

Republics and empires

Italian and American art in
transnational perspective, 1840–1970

Edited by Melissa Dabakis and Paul H. D. Kaplan

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***In memory of Dan Younger (1953–2016),
who loved Rome as much as we do.***

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The picturesque political: Charles Caryl Coleman and Elihu Vedder in the circle of the Macchiaioli

Adrienne Baxter Bell

‘What is there in Rome for me to see that others have not seen before me? What is there for me to touch that others have not touched? What is there for me to feel, to learn, to hear, to know, that shall thrill me before it pass to others? What can I discover? Nothing. Nothing whatsoever.’¹ And so, after a short prologue, begins chapter 26 of *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), Mark Twain’s ‘Pleasure Excursion’ to Europe and the Holy Land. Twain knew that openings constituted expensive literary real estate and he wasted no time in capitalising on the power of nihilism to attract an audience. Later melding his disillusionment with American populism, he derided Italy for pouring its wealth into a ‘vast array of wonderful church edifices’, only to leave half of its citizens ‘starving’. He needled American puritanical impulses when claiming that ‘All the churches in an ordinary American city put together could hardly buy the jewelled frippery in one of [Italy’s] hundred cathedrals.’² For Twain in the late 1860s, Rome had become a city ripe for ridicule; just as he hoped, *The Innocents Abroad* became a best-seller, bringing the author considerable domestic and international fame.

Many mid-nineteenth-century American artists arrived in Italy with similarly opportunistic goals. Planning to stay for a few months or perhaps a year, they sought out the celebrated motifs – the Colosseum, the ruins of the Roman aqueducts, Lake Nemi, *et al.* – that they could transform from sketches into marketable, Grand Manner oil paintings at home. The lives of these artists – provisional figures in Italy, profiting from her landmarks and generally isolated from her citizens – have been deeply inscribed into the historiography of American art. Less well known, however, are the stories of the American artist-émigrés who remained in Italy, spurned the exalted ruins of the Roman empire, and shifted their attention to the enduring domestic customs and ancient landscapes of the working classes. Twain may have sneered at the Italian peasant’s conical hat, black coat, and ‘ridiculous’ boots that ‘can stand no wear’; the artist-émigrés recognised them as new and exciting subjects for sketches and paintings. The Roman Campagna, in Twain’s merrily myopic view, was ‘really small compared to the United States of America’; to the American artist-émigrés, it inspired entirely new compositional formats, it spurred their exploration of artistic techniques that had been censured at home, and it sparked empathy for the ongoing revolutionary struggle in Italy for independence and unification.³

Two of the American artist-émigrés, Charles Caryl Coleman (1840–1928) and his close friend Elihu Vedder (1836–1923), warrant pairing for their symbiotic artistic visions and close interactions with the Macchiaioli.⁴ The cultural and political conversations in which these American and Italian artists engaged have been somewhat overlooked in the vast corpus on nineteenth-century art. Illuminating these conversations advances the ongoing process of challenging the prevailing view of the American artist in Italy as interloper. It draws attention to the warp and weft that bound transnational relationships, and it maps other overlooked artistic relationships that deserve attention. Ultimately, it helps to advance a more nuanced and accurate understanding of the complex tapestry of nineteenth-century Italo-American art history.

The stories of Coleman, Vedder, and their Italian counterparts have escaped attention for a number of reasons. First, the art of the Macchiaioli is difficult to categorise. Not all works of art feature the demonstrative *macchia* (variously defined as ‘spot’, ‘stain’, ‘mark’, and ‘sketch’) that gave the group its name.⁵ In fact, several members of the group – such as Giuseppe Abbati, Vito D’Ancona, and Telemaco Signorini – eschewed expressive brushwork and painted with precision. Others – Abbati, Vincenzo Cabianca, and Silvestro Lega, for example – painted in both styles. Moreover, the Macchiaioli pictured an unusually wide range of themes, including landscapes, portraits, and self-portraits, as well as allegorical, historical, and genre scenes. Their intentions could be perplexing. For example, in some of his representations of soldiers and encampments, Giovanni Fattori seemed far less interested in historical documentation than in paint’s ability to represent light’s ability to visually construct form. In addition, the Macchiaioli lacked socio-economic unity; some were wealthy with links to the aristocracy (D’Ancona, Lega) while others hailed from the middle class (Fattori, Adriano Cecioni). Finally, the artists struggled with their collective identity. As Norma Broude observed, they ‘did not apply the name “Macchiaioli” to themselves, and ... they consistently denied and attempted to counteract its derogatory implications, from Signorini in the early 1860s, who insisted that these artists were not radical and had really invented nothing new, to Cecioni in the 1880s, who staunchly proclaimed that the *macchia* was not a sketch.’⁶ Time is another concern: the formative period of the Macchiaioli – 1849–60 – largely predates the period of many American émigrés’ Italian residency – that is, the 1860s to the 1920s.

With these hermeneutic asymmetries in mind, we must identify points of clarity. First, several Macchiaioli participated in the heady political events that constituted the *Risorgimento*. They fought in the Wars of Independence (1849–70) to overthrow the hegemonic presence of Austria and France, and to unite the independent regions of Italy into a single nation state with Rome as its capital. In so doing, they contributed to nothing less than the birth of modern Italy. At the same time, led by Abbati, Fattori, Lega, and Giovanni (Nino) Costa, they invented a highly attenuated physical structure for landscape painting – in some cases, with the length nine times the height – that extended their identity as progressive revolutionaries into the art world.

Second, Coleman and Vedder lived primarily in Florence and Rome during the late 1850s and 1860s. Vedder was in Florence in September 1859, when the statesman

Bettino Ricasoli opened a competition for the representation of ancient and modern patriotic scenes, which several of the Macchiaioli entered and won; he was there in May 1860, when the Italian nationalist and general Giuseppe Garibaldi and his thousand volunteer soldiers (*I Mille*) advanced the cause of Italian unification by conquering the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, thereby helping to establish, in March 1861, the Kingdom of Italy. Coleman, who arrived in Florence in December 1860, remained in Italy when Vittorio Emanuele II was proclaimed the country's first king in Turin in March 1861, when Garibaldi was defeated at Aspromonte in August 1862, when Florence became the temporary seat of government in 1865, and when the patriots marched into Rome to unseat the temporal power of the papacy in August 1870. In short, both American artists witnessed the struggle for and achievement of Italian unification.

Third, Coleman and Vedder were more than compatriots. Letters between them and within their circle of family members and friends attest to a kinship that lasted a lifetime: from their first meeting in 1856 to their deaths in the 1920s. Together, they faced the struggles and advantages of living apart from New York, Paris, and London, the presumptive capitals of nineteenth-century Western art. As in many great artistic dyads, they challenged and inspired one another. Moreover, we can often use their art to place them simultaneously in the same city, exploring – in different, though complementary ways – the same or kindred subjects. For a time in the 1860s, they anchored their lives and pictorial programmes to the company, imagery, and techniques of the Macchiaioli. Unfortunately, their alienation from the artistic conventions employed by most transient American artists in Italy not only stymied their careers but may also have contributed to their marginal places within art history.⁷

