

The Undergraduate Art History Association's

Codex

April 30, 2018
Florida State University

- 3 Letter from the Editors**
- 4 Gabrielle Abbosh, "Leonidas at Thermopylae: Connections of Conflict Between Artist and Subject"**
- 6 Meg Barrett, "Created and Born Out of the Pressure of that Postwar Era: The Cabinet of Doctor Caligari (1919)"**
- 9 Jaime Blanco, "Transgressing Borderlands"**
- 13 Madison Gilmore-Duffey, "Lost in Time: Dating and Authorship of Laocoön and His Sons"**
- 18 Chase Van Tilburg, "Lead to Enamel: The Parallels of Pilgrimage Badges and Disney Pins"**
- 33 Hannah Wier, "Gracing the Stage or Attending a Ball: Reconsidering Subject Matter in Marguerite Gérard's Before the Masked Ball"**

Dear Readers,

It is with great pride that we present the 2018 Undergraduate Art History Association's Codex. This zine is comprised of essays written by Florida State University Undergraduate Art History majors. Contributors were asked to send in work they were proud of, enjoyed, and ultimately, wanted to share with their fellow Art Historians. Through this zine, we hoped to provide a publication that enabled these students to present the work they had dedicated extensive amounts of time on, both in the research and writing processes. Rather than leave their work forgotten, the UAHA Codex uses these essays to showcase the brilliant minds of the Undergraduate Art History Department.

This year, the UAHA Zine was reimaged as the UAHA Codex. We decided to change the name to Codex in order to encompass the lasting and informative nature of codices. Codices acted as a more permanent and durable means of compiling information than scrolls and were developed simultaneously across cultures. Today, the codex persists as the basic form of our manuscripts, books, magazines, etc. Our UAHA Codex encompasses these ideas: we hope it remains a permanent publication in the Undergraduate Art History Association, we hope it continues to encompass a variety of topics and themes, and we hope it continues to inform its readers.

We hope you enjoy this zine and are inspired by this future generation of art historians.

**Thank you,
Meg Barrett and Madison Gilmore-Duffey**

Leonidas at Thermopylae: Connections of Conflict Between Artist and Subject

Gabrielle Abbosh

Gabrielle Abbosh is a freshman art history major at Florida State University. She wrote this as her final paper for her ARH2814 class in the Fall 2017 semester, which she then turned into a Wikipedia article for the final project. This paper is one of her favorites because the piece is by one of her favorite artists and compares ancient Greece with 19th century France, which are two of her favorite time periods in art history. Along with this, the research was very interesting and she enjoyed learning of how the same concept of conflict was found in these two very different time periods.

Jacques-Louis David's Leonidas at Thermopylae, completed in 1814, currently hangs in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. The oil on canvas painting has the dimensions of thirteen feet by seventeen and a half feet, rendering the work very massive; the convoluted piece took David almost fifteen years to complete, with him separating his work into two periods from 1799 to 1803 and 1813-1814. Leonidas at Thermopylae was purchased, along with The Intervention of the Sabine Women, in November of 1819 for 100,000 francs by Louis XVIII, the king of France at the time (Fig. 4). The crowded and theatrical scene that David depicts takes place in a time of war, seemingly in Greece from the temple and temperate mountains in the background. The war we see is the Battle of Thermopylae, which took place in 480 B.C. Leonidas, the Spartan leader, "delayed the invasion of Darius and the Persians...by



Fig: 1: Jacques-Louis David, Leonidas at Thermopylae, 1814. Oil on canvas, 12 ft. 11 ½ in. x 17 ft. 5 in. (395 x 531 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris. ArtStor.



Fig: 2: Jacques-Louis David, Leonidas at Thermopylae, 1814. Oil on canvas, 12 ft. 11 ½ in. x 17 ft. 5 in. (395 x 531 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris. ArtStor.

sacrificing himself and his men to give the Greeks the time they needed to organize an ultimately victorious resistance" in the long run. While this act of bravery and sacrifice by King Leonidas and his three hundred soldiers proved to be a defeat at the time, it inspired David during France's own internal war.

When David painted Leonidas at Thermopylae, France was experiencing the fall of the Empire under Napoleon Bonaparte. David felt that France needed a hero to sacrifice himself for the greater good of his country, and the story of Leonidas and the Battle of Thermopylae inspired him. This was all taking place during the French Revolution where enemy soldiers were closing in on the French borders; these events are similar to how the Spartans felt during the Battle at Thermopylae, the core theme of David's painting. When Napoleon Bonaparte saw the exhibit of David's latest paintings in 1799, "he criticized the lack of action and the fixed poses of the warriors in The Sabine Women" (Fig. 4). This critique by one of David's heroes compelled David to return to what he thought of as the Academy's primary principles, Greek art. This masterpiece is one in which fully features not only the principles, but also the Greek subjects to convey the heroic nature of this

Greek historical battle.

We see that the war is deeper than just the main figures in the foreground, with hundreds of other warriors in the battle too (Fig.2). In the foreground, we see that chaos has broken out and the army seems to be in shambles, while the leader of the army remains calm as the war progresses around him. The emphasized man in the center, presumably Leonidas, instantly draws the viewers' eyes to him (Fig. 3). Not only is Leonidas more bathed in light out of any of the partly shadowed figures in the painting, he also has the most static pose while almost everyone else is in motion. In this brief snapshot of a glimpse into an intense battle, he takes a moment



Fig: 3: Jacques-Louis David, Leonidas at Thermopylae, 1814. Oil on canvas, 12 ft. 11 ½ in. x 17 ft. 5 in. (395 x 531 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris. ArtStor.

to reflect on the war. While he is the leader of his army, Leonidas cannot do this alone; his eyes are upturned toward the heavens, as if to look up to God and beg for help. His facial expression is one of contemplation and almost defeat, as if he knows the fate of him and his army in the battle.

The contrast of the only other static man to the right of the leader serves to show that though Leonidas's figure is static, his risen state defines him as the ruler. The figures in the right background look up to Leonidas, signaling that the company sees him as divine. His idealized figure contributes to this notion too, relaying the idea of his strength and bravery during this battle. The golden embroidered cape, fancy helmet, and huge shield all contribute to the idea of Leonidas's high status and primary role in this battle.

The chaotic and uneasy mood of Leonidas at Thermopylae is exemplified through the hopelessness

of the male gazes of Leonidas and some of his soldiers. Some of the soldiers know that since their leader feels uneasy about the situation, there is a solid chance that they will lose the battle. Yet, Leonidas puts on a brave front to prove to his army that the war has not ended yet, and they must persevere, just like the French during this period of Revolution that they faced.

Athanassoglou, Nina. "Under the Sign of Leonidas: The Political and Ideological Fortune of David's Leonidas at Thermopylae Under the Restoration." *The Art Bulletin* 63, no. 4 (December 1981): 633-649.

Bordes, Philippe. *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

David, Jacques-Louis. *Leonidas at Thermopylae*. 1814. Oil on canvas. 12 ft. 11 ½ in. x 17 ft. 5 in. Musée du Louvre, Paris, ArtStor.

David, Jacques-Louis. *The Intervention of the Sabine Women*. 1799. Oil on canvas. 12 ft. 8 in. x 18 ft.

John C. Kraft et al. "The Pass at Thermopylae, Greece." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 181-198.

Nanteuil, Luc de. *Jacques-Louis David*. New York: H.N. Abrams, 1990.

Nash, Steven A. "The Compositional Evolution of David's 'Leonidas at Thermopylae'." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 13, (1978): 101-112.



Fig: 4: Jacques-Louis David, The Intervention of the Sabine Women, 1799. Oil on canvas, 12 ft. 8 in. x 18 ft. (385 x 522 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris. ArtStor.

Created and Born Out of the Pressure of that Postwar Era: The Cabinet of Doctor Caligari (1919)

Meg Barrett

Meg Barrett is a junior Art History major with a French minor at Florida State University. She is the Vice President of the Undergraduate Art History Association and one of the editors of Codex.

The Cabinet of Doctor Caligari, a 1919 German silent horror film, tells the story of an insane asylum director who uses hypnosis to commit murders. Written by Hans Janowitz and Carl Mayer, just after World War I, and directed by Robert Wiene, the work is widely considered, rightfully so, to be the chef-d'oeuvre of Expressionist film. Janowitz wrote that the film was "created and born out of the pressure of that [postwar] era, the pressure upon the hearts and minds of [himself and Mayer,] who were victims of that era."

Janowitz's brother died in the war, and he said that he never recovered from the sorrow and grief. He "returned [from the war] as a convinced pacifist, animated by the hatred of an authority which had sent millions of men to death. He felt that absolute authority was bad in itself." Janowitz wrote that he has "never been able since to trust the authoritative power of an inhuman state gone mad." He writes that in his story, Doctor Caligari is an insane director of an asylum for the insane. He studied a man named Caligari from the eighteenth century, who hypnotized a somnambulist to murder for him, until he, himself, had gone mad. The director decides to repeat Caligari's experiment with a somnambulist named Cesare, forcing him to kill others around the city. "Cesare, the tool," Janowitz writes, "was not guilty." He was merely an instrument, symbolizing the average man, able to be manipulated by a larger, military force into killing an being killed. Janowitz further explains that Cesare stands for the subdued army of a compulsory conscription. Instead, Doctor Caligari, the authoritative power, was the guilty one. He "stands for an unlimited authority that idolizes power... and, to satisfy its lust for domination, ruthlessly vilates all human rights and values." Doctor Caligari symbolizes the "great authoritative power of a government that we hated, and which had subdued us into an oath... compelling us to murder and to be murdered [during the war]."

The original manuscript, written in six weeks, ended

with the asylum director screaming that he must become Caligari, referencing the eighteenth century murderer. The staff puts him in a straightjacket, and he becomes an inmate of the asylum he once ran. Janowitz and Mayer refused to consider any alternative plot points to the script, as they felt that "any change would hamper [the film's] careful structure." Janowitz and Mayer believed their story mirrored the structure of an ancient Greek tragedy, including the eternal theme of a man gone mad after abusing his power. However, Wiene, against the strong protests of the writers, made one severe change to the script. Rather than what was intended, the ending of the script was changed to being a long story told by a madman, turning the tragedy of a man, gone mad by his own authoritative power, into a cliché. He keeps the complete narrative of the original script, but decides to frame it as another story being told by the mentally deranged Francis, the original protagonist. However, the forced change, "a dramaturgic somersault," did not impede on their story like they thought it would. After the first few public premieres, they realized that nothing could take away from the story of a psychiatrist gone mad. The audiences were captivated by the strikingly macabre atmosphere and the gripping story. Despite the success of the film, Janowitz wrote that he and Mayer still consider the jolting change in the plot as "an illicit violation." Kracauer wrote of this change that "Wiene's version transforms that account [of real horrors]" into a banal delusion, completely inverting the message of the initial script. Rather than exposing the evils and "madness inherent in authority," the final film seems to glorify authority and place it on a pedestal. By adding the short frame around the film, "a revolutionary film was thus turned into a conformist one – following the much used pattern of declaring some normal but troublesome individual insane and sending him to a lunatic asylum."

The set design of the film, while a notable contribution to the mood of the story, was also a major shift from the plan of the initial script. Rather than using natural scenery, which is customary for most films, The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari uses sets that are painted on canvas, an

innovation included in the directions of the written script: "The scenery is to be designed in the style of [Alfred] Kubin's paintings." Janowitz wanted Kubin to paint the sets because the story "arose from the poetic atmosphere of Prague," a city that had been captured, perfectly in his opinion, in the paintings of Kubin. When reading the script, somebody misunderstood, thinking that Kubin's name was just "cubism" spelled incorrectly. "The error I have mentioned," Janowitz wrote on the subject, "created the great opportunity for cubism to enter motion pictures." Wiene took strongly to the idea of the painted sets, but rather than the modern style, tending toward the mysterious atmosphere, that Kubin thrived in creating, Wiene chose three cubist expressionist artists: Hermann Warm, Walter Röhrig, and Walter Reimann, leading to the gothic, jagged shapes, "suggesting [the] houses, walls, [and] landscapes" that Caligari is known for. Kracauer noted that "the settings amounted to a perfect transformation of material objects into emotional ornaments."

