

What Was Criminology?
From Photography to Painting in Cesare Lombroso's (1835-1909)
Criminal Anthropology



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Kate West
Green Templeton College and Centre for Criminology, Faculty of Law
University of Oxford

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Abstract

Despite the emergence of a new criminological subfield called visual criminology in recent years and a long-standing criminological subfield called historical criminology, the visual history of criminology remains neglected. Nowhere is this neglect more obvious than when it comes to the scholarship of Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909). Given that Lombroso is considered to be the so-called founding figure of criminology it seems natural that a visual-historical study of our discipline should begin with him. A mere cursory glance through Lombroso's *L'uomo delinquente in rapporto all'antropologia, alla giurisprudenza e alle discipline carcerarie* [*Criminal Man in relation to anthropology, jurisprudence and prison disciplines*] (1876), his most well-known work in criminology, and especially the fourth volume of its fifth and final edition (1896-1897d), reveals it to be rich in terms of the quantity and quality of images therein. Nicole Rafter (1939-2016) began paying attention to the visual in Lombroso's scholarship and was a pioneer in this regard. However, her untimely death in 2016 meant that her efforts were frustrated in this regard. As yet, no in-depth study on the subject has been published. In this dissertation, I undertake a sustained book-length examination of the visual component of Lombroso's criminal anthropology. I focus on photography and, additionally, a visual medium that even scholars in the arts and especially literary and art histories are yet to analyse, namely painting especially as it manifests itself as fine art. I argue that Lombroso's criminal anthropology was not merely visual—that was something that Rafter (2014) observed before her death—but that it was, additionally, a creative and even artistic enterprise. In so doing I revise the orthodox history of criminology by troubling the relationship between science (Lombroso's criminal anthropology) on the one hand and the arts on the other. What was criminology? Not what we knew it to be.

Acknowledgements

In one of my earliest meetings with my supervisor they said to me that the obvious starting point for a research project that was both criminological and visual would be Lombroso's criminal anthropology. I left that meeting thinking that the last thing I wanted to spend the next few years (and it turned out some more) researching was Lombroso. I floundered as I read and read some more looking for some kind of way away from Lombroso, but it never really came. I am thankful for that (as well as that early meeting).

I would like to acknowledge the various sources of financial funding I have received over the years. First, the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) funded my initial efforts in visual criminology during my Masters degree as well as the first three years of my doctoral research. Thereafter I was supported by scholarships from the Faculty of Law, the Scottish International Education Trust and Green Templeton College. I also received a large financial hardship grant, too, a source—I am told by one person who manages these funds—which is underutilised because of a shame in applying for it. Fortunately, I have no shame, and I mean that in earnest. My College and Department rightly waived their Continuation Fees when I appealed against them on the grounds of disability discrimination. No disabled student should have to bear these fees since they are, as I repeatedly pointed out to my College and the University, a form of disability discrimination. I am still profoundly disturbed by how mis-and-un-informed Universities are with regards to disability in the context of postgraduate research students. Disabled students pay these fees because they are disabled, and it is only through the efforts and emotional labour of disabled students that they are slowly being questioned. I additionally self-funded the research undertaking a more-than-was-advisable amount of teaching at Reading Law School as well as several fixed-term contracts as a Research Assistant at the Centre for Criminology. I would also like to acknowledge that I during a period of intermittence I was supported by Employment and Support Allowance because I was unable to work because of chronic illness. Finally, I would like to thank my parents who assisted me by allowing me to move in rent-free and covering my rent on those occasions when I had frustrated all of the above. I appreciate that I am privileged in respect of their help, especially.

I experienced profound existential difficulty during my research not just because of the shady and impenetrable economics of doctoral study but so too because of what the literary scholar Lauren Berlant calls 'cruel optimism'—when the object of your desire prevents you from flourishing. I know that I am not alone in this regard. My parents did not attend university and did not have so-called 'professional' occupations while I was growing up. My father was an industrial trawlerman fishing out of Fraserburgh throughout my childhood. Originally, I went to University in search of a vocation (to practice law) and financial stability rather than an education, but I stumbled upon the latter. Doctoral study with little to no financial security guaranteed at its end and against this context was, I can confirm, cruelly optimistic.

I would like to thank my supervisors Mary Bosworth and Eamonn Carrabine. I would like to thank Mary for agreeing to supervise a project that was embarrassingly ambitious up until this last calendar year. Mary interviewed me for my ESRC 1+3 studentship in 2010. I was particularly reluctant to leave Edinburgh University and Scotland more generally and had my interview experience with her not been so enjoyable I sometimes reflect on whether I might have come to Oxford in the first instance. Mary is also the reason why I stayed at Oxford. I experienced chronic as well as bouts of acute and on one occasion near-fatal depression during my doctoral research. Mary encouraged me not to give up. Mary allowed me to read widely in art history and English literature as well as in the arts and humanities more generally. If I could do anything differently it would be to have listened to her advice more, both intellectually and pastorally. I know Eamonn will not mind my saying that Mary undertook the bulk of the supervision of this project. Mary read countless iterations of the chapters herein. She also read numerous iterations of several (!) chapters that never made it into the dissertation. I hope to publish these as independent publications—one

of which entitled 'hearing hysteria: an aural history of women's imprisonment' is currently in preparation.

I would like to thank Eamonn for agreeing to co-supervise my doctoral research after I badgered him a little too much to 'volunteer' his services (sorry Eamonn). He has always shown generosity, kindness and, I am sure as anyone who knows him will agree, such good spiritedness. I often felt and still feel embarrassed speaking about my project with scholars and especially criminologists, but Eamonn has always provided a safe, encouraging and even inspiring space in which to think and write. Thanks to Eamonn I have an excessively large and diverse reading list, I have presented my research in the United States and met several scholars from there and Australia who work in my area of research and with who I happily remain in contact.

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I would like to thank the friends I have formed close relationships with during my time in Oxford. Three women, in particular, have supported me throughout this difficult process. They are my dear friends, peers and now colleagues Kate Greasley, Sylvia Rich and Jo Simon. Kate, I remember our innumerable days in your kitchen (and look forward to many to come) trying to work but often just eating cheese, cakes, and drinking all kinds of booze. Sylvia, I remember our time in Canada with your family so very fondly, a highlight of my life so far. And to Jo Jo, our late-night adventures to the Halfmoon while we were busy practicing some serious 'avoidance strategies', somehow despite the mega hangovers, subsequent days off of the DPhil and anxiously 'skulking' and smoking lots of cigarettes on the Law Faculty steps I still feel like 'ah, those were the days'. Collectively I remember our nights at Greasley's (as she is affectionately known to distinguish from myself) drinking wine and always agreeing on just about everything (c.f. Mulberry-handbag-in-a-picket-line gate; middle-class-analog-phone gate; and liberal-feminist gate).

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offers me a medium to express myself a little more honestly. And so, I would like to say that I love you both so very much. You have supported me through particularly difficult times in my early and late twenties and I know that the end of this process will be as much a relief to you as it will be to me. As such I dedicate this dissertation to you.

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Abbreviations

C: followed by numeral, century (C19: nineteenth century).

eC: first period (third) of a century.

mC: middle period (third) of a century.

lC: last period (third) of a century.

c.: (before a date) approximately.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A contemporary history of visual criminology (c. 1970-2018)

Criminology and the visual—what I take to mean seeing and its associated practice of picturing—have not always been aligned¹. The criminological aversion to the visual has waned in the last few decades so much so that criminologists now speak of a ‘visual turn’ (Carrabine, 2012: 463). Criminology is becoming an increasingly visual enterprise and, following in the footsteps of its sister social sciences anthropology and sociology (and from which criminology is all-too-often segregated), criminology now has a distinct sub-discipline of visual criminology, to match its anthropological and sociological counterparts, visual anthropology and visual sociology. This dissertation contributes to this new sub-discipline and since visual criminology remains outside the mainstream I offer an account of its origins and development here in what follows.

