The Transformation of *The Marble Faun*: A case study of the extra-illustrated volumes of *The Marble Faun* published by Tauchnitz

by
Andreane Balconi

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Abstract

This thesis explores the use and development of the photographically illustrated novel from a souvenir to a mass-market publication. An examination of three volumes of the Tauchnitz printing of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun* details how tourists and booksellers adapted the novel through the addition of albumen prints to create a unique souvenir. By 1889, the technological advances in the printing process, the demands of tourism and the photographic selections from the Tauchnitz volumes made it possible for Houghton, Mifflin and Company to publish an illustrated copy of *The Marble Faun* containing photogravure prints. Like the European title of the book – *Transformation or the Romance of Monte Beni* – this paper demonstrates how the Tauchnitz tourist-produced souvenir copies of the novel evolved into a mass-market product.

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I would like to thank my thesis advisors, Robert Burley and Vid Ingelevics, for being so patient and helpful while I struggled through this thesis.

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Introduction

This thesis will examine and compare four copies of *The Marble Faun*—also

published under the name *Transformation: or the Romance of Monte Beni* in Europe—by

Nathaniel Hawthorne. Three copies are from the publisher Tauchnitz and were

copyrighted in 1860. These three volumes were found in the George Eastman House's

Richard and Ronay Menschel Library and are of interest because they are illustrated with

19th century tipped in albumen prints bound into the novel. All three volumes appear to

be made by different people and their origins and exact dates of production are unknown.

However, Susan S. Williams—a professor of American literature and culture before 1900

at Ohio State University and the author of *Confounding Images: Photography and*

Portraiture in Antebellum American Fiction—noted that the creation of these extra-

illustrated copies probably did not begin until about 1868 and continued throughout the

rest nineteenth century. [1] Since the publisher, Tauchnitz, made a practice of leaving the

original imprint date on the title page of all subsequent impressions of his books, it is

difficult to track the exact dates on these three volumes. The fourth book is an illustrated

copy of *The Marble Faun,* published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company in 1889. This

later printing contains photogravures based on popular photographs that were added into

the Tauchnitz printings.

This thesis begins by examining the reasons why this novel was selected by

booksellers and tourists to be extra-illustrated. This section will detail Hawthorne's own

[1] Susan S. Williams. "Manufacturing Intellectual Equipment: The Tauchnitz Edition of The Marble Faun." *Reading Books: Essays on the Material Text and Literature in America.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1996. 124.

experiences in Italy, his use of popular sites and locales within the text of his novel and his use of descriptive language to create visuals of the novel's Italian setting. The second section provides a description of and timeline for different photographic processes used in the creation of the photographically illustrated book. The third section discusses photography and travel and explains how the popularity of the photographic souvenir added to the popularity of the photographically illustrated edition of *The Marble Faun.* Finally, the thesis will end with an in-depth comparison of the four volumes that highlights several photographs and details their similarities and differences.

By examining these four volumes against the background of technological advances in photography and publishing, tourism and souvenirs, this thesis will show how these factors led to the production of a unique photographically illustrated novel.

Literature survey

The examination of the three examples of *The Marble Faun* required research from different sources. The research on Nathaniel Hawthorne and the influence of the setting on the novel began with the biography *Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography*, by Alrin Turner. This book makes extensive use of Hawthorne's letters and documents to create a comprehensive timeline of Hawthorne's life while also providing insight into Hawthorne's creative process. Two chapters in particular were most insightful. The first, "Art and Artists in Italy," examines Hawthorne's time in Italy through the view of the friends he made in Italy, especially the artists he met. The other, titled "The Marble Faun," details the process by which the ideas presented in the *Italian Notebooks* later appeared in the novel. This chapter also discusses the publication of the novel in America.

Another book that is important to this thesis is *Passages from the French and Italian notebooks of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, which offers an unedited insight into Hawthorne's time in Italy, including his opinions of Italy. These insights demonstrate how certain places; art pieces and architecture—many of which would later become important elements in *The Marble Faun*—had affected him.

The influence of setting on the descriptive passages of the novel is effectively discussed in John A. Huzzard's article "Hawthorne's 'The Marble Faun,'" which appeared in *Italica*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Jun., 1958). The seven-page article contains a condensed description of the writing of *The Marble Faun* and provides explicit examples from the text of Hawthorne's description of Rome. Huzzard's objective was to demonstrate the influence Hawthorne's trip to Italy had on the setting of the novel.

Biographical information on Hawthorne and a discussion of the tourist market during the publication of *The Marble Faun* was provided by Richard H. Brodhead's introduction to the 1990 Penguin Books publication of *The Marble Faun*. The introduction bridged the gap between the exploration of Hawthorne's settings and the discussions on photography and travel. Although the introduction does not discuss photography, it does mention the increasing number of American tourists and the development of the cult of tourism.

The topic of tourism and photography is developed in the article "Photographed and Described: Traveling in the Footsteps of Francis Frith," from *Scenes in a Library: Reading the Photograph in the Book, 1843 – 1875*, by Carol Armstrong. While this section is focused on Frith's albums, Armstrong also discusses the use of photographs in books for tourists. Most importantly, she compares these albums to the Tauchnitz printing of *The Marble Faun*. In this section, she describes how Tauchnitz used the tourist marketplace to sell *The Marble Faun* with its added illustrations. She concludes by comparing this practice to Frith's illustration of Longfellow's *Hyperion*.

Dean MacCannell's The *Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* examines tourism from an anthropological and sociological viewpoint and is used to deepen our understanding of the role of tourism and its connection to photography and souvenirs. MacCannell reviews the history of tourism from an ethnographic rather than a historic point of view. MacCannell claims his book "brings the concerns of social science to an analysis of travel and sightseeing in the postindustrial age, during which the middle class acquired leisure time for international travel."[2] It details the reasons behind the changes

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[2] Dean MacCannell. *The Tourist: a New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York:

in tourism from the nineteenth-century to the postwar era while providing a wide perspective on tourism and the use of souvenir. However, it only briefly discusses the role of photography in tourism and travel.

Specific information on the Tauchnitz editions and how they were used by tourists were found in "Photography and the Museum of Rome in Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun*" by Timothy Sweet, from *Photo-textualities: reading photographs and literature*, in addition to "Reviewing Rome: the guidebook as liminal space" by Anne Busch, from *Visual Communication* 2002; 1; 369. Sweet's article explores the idea that the collector used *The Marble Faun* to recreate the experience of their tour of Rome. He also discusses the history of the Tauchnitz version of *The Marble Faun*, the subject of this paper, and its role as a souvenir. Sweet's article provides a solid background for approaching this version of *The Marble Faun*.

Busch's work examines the book from a guidebook perceptive. She examines how the book was used and extensively compares it to the *Blue Guide Rome* and *Knopf Guide Rome* guidebooks. She "reminds us that guidebooks do not present destinations in a direct and objective manner, but straddle a more liminal space – switching between private and public understanding, between the reading and writing of place."[3] Overall, the article gives a better understanding of how the Tauchnitz book compares to an actual guidebook, such as to *Blue Guide Rome* or the Baedeker's guidebooks.

Schocken, 1976. 1.
[3] Bush, Anne. "Reviewing Rome: the Guidebook as Liminal Space." *Visual Communication* 1 (2002): 369-75. *SAGE Journals.* Web. 20 Apr. 2010. <http://vcj.sagepub.com>. 370.

The topics of photography and publication were first investigated using *The Truthful Lens: A survey of the photographically illustrated book 1844 – 1914* by Lucien Goldschmidt and Weston J. Naef. The section "From Illusion to Truth and Back Again," written by Naef, was important to my research. It provides a comprehensive study of the history of photographically illustrated books and the technological evolutions that led to these changes. This section examines key points in photography's evolution, discusses the use of photography in technical manuals and examines its use in artistic representations. It ends with a discussion of the introduction of the photomechanical processes.

While an overview of the photographic process within publications was important to the research for this paper, information about the publishing companies that released the photographically illustrated books was essential. The Firma Tauchnitz, which published *The Marble Faun*, was the major focus of this topic area and two publications were used for this research. The first is *Tauchnitz In 1841-1955: A Bibliographical History* by William B. Todd. This book contains an extensive decade-by-decade summation of the books Tauchnitz published, the reasoning behind some publishing decisions, in addition to providing an extensive history of Tauchnitz. Although it contains only a brief discussion of *The Marble Faun,* the book gives a broader view of Tauchnitz's decisions and details which books were published by the company and when.

The second publication consulted for this purpose is Susan S. Williams' essay "Manufacturing Intellectual Equipment: The Tauchnitz Edition of *The Marble Faun,*" from *Reading Books: Essays on the Material Text and Literature in America.* In this essay, Williams examines how the production and packaging of Tauchnitz's edition of

The Marble Faun affected how the traveling public received it.[4] She provides an in depth

examination of how and why the books were created and how they were then distributed

to the populace to be illustrated.

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[4] Williams, 118.

Hawthorne and The Marble Faun

Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804 - 1864) was an American author who wrote eight novels and a number of short stories. He wrote four major novels: *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), *The House of Seven Gables* (1851), *The Blithedale Romance* (1852) and *The Marble Faun* (1860). The most famous of these is *The Scarlet Letter*, which was one of the first mass-produced books in America, and his first best seller. Most of his novels were set in New England and were considered part of the Romantic Movement, with a specific focus on dark or gothic romanticism.

Although Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun* was not his most famous work, it was influential, in its time, on the newly emerging tourist class. The story follows the trials and tribulations of four characters: Miriam, a painter; Hilda, a copyist; Kenyon, a sculptor; and Donatello, the Count of Monte Beni. Combining a murder-mystery plot with a romance, Hawthorne's story follows Donatello as he becomes smitten with Miriam. At the novel's outset, a mysterious monk is stalking and tormenting Miriam. Donatello notices the monk following while all four characters are taking a stroll. Donatello then attacks the monk, knocking him off a precipice and killing him. The remainder of the novel is the fallout from this event. Donatello becomes depressed and disappears, while Miriam follows him. Hilda and Kenyon search for them, developing their own love for one another. In the end, Donatello returns to Rome and gives himself up and Miriam embarks on a penitential pilgrimage. Meanwhile, Hilda finds solace in a Catholic confessional and her marriage to Kenyon. The entire story is set in Italy, with a specific focus on Rome and its art and architecture. This vibrant setting, coupled with Hawthorne's descriptive writing style, made the book a prime candidate for illustration.