Kracauer goes on to mention the zigzag effects of painted shadows in disharmony with the actual lighting of the film, ignoring and eliminating all previously accepted rules of perspective. The high contrasts between light and dark draw attention to characters' emotional, and facial, responses in certain parts of the story, as well as narrative elements. For example, the strong shadows depict the entirety of Alan's murder by Cesare. The costumes in the film convey the characters' personalities. Francis is dressed in average clothing for the time, in striking contrast against the unconventional and outlandish costuming of Caligari or Cesare, in their peculiar cloak or bizarre leotard. Caligari's absurd hair and top hat, along with his exaggerated expression, especially in the eyes, are reminiscent of two-dimensional German Expressionist works. Cesare's face, distorted and stylized with makeup, is also evocative of Expressionist art. For example, the dark outlines around his eyes, the dark lips, and his thick, black eyebrows almost call upon Erich Heckel's Portrait of a Man from 1919, the same year the film was released. Both men, Cesare and Heckel's potential self-portrait, convey a physical and spiritual exhaustion. In reality, the strong weariness stems from the end of the war, yet Cesare's comes from the brutal acts he is forced to commit, symbolic of acts of war the German people were forced to commit.

Janowitz wrote that for someone to create Expressionist



Erich Heckel, *Portrait of a Man (Männerbildnis)*, 1919. Woodcut. Museum of Modern Art, New York City.

art, "they had to express eternal matters as they found them in their time. And that is what we did, expressing eternal matters as we found them during that time." With that look of Expressionism, Janowitz and Mayer, together, wrote an Expressionist manuscript with Caligari. "The story bore the atmosphere of the postwar period, the pressure of four years of the world war being still fresh in our minds, our hearts even in our bones." Ernst Ludwig Kirchner wrote that Expressionism is to be "uninfluenced by contemporary movements... it fights for a human culture, the soil of all real art." Janowitz and Mayer would agree with that mission statement: the attempt to fight for human culture and against the culture of the authoritative power. Blaise Cendrars wrote in "On The Cabinet of Doctor Caligari," that the film is not only uncinematic, but it does "a disservice to all modern art." He calls it "hybrid, hysterical, [and] pernicious" due to the "pictorial distortions" giving in to modern conventions, something that Janowitz wanted to avoid and Kracauer talked down upon. The aforementioned distortions of light are disharmonious, rather than unifying, which is another of Cendrars's critiques.

The 1919 Cabinet of Doctor Caligari, written by Hans Janowitz and Carl Mayer and directed by Robert Wiene, falls into the genre of German silent horror. The work exemplifies German Expressionist film as “a creation of art emphasizing the postwar decade” through the initial conception and writing process, set design, lighting and costuming, and the underlying message against the authoritative machine that seemingly drove Germany into World War I, forcing the common man to murder and be murdered.

Cendrars, Blaise. “On The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari (1922).” in French Film Theory and Criticism: A History/Anthology, 1907–1939. Ed. Richard Abel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

Janowitz, Hans. “Caligari — The Story of a Famous Story.” In The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari: Texts, Contexts, Histories. Ed. Mike Budd (New Brunswick, 1990).

Kirchner, Ernst Ludwig. “Chronik der Brücke.” In German Expressionist Painting. Ed. Peter Selz (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957).

Kracauer, Siegfried. “From Caligari to Hitler.” in Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings. Ed. Mast, Cohen, and Braudy (New York, 1992).

Transgressing Boarderlands

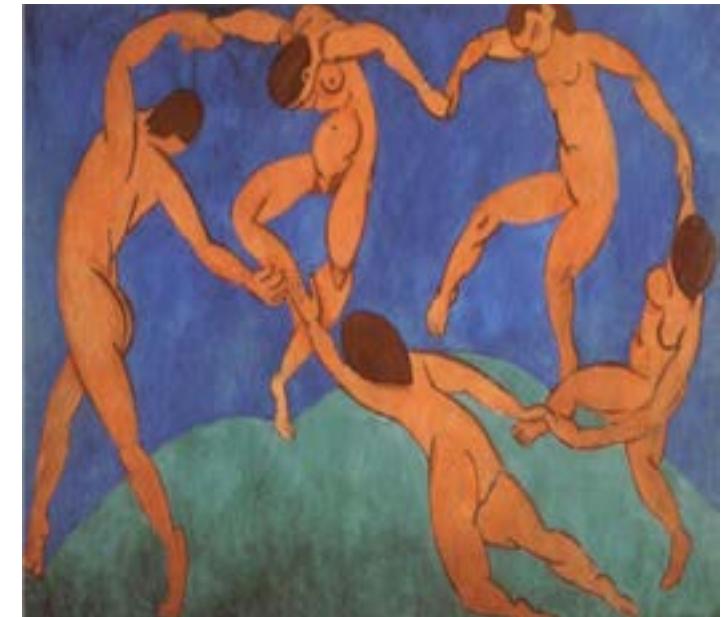
Jaime Blanco

Jaime is finishing his second semester at the art history undergraduate program at FSU after two years in computer science. Minoring international affairs and french he is going to graduate at the end of this summer to pursue a career in Arts Management.

Taking into consideration the theme of transgression, the continuing flow of immigration from Latin America to the United States has caused economic and political changes in the country that go far beyond explaining the individual traumas immigrants face. Artists have taken the task of internalizing their culture shock by painting personal narratives and the wider transformation of identity people face when such transitions are made. This paper argues that this art comes out of necessity, out of repression, out of alienation, where the lines and colors begin to speak another language: the language of the hybrid beings that have to deal with culture shock as a result of being displaced between Latin America and the United States.

In this paper, I focus on the Mexican artists Eduardo Sarabia and Martin Ramírez as two examples of artists who internalize and communicate this trauma effectively. Sarabia was born and raised in Los Angeles to Mexican immigrants, and moved to Guadalajara in 2008. His artwork deals with social commentary on the social nature of the country by distilling images of western colonial modernism with pre-columbian cultures onto his canvas. Martin Ramirez, on the other hand, died in an mental asylum in California in 1963, after spending thirty years institutionalized in the United States His artwork is self taught and deals with Mexican folklore and 20th century western modernization techniques.

I chose Eduardo Sarabia because he engages in popular culture and presents his criticism of society through materiality and symbolism using the relational aesthetics of the export-exoticism of institutional valuations. Using pre-Columbian art and European modernism, Sarabia captures the cultural weight that collides in the synthesis and clashing of traditions that questions the imaginary borders of identity installed by cultural stereotypes. Stylistically, Sarabia in some of his paintings, distributes his figures in a similar way as in Herry Matisse’s Dance. He also uses the flat and



Henri Matisse, Dance, 1909.

symmetric pre-Hispanic iconography used in codices for the treatment of objects in his work. In *La Ceiba Sagrada* 16 for example, Sarabia presents a swirling, almost anthropomorphic tree that seems to push the borders of the painting in an attempt to disenfranchise the right of the canvas to contain it. Through the diversity of the birds, Sarabia attempts to unite the Latin American ecosystems within one uniting body that might be chopped and damaged but nonetheless, there are visible roots that signal a sense of hope. Here one can see the feathered colorful Latin American dreamers, free to roam the skies, grounded in the dynamic roots of the trunk that keeps growing despite its mutilation, and most importantly, has thorns to still defend itself. Using Gloria Anzaldúa’s framework of borderlands, I will use some of her ideas to support my readings of the following works.

In Sarabia’s painting, he engages with the idea of borders through the window-like division of the paper which presents a disconnection within its overall coherence. When talking about borders, the chopped truck echoes the open wound where the “third world grates against the first and bleeds.” El destierro or “exile” which can also be literally translated to “take the ground away”, is explicitly shown here by the tree not having the soil fixed upon its body and being banished from its ground, just as the natives where “jerked out by the roots, truncated,



Eduardo Sarabia, Plumed Serpent and Other Parties, 2016.
disemboweled, dispossessed, and separated from their identity and their history” through their displacement. Sarabia’s works also contribute to the contemporary dialogue of Mexico as he comments on the new kitsch export of Mexican, narco themed-products, which appear in American culture through things like the popular television series Narcos and various Norteño songs.

For his Painting Memories, he takes photographs of friends using their skin-tones as color palettes in his acrylic painting in order to ground his narrative to the loss of cultural identity. He further uses the structure of pre-hispanic codices and connects the human sacrifices embedded in Mexico’s history: the ones performed by the Mayans during the 15th Century for the sake of their deities, and the ones performed by the Cartels in the 21th Century, in the name of drugs, power and dominance. This latter argument is materialized in the OXXO Styrofoam cooler that is used to dispose the severed heads of the cartel victims. In this way, Sarabia makes shocking commentaries about the conflicted Mexican culture and their human condition which shows us that the folklore has its bloodstains and bitter edges which gets decolonized form the traditional

cultural imaginary of the Americas. Moving on to Martín Ramírez, his art represents the weight of a single man who was wrongly institutionalized in a mental hospital after being homeless as a result of attempting to provide for a better life for his family across the border. He is an example of the resourcefulness and inventiveness marginalized people often develop as a result of their oppression. He is a misunderstood farmer who didn’t know a single word of English but according to the New York Times critic Peter Schjeldahl, created one of the most beautiful body of artworks in the twentieth century.

Using materials such as brown-paper bags and book-pages-glued-together with a paste made of oatmeal and saliva, he evoked the revolutionary heroes of the south and its representative fauna framing them in repeated, almost hypnotic claustrophobic lines that deforms the space towards a world of static trance.

When talking about Anzaldúa’s borders as spaces of transformation through tension, the work of Ramírez and even himself, can be considered a representational example of such experience as he has not only crossed



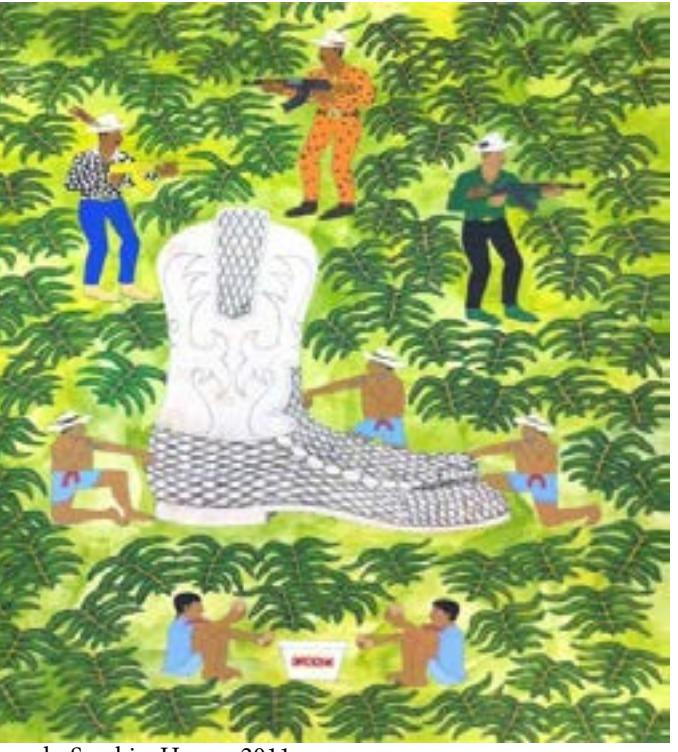
Eduardo Sarabia, La Ceiba Sagrada 16



Eduardo Sarabia, Happy, 2011.

the political borders delimiting countries, but he has also been placed in the outskirts of civilization itself in the most radical way. Remaining in the borders of language for his lack of English, he stayed in the fringes of society constricted in the isolated architecture of the asylum and the borders of art itself with the lack of conventional materials he had to make his art with. In his own mental and spiritual borderland Ramírez choose the paper provided by Dr Tramo Pasto and decided to transgress those borders through their extensions, bendings and alliterations.

In case of Untitled (Horse and Rider with Frieze) one could interpret that Ramírez is projecting himself as a revolutionary rider, a heroic figure of insurgency in



Eduardo Sarabia, Happy, 2011.

Mexican folklore, who is lifted form the ground by the appearance of stairs, as to raise his status through its spacial elevation, transgressing his condition of prisoner to one of armed authority. Making his psychic borderlands a place where he transforms his nightmares into numinous experiences of empowerment and resilience.



Untitled (Horse and Rider) Martín Ramírez (1895–1963).

In the recent take on art as having political stand. I want to consider how institutions can reflect on these issues of marginalization and conflict by suggesting that: When if the value of an artwork comes form the tragic and morbid experiences of the artists, and these institutions such as museums benefit from including these works of art in their collections, don’t these institutions have also the responsibility to shed light and spread awareness to the underlying conditions that affects these artists as marginalized and oppressed people? In other words: Given that the substance of these art work is born out of violence and captivity shouldn’t these institutions illuminate this ongoing

history to the viewer's dialogue?