The so-called cultural turn in social science pre-empted visual criminology’s emergence. As the visual-cultural geographer Gillian Rose (2012: 2-3) observes: ‘Beginning in the 1970s [...] ‘culture’ became a crucial means by which many social scientists understood social processes, identities and social change and conflict’. Culture is an infamously slippery concept. The visual cultural scholar and art historian Raymond Williams famously wrote that culture ‘is one of two or three of the most difficult words in the English language’ (Williams, 1976: 87). ‘Culture,’ Stuart Hall suggested, ‘is not so much a set of things—novels and paintings or television programmes or comics’—as a process, a set of practices’ (Hall, 1997:

¹ ‘The visual’ is a concept whose meaning is often left implicit in criminologists’ scholarship. Michelle Brown (2017) distinguishes ‘vision’ from ‘the visual’; Nicole Rafter (2000; 2001; 2006b; 2009; 2017) takes the visual to include still and moving images and objects; Eamonn Carrabine (2011a; 2011b; 2012; 2014; 2017a; 2017b; 2017c) takes it to include images as well as objects, observation and the relationship between the two otherwise known as spectatorship; with her focus on ‘affect’ Alison Young takes it to include spectatorship (2012; 2013; 2014; 2005a; 2005b; 2010a; 2010b; 2012; 2014).

2). There are two parts to Hall's definition of culture here. The first part refers to the 'things', as he calls them; the novels, paintings, the moving images of television programmes—and movies—and comics. However, he is keen to stress that these 'things' do not, on their own, constitute culture. Thus, Hall's definition of culture goes beyond an image or object itself to take account of how they are produced, distributed and exchanged or shared between persons and social, political and institutional groups, whilst simultaneously taking account of the way they are interpreted and attributed meaning or value. Here, the images and objects play a constitutive role in this 'process' or 'set of practices' coming together to constitute culture.

The cultural turn in social science generated theory on media. Media theory is not traditionally the preserve of criminologists and classic scholarship in this area reflects this, the authors of which sit squarely outside of criminology. For example, in *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962) which was later published in English as *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1989), the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas theorises the democratic potential of the public sphere in light of a once free printing press that was later co-opted by big business. Other classic studies in media include Marshall McLuhan's *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964) that riffed on the famous idea that 'the medium is the message', and Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's Marxist interpretation of news production, *Manufacturing Consent* (1988), Stuart Hall's 'Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse' (1973) and Jean Baudrillard's *Simulacres et Simulation* (1981) published later in English as *Simulacra and Simulations* (1994). As Greer (2010: 69) says with regards to Baudrillard, 'in the postmodern world the modernist notion of the original and the copy disintegrates: the original is displaced and then replaced by the copy, in the end becoming obsolete as the copy comes to represent and ultimately constitute the 'real'.

Media theory informed the sociology of deviance creating a body of work on 'media criminology' (Greer, 2010). Two important cultural works should be mentioned, namely as

Stanley Cohen's *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (1972) and Stuart Hall *et al.*'s *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order* (1978). A host of other classics deserve mention, too. Although well-known to criminologists, the extent to which Cohen and Hall engaged with the visual in their accounts of culture is often overlooked. Cohen touched on photography, questioning the objectivity of the medium (Cohen, 1972/2002: 40). Additionally, he observed how a single photograph that featured prominently in the American national press was used to manufacture a news story (Cohen, 1972/2002: 28-9). Finally, and relatedly, he argued that the photograph has the capacity to trump the real-life referent itself (1972/2002: 40-1)². Hall's 'The Determination of News Photographs' (1973) was particularly pioneering with regards to the visual. Hall's interpretation of news photographs was informed by Roland Barthes' now classic semiotic analysis of images and in particular photographs whereby images including photos function in terms of denotation and connotation (Barthes, 1977). As well as Barthes, Hall was informed by the work of Walter Benjamin (1936/1969)³. Hall considered the interplay between images and their captions—as Benjamin did—which demonstrated an early awareness in social science that the content of images alone tells us little and that their context is important in framing our interpretation of them.

At the same time as this culturally-informed deviancy scholarship in sociology was emerging there was a further and more focussed visual-cultural turn. Social scientists began to interpret the social world not just through the lens of culture but of visual culture. This saw the emergence of a visual sociology (for a comprehensive overview of visual sociology see Harper, 2012). Thus, in sociology there were several writers who argued that the visual is central to the cultural construction of social life. One sociologist who did the most work in this regard was Howard Becker. It was not Becker's scholarship on deviance, though, that

² Cohen later developed this his research interests in visual culture in *States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering* (2001), a work of criminological significance.

³ The 1969 English-language translation is based on a revision of the essay in 1939.

was part of the visual cultural turn and that with which criminologists are more familiar, and specifically with his monograph *The Outsiders* (1963). Instead it was his scholarship on photography, hardly known to criminologists. In 'Photography and Sociology' (1974) Becker argued that photographers and sociologists shared the same ambition: to explore society. The only distinction between them, he thought, lay in the methods they used. Becker encouraged sociologists to use photography as method in their own research. Other scholars who should be considered party to the development of a visual sociology included Erving Goffman and his study of gender in visual advertising (Goffman, 1979). As well as Goffman, Pierre Bourdieu's book *Photography: A Middlebrow Art* was also important (1965). Bourdieu showed how photography was a socially differentiated practice that aligned with taste and in turn, class. Bourdieu is another figure with whom criminologists are familiar (see, for example, Willis, 2017; Vannier, forthcoming; Shammass and Sandberg, 2013, 2016), although not with his scholarship on photography.

Pushing onwards from visual cultural analysis Becker, a decade later, intervenes in what can be called the sociology of art. Becker's *Art Worlds* is particularly notable here. In it, Becker develops a sociology of art where he theorises the visual arts as collective social action. Similarly, Bourdieu's scholarship is important. In the 1990s he wrote two important interventions (1993; 1996), which extend Becker's thesis of art as collective action. Using concepts increasingly used by criminologists today (on this see, for example, Shammass and Sandberg, 2016) including 'capital', 'habitus', and 'field', Bourdieu theorises the relationships between the artist and, for example, gallery directors, patrons, critics and so on. What is important about Becker's and Bourdieu's work on this area is the extent to which they displace the characteristically modern idea that artworks are the product of spiritual (in the early modern period) or biological (in the modern period proper) genius (see Harris, 2006 for a brief account of the historical significance of artistic genius).

Even with these early visual-cultural efforts by sociologists, it took another twenty years for criminologists to pay more attention to images, and even then, their attention was limited to the work of handful of scholars. Alison Young (1996) was particularly important in this respect. Some twenty years before the term visual criminology was coined, Young was analysing the image and especially images of violence in terms of ‘affect’. Young theorised affect not in intellectual, cognitive or, therefore, emotional terms, but in terms of bodily feeling. Her scholarship on the visual and affect distinguishes her scholarship from other visual criminological studies today.

Alison Young’s *Imagining Crime* (1996) used various kinds of images. For instance, she compared a series of documentary photographs and pictorial advertisements that pictured people with human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and aligned their meanings with the criminal court’s treatment of HIV-positive defendants. Young’s *Imagining Crime* (1996) marked the beginnings of her scholarship on the image and criminology that came to and continues to characterise her career (Young, 2005a; 2005b; 2010a, 2010b; 2012; 2013; 2014; Halsey and Young, 2006).