Hawthorne traveled to Italy in 1858 and stayed for a year and a half. During this time he detailed his experiences in his *Italian Notebooks*. He also produced a rough draft of *The Marble Faun*, which he completed when he returned to America. Reading his notebooks, it is obvious that Hawthorne experienced Italy not as a visitor attempting to immerse himself in the culture, but as a tourist. As Richard H. Brodhead notes in his introduction to a 1990 Penguin Books printing of *The Marble Faun*,

> Italy as he engaged it was, in fact, scarcely an affair of living Italian people. His company largely confined to other Americans abroad, Hawthorne met few Italians and made little effort to know their ways; and he showed virtually no responsiveness to Italy as another society with its own collective life, forging its own history in the present day.[5]

One result of this tourist perspective was the creation of an idealized Italy. Brodhead again notes, "in composing the fictive world of *The Marble Faun*, what Hawthorne quite precisely reconstitutes is the aesthetic or touristic model of reality through which his 'Italy' has been given."[6] In other words, Hawthorne both traveled and created *The Marble Faun* with a guidebook mentality. As discussed in Timothy Sweet's "Photography and the Museum of Rome in Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun*", Hawthorne, like most of his American contemporaries, relied on guidebooks and travelogues, including the one written by his friend George Stillman Hillard.[7] Hillard's travelogue was titled *Six Months in Italy* and was the most popular travelogue on Italy among Americans in the nineteenth century; it was widely used as a guidebook. It is highly likely that Hillard's book influenced the setting of *The Marble Faun* and assisted in Hawthorne's

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[5] Richard H. Brodhead. "Introduction." *The Marble Faun, Or, The Romance of Monte Beni*. New York, N.Y., U.S.A.: Penguin, 1990. xi

[6] Brodhead xvii

[7] Sweet, Timothy. "Photography and the Museum of Rome in Hawthorne's The Marble Faun." Ed. Marsha Bryant. *Photo-textualities: Reading Photographs and Literature*. Newark: University of Delaware, 1996. 27.

novel's later incarnation as a type of guidebook for tourists in Italy. Indeed, as numerous authors have noted, one can almost check off the tourist hotspots mentioned in *The Marble Faun*. The plot moves through what were perceived at the time as the "official sights of Rome," such as the Fountain of Trevi, the Pantheon and the Coliseum.[8]

The guidebook and romantic aspects of the novel greatly contributed to its popularity. For readers who were not tourists, the novel provided them a glimpse into the Italian world of art and architecture while, for the tourist, it provided points of reference on their journey. Certainly, it is not hard to imagine that standing in the spot where Kenyon finally wins Hilda in the Pantheon—"while standing before the pillared shrine, and the marble Madonna that marks Raphael's tomb, whither they had now wandered—"[9] could be a highlight of ones tour of Rome. In addition, the descriptions from the novel could later assist the traveler as he or she recounted their tour to others who had not traveled to Italy.

The movement from the written descriptions to photographic depiction seemed a natural progression. The addition of photographs allowed the tourist to create a visual memoir of their travels and thereby take a part of Italy home. Indeed, as Carol Armstrong notes,

> as novels written by tourists for tourists, they suggest a theory of reading,
> as much as of writing, in which the reader visits the sites of the romance,
> makes the adventure that occurred there his or her own, and memorizes
> that ownership with photographs, either personally purchased by the
> consumer or commercially tipped into the book.[10]

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[8] Brodhead xviii

[9] Nathaniel Hawthorne. *The Marble Faun, Or, The Romance of Monte Beni*. New York, N.Y., U.S.A.: Penguin, 1990. 359

[10] Carol M. Armstrong. "Photographed an Described: Traveling in the Footsteps of Francis Frith." *Scenes in a Library: Reading the Photograph in the Book, 1843-1875*. Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1998. 342

The Marble Faun's appeal to tourists is not the novel's only source of popularity and suitability for photographic illustrations. Additional factors that make the addition of illustration a natural advancement include the prominence of the setting within the novel as well as Hawthorne's visual descriptions.

The Novel's descriptive passages often allow the setting to take hold and become more important than the characters or the plot. In "Hawthorne's 'The Marble Faun,'" John A. Huzzard takes note of a scene in "Chapter XII: A Stroll on the Pincian," in which Hilda and Kenyon take an afternoon stroll through the Pincio. In Huzzard's description, Hawthorn "took advantage of the opportunity afforded him by Hilda and Kenyon and invited the reader to promenade with him, as he, either personally or through the medium of his two compatriots, pointed out the sights he wished them to see."[11] Indeed, the first few pages of the chapter only contain a description the Pincian Hill, as if the narrative is from a guidebook.

> The Pincian Hill is the favourite promenade of the Roman
> aristocracy...These foreign guests are indeed ungrateful, if they do not
> breathe a prayer for Pope Clement, or whatever Holy Father it may have
> been, who leveled the summit of the mount so skillfully, and bounded it
> with the parapet of the city-wall; who laid out those broad walks and
> drives, and overhung them with the deepening shade of many kinds of
> tree; who scattered the flowers of all seasons, and of every clime,
> abundantly over those green central lawns; who scooped out hollows, in
> fit places, and, setting great basins of marble in them, caused ever-
> gushing fountains to fill them to the brim; who reared up the immemorial
> obelisk out of the soil that had long hidden it; who placed pedestals along
> the borders of the avenues, and crowned them with busts of that
> multitude of worthies – statesmen, heroes, artists, men of letters, and or
> song – whom the whole world claims as its chief ornaments, though Italy
> produced them all.[12]

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[11] John A. Huzzard. "Hawthorne's "The Marble Faun"" *Italica* 35.2 (1958): 119-24. *Jstor*. Web. 20 Apr. 2010. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/477492>. 123
[12] Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*. 78

This descriptive passage is illustrated in both the 1860 Tauchnitz printing (fig. 1) and the 1889 Houghton, Mifflin and Company printing (fig. 2). Both editions employ similar photographs of a fountain on Pincian Hill (identified in the 1860 printing as *Pubblico passaggio del pincio Fontana del mose*). The descriptive quality of the setting influenced the selection of photographs that tourists used to illustrate their copies of the novel and three decades later a similar illustration was part of the 1889 publication.

There are many further examples within the book of Hawthorne's descriptive depiction of Italy and its arts. Indeed, Huzzard notes "In each of these episodes, no matter how full of suspense they may be, Hawthorne never failed to indulge in a lengthy and glowing description of the particular park or square, church or gallery in which his four young people could be found deliberating upon their respective fates."[13]

The importance of the setting in *The Marble Faun* often overshadows the characters and the plot. As Huzzard notes,

> "Hawthorne strove with deep sincerity to convey to the reader his own emotional and intellectual experiences in a country to which, in the relatively short space of eighteen months, he had become so deeply attached that he at times entertained the idea of making it his permanent home. It is only natural, therefore, that the setting should assume a greater importance in the novel than either the plot or the theme.[14]

It is this focus on the setting, the guidebook-like descriptions, the referencing of important sights and Hawthorne's visual depictions of these sites that made the novel highly suitable for illustration.

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[13] Huzzard 122
[14] Ibid 119

Fig. 1 *Pubblico passaggio del pincio Fontana del mose* (6717), ca.1860, Albumen print, Tauchnitz Edition: Book 1

Fig. *2 Fountain of Moses, Pincian Garden*, ca. 1889, Photogravure, Houghton, Mifflin and Company Edition

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Travel and photography

By the nineteenth century, the idea of travel to Europe was based upon the eighteenth century idea of the Grand Tour, "which any well born, young, rich gentleman should take, seeing historical places, like Italy, in order to see ancient sites, architecture and art."[15] For these gentlemen travelers, the Grand Tour was a means of gaining knowledge and enlightenment through their experiences. "The young aristocrat wondered at the site of classical times, collected works of art, created networks of friends and society, and then regaled colleagues back home with stories of foreign travel."[16]

These aristocrats perpetuated an ideal of traveling. Their experiences informed later travelers on where to go, what to see, and how one should respond to the experience. The desire for more travel information created a growing market for guidebooks and travelogues, both of which contained step-by-step guides of places to travel and sights to see. These guides could be carried on the tourist's journey and serve as a checklist for the sights that were to be visited. Additionally, these guidebooks contained illustrations that presented an idealized version of the important sites and monuments. While these guidebooks showed the tourist what to expect at these sights, the guides also highlighted and perpetuated a specific concept of what places were important and in exactly what spirit they should be viewed.[17]

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[15] Nuno De Avelar Pinheiro. "Tourist Photography." *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth- Century Photography*. London: Routledge, 2007. 1397

[16] Chris Ryan. "A History of Tourism in the English-Speaking World." *Recreational Tourism: Demand and Impacts*. New Delhi: Viva Private Limited, 2006. 4

[17] Barbara Levine, and Kirsten M. Jensen. *Around the World: the Grand Tour in Photo Albums*. New York: Princeton Architectural, 2007. 25

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While the eighteenth century Grand Tour was reserved for the upper echelons of the social elite, by the nineteenth century an affluent middle-class began to follow in their footsteps. New technologies, such as railroads, allowed easier access to travel. This access, combined with a growing number of people that possessed the necessary income, and the urge, to travel overseas, made the Grand Tour accessible to the middle-class.[18] This precipitated a change in not only the number and type of people traveling but also in the reasons for doing so. The new reasons for traveling ranged from an empirical search for knowledge and enlightenment to the entrenchment of "travel as part of the burgeoning activity and industry of tourism—the organized consumption of place as leisure activity."[19]

With the introduction of the Thomas Cook packaged tours in the 1850s, tourism began to be transformed from an individual pursuit to a mass-market endeavor. The Cook's tours, and the other agencies that followed Cook's idea, took some of the work out of traveling. These firms would purchase tickets, select hotels, create timetables and provide a broad array of itineraries from which travelers could choose. Like the guidebooks of the eighteenth century, these packaged tours followed "the grand tour ideals." These standardized holidays helped solidify the cultural assumptions of where to go, what to see and what to experience.

In light of the expanding market of people wishing to see similar sights and with the desire to "consume," or own, a piece of these sites, photographs became the perfect souvenir. Since its inception, photography was used to highlight and show off views of

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[18] Ryan 8

[19] Kathleen Stewart Howe. "Travel Photography." *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth- Century Photography.* London: Routledge, 2007. 1404.

the foreign and exotic. Even daguerreotypes, a medium that could not be mass-produced, were used by publishing companies to create printing plates with accurate illustrations of these faraway places.