Early in life, Vedder was exposed to the pleasures and trials of living outside of one's native land. Born on Varick Street in New York, he was then shuffled between Cuba, where his father worked as a dentist, and his grandfather's farm in Brooklyn, New York. As a result, he grew accustomed to living a bifurcated existence: at home in two worlds, never entirely comfortable in either one. Arriving in Florence in 1857, he took evening classes at the Accademia Galli, a free art school, where he painted from the nude and copied costumes of the Trecento and Renaissance. These practices prepared him for further study with Raffaello Bonaiuti (active in Florence from 1850 to 1872), who became an influential figure in his life.⁸ At the time, Bonaiuti's income came primarily from his copies of Fra Angelico paintings; exposure to these artworks brought Vedder to the Macchiaioli, who saw themselves as descendants of the Early Renaissance Tuscan masters. Moreover, Bonaiuti had been commissioned to make drawings of ancient statues in the Vatican; when he later explained his work to Vedder, the American artist confessed that he 'felt quite unworthy of the privilege'.⁹ While Bonaiuti encouraged Vedder to pursue *disegno*, the expected course of study for an American artist abroad, he also exposed him to *colorito*. Years later, Vedder recalled that when he asked Bonaiuti how he was going to colour a composition that he had just 'drawn in to his satisfaction on the canvas', Bonaiuti answered, 'Nella maniera di Tiziano!'¹⁰ Working in the style of the

patriarch of the *pittura di macchia* would later inspire Vedder to read essays on Venetian painting, including those by Marco Boschini (1602–81), the Italian writer known for his pioneering accounts of Titian's painting practices.¹¹

One of Vedder's early landscapes reveals his provisional exploration of the *macchia*. It would be easy to overlook the rather humble *Roman Campagna* (ca. 1866) (Plate 3) in that it features an unremarkable section of a high stone wall in the countryside. Moreover, the imbalance created by the large cluster of vegetation at the top of the wall and the column fragment on the ground at the lower right betrays a stubborn pictorial irresolution. And yet the interest in *Roman Campagna* resides precisely in Vedder's choice of subject and painterly technique. In its absence of a famous ancient Roman ruin, *Roman Campagna* is a distinctly un-American work, ill suited to the landmark-driven American art market. Indeed, the stone wall aggressively denies the gaze that for years reflexively perused ruin-flecked rolling hills and golden sunsets in paintings of the Roman Campagna. As if to deprive our appetite for spectacles, Vedder even leaves the rounded niche in the wall emphatically vacant; driven by his imagination, Vedder invites the viewer's imagination to fill it.

That imagination is called to service again when contemplating the boldly streaked and daubed brushwork of *Roman Campagna*. By using it, Vedder distanced himself from Hudson River School painters – who often took great pains to demarcate each ripple in each stream, each leaf on each tree, each feather on each bird – and aligned himself with the Macchiaioli. These Italian artists fuelled their resolve in part by contesting the authority of the Florentine Academy, which they viewed as artistic oppression linked to bourgeois taste and such establishment figures as Michelangelo, Raphael, and Andrea del Sarto. As Broude reminds us, the Macchiaioli felt that the Academy represented 'moribund attitudes and "foreign" cultural standards', notably the dominance in Italy of the Austrians.¹² Vedder knew that the Academy had celebrated such neoclassical works as Pietro Benvenuti's *Hercules fighting the centaurs* (1817–29; Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence). Trained in the Academy, Benvenuti admired the German Hellenist Johann Joachim Winckelmann and the German neoclassical painter Anton Raphael Mengs. Vedder would have connected these types of highly polished, historical scenes to the works of the Pre-Raphaelites, which he critiqued as 'needlessly hard and crude'. For him, their 'inessential details' and 'exaggeration of colour' bound them to convention.¹³ As Vedder put it quite economically, 'the finishing of a picture [is] ... the death of the sketch'.¹⁴

Emancipation from the Florentine Academy arrived through the *macchia*, with which American and Italian artists found a vehicle to convey their intimate relationship to the motif. Vedder knew from Bonaiuti and their study of the Venetian Renaissance that the *macchia* was, in fact, a fairly traditional means of engaging viewers. David Rosand explained that Titian's *colorito* involved a building up of paint that invites 'the viewer ... not to stand back and squint until a focused illusion is obtained, but rather to approach, to respond to the tactile appeal of articulated stroke and surface'.¹⁵ In this same way, the *macchia* compresses physical distance between painting and viewer, and by implication temporal distance between artist and viewer. It encourages the viewer to rehearse the actions of the artist's brush and,

at times, the artist's fingers, to envision him expertly dispatching colour on the textured surfaces of his paintings. The *macchia* can also leave the painting's setting and forms unclear, thereby creating an open-ended dialogue with the viewer, who has the ongoing challenge and pleasure of interrogating the artist's intentions; here is the conversation sparked, as suggested above, by Vedder's *Roman Campagna*. In *La Quinta Promotrice* (1869), the aesthetician Vittorio Imbriani, who officially linked the *macchia* to psychological provocation, explained that the artist using it recognises his initial feeling of a scene and then produces in his work a 'harmony of tone – that is, of shadow and light – aimed at capturing a specific feeling in the mind of the painter, and at making the imagination the focus of his artistic productivity'.¹⁶ For Imbriani, the *macchia* transcends paint application; it conjures a mood, often in an anonymous setting freed from habitual emotional reactions. It might even be identified as a way of thinking, or a way of entering the world. Seen together, technique, tenour, and content construct the aesthetic – the inextricable combination of instrumentation and philosophy – that in part fuelled the work of the Macchiaioli and the American artists they inspired.

It would be reasonable to argue that in painting *Roman Campagna* Vedder was equally inspired by contemporary French painting. To be sure, he could have seen Barbizon landscapes in Paris in 1856 and again in 1860, when he went on sketching trips in France with Coleman and William Morris Hunt, a disciple of the Barbizon School. Indeed, several of the Macchiaioli studied with Barbizon painters and, like them, recorded their reactions *en plein air*.¹⁷ But whereas Barbizon painters often used expressive brushwork to capture multiple fleeting effects of light and colour in nature, the Macchiaioli, even more strongly influenced by photography, often consolidated those effects into a single, poignant moment. They were guided more actively than their French contemporaries by the dictates of design, composition, and finish. Raffaello Sernesi's *Roofs in sunlight* (ca. 1860–61) (Plate 4) reflects this distinction. Anticipating Paul Cézanne in the mid-1880s, Sernesi distilled architecture through the alembic of light until it re-emerged as intricately conjoined masses of luminescent pastel rectangles, trapezoids, and parallelograms. Even the conformation in *Roofs in sunlight* of the lower-left edge of the puff of smoke to the jagged outline of the roofs below it forecasts the uncanny conformation of pine and mountain in the Frenchman's *Mont Sainte-Victoire with large pine* (ca. 1887; Courtauld Institute of Art). Ostensibly generating the illusion of a three-dimensional setting, Sernesi nearly sacrifices ontological identities to the expressive potential of form and chroma.

Several of Coleman's paintings from the late 1860s and early 1870s suggest that he recognised the radicality of Sernesi's work. Coleman had been trained in his hometown of Buffalo, New York, and later in Paris, where he studied in the atelier of Thomas Couture.¹⁸ In Florence in 1860, he probably joined Vedder in taking night classes at the Accademia Galli.¹⁹ He remained there for two years, leaving only for brief trips to Gibraltar in July 1860 and Paris in November 1860.²⁰ Given his friendship with Vedder, and given Vedder's friendships with the Macchiaioli, it is highly likely that Coleman joined their sketching trips, an act to which he refers in a rare

letter from this period.²¹ Coleman may even have attended the First Italian National Exhibition (*Esposizione Italiana*) in Florence in 1861, organised by the Macchiaioli to nourish the market for art when the authority of the aristocracy and the Catholic church, long-standing patrons, was being challenged.