In an open letter to Ramirez, writer Jonathan Griffin concludes it by asking the following question to him: Can you forgive people for treating you so badly when you were alive and could speak for yourself, and then treating you so badly after you were dead and could not? I hope so. To conclude myself, I then ask the audience: if we demand our institutions to raise awareness of the oppression and marginalization of people, would we still have to ask these kinds of questions to any artist in the future? I hope not.

Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands : The New Mestiza = La Frontera*. San Francisco : Aunt Lute Books, [2012], 2012. EBSCOhost, login.proxy.lib.fsu.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat05720a&AN=fsu.033326623&site=eds-live.

Pacific Standard Time : Dear Martín Ramírez <https://frieze.com/article/pacific-standard-time-dear-martin-ramirez>

Lost in Time: Dating and Authorship of Laocoön and His Sons

Madison Gilmore-Duffey

Madison is a Junior at Florida State University majoring in Art History and Religion and minoring in Italian and Museum Studies. She is one of the editors of Codex. She plans to attend graduate school in the Fall of 2019 and eventually pursue a professorship. Madison is interested in Byzantine culture and art, although she has always had a passion for Classics. She wrote this paper as a Freshman in her Art and Archaeology of Ancient Italy class. The research she conducted while writing this paper left a lasting impression on her as it demonstrated the illuminating aspect of research within the field of Art History and Archaeology. She presented this paper at Florida State University's Undergraduate Art History Symposium in the Spring of 2018.

Few works of art have been as highly debated in regards to dating as the statue Laocoön and His Sons (Fig. 1). The marble statue was originally dated to the first



Figure 1: Laocoön and His Sons, 1st c. BCE or CE. Marble, 6'10" x 5'4" x 3'8". Vatican Museums, Vatican City. WikiImage.

century BCE or CE and was believed to have once been a part of the Roman Emperor Tiberius's collection at his palace in Sperlonga. However, evidence points to the idea that the statue was not created at the same time as the rest of the Sperlonga collection, and may



Figure 2: Athanadoros, Hagesandros, Polydoros, Blinding of Polyphemus, 1st c. BCE or CE. Marble. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Sperlonga. WikiImage.

potentially be of a much more recent date. In this essay, I will primarily argue that the Laocoön Group found in the Vatican Museums today is not a part of the statue collection originally located at Sperlonga and introduce the idea that it is possibly a fraudulent copy made by Michelangelo.

History

The story behind Laocoön has changed throughout history, but in every scenario it is a story about tragedy and punishment. In ancient Greek myth, Laocoön was a seer and priest to the god Apollo. Laocoön broke his vow of celibacy and bore two twin boys: Antiphates and Thymbraeus. During a ritual sacrifice of a bull to the god Poseidon, Apollo sent two sea serpents to kill Laocoön and his sons. Laocoön's story was retold and reframed by the Roman Virgil in the Aeneid. In this piece, Laocoön was a priest of Neptune who warned the Trojans against allowing the Greeks' wooden horse through their gates, claiming it was a trick. However, the Trojans did not believe him and Minerva, the goddess who aided the Greeks in the Trojan War, sent two serpents to kill him. The Trojans took this as a sign that Laocoön was wrong and allowed the wooden horse to enter the city. In both stories Laocoön is killed by the gods: whether he is right or wrong, Laocoön faces punishment. This myth remained popular throughout the centuries and Laocoön's pain has been recounted numerous times in sculpture, painting, literature, and

even song.

Originally, the Laocoön statue group was believed to have been part of a collection of statues found at Emperor Tiberius's palace in Sperlonga. Tiberius (r. 14-37 BCE) began the imperial tradition of building huge, sprawling palaces in and around Rome with the construction of his palaces at Sperlonga and the Villa Jovis on the island of Capri. Here, Tiberius spent most of his time, living as a recluse from society and commissioning a number of artistic productions. The imperial palace at Sperlonga and the Villa Jovis were incredibly ornate, featuring the best the world had to offer in sculpture, painting, and architecture. Tiberius' grotto at Sperlonga was known especially for its sculpture groups, which could be viewed while the emperor and his guests dined, overlooking both the ocean and a fish pond--a rather peaceful vista for such a painful statue as Laocoön and His Sons. The statues found at this grotto all seem to follow a similar theme: they are related to Odysseus and his adventures told in Homeric epics. Statues and statue groups found at Sperlonga include The Blinding of Polyphemus, the Scylla Group, the Pasquino Group, the Palladium Group, and possibly Laocoön and His Sons (Fig. 2, 3, 4, and 5). In recent years, however, the Laocoön statue has come under scrutiny. Scholars have begun positing that the statue is a fake based off of the writings of Pliny, which describe a

Laocoön statue at the Sperlonga grotto.



Figure 3: Athanadoros, Hagesandros, Polydoros, Scylla Group, 1st c. BCE or CE. Marble. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Sperlonga. WikiImage.



Figure 4: Example of a Pasquino Group, 1570. Marble. Loggia dei Lanzi Piazza della Signoria, Florence, Italy. WikiImage.

Style

The Laocoön and His Sons statue has been described as an example of Hellenistic Baroque: a return to the portrayal of deep human emotion and suffering. The statue breaks from the detached feeling found in previous Roman Imperial art into a new style favored by the emperor Tiberius. Laocoön and his sons' bodies are twisted in extreme agony as they suffer from the attacks of the sea serpents. All of the men's faces are contorted in pain, their eyes set to emulate despair. There is heavy use of chiaroscuro—play of light and shadow—in the sculpture as well. While all of these elements were found throughout the sculpture groups at Sperlonga, they were also well used during the era of Michelangelo Buonarroti in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. If Michelangelo had forged a copy of the Laocoön Group, he would have known that the sculptures at Sperlonga used these tropes because of the writings of Pliny. As a student of art during the Renaissance, Michelangelo would have had to make copies of masterpieces as part of his formal training and would have been well versed

in the techniques of classical art, like chiaroscuro and portraying emotion. The elements used in the statue make it possible to stylistically attribute it to both the first century BCE or CE as well as to the hand of a fifteenth or sixteenth century master artist. It would not have been a struggle for Michelangelo to create a piece in this style.



Figure 5: Athanadoros, Hagesandros, Polydoros, Palladium Group, 1st c. BCE or CE. Marble. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Sperlonga. WikiImage.

Discovery

Although all of these sculptures were believed to have been part of Tiberius's collection at Sperlonga, not all of them were found in Sperlonga. In 1506, only Laocoön and His Sons was discovered—accidentally—by a farmer in an underground room in a vineyard. The fact that the statue was believed to have been from antiquity would mean that there would be no provenance, or first-hand proof that the statue was the Laocoön from Sperlonga. It is important to note that this site was not located near Sperlonga or any palace of Tiberius; rather, the site was closer to the ruins of the Baths of Titus. This site was only discovered to be the Baths of Titus by 1548, so at the time of the statue's discovery, the significance of the location was not known. Both Michelangelo and Giuliano da Sangallo were involved in the authentication of the statue and the events surrounding its discovery were not

detailed until a later date by Giuliano's son. These dates highlight that the discovery of the Laocoön Group was significantly different than the discovery of the rest of the statues at Sperlonga in 1957 at the site of Tiberius's palace. These facts bring up a very important point: if Laocoön and His Sons was a part of Tiberius's sculpture collection at Sperlonga, the sculpture would have had to have been moved in antiquity to the Baths of Titus, which no evidence suggests. Incidentally, Laocoön and His Sons was discovered in excellent condition: only two of the statue's arms were missing and it was reported that the joints of the sculpture were still tight and held together. While some parts of the snake were missing and one of the sons was detached from the group, the sculpture was still remarkably well preserved. If this was the Laocoön of the first c. B.C.E. or C.E., this would mean that the Laocoön would have had to remained preserved almost perfectly underground for fourteen or fifteen hundred years. As for the rest of the statuary at Sperlonga, only fragment pieces of varying sizes were found—nothing was as neatly preserved as the Laocoön Group, suggesting that perhaps nature did not have the same amount of time to wreak havoc on this sculpture as it did for the others at Sperlonga. Furthermore, if the Laocoön group was moved from Sperlonga, then it



Figure 6: Head of Laocoön from Laocoön and His Sons, 1st c. BCE or CE. Marble, 6'10" x 5'4" x 3'8". Vatican Museums, Vatican City. Edwud.com.

may seem feasible that it would remain in such good condition while the other statues from Sperlonga did not. However, as mentioned previously, there is no evidence to support this, but rather the contrary.

Tiberius eventually evacuated his palace at Sperlonga, after the roof caved in on himself and his guests while dining, crushing many of the attendees. Tiberius was rescued and he moved to his Villa Jovis on the island of Capri. His palace at Sperlonga was abandoned and the sculptures in his triclinium were left abandoned.

Ancient Authorship

A question of authorship has derived since the 1957 discovery of the statues at Sperlonga. These statues and the Laocoön statue group in conjunction, have been attributed to three sculptors from Rhodes because of a carving found on the ship of the Scylla Group. These sculptors are Athanadoros, Hagesandros, and Polydoros. According to Pliny, the Laocoön Group was also created by these three men, however, there is no evidence to suggest this, beyond

Pliny's claim. Laocoön and His Sons includes no such inscription and Pliny's attribution of the statue to these men also follows a different order than the carving on Scylla's ship. It is unlikely that Pliny rewrote the order of the names because the order of names indicated seniority of the sculptors. It is more likely that these men were descendants of the Scylla Group sculptors, following in the same trade as their fathers or grandfathers. Traditionally in Rhodes and other Greek-speaking lands, men were named after their male ancestors with two or three names cycling through the different generations, making this theory plausible. Importantly, the Scylla carving includes the patronymic name of the sculptors, making these men easier to locate in

history, whereas Pliny does not mention them. Because Pliny leaves out these patronymic names, it is impossible to claim with certainty that the same sculptors who created the Sperlonga statues are the same sculptors who created Laocoön and His Sons. This serves to illustrate the fact that even if the Laocoön Group was not a counterfeit made by Michelangelo, it also likely was not commissioned or created at the same time as the rest of the Sperlonga statues.

Materials

Marble plays an important role in determining when Laocoön and His Sons was created. One of the more noticeable differences between the statues found at Sperlonga and the Laocoön statue is the color of the marble. All of the sculptural groups at Sperlonga

(except the head of Ganymede from the Palladium group) were made from Docimium marble, however, the Laocoön Group was made from Parian Lychnites. The differences in the marble color can be easily discerned when comparing close up images of the Head of Laocoön from Laocoön and His Sons to the Head of Odysseus from the Blinding of Polyphemus (Fig. 6 and 7). If Michelangelo was commissioned to make a fraudulent copy by Pope Julius II, he would have been very careful in choosing which marble to acquire, as his history tells us, and would have known to use Greek marble based off Pliny's writings. Even if Michelangelo did not carve the Laocoön statue, the fact that these two different marbles were popular at different points in antiquity stands to show that Laocoön and His Sons was not created with the other Sperlonga statue groups. It is of note that according to Pliny, the Laocoön statue was carved from one piece of marble and the Laocoön statue that exists today is made from six individual marble blocks. This illustrates two possible ideas: the first being that Pliny is unreliable as a source and the second that the sculpture is not the same one referenced by Pliny. For the most part, Pliny's writings have been

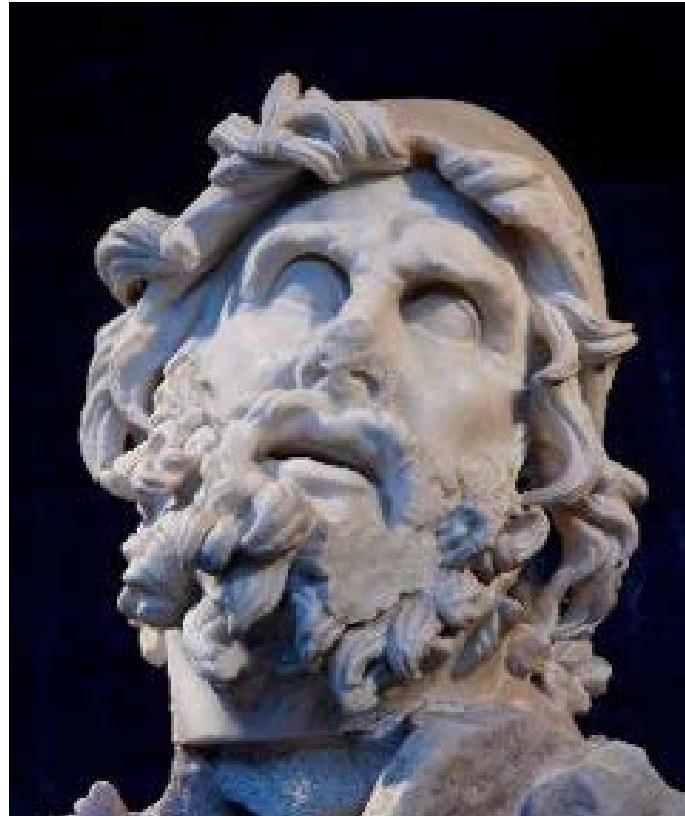


Figure 7: Athanadoros, Hagesandros, Polydoros, Head of Odysseus from Blinding of Polyphemus, 1st c. BCE or CE. Marble. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Sperlonga. WikiImage.

accepted as a good source for gleaning historical knowledge, so it is unlikely that the first of these ideas is accurate. It also seems unlikely that a counterfeiter would disregard this memorable and impressive feat unless they could not complete it. As evidence has shown, it is not unlikely that the Laocoön statue that exists today is a counterfeit copy, or at least, was not created with the rest of the Sperlonga collection.

