalist fantasies as they develop through decades to follow. While, as scholars have noted about Orientalism in the nineteenth century more broadly, the particular fantasies constructed around primitive temporality and pre-modern culture (or, decadence and lack of culture) underwrote and were shaped by unbalanced, colonialist transnational power dynamics and by the European impulse to find its modern identities through these dynamics. What this particular moment in the history of photography reveals, however, is that visual frameworks associated with the collection and the archive and embodied in the album were essential for shaping knowledge and fantasies about the Orient and the subject positions and habits of viewing attendant to photographic Orientalism.

To conclude, and to quote Susan Stewart once more, “The collection is often about containment on the level of its content and on the level of the series, but it is also about containment in a more abstract sense... Civic collections...seek to represent experience within a mode of control and confinement. One cannot know everything about the world, but one can at least approach closed knowledge through the collection.”<sup>320</sup> Montabone’s and Pesce’s albums

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<sup>320</sup> Stewart, 160.



present their contents to viewers in part as visual knowledge, allowing them to possess objects represented, instructing them in how to look at foreign culture as natural history, thereby inhabiting a position of authority. Comparison of the albums points out the overlapping frameworks for circulating photographs during this moment of modern nation-building, that are both cultural, in the sense of literary and artistic notions of Orientalism and exoticism, and scientific, in the sense of natural history and the establishment of authority and expertise through knowledge. Practices of collecting and archiving serve major ends in the modernization of social, political, and intellectual life in the nineteenth century. The international exchange of images visualizes flows of authority, and the archive as a set of physical possessions plays the important discursive and symbolic roles of categorizing material culture and providing the means to cultivate expertise or authority as an aspect of identity. Moreover, the visual and narrative modes of argument mandated by the archive and “shadow archive” engage the viewing subject within the temporal structures of the collection as well as the cultural, sociological, or natural categories that the archive produces. Despite the fact that Nassir al-Din Shah played a major role in facilitating the artistic and technological development of photography in Qajar Persia by engaging and enlisting Europeans, the multiple surviving iterations of the albums by Pesce reveal that his albums functioned as more than a material or ceremonial gift. Through various organizations, the albums position the same set of images against each other and in relation to the viewer in multiple ways, engaging with the collection and the archive to establish and to politicize identities across nations.

## 5. Conclusion

I have argued in this dissertation that the photograph album was a major vehicle for the elaboration of national identity in the nineteenth century. Closely considering several aesthetic, political, and social developments during the crucial years of the Italian Risorgimento, I have examined key cases in which understanding the form of the album was critical for analyzing certain visual practices involved in developing and asserting identity. Methodologically, the construction of a theoretical armature around the categories of the collection and the archive structured a discussion centered upon the politicization of photographs, viewers, and modes of viewing. The problems of temporality, narrative performance, memory, distance versus proximity, and fixedness versus amenability of organization framed discussions of photograph albums that shaped national memory and identity in multivalent ways. The theme of travel—whether to assemble or to generate a set of photographs—shed light upon the ways in which the album was central to understanding geography, landscape, and archaeology as aspects of modern national identity. For cases in which the same imagery was configured or framed in more than one way, such as the lithographic reproduction of Sevaistre's *Révolution de Palerme* in the Terzaghi brothers' *Album Storico Artistico*, or Pesce's multiple versions of his Persian album for Eastern and Western audiences, I made clear that the form of the album brings to bear the categories of the collection and the archive upon photographs. Thus, the history and theory of the collection and the archive hold stakes in this project that are equal to its stakes the history and theory of photography.