Coleman's exposure to Macchiaioli work would come to fruition in *Rooftops in Perugia* (1870) (Plate 5), which resembles Sernesi's *Roofs in sunlight* in subject matter, technique, and tenour. Upending the 'predella' format favoured by the Macchiaioli, Coleman eliminated nearly all detail to feature segments of buildings as interlocking, irregular geometric forms. He built on Sernesi's work by showing depth in space primarily through subtle tonal and chromatic adjustments, rather than the progressive diminution of form as determined by linear perspective. Indeed, he seems even less concerned about the laws of perspective than his Italian counterpart. His *macchia* appears unapologetically on a building at the far right, where it testifies to the irrelevance of academic 'finish' and simultaneously to the capacity of brushwork to bring order to the chaos of visual sensations in nature, another driving force in the work of Cézanne. Coleman never sold *Rooftops in Perugia*; perhaps it was ill suited to an American art market still strongly advocating fidelity to nature. Today, it represents Coleman's contestation of academic aesthetics championed on both sides of the Atlantic, his solidarity with the Macchiaioli, and his prescient exploration of ideas that, in part, would come to define early modernism.

Common ground in the works of Coleman, Vedder, and the Macchiaioli stemmed from the artists' close friendships. While most artists socialised with fellow citizens in the 1850s, Vedder went to the Caffè Michelangiolo in the Via Larga (today the Via Cavour), the informal meeting house for the Macchiaioli in the 1850s and 1860s.²² Indeed, from his earliest days abroad, Vedder aligned himself with Italian artists. He shared his first apartment, located near Fiesole, with Francesco Savario Altamura, a friend of the Macchiaioli.²³ He described other Italian artists in his circle as 'my friend Gortigiani', '[Gaetano] Bianchi and his wife ... [he] who so faithfully restored frescoes by Giotto in Santa Croce', and his 'stout friend Banty', who was almost certainly the Macchiaiolo Cristiano Banti. He socialised with Cabi-anca, who years later candidly confessed to him, 'How I envy you your friends!'²⁴

Coleman and Vedder knew that the Macchiaioli put themselves quite literally in the avant-garde by joining the army and fighting for the *Risorgimento*. Serving under Garibaldi, Serafino De Tivoli and Lega battled the Austrians in Lombardy in 1848, during the First War of Italian Independence. Odoardo Borrani, Cecioni, Sernesi, and Signorini participated in the narrow French-Sardinian victory over the Austrians at Magenta in June 1859. After the patriots clustered around Garibaldi, who began his quest to liberate Sicily and Naples from the Austrians in 1860, many more of the Macchiaioli, including Borrani, Abbati, and Sernesi, joined Garibaldi's 'red shirts'. As part of the expedition of *I Mille* in southern Italy, Abbati lost his right eye at the Battle of Capua. Injured in the leg, Sernesi was taken prisoner by the Austrians in 1866 and died later that year from gangrene. Driven by the idea that 'a painter's highest function and responsibility was to paint history', Fattori sketched and painted military sites in 1859, including Magenta.²⁵ In short, the Macchiaioli were

artist-revolutionaries, fighting simultaneously and on multiple fronts for new painting practices, for liberation from the Academy and foreign rule, and for Italy's unification. Natives of many different regions of Italy, they cultivated their solidarity at the Caffè Michelangiolo, which served as 'a microcosm of that broader process of social and political fusion that would soon begin to bind the country together as a whole'.²⁶

That Coleman and Vedder could not participate in the *Risorgimento* was not a sign of their political apathy. Both strongly supported the Union in the Civil War. In the spring of 1862, Coleman returned to America to enlist in Buffalo's Company K, 100th Regiment, New York State Volunteers, as a private. He joined his regiment at Yorktown, Virginia, and rose quickly through the ranks.²⁷ On 8 September 1862, he was appointed Second Lieutenant; on 13 January 1863, he mustered in as First Lieutenant of Company I.²⁸ While stationed on Folly Island, South Carolina, in May 1863, Coleman was accidentally wounded in the mouth and jaw by a brother officer, and then honorably discharged.²⁹ After recuperating and reconnecting briefly with his New York studio, he returned to Italy in 1866, where he would live and work for the rest of his life. Previously wounded and unable to carry a gun, Vedder maintained 'out-and-out Union sentiments' and attempted to enlist. 'My name was down,' he later wrote, 'and I stood my chance with the others in the draft.' He poignantly added, 'during it all I never wavered in my hope of our ultimate success or in my hatred of slavery, or in my loyalty to the Nation. I had the honour and privilege of voting for Lincoln, and paid my tribute of honest tears when that much-loved man was slain.' A supporter of the *Risorgimento*, he identified as a 'fierce republican' and a 'rank republican', even proudly underscoring his solidarity with the patriots by noting that he 'was considered one of them'.³⁰

As it politically united the disparate regions of the peninsula, the *Risorgimento* needed to define the very concept of a unified 'Italy'. Adrian Lyttelton has suggested that 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 translations of events and personages from a local to a peninsular context'. Lyttelton actually prefers the concept of the 'construction' of tradition, as the materials used to form 'Italy' 'were not new, only the uses to which they were put'.³¹ While in the eyes of some historians this process was never successful, one idea that reconciled most Italians was their rejection of ancient Roman values, which had been linked to French imperialist ideology and its domination over Italy, as well as the support that French troops gave to the papacy at a time when the patriots were seeking to diminish its authority. For this reason, Lyttelton explains, 'in its origins the *Risorgimento* was predominantly anti-Roman or, at least, designed to combat the fixation on Rome's imperial glory'.³²

Unlike most of the transient American artists in Italy, Coleman and Vedder largely avoided motifs affiliated with ancient Rome. In addition to *Roman Campagna*, Vedder painted *Italian landscape with sheep and Florentine well* (ca. 1858–60; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) and *Study of rocks, bed of torrente Mugnone, near Florence* (ca. 1858–60; Davison Art Center, Wesleyan University). Coleman began his

career in Europe with similarly humble sketches of the Bordighera countryside and its residents (1866; private collections). These works correspond to a shift in the Macchiaioli treatment of the landscape ‘from the scenic to the participatory, from the privileged to the democratic view’, which more closely reflected the ‘communal-ity of the *Risorgimento* ideal’.³³ Linked to the ideals of the patriotic landed proprietors and country gentlemen, Macchiaioli landscapes often feature olive groves, farm-houses, and, in Joshua Taylor’s felicitous phrase, ‘the age-old quiet of the Tuscan countryside’.³⁴