Conclusion

One thing is for certain: a copy of Laocoön and His Sons existed in antiquity at Tiberius's Palace at Sperlonga. What is uncertain, however, is if the copy in the Vatican Museums today is the same copy that was located at Sperlonga or the same copy written about by Pliny. Based off the evidence available, it is clear that the copy existent today was made at different time and likely by different people than the other statues at Tiberius's palace at Sperlonga. The location, discovery, materials, and sculptors' inscription on the Scylla Group all suggest that the statue was not created at the same time as, or with the other statues at Sperlonga. Rather, this evidence suggests that the statue group we have today was either created at a later date and rediscovered in the sixteenth century or that it was never "discovered", but entirely fabricated by Michelangelo, or even another Renaissance artist. Ultimately, Pliny's writings may have proven very helpful in both the creation of a fraudulent by Michelangelo and in undermining the statue as the original piece in Sperlonga. While the true provenance of Laocoön and His Sons may never be known with complete certainty, modern viewers can still admire the statue for both its artistic value, as well as for its symbolic value.

Bruno, Matthias, Attanasio, Donato, and Prochaska, Walter. "The Docimium Marble Sculptures of the Grotto of Tiberius at Sperlonga." In *American Journal of Archaeology* 119 (2015): 375-394.

Catterson, Lynn. "Michelangelo's 'Laocoön'?" In *Artibus et Historiae* 26 (2005): 29-56.

Conticello, Baldo. "Restoring the Polyphemus from Sperlonga." In *Archaeology* 22 (1969): 204-207.

Ramage, Nancy H., and Ramage, Andrew. *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine*. 6th ed. Upper Saddle River: Pearson Inc, 2015.

Rice, E. E. "Prosopographika Rhodiaka." In *British School at*

Athens 81 (1986): 209-250.

Stewart, A. F. "To Entertain an Emperor: Sperlonga, Laokoon and Tiberius at the Dinner Table." In *Journal of Roman Studies* 67 (1977): 76-90.

Tuck, Steven L. *A History of Roman Art*. Malden: Wiley (2015).

Lead to Enamel: The Parallels of Pilgrimage Badges and Disney Pins

Chase Van Tilburg

Chase Van Tilburg is a senior Art History major and museum studies minor. After completing his undergraduate degree, he hopes to either return to Florida State University for his masters degree in the History and Criticism of Art and Architecture or to attend Duke University for a masters and eventually a PhD in Computational media, Digital Art History, and Visual Studies. Post his graduate education Chase hopes to conduct Research in the advancement of technology use in art historical study and museum exhibition design.

During the middle ages, the trade and acquisition of Medieval Christian pilgrimage badges directly impacted religious tourism, souvenirs, and economic development along early European pilgrimage routes. Early on, pilgrims developed an urge to dispatch and see the world outside of their initial ecclesiastical communities. Pilgrims traveled from pilgrimage site to pilgrimage site and collected pilgrimage badges along these routes. Many shrines and monastic communities produced variations of pilgrimage badges. Pilgrimage culture in Europe during the late eleventh through sixteenth centuries induced these rapid developments. Accompanying these cultural developments, the nature and types of badges began to change. By the late sixteenth century, the pilgrim's religious and spiritual motives began to wane. Unlike the eleventh and twelfth centuries, during which the act of pilgrimage was more pious in nature, the travel aspect of pilgrimage became much more prevalent and relevant within pilgrimage culture in the sixteenth century. Pilgrimage, as a practice, became a social development. Pilgrimage influenced how society developed at the time. This development accompanied a new ideology; traveling for pleasure.

Today, Walt Disney Parks and Resorts Worldwide, Inc. (Disney Parks and Resorts) has developed an international pin-collecting subculture around the acquisition of Disney ephemera, also known as Disneyana. Disney Parks and Resorts introduced Disney pin trading and collecting in 1999 during the Millennium Celebration at Walt Disney World Resort in Orlando, Florida. Geographic location, the method of acquisition, and the designation of a limited-edition

status can alter how these pins are individually viewed, appreciated, or attained. As a result, this sparks a personal journey, a modern pilgrimage of sorts, for collectors who feel that they must travel to various places to obtain specific Disneyana.

I argue that, despite the drastic change in time and context, the ideologies centered on Disney pin collecting are essentially the same as the ideologies that surrounded the acquisition of Medieval Christian pilgrimage badges. To make this argument, I will explore the psychological perspective centered around the act of collecting and describe the history of this innate human desire, first defining the collector; what it means to collect; and determining why humanity collects and reveres specific objects but rejects others. Through examining the act of collecting in the Middle Ages, it is possible to define both the medieval collector and the modern collector. Through providing a detailed history of pilgrimage badges, their manufacturing, and their dissemination amongst the public in early medieval Europe, this paper will explore the badges' social and economic impacts along various pilgrimage routes and describe how a culture of collecting became centered on these badges. Although it is not quite the same as medieval pilgrimage, travel between the Walt Disney parks is an subconscious modern pilgrimage that is defined by



Figure 1. Reliquary box with stones from the Holy Land (cat. no. 13), Syria or Palestine, 6th century. Museo Sacro, Musei Vaticani. Illustrated in eds. Martina Bagnoli, Holger a. Klein, C. Griffith Mann, and James Robinson, *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2010) 37.



Figure 2. Front, Back, and Overhead View of Ampulla of St Thomas Becket, 13th Century, the British Museum, The Digital Pilgrim Project, Sketchfab, <https://sketchfab.com/models/907984c670da4456abb6ca11101698fe>



Figure 3. Casting Mold found near North Marston, mid-15th century. Badge of John Schorn, uncanonized saint, in his pulpit at North Marston, Buckinghamshire, from the Thames at Queenhithe in London, Illustrated in Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, The Museum of London, 2010.), 9.

the consequential subculture centered on the modern history of Disney pin collecting. In addition, various scholarship is referred to so to compare the ideologies that encompass pilgrimage badges to those that encompass Disney pin collecting in order to explore the parallels between Disney pins and pilgrimage badges. Many authors have explored the touristic qualities of pilgrimage badges; nevertheless, there is no literature that directly compares the sociological contexts and ideologies of pilgrimage badges to Disney pins as a modern equivalent of Medieval pilgrimage badges.

Alexander Moore defines a pilgrimage center as “a bounded place apart from the ordinary settlement, drawing pilgrims from great distances as well as nearby.” A pilgrimage center must also have symbols displayed with which the masses can engage. In many pilgrimage centers, pilgrims purchased “small tin charms” from vendors. By this simple definition the experience of traveling to and from Disney theme parks and resorts and purchasing associated Disney ephemera, like pins from their collection, can be considered as a method of modern pilgrimage. This similarity to medieval pilgrimage and the collection of pilgrimage badges proposes an intriguing conversation about the relationship between object collection and



Figure 4. Cockle-shell Pilgrim Badge from Santiago de Compostela, 1400 – 1450, excavated at Nieuwlande, flooded land of Zuid-Beveland, h. 65 mm, w. 71mm. H.J. E. van Beuningen Collection, Cothen, Inv. I, 1652. (Copyright: Cothen, Stitching, Religieuse en Profane Insignes; photograph Tom Haartsen). Illustrated in e.d. J. Stopford, *Pilgrimage Explored*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 1999), 174.



Figure 5. Pilgrims Wearing Souvenirs, Illustrated in Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, The Museum of London, 2010.), 2.

pilgrimage, then and now.

Why does humanity collect and revere specific objects but not others? Seated deeply in the many layers of the human psyche, there is an unyielding desire to acquire objects. Research has found that the tendency to collect is associated with memories of deprivation, loss, vulnerability, and a longing to fill those voids. This longing is often coupled with moodiness and depression. From an outside perspective, the act of collecting is not out of the ordinary. However, the intensity of the emotional display the collector exhibits when invested in their objects of collection and how this response is so easily exasperated is less understood as abnormal. Collecting is defined as “the selecting, gathering, and keeping of objects of subjective value.” This idea of there being a level of subjectivity behind collecting is important because often to the collector, what is collected holds a completely different meaning and significance than normal. There is certainly stock in the idea that at one point, thousands of years ago, humanity was a hunting-and-gathering society and that this need to collect and

accumulate derives from this initial development. But as humanity has evolved, the innate desire to collect has also.

For centuries prior to the development of Christianity, people venerated objects. It was believed that a substance called mana, also referred to as soul-substance and life-force, resided in everything. Therefore, an object that possesses mana holds higher intrinsic value to the collector. This demonstrates a linear relationship between mana in early societies and the idea that a pilgrimage badge can host a spiritual essence in Early Christian society, or that Disney pins are capable of hosting a similar essence in modern society. Just as relics possessed the mana of a saint, pilgrimage badges of specific saints or rituals from these pilgrimage sites



Figure 6. Bernard van Orley, *Portrait of Charles V.* Copy. Oak Panel, 41 x 29 cm, c. 1515. Ensign: Mary and Child, Bruges, Cathedral S. Salvador, Treasury. Illustrated in e.d. Colum Hourihane, *From Minor to Major: The Minor Arts in Medieval Art History*, in Jos Koldewiej “Notes on the Historiography and Iconography of Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges” (Princeton, 2012), 197.

were acquired for protection or to heal ailments and were understood to hold that same mana. The reason different individuals collect different objects is that of this ideology of mana. The chosen object holds an essence or quality for the collector that places it above other objects. Thus, humanity may collect and revere specific objects that hold mana but reject other objects deemed to be less valuable or not hold any sort of essence at all. Disney pins do not carry any spiritual significance like pilgrimage badges do; however, pilgrimage badges and Disney pins carry memories of life experiences. This is their mana or life essence. The capacity to hold memories, which I will discuss later, is one of the most important qualities that both pilgrimage badges and Disney Pins share. More on this later. Now that one understands why humanity collects specific objects, one can begin to define the medieval collector.

Medieval collecting was not linear; in terms of the church treasury, collecting was a sporadic process. Churches collected a variety of secular objects, including pilgrim offerings. The objects were often considered above the ordinary thus holding intrinsic or symbolic value. To the pilgrim, collecting was a much more personal endeavor. For example, take the Reliquary box with stones from the Holy Land (Fig. 1.) The box collects samples of stones that were picked up at various pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land. The lid of the box is slotted in structure and is made up of five different paintings. These paintings are understood to be visual depictions of the various inscriptions seen on the stones in the box itself and represent scenes that were important to various visited sites in the Holy Land. Within the box, the stones are displaced from the sites in which they are collected but are connected to their site of origin through the inscriptions carved into the stones. Stones and pilgrimage badges were not the only items that pilgrims collected. Pilgrims also collected ampullae filled with holy oil or water from the various pilgrimage sites that they visited (Fig. 2.) Pilgrims traveled from site to site and whether it be a stone, an ampulla, or a pilgrimage badge, they documented each visit with a keepsake. These keepsakes then culminated into collections. One traveler by the name of William Wey (1407 – 1476), collected a substantial number of stones from various pilgrimage sites to later leave his collection with his local parish at journey’s end. This example illustrates the internal desire to collect. Some

pilgrims were buried with their pilgrimage badge collections after death. The way pilgrims treated their collections, like the example of the Reliquary box with stones from the Holy Land, exemplifies how deeply connected pilgrimage was to the medieval collector's desire to collect. Thus, the medieval collector is defined in terms of pious ritual.