Although there were travelers who brought finicky cameras and developing chemicals, most tourists did not go through this process. Instead, many tourists purchased their photographs from independent professional traveling photographers, or from large commercial photographic companies. As with the packaged tours and guidebooks of the time, the popularly available photographs followed the cultural assumptions and "the Grand Tour ideals" that determined what one should see and how it should be seen. As a result, photographs from different studios often appeared almost identical because the photographers created images of the same sites and monuments from the best vantage point. Much like the guidebook illustrations, these images presented an idealized view, devoid people or any trace of the modern buildings around the ancient monuments. These photographs provided travelers with a private, perfect view, suggesting that the site was theirs to own and keep.[20]

The idea of the photographic souvenir also followed the nineteenth-century emphasis on collecting, categorizing, and possessing the world associated with the sciences of geography, anthropology, and archaeology. After the introduction of photographic processes, whether they produced a permanent image on metal plate or paper print, photography became the preferred and most trusted mode of creating and presenting visual records of travel; this is largely because the images were derived from

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[20] Levine 25

the "neutral" operations of chemistry and optics.[21] In order to better collect and organize these images, tourists could purchase photographs individually and create travel albums. The tourist could then present the photographs in their own desired sequences and patterns. Additionally, local photographers would also provide the tourist with the option of purchasing pre-created, gilded and leather-bound albums. These albums had the photographs in a sequence designed to recreate a typical tourist's journey.[22]

The desire to collect and own, in combination with the idealized views of the sites visited, made the photographic souvenir exceedingly popular. Independent photographers and stores selling photographs were located at major tourist sites. In fact, nineteenth-century travel guides often listed the best local sources for photographs.[23] Most tourists could return home with at least one travel album containing photographs to share with their family and friends.

The Marble Faun was well suited to the culture of the photographic souvenir. Because tourists were already using *The Marble Faun* as a guidebook, there arose an opportunity to create a unique souvenir for booksellers and tourists. As earlier mentioned, booksellers would rebind Tauchnitz's copies of *The Marble Faun* and insert commercially available albumen prints from large companies, such as Alinari, near significant passages in the book. This practice expanded with tourists finding and adding their own images into the books. This was not a new practice. Indeed, during the nineteenth century elite private collectors would often add photographs, notes and other

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[21] Howe 1404
[22] Levine 25
[23] Howe 1406

objects into their books in order to display their taste and collecting skills as well as to increase the value of the books.[24]

As noted in the previous section, an extra-illustrated copy of *The Marble Faun* is much like the photographically illustrated travel books, but its value as a souvenir set it apart from these travel books. *The Marble Faun* was used to create a personalized souvenir that reflected the tourist's particular experiences in Rome. In this way, *The Marble Faun* became a travel album that allowed its owners to display photographs of personal significance. As *Atlantic Monthly* noted,

> just as Hawthorne created the romance of *The Marble Faun* as a response to his experiences as a tourist so too could readers create their own romance of travel by selecting illustrations that evoked memories of their present-day experiences. By choosing the photographs they wanted to tip into their books readers could literally insert themselves into the novel.[25]

Thus, within the somewhat standardized touring culture of the time—with its Grand Tour ideals, its tourists following guidebooks and pre-packaged tours and the photographers furthering this by creating similar photographs for souvenirs—an extra-illustrated version of *The Marble Faun* presented a souvenir that both follows these ideas and creates a somewhat unique opportunity. That is, although there was a high level standardization in tourism, the creation of an extra-illustration copy of *The Marble Faun* provided the traveler with a relatively unique and personal souvenir.

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[24] Williams 124
[25] Ibid 138

Publishing and Photography

Although *The Marble Faun* was a prime candidate for illustration, important

changes that occurred in the publishing of illustrated book in the period from the 1860's

to 1889 were essential to its final production. This section will explore some of the

substantial photographic processes that were used to illustrate books and place the

different volumes being explored in this paper within that context.

Illustrated texts were produced before the invention of photography. Technologies

such as lithographs, woodcuts and etchings made illustrated books available to the

general public. However, by the 1850s interest in these technologies was waning.

According to Lucien Goldschmidt,

> While the following forty years were marked by a few great but isolated
> achievements such as Manet's lithographs for Poe's *Raven*, 1875, or
> *Sonnets et Eauxfortes*, 1869, there was no sustained flow of new ideas
> until the 1889 The majority of non-photographic book illustrations,
> whether French, English, or German, copied earlier ideas.[26]

It was within this environment that photography found a place in the illustrated novel.

While publishers made use of daguerreotypes to assist illustrators, it was Henry

Fox Talbot's work with the salted paper print that provided the first examples of

photographic books. *The Pencil of Nature* was published between 1844 and 1846, in six

separate installments. The collection contained twenty-four individual photographs,

which were pasted into the publication. Each section was unbound with the intention that

the buyer would later have all the installments bound together. Longman, Brown and

Green & Longman's published the sections in London. Each plate was accompanied by

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[26] Lucien Goldschmidt, and Weston J. Naef. *The Truthful Lens: a Survey of the Photographically Illustrated Book*, 1844-1914. New York: Grolier Club, 1980. 6

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text that discussed the image and how it was obtained photographically. In the introduction, Talbot offered a brief history of the calotype process and identified the qualities that made the calotype and slated paper print effective for book illustration; he also described the shortcomings of his process.[27] This compendium of Talbot's work was the first step in photography's development as a successful illustration format.

Despite its failure to achieve publishing success, *The Pencil of Nature* inspired photographers and publishers to create photographically illustrated books. The idea spread outside of Britain in 1846 due to *The Art-Union* June 1st issue, which published an original calotype, printed and mounted by hand. That year also saw the production of the first photographically illustrated book outside of England, a collection of essays on Goethe that was published with a calotype of a statue of Goethe.

Between 1846 and 1853, a number of photographically illustrated books were produced. William Stirling's *Annals of the Artists of Spain* contained sixty-six calotypes of engravings by artists in Spain. It was one of the first photographically illustrated books that had extensive writing on a topic other than the history of photography.[28] The photographers Hill and Adamson, on the other hand, created books more focused on art, with limited text accompanying the photographs. Maxine Du Camp's *Egypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie* was the highpoint of early photographically illustrated travel books. According to Goldschmid, the book was organized this way: the "first part consisting of text without any illustrations is followed by one hundred and twenty-five salt prints mounted one to a leaf bearing a printed caption."[29] Finally, *Reports by the Juries of The*

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[27] Ibid 13
[28] Ibid 16
[29] Ibid 20

Exhibition of the Works of Industries of All Nations, created for the Great Exhibition in London in 1851, highlighted the latest advancements in photographic technology. The publication was notable for both the number of photographic illustrations it contained and for the way the photographs were interspersed within the text. The *Reports* also marked the first use of glass negatives, as opposed to the paper negative, in the history of photograph-illustrated books.[30]

The advancement of photographic technologies was also followed by advancement within the publishing sector. By 1853, attention had shifted away from salt prints to albumen prints and glass plate negatives. The publishing house of Bisson freres, who worked with Lemercier, a printing establishment, was a leader in the process of printing photographs. They produced two important books. The first was Charles Blanc's *L'oeuvre de Rembrandt,* which collected 100 photographs of Rembrandt's etchings from the collection of the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. The second was *Photographie zoologique ou representation des animaux rares des collections du Musee d'Historie Naturelle,* a book that covered natural history, from sea life to human skeletons; the book was written by L. Rousseau, who collaborated with the artist-photographer Achille Deveria. With the arrival of these two books, the use of albumen prints became the norm for publishing.[31]

It was during this period that Tauchnitz's *The Marble Faun* was produced. Bernhard Tauchnitz founded Tauchnitz in 1837. He made his company successful by producing reprints of popular novels by both British and American authors in his "Collection of British Authors." His cheap productions of "classic authors" are similar in

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[30] Ibid 19
[31] Ibid 25

formula to those used by current publishing companies such as Penguin Books. *The Marble Faun*'s two volumes are the 515th and 516th books published under the "Collection of British Authors." They appeared only a few months after the novel's initial publication by Hawthorne's British and American publishers (Smith, Elder and Company, and his Ticknor and Fields, respectively).

However, what makes *The Marble Faun* unique in terms of photographically illustrated books is that it was not the publishing company that illustrated the books. Instead, it was the booksellers, specifically the Italian booksellers, who started a new trend by their work with the books. The booksellers would rebind copies of *The Marble Faun*, using ornate coverings such as white vellum, and sometimes with gold tooling. They would then insert albumen prints of the scenes Hawthorne described in the novel. The booksellers also provided the customer with the option of creating their own extra-illustrated copies by purchasing loose photographs, available at the booksellers, and inserting them into the book; or, the sellers would bind photographs provided by the customers themselves into their books.[32] This trend continued until albumen prints fell out of favor with the general public.

By the 1870s, it was clear that books with original mounted prints were very expensive to manufacture. Publishers looked for new technologies to provide cheap, effective ways of replicating photographs. Earlier invented processes, such as the collotype and woodburytypes, were used in place of individually mounted albumen prints. This changed the nature of the books being produced. For while albumen prints could be used

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[32] Williams 124

the nature of the chemistry and mechanics of albumen printmaking discouraged large editions because of the difficulties in achieving uniformity in appearance and permanence with the economics of mass production. In order for albumen prints to compete economically with the new photomechanical processes, quality had to suffer. For the new mechanical processes to be economical, larger editions were required, which meant that different kinds of books were published. In order to increase edition sizes the books had to appeal to a wider audience…Subjects that appealed to the growing middle-class desire for gift books came to prevail.[33]

The balance came in the form of the photogravure, a mechanical printing process that allowed photographs to be produced in smaller editions. While the early pioneers of photography, such as Talbot, had created forms of photogravure, it wasn't until 1878, when Czech painter Karel Klič began to refine the process, that it became commercially viable. By 1881 – 1882 final refinements of the process created "a facsimile of the original image constituted of fine particles of printers' ink randomly arranged in continuous tone on the paper."[34] Additionally, the process's popularity was helped by its similarity to the traditional hand etching that artists had used previously. It was a photomechanical process that was simple enough, and similar enough to hand etching, that artists could create plates in their own studio, from beginning to end, if they wished to create an edition of non-silver prints.[35]

With the introduction of photomechanical processes, the mass production of illustrated books expanded. Now, illustrated books could be printed more cheaply and not just as special editions and gift books. Following this trend, Houghton, Mifflin and Company – the successors to Ticknor and Fields – produced a uniform illustrated edition of *The Marble Faun* in 1889. The two volumes contained fifty-one photogravures of

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[33] Goldschmidt 40
[34] Ibid 41
[35] Ibid

various sculptures and locations important to the novel. The photogravures also replicated many of the popular photographs collected by the buyers and booksellers of the Tauchnitz edition. While the Houghton, Mifflin and Company edition did not completely replace the Tauchnitz versions, which were as much an experience as a souvenir, the mass-produced volumes allowed the non-traveler to enjoy the Italian setting as they traveled through the illustrations. In the end, it was praised by various publications, such as Atlantic Monthly, which claimed "the change from the photographer's or bookseller's clumsy extension of The Marble Faun to the publisher's edition, in which all the arts of bookmaking were studied with patience and nice attention to detail, was one worth making, and the result was notable for the good taste that marked it throughout."[36]

As various technologies were created and refined, the publishing companies came closer to their goal of creating cheap and easily produced photographically illustrated books. Within this process, the Tauchnitz publication stands as an example of a book containing albumen prints individually added to books to create a unique souvenir for the booksellers and travelers. The Houghton, Mifflin and Company volume represented the publisher's need to create a simulacrum of the Tauchnitz copies. While lacking the individuality of the Tauchnitz publication, mass-production made this volume available for all consumers without the need to collect the photographs themselves. Thus, the use of a photomechanical process like photogravure was the best choice for this publication.