In search of motifs that could ‘construct’ the pictorial vocabulary of a common Italian heritage, the Macchiaioli often painted Etruscan sites; in this regard, Costa took the lead. Vedder referred to him, quite simply, as ‘the Etruscan’; in the winter of 1883–84, Costa sanctioned the moniker by establishing The Etruscan School of Art with the British artists George Howard, William Blake Richmond, Edith Corbet, and Matthew Ridley Corbet. According to Vedder, his friendship with Costa developed in the late 1850s in Florence, to which Costa had returned after fighting the French in Rome; they ‘became and remained friends from that day on’.³⁵ Ten years older than Vedder, Costa was the emblematic artist-patriot. An idealistic republican already at the age of twenty-one, he joined Mazzini’s *La Giovine Italia* (Young Italy) in 1847 and, as part of the Roman volunteers, fought the Austrians in the Veneto in May 1848. The following year, Garibaldi put him on his staff. In 1859, Costa joined the Sardinian army to fight in the Second Italian War of Independence. In 1870, he helped to breach the Aurelian Walls – famously, on 20 September – and to place Rome under a state of siege, an event that led to the surrender of the papal forces of Pius IX. Years earlier (by 1859), he had become the leader (though never an official member) of the Macchiaioli. Costa took Vedder on sketching trips to cities rich with Etruscan history, such as Cerveteri, Tarquinia, and Volterra, three of the ‘twelve cities’ of the Etruscan League. In *Volterra* (1860; Smithsonian American Art Museum), *Cliffs of Volterra* (1860; Butler Institute of American Art), *The lost mind* (1864–65; Metropolitan Museum of Art), and *Prayer for death in the desert* (ca. 1867; Brooklyn Museum), Vedder unmistakably featured the sandstone ridges of the Volterran hills, evocative of the many surrounding Etruscan necropolises. These are not the ‘paintings of modern life’ that historians have often privileged, the brightly coloured scenes of crowded Parisian cafés and verdant bourgeois gardens. Their modernism resides, instead, in their capacity to catalyse or – as William James put it in a different context – to ‘unclamp’ the imagination and thereby to evoke the historical roots and inhabitants of the ancient terrains depicted.³⁶

American and Italian artists nurtured their friendships at the Caffè Michelangiolo and at work. For a time, Coleman, Vedder, and Costa maintained studios in the same Roman building. Via Margutta 33 would become known for its international array of artists, including the Italians Anatolio Scifoni and Giuseppe De Sanctis, and the little-known English landscape and animal painter Charles Coleman, who came to Rome in 1831, married the Italian model Fortunata Segatori, and died there in 1874.³⁷ Costa was the first to establish his studio in Via Margutta 33, working there from 1852 until his health failed in 1902.³⁸ Vedder rented one of the studios in 1866.³⁹

Late in 1869, Charles Caryl Coleman moved into Studio #18, 'directly over that of Costa'.⁴⁰ Costa's biographer Olivia Rossetti Agresti, who knew the artist, noted that while he was often hounded by the papal police, 'he even managed, when he wished, to talk politics and organise conspiracies in the studio in Via Margutta'. She added that it was 'in his studio in the Via Margutta that a group of patriots met in the summer of 1853 to see by what means they could best forward a united action between the Roman revolutionists and the Liberal Government at Turin'.⁴¹ While Vedder and Coleman were not yet in Rome, they could have witnessed and even participated in kindred conversations during the 1860s. Moreover, as Costa maintained considerable power in the Italian art world, his proximity, both physical and philosophical, to his American friends may have spurred his desire to publicise their work. He was a member of the Roman city council and arranged art exhibitions at the Casino del Pincio, a building in the public gardens of the Pincian hill. As a curator, he was determined not only to undermine the authority of the Academy by showing studies from nature but also to demonstrate his progressivism by including works by artists of many different nationalities. When preparing for an exhibition in the winter of 1872–73, Costa 'collected the few works which showed sincerity and thought, amongst others some by Scipione Vanutelli, a Roman painter for whom Costa had a sincere admiration; by Raggio, a Genoese ... by the American artist, Elihu Vedder, who still resides in Rome; by another American, Coleman'.⁴² Costa's support for Coleman and Vedder would endure. In 1886, while living in Tuscany, he co-founded *In arte libertas* (Freedom through art), an organisation intended, again, to challenge the Florentine Academy and to welcome foreign voices to the art world. For its first exhibition, held in Rome, Costa included one of his own paintings, *Bridge at Ariccia*; in subsequent exhibitions sponsored by *In arte libertas* during the 1880s, he included Vedder's work and, in 1891–92, eight paintings by Coleman.⁴³

The practice of representing ancient Etruscan sites to create a common visual vocabulary for Italian unification belonged to the widespread drive towards romanticism in nineteenth-century European and American painting. Such romanticism took many forms, including a reaction against ancient Rome and neoclassicism, and in favour of local traditions. Lyttelton situated this shift within a broad cultural context, noting that while 'the critical public for national propagandists [during the *Risorgimento*] was that of the educated middle classes ... democrats recognised the need to reach out to the masses'.⁴⁴ Reaching out to 'the masses' may have involved depicting them in art. During the late 1860s and 1870s, Coleman frequently sketched and painted the *ciociari* and *pifferari* – residents of the Roman Campagna, who wore traditional Italian folk costumes. In these efforts, he was surely inspired by Costa and the Macchiaioli, who, as Dario Durbé noted, sought to 'rediscover and redefine their own cultural identity'.⁴⁵ Coleman's *Italian shepherd* (ca. 1866; private collection) closely resembles Costa's *Shepherd in the Roman countryside* (1860; Gallery of Modern Art, Milan). Both are fairly diminutive works painted on supports suitable for *plein air* sketching.⁴⁶ The titular subjects wear the same clothing and stand in the same pose in nearly the same setting. Perhaps equally influential for Coleman was Fattori's work, such as *Women of the Ciociaria* (ca. 1872; Galleria d'Arte Moderna,

Palazzo Pitti) and *Ciociaro* (ca. 1872; present location unknown), which were studies for *Horse market in the Piazza Montanara in Rome* (1872 or 1873; unlocated). Coleman used several sketches of *ciociari* (now in private collections) to compose paintings, including *Outside the walls* (1868) (Plate 6). Evoking the high wall and isoccephalic alignment of figures in Masaccio's *Raising of the son of Theophilus and St Peter enthroned* (1425–27; Brancacci Chapel, Florence), Coleman featured two small clusters of *ciociari*, with their strapped shoes (*ciocie*), long capes, and knee-high pants. The women (*ciociare*) wear their traditional white blouses and long skirts, and cover their heads with rectangular cloths adorned with embroidery. Three children allude to generational continuity within their community while two priests, visually aligned with the *ciociari* and wearing plain *mozzette* over cassocks, idealistically embody the democratisation of the clergy.

While *Outside the walls* may resemble any one of dozens of nineteenth-century romantic images of peasants, it takes on a more political identity when compared to photographs, probably taken in the 1870s, of Italian models dressed in traditional clothing.⁴⁷ Affiliated with the Via Margutta, where they were sure to find artists in need of their services, the models are shown in one photograph playing *Il gioco della morra* on Via Flaminia, one of the oldest games in Italian history on one of the oldest roads in Rome.⁴⁸ Although Via Flaminia was primarily constructed around 220 BCE, during the reign of (and named for) the Roman consul Gaius Flaminius, sections may belong to an earlier road leading to the Etruscan city of Veii.⁴⁹ As this road also connected Rome to Cisalpine Gaul in the north and to Rimini on the Adriatic coast, it 'hastened the spread of Roman speech and manners both among the Umbrian cities, uniting them all more closely to Rome.'⁵⁰ Moreover, as the Via Flaminia begins at the Porta del Popolo (formerly the Porta Flaminia), it lies 'outside of' Rome's ancient Aurelian Walls. If Coleman used these models for his painting, as it seems he did, and if the painting's title alludes to their location on or near Via Flaminia, then despite its seemingly innocuous setting, *Outside the walls* conjures that sense of 'national history', rooted in the Etruscan past, that the patriots felt would promote their cause.