How does one define the modern collector and how does the modern collector relate to one who has lived in the medieval period? When defining the modern collector, it is vital to distinguish between seemingly synonymous terms that have been falsely associated. These terms are collection and accumulation. Although the accumulator, like the collector, obtains a lot of things over any given period, the accumulator is not selective like the collector and often consumes objects in excess. In this manner, the accumulator is more synonymous with a hoarder. Collecting distinguishes itself from other activities of consumption because the modern collection is centered around forming a set. Modern collecting is best defined as "the process of actively, selectively, and passionately acquiring and possessing things removed from ordinary use and perceived as part of a set of non-identical objects or experiences." The modern collector is broken down into two types. Type A collectors follow an ideology centered around the artistic dimensions of collecting. Type B collectors are more cognitive in their approach and select objects that add to a series and attempt to assist in increasing knowledge. The Disney pin collector very well could fall into the type A collecting personality. As Disney releases new pins every week, a collection, in theory, could never be completed under this definition. Furthermore, these definitions, type A and B, can be applied to the pilgrim who collects pilgrimage badges. In this scenario, the medieval collector could very well fall under the type B personality. Those undergoing a pilgrimage were constantly in search of new cures and new miracles, some visiting specific shrines, to collect badges which pertained to a specific cure they had in mind. So, in a way, pilgrims finetuned their collections to fit a series. All of this considered, the fact is that collecting is not black and white. Both the badge collector and the modern Disney pin collector could fall under either personality type, as defined in modern terms. The Disney pin collector could very well fall under type A, but also type B. Some collectors only collect pins as children, and to them, their pin



Figure 7. Jan Mostaert, Portrait of Christoph le Mohr. Oak Panel, 30.8 x 21.2 cm. Pilgrimage Badge: Mary and Child between two angels. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Illustrated in e.d. Colum Hourihane, *From Minor to Major: The Minor Arts in Medieval Art History*, in Jos Koldeweij "Notes on the Historiography and Iconography of Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges" (Princeton, 2012), 198-199.

collection, as it stands, is complete. The need to host in their collection every newly released pin that has ever been created, to them, is not a factor that defines them as a collector or their collection. Now having a solid definition for both the medieval and modern collector, it is beneficial to take a step back and explore the social and economic history of pilgrimage badges.

As pilgrimage became more touristic in nature, like modern travelers, pilgrims developed an affinity for souvenirs. They homed in on an internal desire to take keepsakes with them from the various pilgrimage sites. The example with William Wey illustrates that there was a strong internal desire to collect. Acting as a catalyst, this internal desire impacted religious tourism and souvenirs by sparking the development of an entire market centered around the sale and acquisition of pilgrimage badges. For example, in Canterbury, a pilgrim had an excessively large assortment of badges to choose between. To manufacture these religious souvenirs, one was required to obtain a license from Rome. Once the license was acquired the badges were created in mass quantities using casting molds (Fig. 3.) These molds were made of either stone or copper. The badges were often made from lead or tin but badges made of precious metals and enamel have been found. The imagery depicted often changed from shrine to shrine. Some shrines borrowed visual motifs from other shrines. Some badges were made of leather strips and paint but these badges were looked down upon. At Compostella, badges were made up of actual scallop shells (Fig. 4.) Shrines initially claimed a monopoly over the sale and trade of pilgrimage badges. In the thirteenth century, the public began to object to this monopoly and many conflicts broke out in Compostella over this issue.

All these badges, like Disney pins, were often worn on clothing (Fig. 5.) The idea of placing a brooch or an ensigne on clothing can be seen in Bernard Van Orley's, *Portrait of Charles V*, 1515 (Fig. 6.) Charles is depicted wearing a golden enameled ensigne of the virgin and child on his hat. His example was later followed by the nobility who wore similar badges in similar places. This iconography can be connected to the veneration of the Holy Virgin at Aachen. Not so coincidentally, Aachen was a touristic center for the development of the pilgrimage badge market and is the city where Charles was crowned as king. In Aachen, Charles did in fact purchase badges of gold and silver

for himself, and many lead badges for his constituents in the lower ranks. A man by the name Christoph le Mohr did receive one of the badges made from gold. The badge itself depicts Mary and child between two angels. This is depicted in Jan Mostaert's *Portrait of Christoph le Mohr* (Fig. 7.) In the 1823 novel *Quentin Durward* written by Sir Walter Scott (1771 – 1832), Scott describes a character who is understood to be rather well off, that his protagonist meets at the beginning of the story. This character is never named; nevertheless, Scott describes a very important detail regarding this traveler's cap. On it was pinned a lead pilgrimage badge depicting a "paltry image" of the Virgin.

From the late 11th to the 16th century the types of badges that were developed changed drastically. In addition to religious badges, these changes can be characterized as secular, erotic, and many were a combination of the two becoming secularly erotic (Figs. 8, 9 and 10.) In the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, the badges began to vary in subject matter depicting phalluses, animals, weapons, ritual practices, etc. The overarching meaning that accompanied these badges was for all intents and purposes positive. These badges commemorated events, granted protection, or imposed the identity of being a pilgrim onto a person. Nevertheless, some badges developed that were worn



Figure 8. Pilgrimage Badge of St. George Slaying the Dragon, Pewter, Illustrated in Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, The Museum of London, 2010.), 188.



Figure 9. Penis and Vagina Badge, Pewter, (Photo after Heilig en Profaan 2, inv. 1766) Illustrated in Jos Kolkewejj, "Shameless and Naked Images: Obscene Badges as Parodies of Popular Devotion."

as negative signs of identification. The differentiation of social groups became extremely important in Western European society. In many communities, prostitutes and beggars were required to wear beggars' badges. Then, Jewish people were required to wear badges which identified them as such. Pilgrimage badges, souvenirs, and tourism quickly became important to the everyday life and economy in medieval society, just as in modern times.

Walt Disney Parks and Resorts Worldwide, Inc. introduced Disney Pin trading and collecting in 1999 during the Millennium Celebration at Walt Disney World Resort in Orlando, Florida. Disney pin collecting and trading erupted into a cultural craze that continues to this day. Pin trading has spread to Disney parks and resorts across the world to Disneyland Anaheim, Aulani: Disney Resort & Spa, Disneyland Paris, Tokyo Disney Resort, Hong Kong Disneyland Resort, and Disney Cruise Lines. Each location has developed their own traditions and offers their own exclusive pins. Every week in each of the parks new pins are released, and the pins are often unique to each park worldwide. Some Disney pins are designated as limited editions and are more highly valued because of their rarity. Others are only obtainable by trading with a Disney cast member. Furthermore, Disney has introduced pins to their collection that can only be

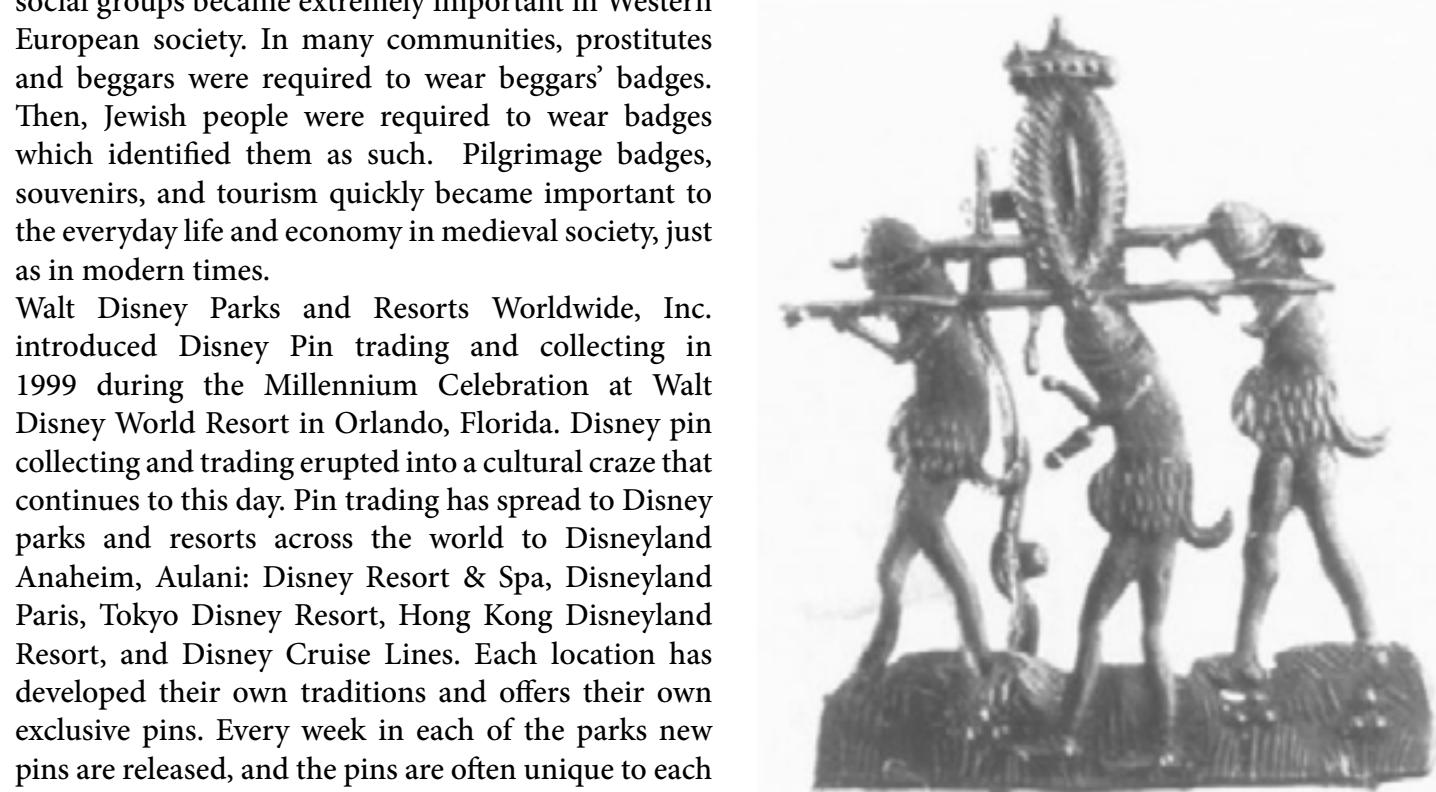


Figure 10. Phalluses Carrying a Vagina on a Litter Badge (end of the fourteenth century), pewter, found in Bruges. (Collection and photo: Cothen, HJE Van Beuningen, Inv. 0967) Illustrated in Jos Kolkewejj, "Shameless and Naked Images: Obscene Badges as Parodies of Popular Devotion."

attained by visiting a convention or Pin Cruise, among other various limited opportunities.

There are several distinct types of Disney pins that can be collected. Pins can be categorized into twenty-three diverse categories which discern the pin's typing. These types include: Artist Proof Pins, Cloisonné Pins, Dangle Pins, Die Cast Pins, Flocked Pins, Hard Enamel Pins, Lenticular Pins, Light-Up Pins, Pre-Production or Prototype Pins, Scrapper Pins, Slider Pins, Spinner Pins, Soft Enamel Pins, Continuing the Pin Trading Tradition Pins (CTT), Fantasy Pins, Gift with Purchase Pins (GWP), Jumbo Pins, Limited Edition Pins, Name Pins, Piece of History Pins (POH), Pin with Purchase Pins (PWP), Rack Pins, Surprise or Mystery Pins, and Hidden Mickey Pins. A Disney pin can fall under a single category or under multiple categories depending on how it is designed, manufactured, what it is made out of, when and where it is released, how many of that pin is released, and whether the pin is commemorating a special event or not. For example, The Hidden Mickey Mystery Pins 2015 Series A and B pins are considered both Hidden Mickey pins and Mystery pins (Fig. 11.)