‘Cultural criminologists’ had also begun engaging with the image in the mid-1990s. Marked by the arrival of an eponymous monograph, ‘Cultural criminology’ was a new field (Ferrell and Sanders, 1995)⁴, which from the start, included moving images of television and films, as well as comics and, later, online, digital images. As Jeff Ferrell put it, (Ferrell, 1999: 406):

[C]ultural criminology incorporates a wealth of research on mediated characterizations of crime and crime control, ranging across historical and contemporary texts and investigating images generated in newspaper

⁴ There are a number of criticisms directed towards cultural criminology (for the latest list of and response to these see, Hayward, 2016). These well-documented criticisms are methodological, rather than epistemological. That is to say that there is less of a problem with viewing the social world through the lens of (visual) culture—the epistemology that informs my dissertation—and more of a problem with how and who, from the perspective of standpoint epistemologies, have done so.

reporting, popular film, television news and entertainment programming, popular music, comic books, and the cyberspaces of the Internet.

For Nicole Rafter, herself a key figure in the brief history of visual criminology and whose scholarship I review later in this chapter: ‘The main influence on the emergence ... of visual criminology has of course been cultural criminology, the movement centred in the United Kingdom and nurtured in particular by Keith Hayward, that has steadfastly incorporated images of everyday life’ (Rafter, 2014: 131; see also, Lippens in Gariglio, 2015: 115).

As was the case with Young, there were some more criminologists working on the visual who did not formally define themselves as cultural criminologists. Important among these was Claire Valier. In 2000, Valier published ‘Looking Daggers’. Here Valier undertook a reading of visual representations of punishment to reflect on the subjectivities of onlookers⁵. In this sense, Valier was opening up a space for thinking about the relationship between the image, on the one hand, and onlooker on the other. Specifically, she takes account of the way in which onlookers are constituted by the scene of punishment or what they see. She goes as far as to argue that the subjectivities of the person being punished and those of the onlooker merge or ‘collapse’ (Valier, 2000: 380). A few years later, Valier, built on this work with Ronnie Lippens in their article ‘Moving images: Ethics and Justice’ (2004). Here, Valier and Lippens theorised the collapse between penal subject and onlooker, this time using images of mothers grieving and vengeful relatives of murder victims. Moving away from psychoanalysis, Valier and Lippens employed Emmanuel Levinas’s philosophy of the Other, most famously associated with his *Totalité et Infini* [*Totality and Infinity*] (1961) later published in English as *Totality and Infinity* (1969/1991)⁶. These images, they suggest, are

⁵ Valier also analyses literary representations, but these remain outside the scope of this literature review and dissertation more generally. As such, I do not attend to them here.

⁶ Valier and Lippens’ Levinasian approach to crime and punishment has been continued by Michelle Brown and theoretical forensic scientist David Polizzi (2012).

used to justify punishment in that they elicit strong, emotional and even affective responses from viewers. In the face of these 'moving images' Valier and Lippens turn to Levinas's phenomenology of the Other as a way of tempering this response. Valier's scholarship, together with her scholarship with Lippens was part of a special issue of *Punishment and Society* which focused on the image. Inside that issue Mona Lynch (2004) undertook a consumerist critique of punishment by analysing the images broadcast via webcams inside an American jails; Evi Girling (2004) interrogates different ways of seeing the or 'visualities' of punishment by analysing a Benetton campaign that paired, for example, clinical representations of the death penalty with dehumanised representations of those on death row; and Ruth Penfold analysed images of celebrity victims of crimes (2004).

By 2010 Keith Hayward and Mike Presdee had published the anthology *Framing Crime: Cultural Criminology and the Image* (2010). The publication of an edited collection on the image can be interpreted as a synthesising moment in visual criminology (although it should be noted that the editors refrain from using the by-then established term 'visual criminology', preferring instead to bring the image into the purview of cultural criminology). In his introductory chapter to *Framing Crime*, Hayward remarked that cultural criminology would be incomplete without 'a thoroughgoing consideration and appreciation of the visual' (Hayward, 2010: 4). It was around this time, it is important to note that although not unrelated, visual criminology has become a sub discipline of its own. By the start of the twenty-first century criminologists finally seemed to appreciate the prevalence and relevance of images in contemporary social life. Take policing and the burgeoning private security market, for instance. Hayward notes that both police and private security use 'camera technology and image monitoring in their everyday practice' including, 'dashboard-mounted cameras', 'video-recording in custody suites'. 'photographing and videotaping crowds', 'CCTV systems', and 'mobile and static car license-plate recognition cameras'. (2010: 5-6). And in the following quotation Hayward (2010: 2, emphasis in original) offers a cumulative

list so overwhelming as to highlight the ocularcentric (Jay, 1988) nature of contemporary social life:

Today, as criminals videotape their crimes and post them on YouTube, as security agents scrutinize the image-making of criminals on millions of surveillance monitors, as insurrectionist groups upload video compilations (filmed from several angles) of “successful” suicide bomb attacks and roadside IED (Improvised Explosive Device) detonations, as images of brutality and victimization pop up on office computer screens and children’s mobile phones, as “reality TV” shows take the viewer ever deeper inside the world of the beat cop and prison setting, there can be no other option but the development of a thoroughgoing visual criminology.

Today, visual criminology is recognised as a sub-field of criminology as indicated by the recent publications of special issue *Theoretical Criminology* entitled ‘Visual Culture and the Iconography of Crime and Punishment’ in 2014 that featured work on subjects as varied as the ethics of viewing photographs of violence (Carrabine, 2014) to the legal regulation of street art and graffiti (Young, 2013; see also Young, 2014). Such diversity is representative of visual criminology more generally. Most recently, *The Routledge International Handbook of Visual Criminology* (Brown and Carrabine, 2017) was published. Now the approach has a name, prominent criminologists have retrospectively aligned their life’s work or oeuvre with it (Rafter, 2017; Rafter 2014). For instance, Rafter poignantly remarked in retrospect (2014: 133):

It is useful to have names for things. I am thinking of the name ‘visual criminology’. Now that we have it, we will better able to recognize work that falls into this category. For much of my professional life I was in fact doing visual criminology, with Lombroso studies, but I didn’t know it because my work had no name. I felt strange and out of step, maybe not a true scholar. Now I know what I do: visual criminology. Names are useful.

The absence of historical-visual and visual-historical criminologies

The prevalence and prominence of the visual, or what the visual cultural scholar Martin Jay calls ‘ocularcentrism’ (1989), is not a contemporary phenomenon, however. As Jay argues: ‘Beginning with the Renaissance and the scientific revolution, modernity has been normally considered resolutely ocularcentric’ (Jay, 1988: 3). Ocularcentrism has thus characterised the entire modern period (c1500-present).

Despite this long history, and as my overview of visual criminology above demonstrates, although the visual turn has brought an intimidating range of subjects within its purview, visual criminologists have limited their temporal scope and paid little attention to historical sites. This is to say that visual criminologists overwhelmingly focus on the contemporary moment. There are few exceptions to this rule (see, for example, Carrabine, 2011; 2017b; 2017c; Bierne, 2017; 2018; de Haan, 2015). To put it another way, criminologists doing visual research focus overwhelmingly on contemporary times. Visual criminology is, in other words, temporally challenged.