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[36] "Holiday Books." *Atlantic Monthly* 67 (1891): 123

Comparison

The previous sections examined the importance of setting in the illustrative text, the use of novel as guidebook and the changing photographic technologies that supported the illustrated publications of *The Marble Faun*. This section will culminate this research by examining three copies of the 1860 publications and one copy of the 1889 publication. This examination will show how the selections of photographs made by booksellers and tourists in the 1860 publications influenced the 1889 printing.

The three 1860s copies were found in the library at the George Eastman House Richard and Ronay Menschel Library. All three were most likely added to the collection because they are unique examples of illustrated novels, they augment the library's extensive collection and they complement the photographic collection of carte-de-visite and inserted photographs

Book 1 – Tauchnitz 1860s edition Volume I

The first 1860 copy contains the first twenty-five chapters of the novel and is labeled Volume I. It is bound in white vellum with gilding on both covers and the spine. In addition, the front cover has gilding along the decorative border and has the image of a wolf with Romulus and Remus (fig. 3), the mythological founders of Rome. This volume contains twenty carte-de-visite sized albumen photographs added at certain stages of the book. The images in Book 1 are mainly landscapes and settings featured in the novel. There are five exceptions to this pattern, the frontispiece of Hawthorne, an image of the titular statue, the Faun of Praxiteles, and three copies of paintings or sketches.

Fig. 3 Cover of Volume I of the Tauchnitz 1860s printing

Most of the photographs have "Alinari" printed below the photograph, along with the photograph's title and a number that is assumed to be a negative number. Other images have a similar spacing for this information and some have the title printed on it or a negative number, but the accreditation to a studio is either faded and illegible or worn away completely. However, it can be conjectured that these are also Alinari images due to the similar text used in the titles and similar negative numbers. Additionally, Alinari was one of the largest and most popular photographic workshops at the time. The firm, founded in Florence in 1852 by Leopoldo Alinari with his brothers Giuseppe and Romualdo, was the oldest photographic firm in the world at the time. It specialized in photographing works of art and historical monuments and achieved immediate national and international renown.[37]

Book 2 – Tauchnitz 1860s edition

The second book is catalogued with the previous Book 1 within the library's system, although it is of different construction. This book covers the last twenty-five chapters of the novel and is labeled as "Volume II" on the inside of the book. Although the volume has the same number of chapters as Book 1, this book is significantly thinner. It contains only thirteen images and is not as ornately bound as Book 1. It has simple marbled paper with a red leather quarter binding. There is no additional tooling or decorations other than the added ridges on the spine. Like Book 1, the photographs are carte-de-visite-sized albumen photographs. However, they do not have the same authentication as Book 1. While there are some images that are similar in style to

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[37] "History - Picture Imaging Photo Gallery Fratelli Alinari." *Alinari Picture Imaging Photo Gallery*, http://www.alinari.com/en/storia.asp

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Alinari's images in Book 1, there is no credit line attached to them. It is therefore not possible to confirm the creator of the images. Additionally, only seven of the images are of landscapes or architecture. The other six images are of paintings, statues and a confessional.

Book 3 – Tauchnitz 1860s edition

The third book is an additional copy of Volume II. However, within the library catalogue it is not placed with the two books previously discussed. Like Book 1, it is bound in white vellum (now yellow) with slight gold embossing on the front and back. It is not as ornate as Book 1. The spine has a block of red with *The Marble Faun* written in gold and a block of blue with *VOL. II* in gold lettering. In addition, the spine also has gold designs embossed into it. It contains twenty-five images that are much smaller albumen images compared to those found in Book 1 or the Book 2. The photographs are albumen prints that are centered onto the blank pages that have been bound into the novel. The images are slightly more evenly weighted in their variety, with nine photographs of architecture and scenery, a number of reproductions of paintings and illustrations, some still-lives and even two studio-produced images. There is no attribution indicating the creators of the images. Because of the popularity and scope of the company's production, it is likely that they are Alinari images. It should be noted that at least three of the photographs (fig. 4, fig. 5, fig. 6) seem odd choices within the context of the novel because they are representations of less obvious pieces of text and are not landmarks or buildings that a tourist might have been expected to include on their tour. It might be surmised that these were more personal selections and not the standard souvenir images sold to tourists.

Fig. 4 [Old Man sitting by a cross on the side of the road], ca. 1860, Albumen print, Tauchnitz Edition: Book 3

Fig. 5 [Two hands holding each other and sitting on a dark cushion], ca. 1860, Albumen print, Tauchnitz Edition: Book 3

Fig. 6 [Ruined Roman aqueduct with people on horses in the field surrounding it] ca. 1860, Albumen print, Tauchnitz Edition: Book 3

While each copy of the 1860 Tauchnitz publication of *The Marble Faun* is the same in that they were created with the intention that the consumer would collect images of Rome and display them as souvenirs within the context of the novel, each book is unique in its binding, the images selected, the types of photographs chosen and their placement within the text. These three volumes demonstrate some common aspects of the three differing types of construction discussed by Susan S. Williams. In one type of construction, booksellers would rebind copies of *The Marble Faun*, giving them new covers, usually white vellum with gold tooling, in addition to inserting standardized albumen prints or photographs of the scenes Hawthorne described.[38] A second construction method would be utilized "if the customers did not like these ready-made versions, they could also purchase loose photographs from separate displays and insert them into the book, although customers could also personalize their books by choosing scenes of particular meaning to them."[39] Finally, booksellers also "occasionally bound into the books photographs provided by the customers themselves."[40]

The differences between Book 1, 2 and 3 support Susan S. Williams' observations. Book 1 is a bookseller-created standard volume that would appeal to tourists. It contains regular images of the settings described in Hawthorne's work and utilizes standard images from well-known firms such as Alinari. This, in addition to Williams' description of rebinding the books with white vellum and gold tooling, accurately describes the construction of Book 1.

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[38] Williams 142
[39] Ibid
[40] Ibid

Book 2, meanwhile, is an example of the second construction method described by Williams, wherein the customers could take a standardized volume created by the bookseller and add other photographs that were available in the bookstore. Because most of the photographs in Book 2 are of a standard size and are of similar production, and because a number of the photographs are accredited to Alinari, it would seem likely that the photographs were supplied from a similar source. However, because some of the photographs have different texts and lack accreditation, it can be assumed they are from different studios. These variations would indicate that Book 2 was created through personal decisions rather than standard selections.

Book 3 displays the highest level of personalization. In this volume, the creator added images using the text as a guide, rather than the bookseller. As a result, the book is a personal travel album, rather than an interesting souvenir created by a bookseller or modified by a customer's decisions. The lack of accreditation for the photographs and the inclusion of images that do not directly relate to the text of the novel (fig.4, fig.5, fig.6) suggest that this volume is a more personal creation. Thus, it is likely that Book 3 aligns with third type of construction described by Williams.

Although the creation of these three books differs in their construction, they all speak to the appeal of the novel as an illustrated tourist souvenir. Houghton, Mifflin and Company also recognized this when they brought out their version of the novel in 1889. In their publisher's advertisement they mention the popularity of the Tauchnitz versions:

> Ever since the first publication of The Marble Faun, travelers and lovers of Rome have used the book as a souvenir, and have found in its pages a most agreeable record of impressions created by the Eternal City and by the works of art preserved there. So satisfactory is the book in this regard that it early became the custom of visitors to Italy to collect photographs of the statues, paintings, and buildings referred to in the romance, and to interleave the book with them; and this has become so common that

dealers in Rome and Florence make it their practice to keep such photographs arranged and ready for the traveler. Nevertheless, photographs are unsatisfactory pictures for such a purpose, and the volumes in which they are interleaved are apt to be displeasing to a fastidious collector. The publishers of Hawthorne's works have therefore taken the hint from this well-established custom, and have prepared the following edition, by printing the work in two volumes and adding to the text photogravures of fifty subjects.[41]

Book 4 – Houghton, Mifflin and Company 1889 Edition

The 1889 publication studied for this paper retrieved from the University of Toronto's Robarts Library using both the physical book and their available online copy. The two volumes are packaged together in the library catalogue. They are both bound in a bright red book cloth with a half binding of white vellum on the spine. The vellum has a small decorative border of gold tooled along the edge where it meets the book cloth. There is also a gold flower design on both the front and back of both volumes. The volumes are divided in a way similar to that of the 1860s version. The first volume contains twenty-five chapters and twenty-seven photogravures, while the second volume contains twenty-five chapters and twenty-four photogravures. The photogravures contain more images of sculpture and paintings than were found in Books 1, 2 or 3; however, there are a significant number of landscapes used to illustrate the text.

Photograph Comparisons

Throughout the four versions of the book, there are a number of similar photographs used to illustrate similar sections of text. One image shared by all four books is that of the Castle of St. Angelo (fig 7, 8, 9). In Book 1 it is used in conjunction with "Chapter XII: A Stroll on the Pincian." The photograph illustrates this section of text: "lifting their eyes Hilda and her companion gazed westward and saw beyond the invisible

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[41] "Nathaniel Hawthorne." *Publishers' Weekly* 920 (1889): 389.