Figure 11. Walt Disney Parks and Resorts Worldwide, Inc., Hidden Mickey Mystery Pins 2015 Series A and B Sets, 2015. Date Accessed April 15, 2018, <https://disneyworld.disney.go.com/store/category/pin-trading/10722/>



Figure 12. Walt Disney Parks and Resorts Worldwide, Inc., Hollywood Tower Hotel Chip n' Dale Pin, 2018, Date Accessed April 15, 2018, <https://disneyworld.disney.go.com/store/category/pin-trading/10722/>



Figure 13. Walt Disney Parks and Resorts Worldwide, Inc., Piece of Disney History 20,000 Leagues Under the Sea Pin, 2005, Date Accessed April 15, 2018, <http://www.pinpics.com/pinMT.php?pin=36280&pinsort=Newest&keyw=20,000+Leagues+Under+The+Sea&year=2005&gkey1=20,000%20Leagues%20Under%20The%20Sea>



Figure 14. Left: Walt Disney Parks and Resorts Worldwide, Inc., Disneyland Paris, Mickey & Minnie Tour Eiffel Paris VII OE, 2018, Date Accessed April 15, 2018, <http://www.disneylandparis.co.uk/events/disneyland-paris-pin-trading/>



Figure 15. Right: Walt Disney Parks and Resorts Worldwide, Inc., Tokyo Disney Resort, Samurai Mickey & Donald, 2018, Date Accessed April 15, 2018, <https://disneypinsblog.com/tokyo-childrens-day-2018-disney-pins/>

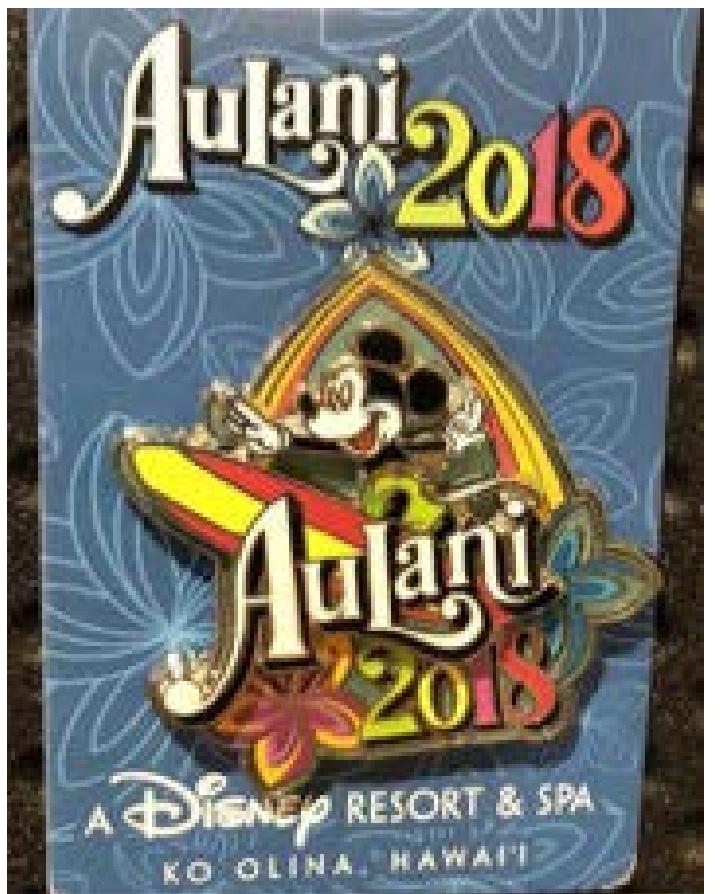


Figure 16. Walt Disney Parks and Resorts Worldwide, Inc., Disney's Aulani Resort and Spa, Aulani 2018 Disney Pin, 2018, Date Accessed April 15, 2018, <https://disneypinsblog.com/aulani-2018-disney-pin/>

When collecting these pins, the collector does not know exactly what they are purchasing; nevertheless, they are guaranteed verified hidden mickey pins. The Hollywood Tower Hotel Chip n' Dale Pin is considered both a soft enamel pin and a dangle pin because of the key which dangles from the bottom of the pin (Fig. 12.) Disney pins depict an abundance of Disney characters,



Figure 17. Walt Disney Parks and Resorts Worldwide, Inc., Disney D23 Expo Japan Welcome Pin, 2018, Date Accessed April 15, 2018, <https://disneypinsblog.com/disney-d23-expo-japan-2018-pins/>

images, and associated iconography. They are often made for unique events and commemorate anniversaries associated with the Disney parks and resorts. These Pins are often extremely sought after because of their rarity. The Piece of History Series is a good example of this. Like a medieval reliquary, a pin from this series always has a small piece of an old Disney park ride or attraction included within the design of the pin. The pin series first released in 2005. The first pin in the first edition was themed after 20,000 Leagues Under the Sea and included a sliver of a porthole from the original attraction (Fig. 13.) This pin sold for over two-hundred dollars online. The overwhelming success of this pin series led to new sets

being made in the years 2006, 2008, 2009, and 2010 for Disneyland Resort.

Aforementioned, each of the Disney parks around the world offer pins that can only be obtained at the specific park locations, like the 2018 Mickey & Minnie Tour Eiffel Paris VII OE, the Samurai Mickey & Donald from the Tokyo Children's Day 2018 pin set, and the Aulani 2018 Disney Pin from Disney's Aulani Resort and Spa in Ko Olina, Hawaii (Fig. 14, 15, and 16.) Disney parks and resorts are not the only places that Disney pin collectors can obtain limited edition or one of a kind Disneyana. Disney sponsored events like the D23 Expo in California and Japan also offer one of a kind pins that attract Disney pilgrims from around the world (Fig. 17.) Furthermore, Disney also offers pins which designate your membership status for their various clubs. If one is an annual pass holder, Disney offers special pass holder pins each year a member renews their membership (Fig. 18.) Many Cast Members also have special pin sets from previous years hidden away for annual pass holders. Upon request, the Cast Member will show these pins to the collector once provided proof that the collector is an annual pass holder. If one is a gold member of the D23 The Official Disney Fan Club, Disney will send their members a special D23 Gold Member Gift Pin (Fig. 19.)

Like Pilgrimage Badges, Disney Pins are made from various materials. Pins are primarily made from a



Figure 18. Walt Disney Parks and Resorts Worldwide, Inc., Disneyland Resort Passholder Pin, 2018, Date Accessed April 15, 2018, <https://disneypinsblog.com/disneyland-resort-passholder-pin/>

zinc alloy or brass and are often made of either soft or hard enamel. The design of the pin is stamped into a base metal. This design is then filled in with enamel color and backed to solidify this enamel. Finally, hard enamel pins are hand polished while soft enamel pins



Figure 19. Walt Disney Parks and Resorts Worldwide, Inc., D23 Gold Member Gift Pin, 2017, Date Accessed April 15, 2018, <https://disneypinsblog.com/d23-gold-member-gift-pin/>

are covered with a clear epoxy coating to preserve the surface and protect the pin from the elements. Adorning the back of the pin is the back stamp which often contains copyright information, edition numbers, and other manufacturer information. Lucky collectors sometimes locate and commandeer Artist Proof Pins. During manufacturing, around twenty pins are removed from their manufacturing run for routine quality checks. The pins will include a back stamp that reads "AP." Die-cast pins are cast from hand engraved dies. These pins are often valued for their aesthetic qualities as they often create three-dimensional images.



Figure 20. The KB, National Library of the Netherlands, Book of Hours with Pilgrim Badges, Ca. 1440-1460, 20 x 13 cm. <https://www.kb.nl/en/themes/middle-ages/more-from-the-middle-ages/book-of-hours-with-pilgrim-badges>

Flocked pins contain fuzzy material within the design. Furthermore, some pins spin, others slide, and in past years some pins lit up. The possibilities are endless concerning how these pins are designed.

How exactly does one buy, trade, and adorn Disney pins? Disney Parks and Resorts has established worldwide rules and regulations that have helped



Figure 21. Walt Disney Parks and Resorts Worldwide, Inc., Disney Cast Member Pin Trading Lanyard, 2010, Date Accessed April 15, 2018, <https://disneyparks.disney.go.com/blog/2010/02/the-hidden-secrets-of-hidden-mickey-pins/>

foster pin etiquette for Pin collectors. The following list of rules comes directly from Walt Disney Parks and Resorts Worldwide, Inc.

Pin Trading Etiquette

The general rule on what constitutes a tradable pin is that cloisonné, semi- cloisonné or hard enamel metal Disney Pin, or an Acceptable operating participant pin, that represents a specific Disney event, place or location, character or icon. Only operating participant pins that show a Disney, Disneyland Resort or Walt Disney World Resort affiliation will be accepted for trading. Pins from other business units of the Walt



Figure 22. Anonymous, Disney Pin Display Vest, c. 2010, Date Accessed April 15, 2018, <http://dispins.blogspot.com/p/after-you-leave.html>

Disney Company, such as ESPN, ABC, etc. are tradable. Disney Service Pins, Spirit of Disneyland Resort pins, and Disney language pins will not be accepted for trading. Counterfeit pins and lower quality pins (e.g., plastic pins, rubber pins, other non-metal pins, epoxy-coated pins, etc.) will not be accepted for pin trading. If there is any doubt as to whether a pin is tradable pursuant to these rules, the trading Cast Member shall make the final determination.

Pins should be in good, undamaged, tradable condition. Pins should be traded one at a time, hand to hand. For safety, trade pins with the backings attached. Please refrain from touching another person's pin or lanyard. If you need a closer look, ask the person wearing the lanyard if they can bring it into clearer view for you. Certain pin sets must be traded as entire sets. If a single pin from the set does not complete the intended picture or statement alone, such as carded pin sets, all pins in the set must be traded as one pin. "Name Pins" may not be traded with cast members. This includes Disney name pins. When trading with Cast Members,



Figure 23. Anonymous, Disney Pin Display Belt, 2013, Date Accessed April 15, 2018, <http://disneydose.com/guide-disney-pin-trading/#axzz5CgwduCT8>

guests should offer a pin that is not already displayed on the Cast Member's lanyard. Monies or gifts may not be exchanged or used in trade for a pin. Guests may only trade one pin of the same style with a Cast Member. Above all...Have fun!! Pin Trading can be a great way to interact with and meet Cast Members and their guests.

All the rules are subject to change at any moment. Disney is very strict regarding the above criteria. Any pin collector who is suspected of violating the above regulations is subject to ejection from the surrounding premises. Disney Parks and Resorts has issued this statement as the mission of Disney Pin Trading: The fun of Disney Pin Trading is in the amazing variety. Find your favorite pins to personalize your Disney experience. Guests of all ages can hunt for favorite characters, attractions, and features. Whether



Figure 24. Walt Disney Parks and Resorts Worldwide, Inc., Disney Pin Carrying and Display Case, c. 2015, Date Accessed April 15, 2018, <http://disneydose.com/guide-disney-pin-trading/#axzz5CgwduCT8>

it's the Little Mermaid or Mickey Mouse you seek, pin hunting is guaranteed to add thrills to your Disney adventure. Go find the pins you want and make some new friends! It is all up to you! Have fun! Disney Pin Trading is a great way to share the magic and bring home wonderful Disney memories.

One main aspect to pin trading that is important to distinguish is who you are trading with. Etiquette differs when one is trading with a Disney Cast Member versus another guest in the park. When trading with Cast Members, so if the pin is approved for trade, they will always agree to trade with you. When trading with guests, anyone can refuse to trade if someone does not have a pin that they want. Guests are not bound to trading obligation like Cast Members are. Sometimes, guests will offer to purchase pins for other guests in trade for out-of-circulation pins. Another difference that is important to note is that when trading with guests, one is not bound to quantity. Guests can trade as many pins as they want between each other. The etiquette of Disney Pin Trading was an important establishment in the development of the subculture centered around Disney pin collecting. This etiquette provided a foundation for Disney pin collecting to flourish as an international practice.