While this dissertation aimed to uncover certain groundworks of Italian nationalism and Orientalist styles, the art-historical methods that I have developed have the potential to similarly analyze other European works in order to investigate how photograph albums and their circulation underwrote modern identity, nationalism, and fascism more broadly. The salience of the Italian situation—the political and social tensions represented in the Southern Problem and the modern aspiration to assert an imperialist presence in the Orient—lies in the paradoxical and complex mechanics of othering and orientalizing that operated both domestically and abroad, often playing off of each other. This nineteenth-century dynamic, perceptible in artistic production, cultural exchange, and political and industrial development, indeed shaped the emergence of European nationalisms in other contexts through the rise of fascism, and may in fact help explain them. The categories of the collection and the archive have revealed ways in which perception, subjectivity, and identity were conditioned alongside the emergence of certain imagery, such as Romantic and Orientalist styles and conventions, while also explaining something fundamental in the history of photography about how albums operate. In locating the historical inertia of the collection in its closed principal of organization and temporal identification with the time of its making, I have shown how modes of viewing associated with the collection require the performance of narrative in the time of viewing and an already existing understanding of the collection's organizing principle. Contrarily, the archive is oriented towards future interpretations and configurations, allowing the re-telling of the archive in ways that accommodate or generate new discursive formations, while being materially based upon the historical trace via the concept of provenance. Both the collection and the archive gain authority through their physical objects and the relations amongst them, and yet they differ in their

bringing to bear the temporality of the viewer and their agency to interpret meaning or to generate memory.

An art-historical arc beginning in the sixteenth century with the emergence of albums and collections as catalysts for visual education by comparison, categorization, and the distillation of generalized commonalities or differences underwrote the universalist and rationalist thinking characteristic of the Enlightenment and the Revolutionary movements in Europe that led to modern nationalisms and nation-states. In the nineteenth century, photography propelled this arc towards applications that could be mass-produced and circulated at higher rates, and that also generated a discursive shift towards the reliability of the image as an arbiter of knowledge, truth, and objectivity. As I have shown in relation to stereography, for example, the appeal of a mechanical understanding of optics in both an externalized sense—the stereoscope as a philosophical toy—and an internalized sense—one’s own visual apparatus and faculties—encouraged an empowered relational quality between viewers and images that led to acts of vision as expressions of self. The coupling of knowledge and national identity relied upon the cultivation of such feelings of expertise and entitlement to the possession of objects and images in collections and archives.

An expansion of this project may include the works of Alphonse Bernoud (1820—75), another French expatriate who became an official photographer to the Bourbon court in Naples in 1850. Before his arrival in Naples, Bernoud had studied in the Paris studio of Louis Jacques Mandè Daguerre, then operated a studio in Genova from 1842 to 1850. He was competent in several photographic methods and techniques, including the daguerreotype, calotype, wet-plate

collodion, and stereography, and he invented a hand-coloring method of his own in the 1840s.<sup>321</sup> Bernoud's most significant project, completed in 1873, was an album depicting the ruins of Pompei, which included many of his own works, as well as works by at least two other photographers. Bernoud's photographs follow a tourist on his exploration of the ancient site (Figs 4.1 and 4.2). The recurring figure provides scale as well as a surrogate position for viewers and collectors to inhabit. Bernoud's images comply more readily with market demands for souvenir images, and thus serve a productive comparative study with both Sevaistre's and Pesce's archaeological images.

Bernoud's staging of a tourist's itinerary through the archaeological site of Pompei includes an important aspect of the modern travel experience, a rapport or relation between the photographer and the photographed figure. In Bernoud's images, the figure is either returning the gaze of the photographer or interacting socially with another figure in the image. This gives temporal weight to the photographic act, emphasizing the activities of visiting the site and of photographing it over its archaeological content. Like Sevaistre's *Album Sicilia*, the journey through the archaeological landscape is illustrated, rendering photographs that are valued in terms of the viewer's presence and performance more so than in terms of their documentary or scientific function. Further research into Bernoud's Pompei project would expand the dimensions of my investigation into Italian photograph albums in this period by introducing an example of travel photography that aims to present cultural patrimony as an aspect of identity within a relational framework. That is, while Sevaistre's authorship presented as antagonistic, Pavia's as servile, and Pesce's as possessive, for example, Bernoud seems to have approached the task of compiling a travel album in the role of the friendly guide. By positioning the viewer as an

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<sup>321</sup> Ernesto de Carolis, "Alphonse Bernoud: Fotografo a Pompei," *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani*, vol. 22 (2011), p. 49—60.

insider, the burdens of viewership imposed by the form of the album are mitigated by a narrative in which Bernoud's knowledge and experience are shared.