The ahistorical character of visual criminology I have just described above mirrors the ahistorical character of criminology more generally. There are a large number of formally trained historians or what the historian Allan Megill (1987) calls ‘disciplinary historians’ who research crime and punishment. They include Ian Channing (2015), David Churchill (2018), Louise Jackson (2000), Anne-Marie Kilday (2007; 2013; forthcoming), Alexandra Neale (2016), Heather Shore (1999; 2015)⁷. What distinguishes these historians from criminologists

⁷ This list is nowhere near exhaustive. There are too many historians of crime to note and several prominent ones are missing from this list (see, for example, Cox, 2003). I have constructed this list of those practicing in the British universities by way of reference the some founding members of a new British Society of Criminology Network in Historical Criminology that was established in the summer of 2018. The Network is: ‘concerned with promoting, developing and embedding historical approaches to criminology. It adopts an inclusive understanding of historical criminology, embracing all work which examines crime, criminal justice and related topics through historical time’ and its principal aims are to: promote historical scholarship on crime, criminal justice and related topics; forge closer dialogue between scholars interested in historical criminology from across disciplines; and to encourage engagement with historical resources in research and teaching in criminology’ (<http://www.britisoccrim.org/hc/>). The Network is comprised of historians with only a small minority of criminologists—the small minority of criminologists was extensively discussed during the Network’s first meeting. The Network is comprised of early, mid and late career scholars including one doctoral student, I only cite their principle scholarship here, namely their sole-authored monographs and—in one case—a doctoral manuscript as well as, where this is not possible, sole-authored journal articles.

practicing history is that they tend not to make a link with the present moment. However, this is beginning to change as some historians begin to publish in criminological journals and what distinguishes these publications with those in history journals is precisely this present-oriented thinking (Churchill, Crawford and Barker, 2017). Comparatively speaking, though, few formally-trained criminologists undertake historical research or as Mary Bosworth puts have ‘dared to transgress disciplinary boundaries’ (Bosworth, 2000: 268). Exceptions to this rule include Bosworth (2000; 2001), Helen Johnston (2015), Lizzie Seal (2014), Thomas Guiney (2018; forthcoming), Paul Knepper and Sandra Scicluna (2010); Sverre Flaatten and Per Ystehede (2014), and Mathieu Deflem (2015).

Bosworth highlights that there is a particular tendency for historical criminologists to do research on punishment only. As she puts it: ‘History has long informed criminological understanding and analysis of punishment. Scholars have both challenged and explained contemporary penal sanctions by looking to the past’ (2000: 266). Bosworth uses the term ‘criminological’ in this quotation in place of ‘contemporary’, since criminology as a social science is concerned with the contemporary social world. Moreover, in this sense Bosworth indicates the utility of historical research for the larger, contemporary criminological enterprise. Doing so is a seeming requirement since criminologists who practice historical research are more-often-than-not asked to justify their research in terms of contemporary criminology. A historical study, it seems, cannot be carried out in its own right when it is undertaken by a criminologist. Second, many historical studies in criminology are concerned not to understand the past, but to use traces of the past to comprehend and critique the present situation – most obviously (though by no means exclusively) those studies styled as ‘histories of the present’ (Garland 2014).

Moreover, Bosworth (2000) argues that they tend to focus on a particular ‘moment’ in punishment’s history following Michel Foucault’s revisionist history of punishment *Discipline and Punish* (1977). That moment is the so-called birth of the prison, to use the

subtitle of Foucault's most criminologically-famous monograph. Historical criminologists have produced influential scholarship in this area. I am speaking here of is David Garland's *Punishment and Modern Society* (1990). Garland is critical of Foucault's theory of punishment, but he notably subscribes to Foucault's principal theory of punishment, namely that the shift to a disciplinary or surveillant mode of punishment in the nineteenth century and which was marked by the birth and proliferation of state penitentiaries represents the dawn of the modern era in punishment in Western Europe. In turn Garland's thesis has been convincingly challenged by Bosworth's historical criminology on women's punishment, an almost-completely overlooked area in both historical criminology and the history of punishment more generally: '[O]ther than descriptions of women's imprisonment in the 19th century all knowledge of past imprisonment comes from men's history' (Bosworth, 2000: 266). Bosworth analyses women's punishment in *Hôpital de la Salpêtrière*, Paris, asylum for criminally insane women, between 1684 and 1916 using state archives. She argues that in the same period that Foucault and, following him, Garland argue there is a shift from pre-modern to modern forms of punishment, women's punishment is marked by a pattern of continuity. This is to say that the disciplinary and surveillant punishment was practiced on women for the larger rather than latter part of the modern period and that overlooking women has merely obscured the rise of this form of punishment; a profound finding considering the influence of Foucault's and following him Garland's scholarship, but one which has not, disappointingly, been received.

One thing that is lacking from historical-criminological accounts of punishment, though, is a focus on the later modern period (c. 1700-present). In fact, historical studies undertaken by criminologists rarely pre-date the eighteenth century. Having said this, there are some notable works that should be considered. For example, Hermann Mannheim (1889-1974) wrote a social and cultural history of crime and punishment in fourteenth and fifteenth century Renaissance Florence (1990).

As well as those criminologists who research the history of punishment, another way in which criminologists undertake historical research is in relation to the intellectual history of criminology. This enterprise can be called criminological history (as opposed to historical criminology). One of the most well-known texts in this area is Mannheim's mid-twentieth century *Pioneers in Criminology* (1960), an edited collection of seventeen intellectual biographies of the still usual-suspects in the history of criminology including Cesare Beccaria, Jeremy Bentham, Cesare Lombroso, Émile Durkheim, and so on. Such a history is exceptionally focussed on the late modern period with Mannheim even declaring in the introduction to the collection that we need look no further: 'The aggregate life span of our pioneers covers more than two hundred years, ranging from the year 1738, when Beccaria was born, to 1944, when Aschaffenburg died' (Mannheim, 1960: 532). A closer look at the collection reveals that it is in fact entirely focused on nineteenth century 'criminologists' with Beccaria the only figure pre-dating that century. It is in this way that *the* history of criminology is Whig (Butterfield, 1931) and notably so in relation to the modern period beginning with Cesare Beccaria in the eighteenth century and rarely before who's Classical criminology is juxtaposed with the positivist criminology of another Cesare, Lombroso. Textbooks in criminology wheel out this history time and time again.

However, as criminological historians have and continue to show, there are important reasons to reconsider the intellectual history of our discipline. For example, Piers Bierne (1992) has bridged the ostensible divide between Beccaria and Lombroso arguing that their epistemologies had more in common than not.

This is not to say that there have been concerted efforts to think historically about crime in criminology. Even fewer visual criminologists focus on the history of their discipline. That is to say hardly any focus on the role of the visual in the intellectual composition of criminology. A notable exception is Nicole Rafter's scholarship, which I tackle in chapter 2 (c.f. Rafter, 2000, 2001; 2009; 2014).

However, these approaches tend not to engage with (visual) culture. Historical criminology that has been undertaken is frequently administrative, relying on the state's account of things, rather than social and/or cultural (c.f. Bosworth, 2001).

Historicising visual and visualising historical criminologies

Breaking from this established ahistorical tendency in visual and historical criminologies I have isolated a historical period for analysis, what historians call 'the long nineteenth century'. This concept is most frequently associated with the historian Eric Hobsbawm (1962; 1975; 1987). Hobsbawm marks the parameters as beginning with the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century (1789-1799) and its end with the onset of the first world war (1918). For Hobsbawm these two events book-mark at the one end the birth of modern European nation states and their disintegration at the other.

These two events are of considerable importance for the history of criminology, too. With the birth of modern European nation states the age of Empire began as these new states began exploring and—in some instances—colonising lands overseas. One of the main purposes of these expeditions were to study 'native' that is Indigenous peoples.

The method of doing so was called anthropology whose epistemology and (visual) methods Cesare Lombroso would appropriate. Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909) was founder and leader of the 'positivist' school of criminal anthropology whose members also included Enrico Ferri (1856-1929) and Raffaele Garofalo (1851-1929). By positivist criminal anthropology I mean a way of thinking about criminality and crime that was premised on the idea that there was a relationship between the natural and what were then called human and now social sciences. Moreover, at the heart of positivism was the idea of observation, which I will elaborate on later in this introduction.