As a collector, whether it be of pilgrimage badges or Disney pins, how you display your collection is just as important as what you collect. This varies from person to person, but every collector wants to display their collections in such a way that the way their collection is displayed compliments their collection. Although they are centuries apart, many parallels are drawn between how the medieval collector displayed their pilgrimage badges and how the modern Disney pin collector displays his or her pins. As we have established, pilgrims purchased badges as keepsakes of their visit. These badges were frequently worn on their clothing, hats, bags, etc. This in mind, by the latter half of the fifteenth century Pilgrims began sewing their badges into their prayer books (Fig. 20.) It is understood that this practice later evolved into painted representations of badges and souvenirs being painted within the margins of Flemish illuminated manuscripts. The physical inclusion of badges within prayer books speaks volumes to how the book's owner continued to interact with their collection of badges after leaving the various pilgrimage sites. When worn on clothing, the

badges singled people out, allowing others to identify them as a pilgrim. Like when the Disney Pin Collector who is an annual pass holder requests exclusive access to previous pass holder pins, wearing these badges came with many benefits regarding providing rights to certain amenities. Displaying one's pilgrimage badges in a prayer book also acted like a passport that documented their distance traveled and the sites which they have visited. As Brian Spencer puts it, "The stitching of badges into prayer books underlines



Figure 25. Anonymous, Disney Pin Display Book, c. 2013, Date Accessed April 15, 2018, <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/AeIstTdrcmanzOfVVzPPT8IhSmX5mjNwfQzhayBykxKhUk-PSbnjh0UY/>

the devotion with which even the most sophisticated pilgrims regarded their souvenirs." In many ways, badges often overlapped the actual manuscript itself and inhibited the readability of the book. This speaks volumes to the value that pilgrims placed on their physical collections. The badge within the prayer book offers a likeness to what the pilgrim experienced, and the badge stirs a memory within its owner. This badge embodied their entire pilgrimage experience allowing the pilgrim to re-live their travels through memory during prayer. In this manner, the way their collection is displayed directly compliments the intrinsic experience that the collector has with their collection. This idea of re-living memories is like Disney's mission for Disney Pin Trading, "Find your favorite pins to personalize your Disney experience. Guests of all ages can hunt for favorite characters, attractions, and features. Whether it's the Little Mermaid or Mickey

Mouse you seek, pin hunting is guaranteed to add thrills to your Disney adventure... Disney Pin Trading is a great way to share the magic and bring home wonderful Disney memories."

Just as the methods in which pilgrimage badge collections were displayed varied, Disney pin display methodologies vary on the individual as well. Traditionally, Disney Pins are displayed on a special lanyard that can be purchased. Each of the Cast Members wears these lanyards to display their pins that are available for trade (Fig. 21.) Some collectors wear pin vests or attach their pins to belts (Figs. 22 and 23.) Furthermore, other collectors may elect to purchase carrying cases that are made for displaying pins while others make books for their pins or place them in shadowboxes (Figs. 24, 25, and 26.) No matter



Figure 26. Anonymous, Disney Pin Shadow Box Display, c. 2013, Date Accessed April 15, 2018, <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/38632509277553210/>

the way they are displayed, a Disney Pin Collector's collection is the embodiment of their experience. With each pin traded and received comes and goes individual memories associated with their Disneyana. Despite the drastic change in time and context the ideologies centered around Disney pin collecting are essentially the same as the ideologies that surrounded the acquisition of Medieval Christian pilgrimage badges. The number of parallels is incredible. Both the medieval collector and the modern collector follow similar practices when establishing what it is that they collect and why they need to collect it. They both tune in on an innate desire to accumulate that was born out of humanity's hunter and gatherer past. Both the

medieval and the modern collector subconsciously assign memories to their objects of desire and those objects become objects like that of talismans. Pilgrimage badges and Disney pins were both worn, collected, displayed, shared, and acquired through an act of travel and pilgrimage. Some Disney pins even act similarly to tiny reliquaries. By studying these parallels, one observes fascinating patterns in the human psyche that shed light on why we as humans do what we do regarding the objects that we hold dear.

Bagnoli, Martina, Holger A. Klein, C. Griffith Mann, and James Robinson. "Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe." The Cleveland Museum of Art, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, The British Museum, London, Distributed by Yale University Press: New Haven, CT, and London, UK, 2010.

Belk, Russell W. *Collecting in a Consumer Society*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Cohen, Esther. "In haec signa: Pilgrim-badge trade in southern France." *Journal of Medieval History* (1976), 193-214.

Degarmo, E. Paul, J.T. Black, and Ronald A. Kohser. *Materials and Processes in Manufacturing* (9th ed.), Wiley, 2003.

Disneyland Resort. "Pin Trading Etiquette". Pdf file. Accessed April 15, 2018. <http://disney.go.com/eventservices/howtopintrade.pdf>

Doyle, Gavin. "Ultimate Guide to Disney Pin Trading". Disney Dose (blog). Accessed April 15, 2018. <http://disneydose.com/guide-disney-pin-trading/#axzz5CgwduCT8>

Foster, Megan H., "Pilgrimage Through the Pages: Pilgrims Badges in the Late Medieval Devotional Manuscripts", in Blick, Sarah, and Laura Deborah Gelfand, eds. *Push me, pull you*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011.

Innes, Sheila and David Kirkham, eds. *The Merchant's Prologue and Tale*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Koldewiej, Jos (A.M.). "Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges." In *From Minor to Major: The Minor Arts in Medieval Art History*, ed. Colum Hourihane. Princeton, NJ: Princeton, 2012.

Kull, Alexander J., Erika Matulich, and Barbara A. Lafferty. "Exploring worldwide collecting consumption behaviors." In *Journal of International Business and Cultural Studies*. (2012.) Mariaux, Pierre Alain. "Collecting (and Display)." In *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed C. Rudolph. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2006.

Moore, Alexander. "Walt Disney World: Bounded Ritual

Space and the Playful Pilgrimage Center." In Anthropological Quarterly 53, no. 4 (1980), 207-18.
Muensterberger, Werner. Collecting: An Unruly Passion: Psychological Perspectives, 3 – 53. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Pin Pics: Collecting and Trading. "The Premier Resource for Disney Collectibles." Pin Pics: Collecting and Trading, last modified 2015, <http://www.pinpics.com/search.php?pinsort=Newest&keyw>

Spencer, Brian. Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges. London: Woodbridge, 2010.

Wikipedia. "Disney Pin Trading." Wikipedia, Date Accessed April 15, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Disney_pin_trading

Gracing the Stage or Attending a Ball: Reconsidering Subject Matter in Marguerite Gérard's Before the Masked Ball

Hannah Wier

Hannah Wier is an Art History major with minors in French Language and Museum Studies. She is graduating in May 2018, after a total of three years at Florida State University, with a Bachelor of Arts in Art History. Hannah will spend the summer of 2018 as a curatorial intern in the European Painting department at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. In the fall of 2018, she will begin her graduate studies in the Department of Art History and Archaeology at Washington University in St. Louis, where she will pursue a Master of Arts degree. Hannah will specialize in nineteenth-century French art in graduate school, and she plans to become an art museum curator in the future. She is also considering pursuing professorship. Hannah wrote this paper for a senior seminar course, taught by Dr. Robert Neuman, on the topic of Early Modern Women.

Before the Masked Ball, also referred to by its French title as *Avant le Bal Masqué*, is a Rococo genre painting by Marguerite Gérard (c. 1785; Private Collection; Fig. 1). The stylistic influence of the artist's teacher and brother-in-law, Jean-Honoré Fragonard, is evident in the brushwork, the delicate grace of the central female figure, and the motif of the open doors, but certain aspects of Gérard's work demonstrate her desire to diverge from her teacher's influence and establish her own style within the Rococo movement. Set within a "Neo-Dutch" interior, an elegantly dressed woman stands in the center of the open space of the room. She wears a diaphanous rose-colored muslin gown whose color is emulated in the rose garland on her head and in the rose-colored ribbon and feathers resting on the stool in the lower left corner of the painting. The gown's high waistline, fitted long sleeves, and pink undergarment accentuate the woman's figure and suggest a coquettish reading of the woman's personality. The woman holds out the dress's sheer outer layer of fabric on her left side and twirls her cascading hair with her right hand as she admires herself in a mirror. Behind this mirror, set on the back of a door on the right side of the painting, enter two young male figures in costume. The figure closest to the beholder, approaching the elegant woman coyly and obstructing his face with a bearded commedia dell'arte mask, wears the costume of Pantaloon. Behind this figure, peering through the ajar doorway

with his hands resting on the door and doorframe for support, is a young man dressed in the costume of the clown Pierrot. The details of these costumes and their implications for the true subject of the painting will be discussed later. On the left side of the painting, another young man, presumably in costume, peers through a second open door. The images presently available of



Figure 1. Marguerite Gérard, *Before the Masked Ball*, c. 1785. Oil on canvas. 11 5/8 x 9 3/8 in. (29.5 x 23.7 cm). Private collection.

this privately-owned work do not offer much visual information for the identification of this figure, and a digital adjustment of the exposure did not remedy this issue. It is evident, however, that the figure wears no mask or hat, which suggests that he is not yet fully in costume or that he is not a part of the central figure's comedy troupe.

Prior to its identification as *Before the Masked Ball*, this painting held two more theatrical titles: *La Loge de l'actrice* and *Une artiste de la comédie française*. In this paper I will attempt to identify the true subject

matter of Before the Masked Ball, whose two changes in title indicate an ambiguity in theme. The origins of these titles are unknown, as the painting's provenance does not indicate changes in title but only changes in ownership. The earliest known appearance of the painting's current title is in Sally Wells-Robertson's 1978 dissertation on the artist. I must note that this will be a speculative study based in formal analysis, the artist's interest in theater, and the use of comparative images. Through this discussion, however, I intend to present a strong case for the implementation of a new and more fitting title for Before the Masked Ball. This title will revert back to the theatrical theme, but it will consider new iconography that was not incorporated in the painting's previous theatrical titles. Ultimately, I argue that Before the Masked Ball depicts not a society woman preparing for a ball but a Théâtre Italien actress preparing to grace the theatrical stage.

Though Gérard is a prominent Early Modern woman artist, scholarship on her life and her art is severely lacking in comparison to scholarship on other significant female artists of the late eighteenth century, such as Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun and Angelica Kauffman. There is not a monograph published on Gérard nor are there many entries focusing solely on her art in catalogues and art journals. Fortunately, Wells-Robertson's dissertation detailing the life and work of Gérard offers ample information for the study of this artist and features a catalogue raisonné that proves very useful in identifying works attributed to Gérard. Her writing provides evidence of Gérard's interest in the theater, a list of "Gérardian Accessories" (or visual motifs), and comparisons of similar works in the artist's oeuvre. Many surveys of great female artists, such as Séverine Sofio's *Artistes femmes: La parenthèse enchantée, XVIIIe-XIXe siècles*, mention Gérard only in passing and do not elaborate on the artist specifically. Rather, she is often noted within lists of female artists that follow similar patterns in their career or in lists of artists working within the Rococo style at the time.

In recent scholarship, an exhibition catalogue entitled *Intimate Encounters: Love and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century France* by Richard Rand provides a brief discussion of Before the Masked Ball. This discussion, like many analyses of Gérard's paintings, is open-ended and poses a number of questions for further research. Rand speculates a number of possible subjects and intentions for the work. The addressed



Figure 2. Jean-François de Troy, *Before the Ball*, 1735. Oil on canvas. 32 11/16 x 25 3/4 in. (83 x 65.4 cm.). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

idea that Gérard's work was often open to interpretation with no specific meaning seemingly contradicts the supposition of an intended subject, but Rand then notes Gérard's interest in theater and its influence on her painting to reinstate the significance of the questions posed in the catalogue entry. My speculative study of Before the Masked Ball will initially stem from the main question posed within Rand's catalogue entry: what is the true subject of this painting? In order to answer this question, I will draw information not only from the two aforementioned sources but also from scholarship on the Italian commedia dell'arte (or, in France, the Théâtre Italien) and from an array of comparative images.

In an attempt to correctly identify the costumed figures depicted in Before the Masked Ball, following Rand's suggested identifications of Pantaloone, Pierrot, and Columbine, I will rely principally on the writings of Pierre Louis Duchartre and Eleonora Luciano. Duchartre's preeminent study of the Italian Comedy relates the characters of the Comedy directly to the depiction of fêtes galantes in Rococo art and provides

insight into the history, costumes, and customs of the Théâtre Italien that Gérard may have witnessed at the Palais-Royal or elsewhere in Paris. Luciano supplements her identification and discussion of the most prominent commedia characters with contemporary images of the characters. These images, including early eighteenth-century engravings by François Joullain and paintings by Jean-Antoine Watteau, will support my confirmation of Rand's proposed identities for each clearly visible figure.