Tiber the Castle of St. Angelo; that immense tomb of a pagan emperor, with the archangel at its summit."[42] The photograph shows the river and bridge as well as the castle. In all three Volume IIs (Book 2, Book 3, and the 1889 publication) the text being illustrated is within the same few pages of the novel. Book 2 and the 1889 publication both place the image in "Chapter XL: Hilda and a Friend" near these two sections of text: "they went through the Piazza of Saint Peter's, and the adjacent streets, silently at first; but before reaching they bridge of Sant' Angelo,"[43] and "looking up, for example, at the statue of Saint Michael, on the top of Hadrian's castellated tomb."[44]

Fig 7. *Castel S. Angelo e Fiume* ca. 1860, Albumen print, Tauchnitz Edition: Book 2
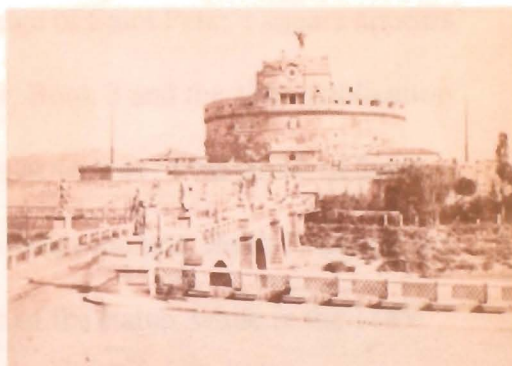
Fig 8. [Castle S. Angelo], ca. 1860, Albumen print, Tauchnitz Edition: Book 2

Fig 9. *Castle of Saint Angelo*, ca. 1889, Photogravure, Houghton, Mifflin and Company Edition

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[42] Hawthorne 68
[43] Ibid 160
[44] Ibid

Book 3 however, has the image placed later in the next chapter, "Chapter XLI: Snow-drops and Maidenly Delights," on page 168. The events described in the section of text that corresponds with the image takes place months after the events described in the previous chapter; the corresponding text from Book 3 mentions the "frozen foam along the eastern shore of the Tiber."[45]

All the second volumes (Book 2, Book 3 and 1889's) have an image of the statue of Pope Julius the Third (fig. 10, 11, 12), in addition to images of Saint Peter's square (fig. 13, 14, 15). For the most part the images are similar when they are illustrating the same places within a chapter. In Book 2, the only image of Saint Peter's square appears in "Chapter XXXVIII: Altars and Incense." However, Book 3 and the 1889 publication have additional images of the interior of Saint Peter's as well as of the statue of Saint Peter. While they both use similar photographs to illustrate the text, Book 3 situates the photograph of the interior of Saint Peter's before that of the statue, while in the 1889 publication the order of these two photographs is reversed. In the 1889 edition, the photograph of the statue of St. Peter illustrates the same section of text that it does in the 1860s publication: "seeing a woman, a priest and a soldier kneel to kiss the toe of the brazen St. Peter who protrudes it beyond his pedestal, for the purpose, polished bright with former salutations, while a child stood on tiptoe to do the same."[46] As well in the1889 publication, the image of the Interior of St. Peter's is presented in the next chapter, "Chapter XXXIX: The World's Cathedral," in a section of text that does not describe the interior of St. Peter's at all.

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[45] Ibid 168
[46] Ibid 136

Fig 10. [Statue of a Pope (Pope
Julius the Third)], ca. 1860, Albumen
Tauchnitz Edition: Book 2

Fig 11. [Close up of statue of the
Pope], ca. 1860, Albumen print ,
Tauchnitz Edition: Book 3

Fig 12. *Statue of Pope Julius III*
ca. 1889, Photogravure,
Houghton, Mifflin and
Company Edition

Fig 13. *S. Pietro*, ca. 1860, Albumen print, Tauchnitz
Edition: Book 2

Fig 14. [Saint Peter's], ca. 1860, Albumen
print, Tauchnitz Edition: Book 3

Fig 15. *Saint Peter's*, ca. 1889, Photogravure, Houghton, Mifflin and Company Edition

The final example of a similar photograph that appears in all three books of

Volume II is that used to illustrate a passage from "Chapter XLVI: A Walk on the

Campagna." The text that is illustrated is found on page 222 (476 in the 1889s edition):

> About two miles, or more, from the city gate, and right upon the
> roadside, Kenyon passed an immense round pile, sepulchral in its
> original purposes, like those already mentioned. It was built of great
> blocks of hewn stone, on a vast, square foundation of rough,
> agglomerated material, such as composes the mass of all the other
> ruinous tombs. But whatever might be the cause, it was in a far better
> state of preservation than they. On its broad summit rose the battlements
> of a mediaeval fortress, out of the midst of which (so long since had time
> begun to crumble the supplemental structure, and cover it with soil, by
> means of wayside dust) grew trees, bushes, and thick festoons of ivy.
> This tomb of a woman had become the citadel and donjon-keep of a
> castle; and all the care that Cecilia Metella's husband could bestow, to
> secure endless peace for her beloved relics, had only sufficed to make
> that handful of precious ashes the nucleus of battles, long ages after her
> death.[47]

The three photographs used to illustrate this passage are all images of a tower or of ruins

by a road (fig. 16, 17, 18); Book 2 and the 1889 publication use near identical

photographs of Cecilia Metella's Tomb (the two images are only differentiated by their

cropping). Book 3's photograph is similar in its composition to the other two

photographs, with the road cutting through the center of the image, but it displays generic

ruins alongside the road instead of the specific tower of Cecilia Metella's Tomb.

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[47] Ibid 222

Fig 16. [A castle tower with a road separating it and a wall], ca. 1860 Albumen print, Tauchnitz Edition: Book 2

Fig 17. [Road with ruins], ca. 1860, Albumen print, Tauchnitz Edition: Book 3

Fig 18. *Cecilia Metella's Tomb*, ca. 1889, Photogravure, Houghton, Mifflin and Company Edition

While the three previous examples are the only instances in which a photograph is the same throughout three or more of the books, there are numerous examples of similar images that are used in two versions of the novel. Both Volume I's (Book 1 and 1889's) use a portrait of Nathaniel Hawthorne as their Frontispiece. However, in the 1860s publication the photograph is a seated full body portrait of Nathaniel Hawthorne, while the 1889 publication simply has a portrait of his head. Both books also have the same

image of The Faun of Praxiteles (the titular Marble Faun), illustrating the same text in "Chapter I: Miriam, Hilda, Kenyon, Donatello." Another example of an identical image used in both Volume I's is a copy of Guido Reni's painting "Beatrice Cenci" (fig 19, 20). In both editions, the copy is situated in "Chapter VII: Beatrice," in which the text specifically mentions the painting.

Fig 19. *Galleria Barberini Ritratto di Beatrice Cenci* (7323), ca. 1860, Albumen Print, Tauchnitz Edition: Book 1

Fig 20. Guido's Beatrice Cenci, ca. 1889 Photogravure, Houghton, Mifflin and Company Edition

There are other examples of similar images used between the two books, but these images mainly consist of standard photographs of popular sites, such as Piazza del Popolo, Pincian Garden and Hill, Piazza di Spagna (The Spanish Steps), the Fountain of Trevi, Trajan's Column and Forum and The Coliseum. Most of the images are only differentiated by their viewpoint or cropping and illustrate the same sections of text.

Having two of the 1860s versions of Volume II allows the reader to view the similarities and differences in the photographs chosen by the original owners of the two copies. As noted previously, the photographs in the second copy of the 1860s publication seem to be of a more personal nature, containing fewer standardized photographs. However, despite these more personal selections, there are some interesting similarities in the photographs chosen for each copy. One involves an image of a woman with a bundle of sticks. Both copies have the image near the same section of text. However, the first copy has an actual photograph of a woman carrying a bundle of sticks on her head, while the second copy has a reproduction of a painting of a woman carrying a bundle of sticks and leaves, with goats around her and bridge in the background.

The second image that is repeated in the two books is that of a confessional (fig. 21, 22). In both cases, this image is used to illustrate a passage within "Chapter XXXIX: The World's Cathedral." While at first this may seem to be an odd image to insert into the book—for it is not a landscape, painting or building—the confessional itself is a pivotal point within the story. The chapter depicts a scene in which Hilde, a Protestant, seeks solace within a confessional in St. Peter's. Both images feature a confessional against the wall. However, in the first copy of Volume II it is a plain image of an empty confessional against a blank wall. Meanwhile, the photograph in the second copy appears to be a more spontaneous photograph; it depicts a priest in the confessional and two parishioners to the side, one of which is using the confessional.

Fig 21. [Confessional], ca. 1860,
Albumen print, Tauchnitz Edition: Book 2

Fig 22. [Confessional with priest inside],
ca. 1860, Albumen print, Tauchnitz Edition:
Book 3

The two copies of Volume 2 also contain two examples of two different photographs that are used to illustrate the same section of text. One example is on page 246 in Book 2 and page 247 in Book 3. Both of these sections come from "Chapter XLVII: A Scene in the Corso," which describes people watching a carnival from their balconies (fig 23). However, in Book 2 the photograph used to illustrate the scene is a demure reproduction of a painting of three women on a balcony in traditional costume (fig 24). Meanwhile, the second copy uses a more expansive scene: a reproduction of a painting depicting a parade through the streets, complete with people watching from balconies and windows.

Fig 23. [Painting of three women on a balcony in traditional costume], ca. 1860, Albumen print, Tauchnitz Edition: Book 2

Fig 24. [Painting of a parade through the streets with people watching from balconies and windows], ca. 1860, Albumen print, Tauchnitz Edition: Book 3

The other example of a major discrepancy between the books is found on page 191 in Book 3 and page 192 in Book 2. Both pieces of text are from "Chapter XLIII: The Extinction of a Lamp," but these two images are drastically different and showcase two very different sections of text. In Book 3, the image is a reproduction of an illustration depicting a filled theater; it is used to describe this text: "he went to the Teatro Argentino, and sat gloomily to see an Italian comedy, which ought to have cheered him somewhat, being full of glancing merriment, and effective over everybody's disabilities except his own."[48] The image in Book 2 is of a street with a cart and a person. It is used to describe the sentence, "as he made his way through the complication of narrow streets, which perplex that portion of the city, a carriage passed him."[49] These examples prove that while there were standard images and themes often chosen for certain pages and chapters,

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[48] Ibid 192
[49] Ibid

there was still some degree of personalization and choice claimed by the owner of a given book.

Finally, in Book 3 and the 1889 Volume II there are four other examples of similar images that are used in both publications. The first example is the identical images of the statue The Apollo Belvedere used in both versions. Both illustrate a section of text in "Chapter XLIII: The Extinction of a Lamp" in which Kenyon is examining statues and questions whether "the Apollo Belvedere itself possesses any merit above its physical beauty, or is beyond criticism even in that generally acknowledged excellence."[50] It is interesting that this image should be used in this section of text, especially given that the surrounding text mostly discusses The Laocoön Group.