As such the starting point for the criminological long nineteenth century that structure the historiographical purview of this dissertation is 1799, a date which marks one of the earliest primary sources that Lombroso's criminal anthropology draws upon, a series of instructions for the first French colonial-anthropological expedition (Cuvier, 1799). We might also see that as the date that positivist criminology—a criminology informed by what was observable and measurable and which can be distinguished from its philosophical predecessor—emerged and cohered. In particular I focus on the criminology—or less anachronistically—criminal anthropology of Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909). The closing date is 1909, the date which marks Lombroso's death.

Introducing Lombroso's criminal anthropology

Lombroso is widely regarded as the progenitor of what is called criminology today⁸. He was afforded this status as early as 1924 when the now little-known Lombrosian American criminologist Phillip A. Parsons (dates of birth and death unknown) credited him with being so in his book *Crime and the Criminal* (1924). Others quickly followed suit with more twentieth century criminologists including Hermann Mannheim (1936; see, also, Barnes, 1931) describing him as such. Accolades that precede him include, 'a place of honour in his own field' (Wolfgang, 1972: 288) and 'the father of modern criminology' (Martin, Mutchnick and Austin, 1990: 21). He is afforded this lofty accolade because he was the first person to undertake an empirically 'scientific' study of criminality⁹.

⁸ For the best biographies of Lombroso see Baima Bollone (1992), Luigi Bulferetti 1975, and Paolo Mazaerillo (2010), who offers a meticulous account of Lombroso's academic curriculum vitae.

⁹ That Lombroso was the first scholar to undertake a scientific study of crime was disputed by Alfred Lindesmith and Yale Levin in the *American Journal of Sociology* in 1937. They highlight A. M. Guerry (1802-1866) and Adolphe Quetelet (1796-1874). For a fascinating account of Guerry's and Quetelet's respective criminological enterprises see Piers Bierne's *Inventing Criminology* (1993).

As such, his criminal anthropology is frequently juxtaposed with what came before it, namely what Lombroso coined as the Classical School (a rhetorical strategy to distinguish it from his own Italian School)¹⁰. The Classical School was associated with Cesare Beccaria's (1738-1794) *Dei delitti e delle pene* [*Essay on Crimes and Punishment*] (1764). Beccaria's understanding of criminality was premised on the metaphysical principle of free will or choice. Accordingly, criminal actions were separated from a person's essence which was not therefore under scrutiny or judgement. Less well known is that Lombroso's rejection of the Classical School went beyond straightforward philosophical disagreement. Lombroso's commitment to empiricism was strengthened by his distaste for the conservatism of Catholic Italy that he thought underpinned the School (Pick, 1996: 112).

Lombroso's born criminal theory and its attendant mythical figure that looms even larger than the theory itself—the *delinquente nato*¹¹ or born criminal, an individual who was psychologically and physiologically predisposed to commit crime, has made him infamous in criminology. The theory was premised on the nineteenth century concept of evolution. Lombroso's first exposure to this idea was at just sixteen years old through reading physician and linguist Paolo Marzolo's (1811-1868) (1847) *Monumenti storici rivelati dall'analisi della parola* (Kurella, 1911: 5). This was almost a decade before he read *De l'origine des espèces* [*On the Origin of the Species*] (Darwin, 1862) the French-language edition of Charles Darwin's (1809-1882) *On the Origin of the Species* (1859) acquired in a Pavian bookshop (Mazzarello, 2011: 97). Though Lombroso read Darwin, Lombroso's idea of evolution was based on a number of other, lesser-known—at least in our contemporary British and especially English context—

¹⁰ Recently, Piers Bierne (1993) has nuanced this taken-for-granted historical narrative in his modern intellectual history of criminology *Inventing Criminology: Essays on the Rise of homo Criminalis*. Bierne elides the 'hallowed distinction' (1993: 4) between Classical and Positivist criminologies by focusing on what he calls the 'discursive features' (1993: 5) rather than the 'practico-juridical effects' (1993: 5) of Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene* 1764. In so doing he reveals that Beccaria was also developing a deterministic science of criminal man that was at odds with the metaphysical and humanist image that we have of Lombroso's predecessor.

¹¹ Despite the infamy of this concept, Lombroso did not coin it. To the contrary, Enrico Ferri (1856-1929) coined it in 1880 (Villa, 1885: 188), in between the publication of the second (1878) and third (1884) editions of *L'uomo delinquente*. It first appeared in the third edition of *L'uomo delinquente* (1884).

nineteenth-century scientists (Pick, 1989: 111). As the cultural historian Daniel Pick (1989: 112) points out ‘any question for a ‘pure’ Darwinian affiliation in this period is historical anachronism as it was being appropriated and manipulated to suit scientists’ own agendas.

Lombroso was no exception to this manipulation of Darwinian thinking. He understood criminals as existing at an earlier point on the phylogenetic tree—that infamous diagram which connects all life on earth. Criminals were ancestors or atavisms in this regard. Atavisms occurred because of arrested development, an evolutionary blockage. The term ‘atavism’ has an almost iconic status when it comes to Lombroso’s criminal anthropology. It would be rare to find an explanation of Lombroso’s biological theory of crime that did not use this Latin derivation meaning ‘ancestor’. However, contrary to popular criminological belief and rarely mentioned is that this was not the only way in which Lombroso explained criminality. Although it took central stage in the first edition of *L’uomo delinquente in rapporto all’antropologia, alla giurisprudenza e alle discipline carcerarie* [*Criminal Man in relation to anthropology, jurisprudence and prison disciplines*] (herein *L’uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*]) (1876) Lombroso began diluting his biologicistic explanatory framework of criminality from that point onwards. As such, Lombroso began to incorporate environmental explanations into his theory of criminality. In particular he increasingly relied on another famous nineteenth century scientific concept, that of degeneration.

Criminologist may be surprised to see this idea appear in Lombroso’s scholarship. This is because criminologists are used to explaining Lombroso’s born criminal theory using the concept of atavism, a hereditary tendency to revert to an earlier stage in evolution. However, Lombroso was in fact the first scientist to adopt Morel’s concept of degeneration in his research (Lombroso, 1873) and it played a prominent role in his theory of genius even if it did not in his theory of criminality until much later.

Degeneration was a hugely popular idea in the late nineteenth century. Degeneration can be described in generalist terms as a regression to a previous phase in evolution. Indeed,

it is important that degeneration retains this generalist description because degeneration was conceptualised differently depending on who was using it and in what context. As such, for Lombroso, it is important to think about it in terms of the French alienist who inspired him in this regard, namely Bénédict-Augustin Morel (1809-1873). Morel did not coin the term, but he had attributed to it its then-contemporary scientific and specifically pathological meaning (Bénichou, 1983). Morel defined degeneration as a “morbid deviation from a primitive human type” (Morel, 1857: 5). Deviation could occur because of environmental or social triggers including excessive alcohol consumption and poor diet as well as illnesses acquired on account of the poor living conditions of the working classes (Morel, 1857: 5). All three of these things, alcohol consumption, poor diet, and illnesses, entered Lombroso’s causal explanation in the second edition of *L’uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1878). These new causal explanations of criminality provide the intellectual scaffolding for what would become a characteristically elaborate classificatory schema of criminal types. By the time the time the fourth edition of *L’uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1889a, 1889b) was published Lombroso’s classificatory system of criminals included myriad categories including the insane and occasional criminal, to cite two of the more well-known types, as well as the born criminal.

It is important to leave rigid definitions of degeneration behind, however because Pick argues in his *Faces of Degeneration” A European Disorder, c. 1848-c. 1918* (1989), that degeneration was, above all, a cultural signifier of pathology and cannot be ‘reduced to a fixed axiom or theory’ (1989: 7-8). Degeneration, thus, played a part in Lombroso’s criminal anthropology and indeed his oeuvre more generally, but it mostly did so symbolically rather than intellectually. Ultimately, Lombroso was always committed to the idea of his born criminal and this is the conception of criminality I work with in this dissertation unless stated otherwise.