Admittedly, it is not known if the models were, in fact, *ciociari*; still, by posing for photographs, they became savvy purveyors of self-representation, players in a performance of 'peasanthood'. Their images helped to construct a visual lexicon of esteemed, patrimonial Italian traditions. Coleman joined this effort – at once picturesque and political – by representing them and by producing what he hoped would be marketable images. Indeed, *Outside the walls* was one of the few works he painted and sold on commission.⁵¹ While Lyttelton asserts that 'conscious attempts to produce a national history for the masses became important only after unification had been achieved',⁵² some works of art suggest that models and artists collaborated in this endeavour on the eve – and in the service – of unification.

Another romantic strategy in which Coleman, Vedder, and the Macchiaioli participated was the *quattrocento* revival, which linked the Macchiaioli to the earlier Nazarenes and concurrent Pre-Raphaelites. Roberta Olson has shown that when nineteenth-century Italian artists 'adopted overtly Italianate subjects and styles, it

was frequently as an intentional regional and/or nationalistic statement'; in this way, they could avoid censorship and convey their contemporary political values to a receptive audience.⁵³ Reflecting this agenda, Cabianca's *Florentine storytellers of the fourteenth century* (1860; Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Palazzo Pitti) presents a lush, shaded garden with five figures dressed in medieval costumes. The music of the lute player has inspired an amorous couple at the left, a gesticulating man in red at the centre (perhaps a poet or philosopher), and, at the right, a younger figure who stares intently at the musician. The lute player gazes into space, lost in the mellifluous sounds of his instrument. According to Olson, Cabianca was influenced here by Luigi Mussini's *The Sienese Decameron* (1858; private collection) and Francesco Podesti's *The storytellers of the Decameron* (ca. 1851; Museo Civico, Treviso).⁵⁴ Having used the vernacular to write the *Decameron* (1348–53), Boccaccio became a hero to patriots. This context suggests that Cabianca capitalised on Boccaccio's historical/patriotic status to fortify the cause of the *Risorgimento*.

The music party (1871) (Plate 7) is one of several works that Vedder painted either in direct tribute to *Florentine storytellers of the fourteenth century* or, more broadly, to Cabianca's oeuvre. The walled garden and medieval ensemble return, though now with three costumed figures surrounding two musicians, all reified through meticulous brushwork and saturated colours in the style of Cabianca. Cabianca's literary inspiration had long preoccupied Vedder; in describing his mindset around 1859, he noted, 'I was more under the influence of the merry spirit of Boccaccio than that of the stern Ghibelline, and it was through his eyes that I saw most of the things in that Florentine Garden.'⁵⁵ Vedder and Coleman could have seen Cabianca's second iteration of the theme, *Florentine story-tellers* (*Villa Salviati, episode from Boccaccio*) (1860; present location unknown), at the Florentine *Promotrice di belle arti* in 1860.⁵⁶

For much of the late 1860s and 1870s, Coleman joined in the romantic/patriotic *quattrocento* revival as well. One of dozens of drawings, paintings, and works on paper in this style is his *Mandolin player* (1879) (Plate 8). The titular subject closely resembles the musician in Cabianca's painting; both figures perch on a shallow platform, cross their legs, and rest a large stringed instrument in their lap. Both wear flat-topped, conical hats and pointed shoes. Coleman's musician wears bright red tights and a richly detailed blue-and-yellow jacket with slashed sleeves. A wine bottle and glass at the left counterbalance, at the right, the flower-filled *maiolica albarello*, or medicinal jar (mid-sixteenth century). The orange-and-blue ogival-patterned wall covering was a feature of Coleman's Roman studio and appears in several of his paintings. The backgrounds of kindred works often include medieval tapestries showing hunting teams and their tents; the *cassone* here seems to show courtiers around a king and queen.

Irrespective of his literary origin, the historical figure of the medieval musician, previously unheralded, took a starring role in the work of Cabianca, Vedder, and Coleman. His appearance was hardly coincidental. In 1820, the historian Ermes Visconti had stated that, in Italy, 'classicism is dead and finished like the Venetian republic'; Lyttelton added that, by the mid-nineteenth century, heroic figures from

ancient institutions affiliated with classical conventions were 'nearly obsolete'. Instead, for writers and artists, 'secondary figures – attendants, soldiers, crowds – and accessories – costumes, furniture, weapons – were essential for the creation of the atmosphere of the epoch without which the true significance of events that took place *in history* could not be understood'.⁵⁷ While Coleman actively participated in the neoclassical revival during the 1880s and later, he and Vedder, surely inspired by Cabianca, supported precisely this literary and artistic turn towards 'secondary figures' – members of the working classes – and their 'accessories' in their *quattrocento* paintings. As Coleman foregrounds the titular subject of *Mandolin player*, he also aggressively directs our gaze to the musician's brightly coloured costume, the resplendent *cassone*, the elegant wine bottle and glass, and the profiled figure on the *albarello* – that is, to 'accessories' ostensibly produced by skilled medieval Italian craftsmen. In short, as Coleman produced marketable paintings, he pictured the 'secondary figures' – the unsung heroes – who helped to establish Italy's cultural history.⁵⁸

Durbé has noted that after the transfer of the capital of Italy from Florence to Rome (in 1871), a 'certain *ennui* settled over the work of the Macchiaioli'. The goal of unity having been achieved, some of the artist-patriots fell into a state of 'spiritual malaise and disenchantment'. Costa seems to have become particularly embittered. As an elderly man, he felt that 'the Italian people had not really suffered enough in order to be able to appreciate the true value of the blood that had been spilled' and that the 'ideals and goals of the *Risorgimento* were (and continued to be) essentially alien to the Italian people'.⁵⁹ In *Caricaturisti e caricaturati al Caffè 'Michelangiolo'* (1848–1866) (1893), Signorini identified 1862, an even earlier date, for the death of the *macchia*.⁶⁰

In the years following unification, Vedder partly embraced the ideals of the neo-classical revival. He drew and painted mythological scenes (*Perseus and Medusa*, *The Pleiades*), figures from the Bible (*Lazarus*, *Samson and Delilah*), and allegorical imagery (*The soul in bondage*, *Fortune*). He also continued to paint what might be termed aggressively anonymous scenes of the Italian countryside, in which he occasionally included peasants or religious figures. In this regard, his aesthetic changed little before and after unification; his lyrical paintings from both periods present fragments of rustic houses, old mills, windswept hills, and other features of rural Italy. By representing these otherwise overlooked facets of Italian life and culture even after unification, Vedder continued to foster the progressive political agenda of the Macchiaioli.

After moving to Capri in the mid-1880s, Coleman, again working with models, joined the neoclassical revival by imaging Capri's original ancient Greek residents, most often women lounging in pergola-filled gardens or carrying jugs of olive oil or wine from boats or ships on to the seashore. He also became the chief pictorial advocate for Capri's local labourers: women making or carrying olive oil or wine, or harvesting the wheat fields of Anacapri. In these two bodies of work, he employed the ancient Roman trope of the 'landscape of allusion', the landscape 'richly strewn with mementos of the past'.⁶¹ Well-known examples include Hadrian's Villa, with its

recreation of the Temple of Serapis in Canopus, and the landscapes of Nicolas Poussin inspired by Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The strategically constructed spaces of Coleman's paintings not only alluded to historical continuity between Capri's ancient Greek past and its present, they also conjured larger metaphysical narratives, such as the cycle of life, growth, decay, death, and rebirth. At the same time, Coleman may have been thinking about the patriotic ideals that he and Vedder shared with the Macchiaioli, and their practice of representing local Italian traditions in distinctly rural Italian settings.