Another remarkable photograph album is Claude-Joseph Portier's (1841—1910) *Views of Algeria, Egypt, and Italy*, completed in 1879. The album contains 48 albumen prints: 31 picturesque views and type portraits from Algeria; eight views of monuments and genre scenes in Egypt; and nine views surveying major cities and monuments in Italy. While the title suggests a travel itinerary that would equalize the three countries, signaling their association as a tour, the choice of subject matter and emphasis upon Algeria suggests a discriminating value system for the album. Portier was French-born, but operated a photography studio in Algiers from the 1860s into the 1880s. Though this background may distance the album from lines of argument pertaining to the creation of Italian identity, an analysis of its operative functions under the categories of the collection and the archive would potentially reveal how albums shape viewership in ways that both contribute to photographic orientalism and establish relations between Italian and "Oriental" cultural patrimony.

Efforts to grapple with nationalism in Italy after 1861 drew upon the internationalism of photography, specifically practices of using of photography since its invention to document or simulate travel, and to gather, possess, and circulate images in transnational contexts. The presence of French photographers in Italy, for example, resulted not only in an exchange of images, but in a sharing of perspectives and modes of viewership along political and nationalist lines. The circulation of Grand Tour imagery amongst Sicilians, for example, was more novel for its provision of a bourgeois purview than for its presentation of cultural and archaeological content. Likewise, the presence of Italian photographers in Persia generated vehicles for the visual elaboration of orientalist rapport, not just within individual photographs but within the

concepts of the collection and the archive that informed the viewership of albums. Alessandro Pavia's honorary album represented not only the geographical stretch that was Garibaldi's mission, but also the photographer's journey across the newly unified nation to gather *carte de visite* portraits. Collecting and archiving in this moment were more than material practices of procurement and possession; they generated logics for conceiving of the self in relation to series or sets of images.

In addition to treating other Italian photograph albums made during the years surrounding the Risorgimento, the methods derived from the categories of the collection and the archive offer the potential to better understand photography and its circulation into the twentieth century in relation to the construction of modern identity and capitalist subjecthood more broadly. The visual practices and modes of conditioning uncovered in this dissertation that contributed to identity formation and the politicization of subjects advanced throughout the end of the nineteenth century. Albums, collections, and archives remained salient into the imperialist and fascist periods in Italy, as photography's use in knowledge production accelerated. For example photographic records of Italy's invasion of Assab in the late 1880s might be productively analyzed if considered to follow upon Montabone's project. The institutionalization of orientalist knowledge and of social statistics in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, represented most prominently by the Cesare Lombroso's museum and archive of criminal anthropology, has direct origins in the practices of viewing associated with the collection and the archive, and moreover has stakes in the emergence of fascism a few decades later. The visual practices that shaped nationalism, identity, and otherness via the photograph album in the 1860s continued to develop into visual disciplines that were later instituted to control and regulate nationalism, identity, and otherness.

## Appendix. Summary of the Risorgimento

The chronology of the Risorgimento is usually set between 1830 and 1871, the latter being the year that Rome and the Papal states were incorporated into the Kingdom of Italy, fully completing the unification of the peninsula. As early as 1796, though, movements for Italian independence were set in motion in the wake of the French Revolution. When Napoleon invaded the peninsula and created a series of Italian Republics, Enlightenment-inspired French administrations gave constitutional protections to Italian citizens, removed the Pope's temporal power, confiscated church property, and established infrastructures such as schools and state bureaucracies that had previously been run by Catholic authorities. Not only was Italy thus united under a single monarch for the first time since the Roman Empire, it also witnessed a new professional class of educated state administrators and embraced Enlightenment ideals such as liberty, equality, and brotherhood. This period is understood to be the ground roots of patriotic and nationalistic ideals that characterize the Romantic literary and artistic production of the following generation. At the same time, the roughly twenty years of French rule were characterized by nearly constant war, which deepened the urgency for revolution at the end of this period.<sup>322</sup>

When the Napoleonic Empire fell, the 1816 Congress of Vienna restored the aristocratic order that had preceded it in Italy. Old borders were re-drawn. The Savoy monarchy was in

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<sup>322</sup> See: John A. Davis, *Italy in the Nineteenth Century 1796-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Luigi Salvatorelli, *The Risorgimento: Thought and Action*, trans. Mario Domandi, (New York, Evanston, and London: Torchbook Library, Harper and Row, 1970); and Lucy Riall, *Risorgimento: The History of Italy from Napoleon to Nation-State* (Basingstoke, U. K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).