What ‘kind’ of person was the born criminal? As is well documented, though less often explored (c.f. Gibson, 1998; 2002; Melossi, 2008), Lombroso conceived of evolution in terms of race, then understood as a biological and specifically hereditary phenomenon. Lombroso was informed by a racial science which first emerged throughout Europe in the eighteenth century beginning with Johann Friedrich Blumenbach’s (1752-1840) five-fold (non-hierarchical) racial taxonomy which was later manipulated by Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882) in his *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* [*Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*] (1853–1855). De Gobineau placed white Northern-European peoples at the top of a taxonomic racial hierarchy and all other racial typologies below.

Lombroso’s biological conception of race was contingent on Italy’s constitutional context. The Italian peninsula belatedly followed a path already well-trodden path by its western-European counterparts and was finally constitutionally unified in 1861 following a lengthy revolutionary movement or *Risorgimento* (on which, see Riall, 2007). In its place a modern state, the Kingdom of Italy was born in 1861. The Unification was understood by the northern elite (including the socially mobile Lombroso) as part of a ‘modernising’ process underpinned by capitalist economic policy (Hobsbawm, 1959: 24). An ‘advanced level of “capitalist” land tenure and agriculture’ (Melossi, 2008: 56) developed in the north of the Kingdom. Its working and peasant classes were ‘processed through modernity and were ready to enter the factory and the office’ (Putnam, 1993) and were thus successfully integrated into the new modern, capitalist nation state (Melossi, 2008). The same cannot be said with regards to their southern counterparts who were left culturally disenfranchised (Putnam, 1993; Hobsbawm, 1959). This cultural deficit between the North and the South was not interpreted as a failure of capitalism, however, but as a failure of the south to modernise by virtue of its inhabitants being of a primitive racial origin Melossi (2008: 53).

This intersection of race and class meant that Lombroso and his Italian School explained criminality in epistemologically opposing ways when it came to those in the north

and south. Enrico Ferri (1856-1929), Lombroso's student and lawyer, defended peasant activists in the North arguing environmental causation (Melossi, 2008: 56). Indeed, Antonio Gramsci observed the Italian School's selective application of socialist politics to those in the north (Gramsci, 1926: 444):

It is well known what kind of ideology has been disseminated in myriad ways among the masses in the North, the propagandists of the bourgeoisie: the South is the ball and chain which prevents the social development of Italy from progressing more rapidly; the Southerners are biologically inferior beings, semi-barbarians or total barbarians, by natural destiny; if the South is backward, the fault does not lie with the capitalist system or with any other historical cause, but with Nature, which has made the Southerners lazy, incapable, criminal and barbaric...The Socialist Party was to a great extent a vehicle for this bourgeois ideology within the Northern proletariat. The Socialist Party gave its blessing to all the "Southernist" literature of the clique of writers who made up the so-called positive school: the Ferri's, Sergi's, Nicefero's, Orano's and their lesser followers, who in articles, tales, short stories, novels, impressions and memoirs in a variety of forms, reiterates one single refrain. Once again, "science" was used to crush the wretched and the exploited; but this time it was dressed in socialist colours, and claimed to be the science of the proletariat.

Lombroso travelled as a military doctor to the southern province of Calabria in 1862 following the Unification as part of Italy's effort to suppress organised crime or brigandage by groups such as the Mafia and Camorra (Gibson, 2002). As Paul Gilroy observes: 'the modern, human sciences, particularly anthropology, geography, and philosophy, undertook elaborate work in order to make race epistemologically correct: '[The idea of "race"] required novel ways of understanding embodied alterity, hierarchy, and temporality' (Gilroy, 2000: 58). Lombroso was no exception to Gilroy's rule. Following this trip, he invented a notoriously bewildering complex of bodily parts motivated by his belief that they were signs of something else—namely criminality—so that helpfully, his born criminal monster could be identified according to the outward signs or 'anomalies' of the body.

In criminal man, these outward signs of the body included 'enormous jaws, high cheek bones, [...] handle-shaped ears...insensitivity to pain, [and] extremely acute sight'

(Lombroso, 2004: 48). In criminal woman, these outward signs of the body were different. Criminal woman had a male aesthetic. That is to say criminal woman looked like a man and displayed heavy and large features. Moreover, and most notably, criminal woman's outward signs of criminality included the addition of genital anomalies.

In identifying these signs, Lombroso was inspired by the by-then relatively well-established field of anthropology. Anthropology emerged towards the end of the eighteenth century, a century before Lombroso started practicing it. This was at the beginning of 'the age of imperialism' (Knepper, 2009: 43) when a number of European states set about exploring and colonising overseas territories predominantly in Africa, Australia and the south and central Americas. Exploration and colonisation were carried out by way of expeditions comprised of scientists whose job it was amongst others to document the outwards appearance of 'native' bodies including the genitals of women and even girls. This practice came to be known as physical anthropology and Lombroso began practicing it a century later not overseas but at home in Italy.

Lombroso studied visible signs of criminality in various parts of the body including the skull. Lombroso was drawing on the early-nineteenth century practice of phrenology, craniology, in this regard. Phrenologists considered the skull to be a material proxy of the mind. As such Lombroso could measure it to ascertain internal, criminal states of being. As well as the skull, and more well-known amongst criminologists, is that Lombroso studied visible signs of criminality in the face, too. Lombroso was drawing on the ancient practice of physiognomy in this regard¹². These features resembled those of 'primitive' people. Such

¹² The historiography of physiognomy coalesces around three temporal points: the Mesopotamian period in which it was astrological in character (see, for example, Jean Bottéro (1974); the ancient Greek period in which it took a more 'natural' or medical character (see, for example, André, 1981); and then again from the sixteenth century onwards when it experienced a renaissance all the way to Lombroso's nineteenth century in which the Greek, natural, medical and even 'scientific' character of physiognomy was developed. Historical overviews are offered by the literary critic Christopher Rivers (1994) and biomedical scientist Jodie Jenkinson (2012).

features included for example ‘mandibole volminose [massive jaws]’; ‘capelli foltissimi [thick hair]’; ‘labbra vouminose [voluminous lips]’ (Lombroso, 1889a: plate II between 252-253).

Lombroso’s method: seeing and picturing

Lombroso’s method was primarily one of seeing and picturing. He subjected these bodily parts to quantitative measurement. With all of these bodily parts to be observed it is no wonder that criminologists tend to think of Lombroso’s criminal anthropology as a quantitative enterprise. This is by no means inaccurate. As is well known Lombroso’s criminal anthropology was not just comprised of a discourse on evolution, but also Quetelian moral statistics (Bierne, 1993: 90). This makes sense because observation and quantification are compatible. The anthropologist François Bouchetoux has observed that: ‘Ocularcentrism led to quantitative approaches to knowledge and to principles of “scientific objectivity”’ (2014: no page number; see, also, Lowe, 1982: 26). A cursory inspection of even the first edition of Lombroso’s *L’uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876) reveals that numerical data abounded therein. It is unrelenting as if to defeat the reader by how much of it there is. ‘No criminologist’, Nicole Rafter argues, ‘has ever drawn more heavily on the visual, or revelled more in the imagery of crime’ (2014: 130). Elsewhere, Rafter says that Lombroso’s criminal anthropology ‘was more visual and graphic than other theories of crime’ (Rafter, 2009: 175). Rafter and the historian Mary Gibson explain that *L’uomo delinquente* was first published in 1876 and went through five editions during Lombroso’s lifetime and with each edition Lombroso included more and more images: ‘Lombroso rarely discarded an image from his inventory, instead heaping new layers onto his snowballing collection, each one greatly expanded in both length and the topics addressed’ (Gibson and Rafter, 2006: 22). It was fitting that his ‘collection’ of images in this regard culminated in the atlas, an entirely visual volume of work (Rafter and Gibson, 2006).