The Laocoön Group provides another example of how the same photograph is used in the two books. However, the treatment of this photograph is different in the two versions. In the 1889 copy, it is used as a frontispiece for the second volume. In the 1860s copy, the creator used the image to describe a passage that follows the photograph of The Apollo Belvedere: "nothing pleased him, unless it were the group of the Laocoön, which in its immortal agony, impressed Kenyon as a type of the long, fierce struggle of Man, involved in the knotted entanglements of Error and Evil, those two snakes, which (if no Divine help intervene) will be sure to strangle him and his children, in the end."[51]

The other two examples of the same landmark being used in the two volumes involve photographs of the Pantheon and the Tomb of Raphael. Interestingly, the two volumes display The Pantheon in very different photographs. The Pantheon in the 1860s copy is a reproduction of an image of the interior that displays the oculus as well as small

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[50] Ibid 156
[51] Ibid

groups of people inside. The 1889 copy, on the other hand, deploys an image of the Pantheon's exterior. In this photograph, the buildings and streets are shown but the area is devoid of people. Meanwhile, the photographs of The Tomb of Raphael are very similar in the two copies. In both versions, the photographs highlight the plaque near Raphael's tomb. In the 1889 version, the image is a straight on shot of the plaque with nothing of surrounding area. The 1860s version shows more of the area around the plaque, but it is still obvious that the plaque is the focal point of the photograph.

As proven by these comparisons, these four volumes share many similar images and photographs. The Tauchnitz volumes share these similarities even though each is the product of a different person's trip through Italy. As discussed in the previous chapter, despite the fact that travel had become somewhat standardized, tourists could still have a varied enough trip to create entirely different albums. In the case of the Tauchnitz volumes, a tourist did not even need to travel in order to complete their book because the bookseller had pre-made versions available. So while it is not surprising that volumes like Book 1 would share similar photographs with other volumes created in the same manner, this study has also shown that even the more personalized books, such as Book 3, contain photographs that are similar to other versions.

So why, considering how different each tourist's trip could be, are the Tauchnitz volumes so similar? The primary answer lies within Hawthorne's text. The detailed descriptions of the scenes in Rome that are experienced by his characters provided a framework for the creation of specific photographs. In addition, since many of the sites featured in the novel were already historically and artistically important, professional photographs of these sites were readily available. As a result, the creator of a Tauchnitz

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volume already had a framework of sites and a readily available supply of images with which to illustrate the scenes depicted in the novel. These factors help to explain the similarity in the three Tauchnitz volumes discussed in this paper.

This commonality of images is also evident in the Houghton, Mifflin and Company 1889 edition. Because they were creating a mass-market illustrated book, the company knew that it would be wise to use a number of standard images of the sites in Rome that are highlighted in the novel. They therefore selected similar, and in some cases the exact same, images as those found in the Tauchnitz volumes. The publisher's advertisement quoted on page 31 indicates the intent to create a mass-market book that was similar to the Tauchnitz volumes. With this in mind, it can be surmised that the later publishers made use of the extra-illustrated Tauchnitz editions when selecting the images for their publication.

Further proof of this theory can be found using even the small sampling chosen for this essay. For example, Book 1 and Volume 1 of Houghton, Mifflin and Company's edition have 66% similar images. Books 2 and 3 and Volume II of Houghton, Mifflin and Company's edition share a smaller, yet no less impressive number of illustrations: 41% of the images are similar. Because Book 1 appears to be the most standardized of the three Tauchnitz, it is not surprising that this volume and the Houghton Mifflin Volume 1 share the most images. Houghton, Mifflin and Company seemed to have desired a mass-produced book and they achieved this by choosing images that were the same as or similar to those in the Tauchnitz volumes.

Conclusion

The publication of Nathaniel Hawthorne's The *Marble Faun* introduced readers to the lives of expatriate artists living in Italy. The descriptive views of Italy contained in the novel, along with the rise of tourism and the changes in printing technology at the time, created an opportunity for the development of the books that are compared in this paper. While there are other known examples of illustrated books, Hawthorne's book is truly unique and suitable for extra-illustration because of its use of vivid landscapes and architectural settings, as well as his characters' artistic sensibilities. These factors, combined with the almost guidebook-like quality of the narrative, created opportunities for booksellers to provide standardized photographs that were used by tourists to illustrate their copies of the novel, thus creating a distinctive souvenir object.

The production and use of photographs as a souvenir object was a mid-to-late-nineteenth century development that was closely associated with the ideals of travel. As a result of the mass phenomenon of tourism, which developed in the nineteenth century, there was a growing demand for souvenir objects. In addition, the presence of a number of photographic studios and large commercial photographic companies meant that photographs were relatively cheap and provided an easy way for a tourist to "consume," or own, a piece of these sites. At the same time, the popularity of guidebooks and packaged tours created a standard itinerary for tourists. *The Marble Faun's* description of many sites that would be part of a typical travelers itinerary, in addition to the availability of photographs of these sites, make the novel's use as a guidebook and souvenir object an accurate reflection of nineteenth century travel ideas. Meanwhile, the

novel helped to standardize, and even codify, the ways in which foreign visitors

experienced Rome.

Bearing in mind the popularity of the extra-illustrated Tauchnitz editions of *The*

Marble Faun and the technological changes in printing and photographic technology at

the time, it is not surprising that Houghton, Mifflin and Company created a photogravure

copy of *The Marble Faun* in 1889. The use of photomechanical processes, such as

photogravure, made it possible for the company to make a cheap, mass-produced and

standardized simulacra of Tauchnitz's 1860s extra-illustrated editions.

And examination of three copies of 1860s extra-illustrated Tauchnitz editions

found at the George Eastman House Richard and Ronay Menschel Library revealed a

number of differences. Some of these differences may be attributed to the creator's

personal preferences, as noted by Susan S. Williams. It could also be speculated that

some of the differences in the three Tauchnitz editions could also represent different

ways of experiencing a tour of Italy.

Book 1, with its ornate binding, standardized carte de visite—many of which can

be attributed to a well established photography company—could have been bought by a

tourist taking a standardized Grand Tour. It could be that, for this traveler, the sites to be

visited were pre-determined, the visit to the booksellers pre-arranged and the final

creation a showpiece souvenir. The deterioration of the photographs might also indicate

that it was frequently opened or perhaps displayed. Book 2 is a more modest creation,

perhaps representing a less lavish experience of Italy. With the lack of ornamentation in

its binding and the use of simple marbled paper on the front, it is likely that the book was ·

less for display purposes and more of a tool to be used by its creator while traveling in

Rome. It appears to be more of a guidebook used to note important places within the text and to allow its creator to review them at a later date. Book 3 seems to represent a more personalized experience of Italy. The inclusion of blank pages within the novel provides the creator with an opportunity to add personalized photographs. The inclusion of photographs such as the hands (fig. 5) might indicate a more personalized experience of the novel. The photograph of the two clasped hands appears within "Chapter XXXV: The Bronze Pontiff's Benediction," in which Hawthorne wrote, "in this momentous interview, therefore, two souls were groping for each other in the darkness of guilt and sorrow, and hardly were bold enough to grasp the cold hands that they found." This type of photographic selection might indicate that the creator of this volume used their book not only as a memento of their travel experiences but also as a tool to enhance the content and concepts presented in the novel.

When the Tauchnitz volumes are compared to the 1889 Houghton, Mifflin and Company edition, it is possible to conjecture that the images in the 1889 edition were created using the 1860s extra-illustrated Tauchnitz editions as a template. Images that had proven popular with tourists would be an obvious choice for an illustrated edition of the novel. In addition, the availability of these extra-illustrated editions would provide the publishers with information on the photographs most frequently utilized. It can therefore be speculated that Houghton, Mifflin and Company used this information as a basis for their photogravure selection.

In conclusion, the convergence of the wildly popular novel's realist text—which made it ideal for photographic illustration—the availability of standardized photographic processes and the expansion of tourism to include the middle-classes made the creation of

a personal souvenir not only feasible but also highly desirable. Developments in photomechanical reproduction in the late 19th century helped further transform the novel, which first existed as a unique tourist-produced souvenir and later into one of the earliest successful—and also one of the most influential—examples of the mass market illustrated novel.

Appendix 1

Summary descriptions of books

Book 1 – Tauchnitz 1860s edition (Volume I)
-   Size: 4 ½ x 6 ½" (11.4 x 16.5 cm)
-   Contains the first twenty-five chapters of the novel
-   292 pages, 20 photographs
-   Mostly accredited Alinari photographs
-   Cover is white vellum with image of a wolf and Romulus and Remus in gilding along with decorative borders

Book 2 – Tauchnitz 1860s edition (Volume II)
-   Size: 4 ½ x 6 ½" (11.4 x 16.5 cm)
-   Contains the last twenty-five chapters of the novel
-   280 pages, 13 photographs
-   Some accredited Alinari photographs with other non- accredited studios
-   Cover is simple marbled paper with a red leather quarter binding

Book 3 – Tauchnitz 1860s edition (Volume II)
-   Size: 4 ½ x 6 ½" (11.4 x 16.5 cm)
-   Contains the last twenty-five chapters of the novel
-   280 pages, 25 photographs
-   No accredited photographs
-   Cover is white vellum (now yellow) with slight embossing of gold on the front and back. Spine has a block of red with *The Marble Faun* written in gold and a block of blue with *VOL. II.* also in gold lettering. Additionally the spine also has gold designs embossed into it.

Book 4 - Houghton, Mifflin and Company 1889 edition (Volume I & II)
-   Size: 17.1 x 11.9" (43.4 x 30.2 cm)
-   Volume I: The first 25 chapters, Volume II: the last twenty-five chapters
-   Volume I: 384 pages, 27 images Volume II: 372 pages, 24 images
-   Photogravure prints
-   Covers are bright red book cloth with a half binding of white vellum on the spine. The vellum has a small decorative border of gold tooled along the edge where it meets the book cloth. There is also a gold flower design on both the front and back of both volumes

Appendix 2

Listing of Photographs in books

Comparison of Photographs:
Between Book 1· 1860 Edition (Volume 1) and 1889 Edition (Volume 1)

	Book 1: 1860 Edition (Volume 1)	1889 Edition (Volume 1)
Image 1		
Page Number	Frontispiece	Frontispiece
Image title/description	Full body sitting portrait of Nathaniel Hawthorne	Nathaniel Hawthorne
Accompanying text/notes	Bottom of image is signed	
Image 2		
Page Number	Page 1	
Image title/description	[Sculpture gallery] (5968)	
Accompanying text/notes	Page discusses one of the saloons of the sculpture gallery in the Capitol at Rome	
Image 3		
Page Number	Page 2	
Image title/description	[The Roman Forum looking out on the ruins] (6242)	
Accompanying text/notes	"Farther on, the eye skirts along the edge of the desolate Forum (where Roman washerwomen hang out their linen to the sun)…"	
Image 4		**Image 2**
Page Number	Page 5	Page 22
Image title/description	The Marble Faun (5993)	The Faun of Praxiteles
Accompanying text/notes	"The Faun is the marble image of a young man, leaning his right arm on the trunk or stump of a tree…"	(Same image as in 1860 edition)
		Image 3
Page Number		Page 30
Image title/description		The Dying Gladiator
Accompanying text/notes		
		Image 4
Page Number		Page 40
Image title/description		Saint Cecilia
Accompanying text/notes		
		Image 5
Page Number		Page 46
Image title/description		In the Catacombs