control of the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia (though Piedmont had its own King, Carlo Umberto), Lombardy and the Veneto were part of the Austrian Habsburg Empire, the Pope held the Papal states, and the Spanish Bourbon monarchy ruled the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which constituted virtually the entire southern half of the peninsula and the island of Sicily. Closely surrounding Rome were four independent Duchies: Tuscany, Modena, Lucca, and Parma. While much of the autonomy experienced under the French constitutional government had been lost, the desire for unity and constitutional rights had been sewn. Some aspects of administrative and infrastructural improvements remained in some areas, such as legal and tax systems, local police, and new roads and ports. Censorship was relatively low in the period after 1816, as well, and despite high levels of illiteracy, the press and some civic clubs were allowed to operate with little interference. In the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Bourbon rulers were viewed by Italians as particularly decadent and out of touch, doing little to improve the Kingdom or provide for the people. Economic hardship and oppressive policies rendered unrest, and secret, local societies began to emerge, both to regulate civic operations that were underserved, and to establish ideological and political associations inspired by the previous constitutional state.<sup>323</sup> In the South, these societies were amongst the first to propagate the uprisings in Naples in 1820 and 1830—31 that mark the beginning of the Risorgimento.

Similar national movements were taking shape on a broader scale and in the open in northern regions. Perhaps the most famous is *Giovane Italia*, founded by Giuseppe Mazzini in 1834. This intellectual movement was focused upon expelling foreign rulers from Italy and asserting Italian national unity based upon shared cultural heritage. Within the rhetoric of

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<sup>323</sup> Among many of the most active along these lines were from the bureaucratic class that had lost their jobs and public roles. For a more in-depth summary of this period of the Risorgimento, see Beth Saunders, *Developing Italy: Photography and National Identity during the Risorgimento* (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2016), p. 7—10.

*Giovane Italia*, the greatness of Italy's past was emphasized, leading to an importance of history and landscape as symbols of unity, heritage, and identity in art and literature. The visual and rhetorical construction of unified culture, however, did not imply an ideology of liberty, or even a unified state. Vincenzo Gioberti, for example, a priest and influential Risorgimento intellectual, published a treatise claiming that Italy ought to become a confederation of states ruled by the Pope in 1843. Though most other intellectual movements rejected papal power, Gioberti's religious version of moderate-liberalism gained traction, as it shared in the ideal of Italy's independence from foreign monarchies. By the 1840s, Italian nationalism had developed into a tangible form in various intellectual, literary, artistic, and political venues, and the prospect of achieving some level of unity was on the horizon.<sup>324</sup>

Between 1840 and 1848, revolutionary sentiments and actions were widespread across the peninsula. In 1848 in Sicily, for example, a popular revolt occurred, known as the second revolution of Palermo, establishing a provisional popular government and demanding that the Bourbon monarch Ferdinand I reinstate the constitution that was briefly won during the short-lived first revolution of Palermo in 1820. Though this uprising was suppressed, the constitution was granted, followed by similar occurrences in the Duchy of Tuscany, the Kingdom of Piedmont, and the Papal states. Indeed, when Pope Pius IX was elected in 1846, he granted amnesty to political prisoners, tacitly approving the movement for Italian independence and lending momentum to the idea that Italy would become unified. In Milan, in Lombardy and under Habsburg control, activists rebelled, instigating an event known as the *Cinque Giornate*, in which they also created a provisional popular government. During this time, King Carlo Umberto of Piedmont invaded Lombardy, hoping to annex it and further the cause of unification.

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<sup>324</sup> Ibid., 11.

He was expelled by the Austrians, however, and by 1848 forced to abdicate his throne. Venice likewise staged an insurrection against the Austrians, and managed to maintain a Venetian Republic for nearly a year and voted to be annexed into Piedmont. This event also instigated a brief Roman Republic, when Pius IX refused to take sides, issuing an allocation against the Venetian-Austrian war in April of 1848. His reputation as a pro-independence reformer was destroyed, and an uprising in Rome caused him to flee to the costal town of Gaeta, between Rome and Naples. Led by Giuseppe Garibaldi, a Roman Republic was declared, but Pius IX defeated it in April of 1849 with the help of the French military.<sup>325</sup>