Lombroso's criminal anthropology was not merely visual in terms of quantity or the number of images therein, though. Another important reason why Lombroso's criminal anthropology warrants visual analysis is because of the primacy or importance of seeing and relatedly images therein. Quantification was a *product* or medium of ocularcentrism. As such, seeing preceded it. The first step in identifying criminal man or woman was 'seeing'. Before going any further, it is necessary to spell out the meaning of seeing since this term should not be taken for granted. Lombroso's way of seeing was characteristic of his era and different to how we conceive of the practice today. It was so different that visual cultural scholars refer to this way of seeing as 'observation' or 'vision' rather than seeing. These terms refer to seeing as a physical and specifically optical rather than cognitive or intellectual practice. As such it was supposedly free from value judgment, natural and uncontested or epistemologically unencumbered. The visual cultural scholar Chris Jenks (1995a: 3; also, see, Rorty, 1989; Tyler, 1984) explains how seeing was related to knowledge production during the modern period. Jenks argues that observation or as he calls it 'seeing' is straightforwardly aligned with knowing: 'Seeing, looking and knowing are perilously intertwined'¹³. This way of seeing or 'scopic regime' is what Martin Jay calls Cartesian Perspectivalism (1988) and it dominated from the Renaissance period all the way into the late twentieth century.

Since observation came before quantifying the born criminal, so did its surrogate, picturing: 'One might say that Lombroso was merely illustrating his theory; but this is a chicken-and-egg question, for according to Lombroso himself, the image of the born criminal came first, the theory later' (Rafter, 2014: 130). This is to say that when it came to

¹³ Jenks argues that this way of understanding seeing still characterises today's common-sense understandings of the term. I would add to that in academic disciplines where observation is yet to be interrogated including in criminology with the exception of its new visual variant. As he puts it: 'We daily experience and perpetuate the connotation of the 'seen' with the 'known' in conversation through the commonplace linguistic appendage of 'do you see?' or 'see what I mean?' to utterances that seem to require confirmation, or, when seeking opinion, by inquiring after people's views' (Jenks, 1995a: 3). He juxtaposes this modern way of seeing with what can be described as a post or late modern way of seeing which has come to characterise critical modes of art history, and visual cultural studies particularly as these two fields have started to influence the social sciences from the 1970s onwards and which I discuss more in chapter 2.

knowledge production, the image was Lombroso's most important tool. It was for this reason that Mary Gibson and Rafter, (2006: 22) observe Lombroso considered the fourth volume of the fifth and final edition of *L'uomo delinquente, atlante* [atlas], a weighty visual compendium that accompanied the text, the most important part of his work. Rafter persuasively concludes that the primacy of images in Lombroso's criminal anthropology should see him as not merely the founding figure of criminology. This, after all, is an accolade for which he is generally given credit. Rather, Rafter suggested, Lombroso was the founding figure of *visual* criminology (Rafter, 2014: 130). Elsewhere, Rafter with Michelle Brown makes similar claims: '[Lombroso's] theory of the physically stigmatized born criminal was dependent on and inseparable from visual culture' (Brown and Rafter, 2013: 1017). In making this assertion Rafter fundamentally reconfigures the character of our discipline at its origins whereby the image is finally recognised as a constitutive and even primary or most important part.

My focus in this dissertation is on the images in Lombroso's criminal anthropology. Images were the media through which Lombroso could share what he observed in his 'laboratories', these being the various psychiatric hospitals and prisons that he worked in to his intended audience—the wider scientific and legal communities as well as the educated classes. In fact, although observation came first methodologically speaking, Lombroso considered picturing, more than observation, to be the most important part of his criminal anthropology. As I have alluded to with regards to the relationship between observation, imaging and knowing, for Lombroso these images were knowledge forming in and of themselves. The images in Lombroso's criminal anthropology were not merely secondary or illustrative, but constitutive of his born criminal theory. This stands in contradistinction to ideas that devalued the visual in Lombroso's criminal anthropology, viewing it as something merely incidental to and separate from it. In sum, Lombroso's criminology was by no means

used to illustrate but constitute his criminology; his criminology emanated from the visual and not the other way around.

Outlining the dissertation

This dissertation to follow is made up of a further seven chapters beyond this introduction each of which I outline below. In chapter two I review the literature that deals with images in Lombroso's criminal anthropology. There is very little criminological literature and there is no book-length publication on the subject. As such I review the extant criminological literature (Taylor, Walton and Young, 1973; Rafter, 2001; 2004; 2008; Ystehde and Rafter, 2010; Carrabine, 2011; Bierne, 2015; 2018; de Hann, 2015) in conjunction with literature from a variety of disciplines in the arts and humanities, specifically art history, cultural history, Italian studies, museum studies and literary studies (Past, 2012; Stewart-Steinberg, 2008; Hillier, 2013; Chiari and Montaldo, 2017). These literatures begin from the theoretical premise of affording the image epistemological primacy in Lombroso's criminal anthropology. In turn these literatures substantiate this theoretical claim through empirically researching the image in Lombroso's criminal anthropology. These literatures cover lots of different kinds of images in Lombroso's criminal anthropology. These include his photographic archives or unpublished photographs as well as literary images. Several things are missing from these analyses, however. First, those photographs with which we criminologists are most familiar and so used to seeing, namely the portrait and skull photographs in Lombroso's *L'uomo delinquente* (1876; 1878; 1884; 1889a and b; 1896a, b, c, and d) and *La donna delinquente la prostituta e la donna normale* [*Criminal Woman, the Prostitute and the Normal Woman*] (herein *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*]) (1893) though mentioned in passing are yet to be analysed. Instead, researchers have hitherto worked with the photographs in Lombroso's archive which criminologists will never have seen before.

Moreover, these analyses of Lombroso's photographs are divorced from considerations of photography as a medium. Finally, there is simply an overwhelming analytical focus on photographs. Even those analyses that focus on the literary images—images created in the mind because of his formal style of writing—in Lombroso's criminal anthropology are framed in comparison with photographs. I propose that analyses of Lombroso's relationship with the medium of photography should come prior to any further analyses of photographs themselves; that the photographs criminologists are using in classrooms day-in, day-out should be criminologists' initial empirical focus; and, finally, that scholars would do well to diversify the visual media under analysis when it comes to Lombroso.

In chapter three I describe my primary research method of discourse analysis. I additionally describe the secondary methods used to enhance my discourse analyses. These secondary methods are digital ones: machine translation and the use of digital—rather than material—archives. I consider the limits of all three methods. I take account of the rapidly increasing efficacy of machine translation in the context of its lacking cultural nuance characteristic of traditional human methods of translation. I also take account of the emotional challenges of doing research with digital rather than material archives, that is I attend to the loss or absence of researching material artefacts. As well as the substantive methods, I also discuss some further methodological considerations that informed my research in practice and in its presentation here in this dissertation. These include my decision to use the original, Italian-language editions of Lombroso's scholarship; my decision to move beyond Lombroso's overtly criminological scholarship, that is scholarship wherein his writings on criminality are at their most explicit; and finally, the ethics of reproducing what are today profoundly troubling images.