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	Column A	Column B
Accompanying text/notes		
		Image 6
Page Number		Page 68
Image title/description		
Accompanying text/notes		Hilda's Tower, Via Portoghese
	Image 5	**Image 7**
Page Number	Page 73	Page 84
Image title/description	Galleria Barberini Ritratto di Beatrice Cenci (7323)	Guido's Beatrice Cenci
Accompanying text/notes	"But by what unheard-of solicitations or secret interest have you obtained leave to copy Guido's Beatrice Cenci?"	
	Image 6	
Page Number	Page 100	
Image title/description	[Copy of Painting (Tarantella)] (231)	
Accompanying text/notes	"They proved to be a vagrant band such as Rome and all Italy, abounds with…"	
	Image 7	**Image 8**
Page Number	Page 115	Page 120
Image title/description	Piazza del Popolo (6703)	Piazza del Popolo
Accompanying text/notes	"In the board piazza, too the was a motley crowd."	
	Image 8	**Image 9**
Page Number	Page 116	Page 122
Image title/description	Pubblico passaggio del pincio Fontana del mose (6717)	
		Fountain of Moses, Pincian Garden
Accompanying text/notes	"The Pincian Hill is the favourite promenade of the Roman aristocracy."	
	Image 9	
Page Number	Page 125	
Image title/description	Castella e ponte s'angelo (6075)	
Accompanying text/notes	"Lifting their eyes Hilda and her companion gazed westward and saw beyond the invisible Tiber the Castle of St. Angelo; that immense tomb of a pagan emperor, with the archangel at its summit."	
	Image 10	**Image 10**
Page Number	Page 126	Page 130
Image title/description	Basilica e Piazza San Pietro	View from the Pincian Hill

Accompanying text/notes	''At any nearer view the grandeur of St. Peter's hides itself...''	
Image 11		**Image 11**
Page Number	Page 130	Page 136
Image title/description	Piazza di Spagna (4218)	
		Grand Stairs from the Piazza di Spagna
Accompanying text/notes	Mention of Piazza on page 131	
		Image 12
Page Number		Page 138
Image title/description		Canova's Studio
Accompanying text/notes		
Image 12		**Image 13**
Page Number	Page 164	Page 150
Image title/description	[Sketch of Rafael's Madonna and Child (*Study for the Madonna del Granduca)]*	The Rape of the Sabines
Accompanying text/notes	"As interesting as any of these relics was..."	
Image 13		**Image 14**
Page Number	Page 170	Page 172
Image title/description	Fontana di Trevi (6240)	Fountain of Trevi
Accompanying text/notes	Fountain mentioned on 171	
		Image 15
Page Number		Page 174
Image title/description		A Roman Peasant
Accompanying text/notes		
Image 14		**Image 16**
Page Number	Page 178	Page 178
Image title/description	Il Foro Traiano (6260)	Trajan's Column and Forum
Accompanying text/notes	"This was the fate, also, of Trajan's forum..."	
Image 15		**Image 17**
Page Number	Page 183	Page 182
Image title/description	Antiteatro Flavio e Colosseo (5817)	The Coliseum

			Image 18
Accompanying text/notes	"As usual of a moonlight evening, several carriages stood at the entrance of this famous ruin…"		

			Image 18
Page Number			Page 184
Image title/description			Interior of the Coliseum
Accompanying text/notes			

			Image 19
Page Number			Page 188
Image title/description			Arch of Constantine
Accompanying text/notes			

			Image 20
Page Number			Page 190
Image title/description			Arch of Titus
Accompanying text/notes			

			Image 21
Page Number			Page 194
Image title/description			Roman Forum
Accompanying text/notes			

			Image 22
Page Number			Page 196
Image title/description			Approach to the Capitol; to the left, Steps of the Ara Coel
Accompanying text/notes			

	Image 16		Image 23
Page Number	Page 198		Page 198
Image title/description	Piazza del Campidoglio Statua di Marco Aurelio		Statue of Marcus Aurelius
Accompanying text/notes	"The party ascended the winding way that leads for the Forum to the Piazza of the Campidoglio…"		

	Image 17		
Page Number	Page 210		
Image title/description	*Campidoglio. Palazzo Senatorio, ora Comunale* (5961)		

Accompanying text/notes	"When they reached the flight of steps, leading downward from the Capitol…"	

	Image 18	Image 24
Page Number	page 221	Page 216
Image title/description	*Chiesa di S. Maria della Concezione. San Michele Arcangelo* (7197)	Guido's Saint Michael
Accompanying text/notes	"Accordingly, they turned into the first chapel on the right hand…"	

	Image 19	Image 25
Page Number	Page 226	Page 226
Image title/description	[Same church] *Una delle Cappelle mortuarie dei Cappuccini ivi sepolti* (6123)	Capuchin Crypt
Accompanying text/notes	"The dead monk was clad, as when alive, in the brown woolen frock of the Capuchins…"	

		Image 26
Page Number		Page 234
Image title/description		Medici Gardens
Accompanying text/notes		

	Image 20	Image 27
Page Number	Page 263	Page 260
Image title/description	*Villa e Torre del Callo (Profrieta del Conte Paolo) Galletti* (3345)	Dining-room of an Italian palace
Accompanying text/notes	"But what a fine old tower! Its tall front is like a page of black-letter, taken from the history of the Italian republics."	

Total number of images	20	27

Comparison of Photographs:
Between Book 2: 1860 Edition (Volume 2), Book 3: 1860 Edition (Volume 2) and 1889 Edition (Volume 2)

	Book 2: 1860 Edition (Volume 2)	Book 3: 1860 Edition (Volume 2)	1889 Edition (Volume 2)
			Image 1
Page Number			Frontispiece
Image title/description			The Laocoön Group
Accompanying text/notes			
			Image 2
Page Number			Page 292 (Page 25)
Image title/description			Grand Ducal Square, and Palazzo Vecchio. Florence
Accompanying text/notes			
	Image 1		**Image 3**
Page Number	Page 18		Page 294 (Page 27)
Image title/description	Bambino d'Aracoeli (4097)		Titian's Magdalene
Accompanying text/notes	"Inside of a glass case an image of the sacred Bambino…"		
	Image 2	**Image 1**	**Image 4**
Page Number	Page 62	Page 63	Page 334 (page 67)
Image title/description	[Woman with bundle of sticks]	[Reproduction of painting of woman carrying a bundle of sticks and leaves with goats around her and bridge in the background]	The Three Fates, by Michelangelo
Accompanying text/notes	"He delighted in the picturesque bits of the rustic character and manners…"	"Another ordinary sight, as sylvan as the above. and more agreeable, was a girl, bearing on her back a huge bundle of green twigs and shrubs…"	
		Image 2	
Page Number		Page 72	
Image title/description		[Old Man sitting by a cross on the side of the road]	
Accompanying text/notes		"There are many religious customs if these people that seem good…"	
		Image 3	**Image 5**
Page Number		Page 82	Page 348 (page 81)
Image title/description		[Old Gothic church (Milan Cathedral?)]	A fresco by Giotto, in the Church of St. Francis, at Assisi
Accompanying text/notes		"The friends left the church, and, looking up from the exterior…"	
		Image 4	**Image 6**
Page Number		Page 87	Page 354 (page 87)
Image title/description		[Palazzo with fountain in the middle]	A Gateway of Perugia

	Image 3 / 4 / 5	Image 5–10	Image 7–11
Accompanying text/notes		"They wandered to and fro. accordingly, and lost themselves…"	
			Image 7
Page Number			Page 356 (page 89)
Image title/description			Angel, by Fra Angelico
Accompanying text/notes			
	Image 3	**Image 5**	**Image 8**
Page Number	Page 90	Page 91	Page 370 (page 103)
Image title/description	[Statue of a Pope (Pope Julius the Third)]	[Close up of statue of the Pope (front facing without the column he is sitting on showing)]	Statue of Pope Julius III
Accompanying text/notes	"on one side. there was an immense edifice…"	"…I can spare in studying yonder statue of Pope Julius the Third…"	
		Image 6	
Page Number		Page 101	
Image title/description		[Two hands holding each other and sitting on a dark cushion]	
Accompanying text/notes		"…the instinctive motions of their hearts, impelling them towards the other."	
		Image 7	**Image 9**
Page Number		Page 112	Page 384 (page 117)
Image title/description		[Painting of Joanna of Aragon]	The Transfiguration, by Raphael
Accompanying text/notes		"One day, while she stood before Leonardo da Vinci's picture of Joanna of Aragon…"	
		Image 8	**Image 10**
Page Number		Page 120	Page 394 (page 127)
Image title/description		[Painting of woman with breasts exposed and holding a cloth underneath them]	Interior of St. John Lateran
Accompanying text/notes		"The remainder of the gallery comprises mythological subjects…"	
	Image 4	**Image 9**	
Page Number	Page 130	Page 130	
Image title/description	Chiesa dell'Ara Coeli	[Front of building with statues along the top and large columns. In the foreground is a horse-drawn carriage and two men walking past the building]	
Accompanying text/notes	"She climbed the hundred steps of Ara Coeli…"		
	Image 5	**Image 10**	**Image 11**
Page Number	Page 134	Page 135	Page 398 (page 131)

Image title/description	*S. Pietro*	[Saint Peter's]	St. Peter's
Accompanying text/notes	"Her pre-conception of Saint Peter's..."	"One afternoon, as Hilda entered Saint Peter's in sombre mood..."	
		Image 11	**Image 12**
Page Number		Page 136	Page 400 (page 133)
Image title/description		[Saint Peter's interior]	
			Statue of St. Peter
Accompanying text/notes		"She would not have banished one of the grim popes..."	
		Image 12	**Image 13**
Page Number		Page 137	Page 410 (page 143)
Image title/description		[Statue of Saint Peter]	Interior of St. Peter's
Accompanying text/notes		"...kneel to kiss the toe of the brazen St. Peter..."	
	Image 6	**Image 13**	
Page Number	Page 142	Page 141	
Image title/description	[Confessional]	[Confessional with priest inside]	
Accompanying text/notes	"Approaching on of the confessionals..."	"Who, in truth, that considers the matter, can resist a similar impression!"	
	Image 7	**Image 14**	**Image 14**
Page Number	Page 168	Page 160	Page 420 (page 153)
Image title/description	*Castel S. Angelo e Fiume*	[Castel S. Angelo]	Castle of Saint Angelo
Accompanying text/notes	"...frozen foam along the eastern shore of the Tiber..."	"Looking up, for example, at the statue of St. Michael..."	
		Image 15	**Image 15**
Page Number		Page 169	Page 422 (page 155)
Image title/description		[Statue of woman reclining with bottom pedestal carved with men and snakes (Sleeping Ariadne)]	
			The Seven-Branched Golden Candlestick
Accompanying text/notes		"Kenyon's Roman artisans, all this while, had been at work on the Cleopatra."	
	Image 8	**Image 16**	**Image 16**
Page Number	Page 182	Page 185	Page 440 (page 173)
Image title/description	[A square with an L-shaped building] (284)	[Man of religious order in white robe with hood, holding a box]	The Ghetto
Accompanying text/notes	"In that vicinity lies the Ghetto, where thousands of Jews are crowded within a narrow compass..."	"Between Hilda and the sculptor there had been a kind of half-expressed understanding..."	
		Image 17	**Image 17**
Page Number		Page 186	Page 446 (page 179)