Speculation on Subject Matter

In support of my argument that Before the Masked Ball is in fact theatrical in subject matter, I will first analyze the validity of the current supposed subject matter: that of the "preparation for the ball" theme. According to Rand, this theme was popular in the ancien régime and usually showed "a woman doted on



Figure 3. Jean-François de Troy, *After the Ball*, 1737. Private Collection.

by maid-servants and observed by friends." Considering this description of the pictorial tradition, Gérard's Before the Masked Ball certainly does not fit into this theme. Preparation for the Ball by Jean-François de Troy serves as a case in point (c. 1725; J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles; Fig. 2). Preparation depicts an aristocratic woman clothed in a silver-brocaded pink gown with a white négligé du matin draped around her shoulders. Six women surround the focal figure in a semicircular arrangement; some of these figures dote upon or assist her while others talk among themselves and make their own ball preparations. Set in an opulent interior, complete with an ornate area rug, lush teal curtains, and gilded rocaille, the setting of De Troy's work does not seem all that different from that of Gérard. It is the actions of the figures and the appearance of their clothing, however, that produce the most striking and perplexing discrepancy between these supposedly thematically equivalent paintings. The focal figure in Preparation wears a ball gown that matches the standard aristocratic dress of eighteenth-century France, unlike the central figure of Before the Masked Ball whose dress is not fit for a high-society event. The diaphanous muslin gown of Gérard's central figure falls in line with eighteenth-century fashion critic Jean-Jacques Rousseau's belief that "some gauze, some muslin, and some flowers [,] without diamonds, pompons, or lace" make a far more beautiful outfit than those of contemporary commercial fashion designers. This suggests, furthermore, that the central figure of Before the Masked Ball is not aristocratic but lower class. Three of the women in De Troy's work hold small masks near their faces, two of which are silver and one of which is black, that do not resemble any particular personas but are merely meant to hide one's identity at a masquerade ball. This differs greatly from the clearly identifiable Théâtre Italien mask present in Before the Masked Ball.

De Troy's painting is an exemplary image of the ball preparation theme that further highlights the non-conformity of Gérard's painting to its alleged theme. Likewise, De Troy's After the Ball presents a continuation of the masked ball narrative in genre painting and once again underlines the distinct differences between Gérard's supposed ball preparation genre painting and the typical characteristics of ball-focused genre scenes (1737; Private Collection; Fig. 3). Following the realization that the title of Gérard's

painting – Before the Masked Ball – may not accurately represent the subject matter of the work, I argue that the figures within the painting provide significant and previously disregarded information from which I will derive a new theatrical title for the work.

Further support for the treatment of Before the Masked Ball as a theatrical scene comes from Gérard's own interest in theater, a quality of hers known to prominent scholars and supported by a posthumous inventory of her library. Rand writes that Gérard was a frequent theatergoer and often drew her subject matter from theatrical characters and performances. Furthermore, Sally Wells-Robertson, the preeminent scholar on Gérard, claims in her dissertation on the artist that



Figure 4. François Joullain, Habit de Pierrot, 1730. Engraving. Published in *Histoire du Théâtre Italien* by Luigi Riccoboni. Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Gérard's strong interest in theater is evident in the artist's body of work. Pairing this knowledge with the notion that Gérard's work is indebted to Watteau, who frequently painted Théâtre Italien characters and scenarios, it is clear that my repositioning of Before the Masked Ball within the theatrical realm is indeed merited. According to Luciano, commedia dell'arte characters were prevalent in eighteenth-century art and "there was a great abundance of both literal portraits and fanciful representations of the spirit of the commedia and its masques." I suggest that Gérard's scene is the latter; it is not a representation of an identifiable commedia scenario or play but an embodiment of the spirit of the Théâtre Italien within a Gérardian Neo-Dutch space.

Characters of the Commedia dell'Arte

I will now discuss the commedia dell'arte figures in Before the Masked Ball and corroborate Rand's identification of the characters through the use of contemporary comparanda. For example, François Joullain's *Habit de Pierrot* engraving, originally printed in *Histoire du Théâtre Italien* by Luigi Riccoboni, confirms the identification of the backmost male figure in Gérard's painting as Pierrot based upon his standard recognizable costume (1730; Indiana University, Bloomington; Fig. 4). Pierrot's costume, as drawn by Joullain and described by Luciano, consists of a white outfit with long sleeves, a ruffled collar around the neck, white face paint, and a puffy white hat. Likewise, Watteau's *Italian Comedians* provides a depiction of Pierrot in the Rococo style in which Gérard painted (c. 1720; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Fig. 5).

Watteau, as an earlier Rococo artist and an influence on Fragonard, was a strong influence on Gérard's artistic development as well and upon her interest in depicting theatrical characters and scenes. This image also lends itself to speculation regarding the identity of the female figure as an actress of the Théâtre Italien. I will discuss this small connection between Watteau and Gérard's works later.

The character of Pantaloon in Before the Masked Ball, noted earlier as the foremost figure peering in through the open doorway on the right, visually matches two drawings of Pantaloon's costume in texts by Napoléon Maurice Bernardin and Duchartre respectively. The drawing of Pantaloon reproduced in Bernardin's text depicts a costume distinctly similar to that of



Figure 5. Jean-Antoine Watteau, The Italian Comedians, c. 1720. Oil on canvas. 25 1/8 x 30 in. (63.8 x 76.2 cm.). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

further justifies the definitive identification of the two costumed male figures in Before the Masked Ball as Pierrot and Pantaloone.

An Actress of the Théâtre Italien in Costume and in Character

Prior to discussing the possible identity of the central female figure in the work, I must note the lack of masks in women's commedia dell'arte costumes. Women



Figure 6. Bernardin, Napoléon Maurice. *La Comédie Italienne en France et Les Théâtres de la Foire et du Boulevard* (1570-1791), 88. Paris: Éditions de la Revue Bleue, 1902.



Figure 7. Duchartre, Pierre Louis. *The Italian Comedy: The Improvisation, Scenarios, Lives, Attributes, Portraits, and Masks of the Illustrious Characters of the Commedia dell'Arte*, translated by Randolph T. Weaver, 185. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1966.

did not wear masks when performing, as “no mask could ever approach the enchanting effect of a lovely woman’s face.” For this reason, female characters of the commedia dell’arte are not as easily identifiable as their male counterparts. Only two female characters, Harlequine and Pierrette, had clearly identifiable costumes because they were derived from the costumes of the male characters of Harlequin and Pierrot. Some female characters, however, can be identified through their standardized personality traits or through their proximity to a male character with whom they are platonically or romantically involved.

Rand suggests that the central figure of Before the Masked Ball is Columbine, a female servant character

in the commedia dell’arte. He describes Columbine as “Pierrot’s friend who frequently appears in a light-colored dress and wearing flowers in her hair.” Such a description fits the central figure of Gérard’s work well, but these observations alone are not enough to securely identify the woman as Columbine. Because few images exist of Columbine in the Théâtre Italien, and because female actresses did not have specific costumes unless they appeared as Harlequine or Pierrette, the same method of visual comparison used for the identification of Pierrot and Pantaloone cannot aid in the identification of the female figure. The dress the figure wears, however, appears again in Gérard’s oeuvre within the same decade. The exact replication of the dress in another painting, titled *Le Cadeau*, suggests that the subject could be the same woman (1785-88; Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg; Fig. 6). This further signifies that Before the Masked Ball may indeed be a characteristically romantic genre painting like *Le Cadeau*, but does not signify that it is amorous. I propose that Before the Masked Ball is stylistically romantic, in keeping with the style of Rococo art, but is not romantic or erotic in subject matter beyond the coquettish pose of the central figure. This coquettish pose provides a connection with Rand’s suggested character of Columbine, for the standardized persona of Columbine was “rather French in character and was noted for her coquetry.” Gérard’s use of Columbine as the focal figure in Before the Masked Ball emphasizes the Gallicizing of the commedia dell’arte in France and validates the theory that Gérard’s theater experiences led her to venture beyond her typical array of domestic genre scenes.

Though this connection is tenuous at best, it appears that the rose garland donning the head of the central figure in Before the Masked Ball is an imitation of the rose garland that graces the steps below the comedy troupe in Watteau’s *The Italian Comedians*. This connection to Watteau, and particularly to one of his commedia dell’arte paintings, provides yet another reason to treat Before the Masked Ball as a theatrical scene. The reuse of the central figure’s dress and rose-colored ribbon in *Le Cadeau*, however, complicates this matter: *Le Cadeau* fits the characteristic actions of a Gérardian genre painting, complete with a figure standing in a doorway and a graceful woman reading a letter. As noted before, my discussion of subject matter in Before the Masked Ball is speculative at some points.

Here, with a perplexing connection drawn between an archetypal Rococo scene and a theatrical scene, I argue that the youthful female figure in both Before the Masked Ball and *Le Cadeau* is the same woman. Based upon the reappearance of the pink ribbon in *Le Cadeau* and a young man donning a possible “déguisement de théâtre” in an open doorway, it is possible that these two related paintings depict different moments in the life of a Théâtre Italien actress. In both paintings, the male figures admire the central female figure and appear to wait for her call to begin a rehearsal or a performance. I acknowledge the possibility that the woman in both paintings is another of Gérard’s more aristocratic subjects, whom she has simply placed within the setting of Before the Masked Ball to create a theatrical genre scene or to highlight upper-class Parisians’s interest in theater. I argue, nonetheless, that this figure is indeed an actress. Her confident and coquettish pose, in which her body faces the viewer directly as she twirls a lock of hair, differs greatly from the more reserved pose and hairstyle of the iteration of the same woman in *Le Cadeau*. This suggests a movement from the woman’s private nature to her theatrical persona as she prepares to grace the stage for a performance.

A Third Theatrical Title

Following a long history of speculation regarding the subject matter of Before the Masked Ball, I position the painting’s subject squarely within the confines of the theater. An examination of a prominent “preparation for the ball” painting by De Troy proves not only that the actions of the figures in Before the Masked Ball do not fit the given theme but that the costumes and masks differ as well. Gérard’s interest in theater invites consideration of the artist’s life and her artistic influences when viewing such a thematically ambiguous scene, further implicating the artwork with eighteenth-century French theater. The identification of two male figures in the painting as Pierrot and Pantaloone, the commedia dell’arte characters, specifies the style of theater referenced within the painting and leads to the conclusion that the central female figure will appear as Columbine in her upcoming performance.

The painting’s first two titles, *La Loge de l’actrice* and *Une artiste de la comédie française*, recognize the work’s representation of actors and theatricality. These titles do not, however, reflect the correct form of theater to which Gérard pays homage within Before the Masked

Ball. The first recorded title identifies the central figure as an actress, but it is unknown what kind of an actress the viewer sees. The second recorded title explicitly labels the female figure as an actress in the *comédie française*, yet this erroneously given title disregards the identifiable costumes of the two rightmost male figures in the painting. Taking my refutation of the painting’s current title, the identification of two male figures as commedia dell’arte characters, and the Gallicized costume of the female figure and its reappearance within Gérard’s oeuvre into account, I now present a new title for Before the Masked Ball. Reverting back to the painting’s historically French titles, I suggest this descriptive theatrical title for implementation in future scholarship: *Une scène de la vie d’une actrice du Théâtre Italien*.



Figure 8. Marguerite Gérard, *Le Cadeau*, 1785-88. Oil on canvas. Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.

Marguerite Gérard: General Biographical and Artistic Career Sources

Ledbury, Mark. "Intimate Dramas: Genre Painting and New Theater in Eighteenth-Century France." In *Intimate Encounters: Love and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century France* by Richard Rand, 49-67. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art. "Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806) | Essay | Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History | The Metropolitan Museum of Art." https://metmuseum.org/toah/hd_frag/frag_hd_frag.htm.

Rand, Richard. *Intimate Encounters: Love and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century France*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Sofio, Séverine. *Artistes femmes: La parenthèse enchantée, XVIIIe-XIXe siècles*. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2016.

Vigué, Jordi. *Great Women Masters of Art*. New York: Watson-Guptill, 2002.

Wells-Robertson, Sally. "Marguerite Gérard: 1761-1837. (Volumes I and II)." PhD diss., New York University, 1978.

The Italian Commedia dell'Arte: Identifying Masks

Bernardin, Napoléon Maurice. *La Comédie Italienne en France et Les Théâtres de la Foire et du Boulevard (1570-1791)*. Paris: Éditions de la Revue Bleue, 1902.

Duchartre, Pierre Louis. *The Italian Comedy: The Improvisation, Scenarios, Lives, Attributes, Portraits, and Masks of the Illustrious Characters of the Commedia dell'Arte*, translated by Randolph T. Weaver. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1966.

Jordan, Peter. *The Venetian Origins of the Commedia Dell'Arte*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014.

Luciano, Eleonora. *The Mask of Comedy: The Art of Italian Commedia*. Louisville, KY: J.B. Speed Art Museum, 1990.

Mayor, A. Hyatt. "A Bequest of Prints by Callot and Daumier." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 17, no. 1 (Summer 1958): 8-18.

Fashion and Costume in Eighteenth-Century France

Jones, Jennifer M. "Repackaging Rousseau: Femininity and Fashion in Old Regime France." *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 4 (1994): 939-67.