From yet another perspective – partly nostalgic, partly dispirited – Coleman's paintings of local Capri workers reflect his distress over the increasing urbanisation, industrialisation, and modernisation that permeated late-nineteenth-century Italy, as well as the ensuing expatriation between 1876 and the beginning of World War I of millions of residents of southern Italy (the *mezzogiorno*), who failed to benefit from these so-called socio-economic improvements. Coleman was hardly alone in grappling with these multifaceted forces; as Jane Dini shows in Chapter 8, this volume, John Singer Sargent's *Street in Venice* (1882) (Plate 14), which features working-class Venetian women, emanates ambivalence and paradox. Dini argues that while Sargent responds in his painting to the enthusiasm for the picturesque that washed across European art circles in the late nineteenth century, he also took care to represent women from an antiquated and pre-industrial economy, women who would not pose a threat to an American audience rife with critical disdain for the surge of immigrants from Italy into America. Ultimately, at the end of the century, the tensions between art and society, the idealised past and the uncertain future, the picturesque and the political made it almost impossible to present conventionally patriotic images of Italy.

In November 1868, at the height of Coleman's and Vedder's alliance with the Macchiaioli, Frederic Church penned these words to his friend Martin Johnson Heade: 'There is no use writing about Rome. The subject is as thread bare as the priests here.'⁶² Church had arrived in Rome only fifteen days earlier; his swipe at the Eternal City was somewhat surprising, given his well-known cultural inquisitiveness and penchant for grandeur. He seems to have been playing Twain, minus the wily sarcasm. While Church and his magnificent paintings would come to figure centrally in the historiography of American art, some of his antipathy seems to have overshadowed research into the American artist-émigrés. A shift in the heuristic spotlight illuminates their challenges and achievements. The Italian-born *macchia* – a potential career-ender at home – offered them agency and solidarity with the Italian artists who adopted it, in more ways than one, as a *nom de guerre*. Subject mattered as well. Reified through the brushstrokes of Coleman, Vedder, and the Macchiaioli, rural settings, often with Etruscan roots, and working-class Italians, be they *ciociari*, models playing *ciociari*, or *quattrocento* musicians, emerged to claim their patriotic identities. While the American artists would soon explore decorative, mythological, and neoclassical themes that were at odds with the aesthetics of the Macchiaioli, they never wavered in their devotion to the land and people of Italy. In reflecting on their early years as émigrés, a time of fierce political and aesthetic

battles on two continents, they could recall how they and their Italian companions together surmounted academic expectations, and how they shared a lexicon of painting and patriotism that offered them all a measure of freedom.

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Notes

- 1 M. Twain, *The Innocents Abroad, or The New Pilgrims' Progress* (1869; reprint New York: Penguin, 1969), pp. 196–7.
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 190–1.
- 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 198–9.
- 4 Coleman created more than 395 oil paintings, drawings, pastels, and watercolours during his sixty-two years in Italy, few of which have been published. He is the subject of a forthcoming critical analysis and catalogue by the author. For other artists in the Coleman–Vedder–Macchiaioli circle, see R. Soria, G. Borghini, and E. di Majo, *Viaggiatori appassionati: Elihu Vedder e altri paesaggisti Americani dell'Ottocento in Italia* (San Gimignano: Galleria d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea Raffaele De Grada, 2002).
- 5 On the meanings of *macchia*, see D. Durbé, 'Painters of Italian Life', in E. Tonelli and K. Hart (eds), *The Macchiaioli: Painters of Italian Life, 1850–1900* (Los Angeles, CA: The Frederick S. Wight Art Gallery, 1986), pp. 21–3. See also N. Broude, *The Macchiaioli: Italian Painters of the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 4.
- 6 N. Broude, 'The Macchiaioli: art or history?' *Art Journal* 46:2 (Summer 1987): 141.
- 7 The American press of the 1850s and early 1860s largely denounced the type of expressive brushwork favoured by the Macchiaioli. For example, a critic castigated George Inness for one of his loosely painted landscapes, calling it 'a most lamentable display'. He implored Inness to 'pray leave off such freaks, and paint as we know you can paint. Thus to trifle with yourself and the public is more than foolish: it is criminal.' See 'Editor's Table. Exhibition of the National Academy of Design, *The Knickerbocker* 45:5 (May 1855): 533.
- Vedder's position in American art history is more secure than Coleman's. It was considerably bolstered by Regina Soria's landmark Vedder biography, *Elihu Vedder: American Visionary Artist in Rome (1836–1923)* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1970). However, rather than appropriately interpreting the epithet 'visionary' as 'imaginative', some scholars suggested that Vedder was handicapped by mental illness, which led to further exclusion from the canon. For a more ecumenical view of his work, see S. Yount, 'Elihu Vedder's *Rubáiyát*: art and enterprise', *American Art* 29:2 (Summer 2015): 112–18.
- 8 Bonaiuti's last name is alternatively spelled Buonaiuti and Buonajuti.
- 9 E. Vedder, *The Digressions of 'V': Written for His Own Fun and That of His Friends* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910), p. 152. Vedder doesn't specify which statues Bonaiuti copied, though he notes, somewhat peculiarly, that they studied 'the Elgin marbles', probably thinking of the three Parthenon fragments in the Vatican.
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 Soria, *Elihu Vedder*, p. 104.
- 12 Broude, *The Macchiaioli*, p. 3.
- 13 Vedder, *The Digressions of 'V'*, pp. 161–2.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 140.
- 15 D. Rosand, 'Titian and the eloquence of the brush', *Artibus et Historiae* 2:3 (1981): 93.
- 16 Quoted in Durbé, 'Painters of Italian Life', p. 22.