This series of brief but failed revolutions across the peninsula and Sicily led to the empowerment of moderate-liberal parties, who claimed that a stable state could not be achieved by a popular government, but that an aristocratic, educated class was necessary to form a unified nation. Thus, the decade from 1849 to 1859 was characterized by censorship and oppression, and many patriots went into exile abroad or in the constitutional monarchy of Piedmont, making the latter the political center of the Risorgimento. The moderate movement flourished here under Camilio Cavour, who supported a Piedmont-led, monarchical state to rule a unified Italy.<sup>326</sup> In 1858, Cavour negotiated with Napoleon III to cede Nice and Savoy to France in exchange for military assistance against the Austrians. They were successful, but when this war ended with the peace of Villafranca in July of 1859, Venice was left to Austria, while the rest of Lombardy was annexed into Piedmont-Sardinia. Throughout 1860, the remaining independent Duchies were also incorporated, leaving only Venice, Rome, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies out of the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia by 1866.

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<sup>325</sup> Ibid., 12—3.

<sup>326</sup> Ernest Renan writes, “We have seen Italy unified through its defeats... Each defeat advanced the cause of Italy.” Ernest Renan, “What is a Nation?” in Homi K. Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (New York: Routledge Press, 1990), p. 12.

In May of 1860, in perhaps the grandest gesture of the Risorgimento, Garibaldi initiated the naval mission that came to be known as the *Impresa dei Mille*, or the Expedition of the Thousand. With roughly one thousand volunteers, giving the mission its name, Garibaldi set out from Quarto, near Genova, to Marsala, the Western-most point on the Sicilian island. Before Garibaldi's arrival, Francesco Crispi, a politician who had instigated the Expedition of the Thousand, embarked upon the island to gather support from local volunteers. Two major groups in Sicily had interest in supporting Garibaldi's mission: the emerging Sicilian bourgeoisie desired an independent state, and the masses desired land ownership and the end of harsh economic oppression inflicted by the Bourbons monarchy. On May 14, Garibaldi declared dictatorship over Sicily in the name of King Vittorio Emmanuelle II, and on May 15 he won the first battle at Catalafimi. On May 27, he began the siege of Palermo, which was also supported by local insurrection. This is one of the best documented episodes of the Expedition, and was photographed by several official and un-official photographers, including Gustave Le Gray and Eugène Sevaistre, the latter of whom is the topic of my second chapter. Garibaldi and his Thousand, which were growing in numbers as volunteers joined rank, easily made their way east across Sicily, and landed in Calabria, on the toe of the Italian peninsula, by August of 1860. Naples was taken on September 7, and following the battle in Volturno, a plebiscite voted to annex the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies to the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia on October 21, 1860. The expedition, however, was not complete yet, as a hold out of Bourbon troops remained encamped in Gaeta. In February of 1861, they were finally defeated. In March, the Kingdom of Italy was formally established under King Vittorio Emmanuele II. In 1867, Venice had joined the Kingdom, and in 1871, Rome was finally incorporated and made the capital.

The moderate ideology that completed the final unification of Italy, though rendering an autonomous and independent political body, did not represent the political orientations of the majority of Italians across the new Kingdom. Indeed, local and regional cultures and identities often overshadowed political allegiance to the new order, particularly in the South. A national identity was still to be established, yet the monarchical state did not feel obliged to look outside of the group educated elite northerners who comprised it to discover what that identity may be. As Ernest Renan reminds us, nationalism has two major components that arise in a particular order: “One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received.”<sup>327</sup> In other words, the construction of a national history and the determination of national heritage are essential to the cultivation of nationalism. Renan claims that from the historical element of nationalism—memory—the present element is produced—subjective consent. In this dissertation, I consider albums, collections, and archives that aimed to narrate or memorialize aspects of cultural and political history within Italy and abroad. For example, the openly patriotic *Album dei Mille* created to commemorate Garibaldi’s Expedition of the Thousand surveys the newly unified nation by collecting and binding together photographic portraits of the Mille themselves, whose diversity represents the bringing together of the territories to form the Kingdom. The album works on multiple temporal registers, maintaining the regional origins of each of its members whilst naturalizing them into a context that must be experienced in the present, but represents the future of the nation.

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<sup>327</sup> Renan, 19.

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