Image title/description **Accompanying text/notes**		[Statue of nude young man with sandals and a cloth draped across his arm (Apollo Belvedere)] "…and whether the Apollo Belvedere itself possesses any merit above its physical beauty…"	Apollo Belvedere
		Image 18	
Page Number **Image title/description** **Accompanying text/notes**		Page 187 [Laocoon Group] "Thus, in the Laocoon, the horror of a moment grew…"	
	Image 9	**Image 19**	**Image 18**
Page Number **Image title/description** **Accompanying text/notes**	Page 192 [Street with cart and person] "As he made his way through the complication of narrow streets…" (Note person is blurred)	Page 191 [Reproduction of an illustration of a filled theater] ".... he went to the Teatro Argentino, and sat gloomily to see an Italian comedy…"	Page 472 (page 205) Porta San Sebastiano, and Arch of Drusus
			Image 19
Page Number **Image title/description** **Accompanying text/notes**			Page 474 (page 207) Arch of Drusus: Appian Way
Page Number **Image title/description** **Accompanying text/notes**			
Page Number **Image title/description** **Accompanying text/notes**			
	Image 10	**Image 20**	**Image 20**
Page Number **Image title/description** **Accompanying text/notes**	Page 222 [A castle tower with a road separating it and a wall] "About two miles or more from the city gate and right upon the roadside…"	Page 222 [Road with ruins]	Page 476 (page 209) Cecilia Metella's Tomb
	Image 11	**Image 21**	**Image 21**
Page Number	Page 226	Page 228	Page 480 (page 213)

|			
Image title/description	[Statue of naked young woman with hand covering breast and leg supported by tree stump]	[Portrait of two young children in traditional costume]	Venus de' Medici
Accompanying text/notes	"For these long buried hands immediately disposed themselves in the manner..."	"Kenyon now saw the figures of a peasant and a Contadina..."	
	Image 12	Image 22	Image 22
Page Number Image title/description	Page 246 [Painting of three women on a balcony in traditional costume]	Page 247 [Painting of a parade through the streets with people watching from balconies and windows]	Page 490 (page 223) The Campagna, Appian Way, and Claudian Aqueduct
Accompanying text/notes	"Among this various crowd, at windows and in balconies..."	"You may see throngs of men and boys who thrust themselves beneath the horses hoofs to gather up bouquets that were aimed amiss from balcony and carriage..."	
		Image 23	Image 23
Page Number Image title/description Accompanying text/notes		Page 248 [Interior of Pantheon] "But, to do the Roman people justice, they were restrained by a better safeguard..."	Page 514 (page 247) The Pantheon
		Image 24	
Page Number Image title/description Accompanying text/notes		Page 257 [Trajan's column] "He now found himself approaching that broad piazza bordering on the Corso..."	
	Image 13	Image 25	Image 24
Page Number Image title/description Accompanying text/notes	Page 266 [Piazza della Rotonda] "A few days after Hilda's reappearance, she and the sculptor..." (The obelisk in the front, the pantheon is in the background and there are two carriages in the piazza)	Page 267 [Plaque with Raphaeli Sanctio Ioann I' Vrbinati... (plaque near Rapheal's tomb?)] "They went in, accordingly a stood in the free space of that great circle..."	Page 520 (page 253) The Tomb of Raphael
Total number of images	13	25	24

Appendix 3

Selected image comparisons

Book 2: *Castel S. Angelo e Fiume*, ca. 1860, Albumen print

Book 3: [Castle S. Angelo], ca. 1860, Albumen print
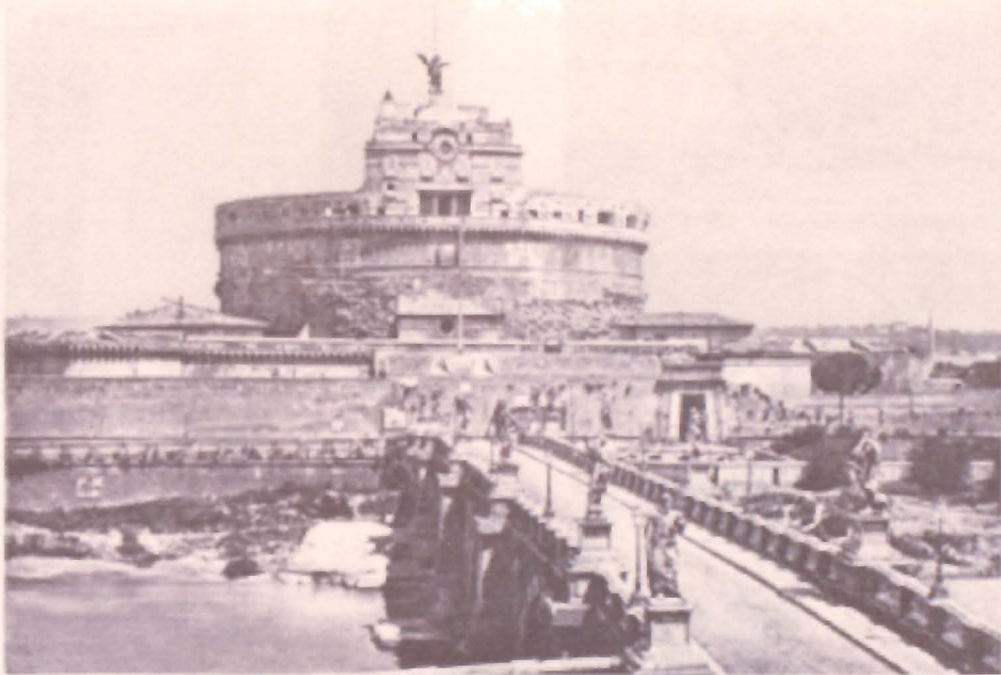
1889 publication: *Castle of Saint Angelo*, ca. 1889, Photogravure

Book 2: [Statue of a Pope (Pope Julius the Third)], ca. 1860, Albumen

Book 3: [Close up of statue of the Pope], ca. 1860, Albumen print

1889 publication: *Statue of Pope Julius III*, ca. 1889, Photogravure

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Book 2: *S. Pietro*, ca. 1860, Albumen print

Book 3: [Saint Peter's], ca. 1860, Albumen print

1889 publication: *Saint Peter's*, ca. 1889, Photogravure

Book 2: [A castle tower with a road separating it and a wall], ca. 1860, Albumen print

Book 3: [Road with ruins], ca. 1860, Albumen print

1889 publication: *Cecilia Metella's Tomb*, ca. 1889, Photogravure

Book 1: *Galleria Barberini Ritratto di Beatrice Cenci*
(7323), ca. 1860, Albumen print

1889 publication: *Guido's Beatrice Cenci*, ca. 1889,
Photogravure

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Book 1: *Piazza del popolo* (6703), ca. 1860, Albumen print

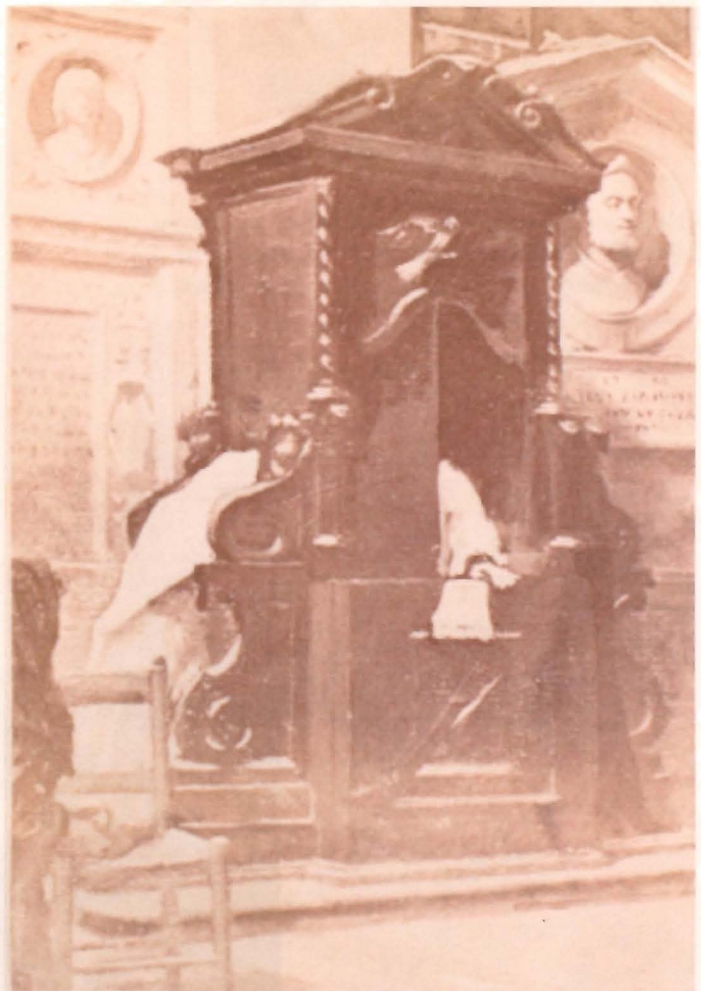1889 publication: *View from the Pincian Hill*, ca. 1889, Photogravure

Book 1: *Fontana di Trevi* (6240), ca. 1860, Albumen print

1889 publication: Fountain of Trevi, ca. 1889, Photogravure

Book 2: [Confessional], ca. 1860, Albumen print

Book 3: [Confessional with priest inside], ca. 1860,
Albumen print

Book 2: [Painting of three women on a balcony in traditional costume], ca. 1860, Albumen print

Book 3: [Painting of a parade through the streets with people watching from balconies and windows], ca. 1860, Albumen print

Book 2: [Street with cart and person], ca. 1860, Albumen print

Book 3: [Reproduction of an illustration of a filled theater], ca. 1860, Albumen print

Book 3: [Interior of Pantheon], ca. 1860, Albumen print

1889 publication: *The Pantheon*, ca. 1889, Photogravure

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