- 17 On this topic, see N. Broude, 'The Macchiaioli: effect and expression in nineteenth-century Florentine painting', *The Art Bulletin* 52:1 (March 1970): 11–21.
 - 18 M. E. Landgren, *American Pupils of Thomas Couture* (Baltimore, MA: University of Maryland Art Gallery, 1970), pp. 26–7.
 - 19 R. Soria, *Visions of Italy: Charles Caryl Coleman, Elihu Vedder* (New York: Borghi & Co., 1988), p. 52.
 - 20 Kate Field puts Coleman in Florence in 1861. See L. Whiting, *Kate Field: A Memoir* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Company, 1900), pp. 124–5. For the trip to Gibraltar, see 'Art items', *New-York Daily Tribune* (28 July 1860): 6. For the trip to Paris, see 'Art items', *New-York Daily Tribune* (7 November 1860): 7:4.
 - 21 On 11 December 1860, Coleman in Florence wrote to George Henry Yewell in Paris: 'I am very pleasantly situated at no. 1176 Borgo S. S. Apostoli. I am delighted with Florence[,] its galleries and the surrounding country. Since my arrival I have painted from original pictures & made several sketches from nature.' Yewell papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution (hereafter AAA), roll 2428, frame 120.
 - 22 Vedder, *The Digressions of 'V'*, p. 151.
 - 23 *Ibid.*, p. 165. Fiesole is significant not only for its Etruscan roots but also as the setting of Boccaccio's *The Decameron*. Both identities, I argue here, linked Vedder and Coleman to the Macchiaioli.
 - 24 *Ibid.*, pp. 154–5. Vedder is probably referring to the portraitist Michele Gordigiani (1835–1909), a friend of the Macchiaioli.
 - 25 Broude, *The Macchiaioli*, p. 203.
 - 26 *Ibid.* p. 3.
 - 27 G. Kobbé, 'Charles Caryl Coleman', *Truth* (March 1900): 54.
 - 28 *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of New York For the Year 1902: Registers of the One Hundredth, One Hundred and First, One Hundred and Second, One Hundred and Third, One Hundred and Fourth, One Hundred and Fifth, and One Hundred and Sixth Regiments of Infantry*, serial no. 33, vol. 4 (Albany, NY: The Argus Company, Printers, 1903), p. 53. See also the National Park Service's 'Search for Soldier', www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-soldiers.htm (accessed 6 October 2019), and 'They owned the town. Survivors of the 100th Regiment entertained at Akron', *Buffalo Courier* (7 September 1890): 5.
 - 29 Vedder, *The Digressions of 'V'*, p. 233.
 - 30 The quotations by Vedder in this paragraph come from *ibid.*, pp. 190, 233, 232, 142, and 150 respectively.
- Soria has written that 'On the whole one cannot say that political events, which so much affected the lives of the Italian artists with whom Vedder associated, had any particular effect on Vedder himself ... If chasing the Grand Duke from Florence had been an exciting event in which he had participated because of the enthusiasm of his *Macchiaioli* friends, Garibaldi's unsuccessful attempt to seize Rome in 1867 was, as Vedder wrote to his father, an interruption to his work.' R. Soria, 'Introduction', in *Perceptions and Evocations: The Art of Elihu Vedder* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), p. 9. Soria focuses on Vedder's comment from *The Digressions of 'V'* (p. 149) that he 'seemed to take so little interest in the great events going on about me at that time'. But let us also recall that, in the same memoir, he noted that 'It is strange how little one sees of what is going on when one is in the midst of it' (p. 234).
- 31 A. Lyttelton, 'Creating a National Past: History, Myth and Image in the *Risorgimento*', in A. R. Ascoli and K. von Henneberg (eds), *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento* (New York and Oxford: Berg, 2001), p. 28.
 - 32 *Ibid.*, p. 44.
 - 33 A. Boime, 'The Macchiaioli and the *Risorgimento*', in E. Tonelli and K. Hart (eds), *The Macchiaioli: Painters of Italian Life, 1850–1900* (Los Angeles, CA: The Frederick S. Wight Art Gallery, 1986), p. 35.
 - 34 J. C. Taylor, 'Perceptions and Digressions', in R. Soria, *Perceptions and Evocations: The Art of Elihu Vedder* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), p. 40.

- 35 Vedder, *The Digressions of 'V'*, p. 373. Vedder would ratify his link to Costa by joining the Golden Club, founded by Costa in Rome in 1875 to promote the direct study of nature.
- 36 W. James, *Talks to Teachers on Psychology and to Students on Some of Life's Ideals* (1899; reprint Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 127.
- 37 'Roman Gossip: Our Italian Letter', *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* (21 March 1877): 1. See also G. J. Hoogewerff, *Via Margutta, centro di vita artistica* (Roma: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1953). The English Coleman was also a close friend of Giovanni Costa; Costa admired his sweeping treatments of the Roman countryside and his interest in Italian workers, such as buffalo herders, shepherds, and charcoal burners. For the sincerity of his treatment of these subjects, Costa referred to him as 'the Father of the Campagna Romana School'. For more on Costa's friendship with him and with the English artist George Hemming Mason, see O. R. Agresti, *Giovanni Costa: His Life, Work, & Times* (London: Gay and Bird, 1903), pp. 55–61.
- 38 Agresti, *Giovanni Costa*, p. 51.
- 39 Soria, 'Introduction', p. 16.
- 40 A. Brewster, 'Letter from Rome', *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* (27 April 1870): 2; see also 'Americans in Rome. Loitering in the studios', *Richmond Dispatch* (21 June 1885): 6.
- 41 Agresti, *Giovanni Costa*, pp. 52, 79. So close were Costa's ties to the English, Agresti noted, that when the papal government later sought to seize Costa's property, the English consul was enlisted to 'seal up the door of the studio at No. 33 Via Margutta with England's seal, and to appropriate *pro tem.* the property' (p. 161).
- 42 Agresti, *Giovanni Costa*, p. 196.
- 43 Soria, *Vedder*, p. 249; Soria, *Visions of Italy*, p. 58.
- 44 Lyttelton, 'Creating a National Past', p. 28.
- 45 Durbé, 'Painters of Italian Life', p. 23.
- 46 Costa painted with oils on 33 x 27 cm paper; Coleman painted with oils on 17.15 x 12.7 cm artist's board.
- 47 Coleman seems to have used Filomena ('Nena') di Anticoli and Maria Curti as models for two women in the painting. He may have used the model Rampino and his son for the shepherd and little boy. See A. Jandolo, *Studi e Modelli di Via Margutta (1870–1950)* (Milano: Casa Editrice Ceschina, 1953), captions for plates 37 and 39. For the use of models in the Italian works of other American artists, see M. McGuigan, "'This Market of Physiognomy': American Artists and Rome's Art Academies, Life Schools, and Models, 1825–1870", in W. L. Vance, M. K. McGuigan, and J. F. McGuigan, Jr., *America's Rome: Artists in the Eternal City, 1800–1900* (Cooperstown, NY: Fenimore Art Museum 2009), pp. 39–71.
- 48 The game *morra* (from the Latin *mico*, to flash) involves two players rapidly and simultaneously revealing different numbers of fingers. The player who most frequently calls out the total correct number of fingers revealed wins the game. Played by the ancient Romans (as *micatio*), *morra* continues to be played in various incarnations throughout the Mediterranean.
- 49 T. Ashby and R. A. L. Fell, 'The Via Flaminia', *Journal of Roman Studies* 11 (1921): 134.
- 50 *Ibid.*: 127.
- 51 An inscription on the reverse of the painting in Coleman's hand reads 'painted for Mr. Scheafe/Care [of] Hollinger & Co. Paris'.
- 52 Lyttelton, 'Creating a National Past', p. 28.
- 53 R. J. M. Olson, *Ottocento: Romanticism and Revolution in 19th-Century Italian Painting* (Florence: Centro Di and New York: The American Federation of Arts, 1992), p. 13.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 171.
- 55 Vedder, *The Digressions of 'V'*, p. 149.
- 56 For the exhibition of the painting in Florence, see Broude, *The Macchiaioli*, p. 289, n. 29.
- 57 Lyttelton, 'Creating a National Past', p. 33 (emphasis in the original).
- 58 Coleman, Vedder, and Italian artists in their circle also personally participated in the *quattrocento* revival. See the photographs of 'Florentine Artists in Costume' and of Vedder himself in costume in *The Digressions of 'V'* (pp. 151, 335). Moreover, a recently discovered cache of photographs included one of Coleman in a *quattrocento* costume; the photograph is now in a private collection. On the discovery of the photographs, see my article 'Charles Caryl Coleman Rediscovered':

- www.aaa.si.edu/blog/2019/08/charles-caryl-coleman-rediscovered. Indeed, this penchant for performance endured. In 1892, a group of Via Margutta artists, which included Cesare Biseo, Augusto Alberici, and Aurelio Tiratelli, organised a '*corteo quattrocentesco*', complete with banners and plumed hats. See Jandolo, *Studi e Modelli di Via Margutta*, plate 32. The medieval festival continues today in Corciano, near Perugia.
- 59 The quotations by Durbé in this paragraph come from Durbé, 'Painters of Italian Life', pp. 18, 19, and 19 respectively.
- 60 Broude, *The Macchiaioli*, p. 47. For Broude, by contrast, the 'effects' of the *macchia* 'continued to be felt in their art long after 1862' (p. 47).
- 61 For the 'landscape of allusion' as it pertains to ancient Roman architecture, see J. Pinto, 'Hadrian's Villa and the landscape of allusion', *SiteLINES: A Journal of Place* 4:2 (Spring 2009): 7–9.
- 62 Church to Heade, 16 November 1868, Martin Johnson Heade papers, AAA, box 1, folder 1.

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Plate 1. Guercino, *Abraham casting out Hagar and Ishmael*, 1657, oil on canvas, Brera, Milan



Plate 2. Fred Wilson, *Speak of me as I am*, 2003, American Pavilion, 2003 Biennale di Venezia



Plate 3. Elihu Vedder, *Roman Campagna*, ca. 1866, oil on canvas, private collection



Plate 4. Raffaello Semesi, *Roofs in sunlight*, ca. 1860–61, oil on cardboard, National Gallery of Modern and Contemporary Art, Rome



Plate 5. Charles Caryl Coleman, *Rooftops in Perugia*, 1870, oil on canvas, private collection



Plate 6. Charles Cary Coleman, *Outside the walls*, 1868, oil on paper on canvas, private collection



Plate 7. Elihu Vedder, *The music party*, 1871, oil on board laid down on panel, Michele and Donald D'Amour Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, MA



Plate 8. Charles Caryl Coleman, *Mandolin player*, 1879, oil on cradled panel, Graham Williford Foundation for American Art, Fairfield, TX



Plate 9. Silvestro Lega, *Portrait of Garibaldi*, 1861, oil on canvas, Pinacoteca Comunale Silvestre Lega, Modigliana



Plate 10. Telemaco Signorini, *L'alzaita*, 1864, oil on canvas, private collection



Plate II. Andrea Cefaly, *The Progress of America*, 1880, oil on canvas, Museo delle Arti in Catanzaro



Plate 12. John Gast, *American progress*, 1872, oil on canvas, Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, CA



Plate 13. Domenico Tojetti, *Progress of America*, 1875, oil on canvas, The Kahn Collection, Oakland Museum of California, CA



Plate 14. John Singer Sargent, *Street in Venice*, 1882, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Plate 15. Robert Frederick Blum, *Venetian bead stringers*, 1887–88, oil on canvas, private collection



Plate 16. Frank Duveneck, *Venetian water carriers*, Venice, 1884, oil on canvas, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.



Plate 17. John Singer Sargent, *Venetian bead stringers*, 1880 or 1882, oil on canvas, Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, NY



Plate 18. Cecilia Beaux, *Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt and daughter Ethel*, 1902, oil on canvas, private collection



Plate 19. Maurice Prendergast, *Pincian hill, Rome*, 1898, watercolour over graphite pencil, The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.



Plate 20. Henry Varnum Poor, *Activities of justice*, 1936, Robert F. Kennedy Department of Justice Building, Washington, D.C.



Plate 21. Ethel Magafan, *Andrew Jackson at the battle of New Orleans*, 8 January 1814, 1943, mural, Office of Deeds, Washington, D.C.



Plate 22. George Biddle, *Society freed through justice*, 1935, fresco, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.



Plate 23. Reginald Marsh, *Sorting the mail*, 1937, fresco, Ariel Rios Federal Building (formerly US Post Office building), Washington, D.C.



Plate 24. George Harding, *Post-dispatch rider*, 1776, 1937, oil on canvas (mural), Ariel Rios Federal Building (formerly US Post Office building), Washington, D.C.



Plate 25. Philip Guston, *Reconstruction and well being of the family*, 1942, oil on canvas on board (mural), Wilbur J. Cohen Federal Building (formerly Social Security Building), Washington, D.C.



Plate 26. Frank Mechau, *The danger of the post*, 1937, oil on canvas (mural), Ariel Rios Federal Building (formerly US Post Office building), Washington, D.C.



Plate 27. Afro (Basaldella), *Lest we forget II*, 1952–53, oil on canvas, collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Plate 28. Louise Dahl-Wolfe, installation photo of Alberto Burri exhibition at the Stable Gallery, *Harper's Bazaar* (September 1955): 199



Plate 29. Paul Thek, *Untitled (Meat piece with flies)*, 1965, from the series *Technological reliquaries*, 1964–67, plexiglass, formica, wax, and chrome vitrine, the Judith Rothschild Foundation, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, CA



Plate 30. Paul Thek, *La corazza di Michelangelo*, 1963, wax, paint, plaster form, Sammlung Falckenberg, Hamburg



Plate 31. Peter Hujar, *Paul Thek studio shoot, Thek working on tomb effigy 8*, 1967, pigmented ink print (printed 2010), Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, MA

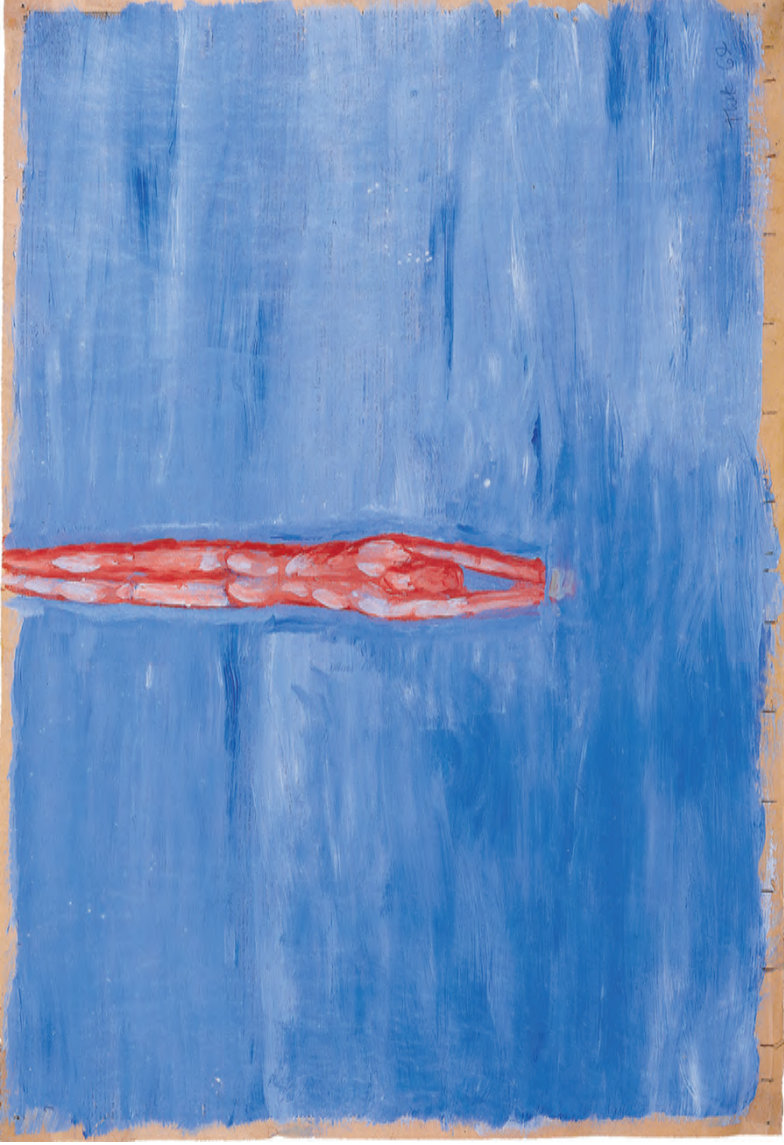


Plate 32. Paul Thek, *Untitled (diver)*, 1969, acrylic on newspaper, Collection Estate of Paul Thek