Chapter four is the first of four 'contribution' chapters. It fills the two 'gaps' I identify in the literature review chapter (chapter two). The first of which is the hitherto absent focus on Lombroso's relationship with photography as a medium. In particular I pay attention to

photography in its specifically Italian context. Compared with other western-European states Italy experienced a belated uptake of juridical photography. Lombroso suggested that this was because of Italy's juridical culture still being characterised by Classical ideas about criminals. Lombroso's use of photography therefore can be interpreted as a counter to those ideas and he was so wedded to photography to show just how quintessentially modern his criminal anthropology really was. The second gap that this chapter fills is the hitherto absent focus on the photographs with which we criminologists are most familiar, namely the portrait and skull photographs that characterise *L'uomo delinquente* (1876-1897) and *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893). I take account of the absence of photographs in the early editions of *L'uomo delinquente* (1876; 1878) and argue that the reason for their absence was related to Italy's belated uptake of juridical photography compared with western-European nation states. I then go on to describe the photographs that characterised the later editions of *L'uomo delinquente* before undertaking an analysis of them. They were a mixture of skull and portrait photographs. I argue that Lombroso tried to eliminate all signs of individuality in these photographs in order to reveal his imaginary born criminal type, but that he was frustrated from doing so because he found it impossible not to simultaneously individualise the people pictured therein.

Chapter five is the second of four contribution chapters. I begin plugging the remaining gap that I identify in the literature review from this chapter onwards, namely the absence of visual analyses of any visual medium but photographs in Lombroso's criminal anthropology. To do so I explore the images Lombroso reproduced and that emerged from one of the artistic networks of production that Lombroso participated in. This network was a colonial-anthropological one. Specifically, I analyse drawings and paintings made by artists who travelled to European colonies to make their artworks and which Lombroso reproduced (1893). Where I do analyse photographs in this chapter, I focus on their creative character. Analysis of these images begins to reveal the ways in which Lombroso's visual

enterprise was a creative and even artistic one. Moreover, because these images are from the colonial-anthropological context it simultaneously reveals the ideologies behind this creativity and artistry demonstrating criminology's rarely-acknowledged relationship with anthropology.

Chapter six is the third of four contribution chapters. In it I extend my extant focus on creativity and art to analyse those fine artworks in which Lombroso argued that his born criminal could be observed. These were typically paintings, including frescoes, though engravings appeared amongst their number, too. Some depicted historical moments including biblical and revolutionary subjects. Others depicted literary and mythical subjects. This array of historical and fictional artworks presents a puzzle in light of Lombroso's positivist epistemology that was wedded to the contemporary observable moment. I solve this puzzle in this chapter. I argue that Lombroso did not select these artworks because of their subject matter. Instead, Lombroso selected these artworks because of their purely visual or aesthetic criteria, what art historians call their 'form' and 'style'. This is to say that when Lombroso visualised the born criminal 'what' was depicted was less important than 'how' it was depicted. At the same time, although Lombroso attempted to ignore or minimise their subject matter, his efforts were futile in this regard. This is to say that the subjects of these artworks were deeply entwined with his born criminal thesis.

Chapter seven is the final contribution chapter. Herein I analyse Lombroso's attitude towards fine artists whose work he used as evidence of the born criminal. Lombroso applied the status of artistic genius to these artists. To fully understand what he meant by this, though, it is necessary to analyse the term. Lombroso's theory of artistic genius was closely related to his theory of criminality—both artistic geniuses and born criminals were biological aberrations. However, unlike the born criminal the artistic genius excelled in their artistic practice. Lombroso's scholarship on the topic demonstrates a conflicted attitude towards

these artists. On the one hand he celebrates them. On the other hand, he denigrates them. This is evidenced in particular by his own analyses of artists' crimes.

Finally, Chapter eight, the Conclusion, reflects on the contribution that this dissertation makes. My research highlights that there is a gap in the historiography of criminology. Criminology has a visual as well as creative and art history and exploring this challenges criminologists' understanding of its composition, which was in no small part visual, but also cultural, creative and artistic. It is no small irony that Lombroso—a key figure in the history of what is today called criminology who is credited with the constitution of our discipline—was so reliant upon the visual as the source of his born criminal theory. And yet criminologists are yet to fully engage with this aspect of his work. Considering his infamy within the discipline this constitutes a significant omission and one, where redressed as in this dissertation has the potential to change our understanding of what criminology was at its origins.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In this chapter I review the literature that focuses on the visual components of Lombroso's criminal anthropology. I start with an assessment of accounts of Lombroso's criminal anthropology. I turn to work that situates his writings in the period in which he was writing, in order to better understand its intellectual composition. This was a time when 'science' was by no means a cohesive discipline and scientific practices much broader than today's. As I will demonstrate, while criminology has been silent about Lombroso's visual evidence, scholars in the arts and the humanities have not. The nineteenth century, this work points out, was a period in which the boundaries of the new and emerging human science of criminal anthropology were unstable. Lombroso's work married art with science and in so doing created new ways of thinking and seeing. Notwithstanding common representations of Lombroso as the father of criminology the writings in this chapter suggest his work is better understood within its own intellectual context rather than in ours. In reviewing the interdisciplinary secondary literature concerned with the visual within Lombroso's scholarship, this chapter lays the foundation for the rest of the dissertation.

Contextualising Lombroso's criminal anthropology in general

In *The New Criminology* (1973) Ian Taylor, Paul Walton and Jock Young famously dismissed Lombroso's nineteenth century science of criminal anthropology as bad science or

pseudoscience¹⁴. His work, they suggested, was characterised by methodological inaccuracies in quantitative calculations. His hereditary theory of crime was easily rubbished, they stated, as it overlooked sociological factors (Taylor, Walton and Young, 1979: 42). Lombroso got off lightly compared to his followers. Nicole Rafter has highlighted the dire reception of Lombrosian anthropologist Ernest A. Hooton's (1913-1954) *American Criminal* (1939a) and *Crime and the Man* (1939b) at the hands of sociologists Robert K. Merton (Merton and Montagu, 1939) and Edwin Sutherland (1939). Like Taylor, Walton and Young (1973), Merton and Sutherland obsessed over Hooton's quantitative errors. However, Nicole Rafter has argued the following in relation to the reception of Hooton's books on crime and criminality by these sociologically-inclined criminologists: "These academic reviews show sociological criminology policing itself as a field of scientific endeavour" (2004: 754). Rafter elaborates on this point as follows, too (2004: 754):

Barnes et al. have remarked (1996:168), "the demarcation of science from pseudo-science, or of science from scientism or even physics from chemistry, can be fully understood only in sociological terms" (also see Gieryn, 1983). In this case, the criminological reviewers were drawing boundaries not merely between good and bad science but also between their field's present condition and its own past. They were redefining their own field-and at the same time repulsing an attempted invasion by a disciplinary outsider.

This is to say that such criticisms like Taylor, Walton and Young's about Lombroso are substantively (methodologically and epistemologically) valid. Lombroso's calculations were indeed wrong, and criminality has been understood socially rather than biologically for some time now. However, this is also to say that their criticisms were anachronistic. As a result, they did little to develop our understanding of Lombroso's oeuvre and its implications for the contemporary discipline.

¹⁴ Outside criminology and more notably in his famous book *The Mismeasure of Man* (1981) the historian of science Stephen Gould conceived of Lombroso's criminal anthropology similarly.

More recently scholars have begun thinking ‘historically’ about Lombroso’s criminal anthropology. To think historically means letting go of the contemporary moment which scholars—in the case of criminologists—tend to research as social scientists. Oftentimes as far as criminologists are willing to go in this regard is to undertake ‘histories of the present’ (Garland, 2014)—indeed, Thomas Guiney (forthcoming) argues that this is what distinguishes criminologists who practice history from historians who practice criminology. These are useful endeavours to be sure, but there is merit in criminologists practicing history for its own sake because who else is better placed to give Lombroso’s criminal anthropology the attention it deserves? Yet, still, historical scholarship on this so-called founding father of *our* discipline, remains the preserve of colleagues in other disciplines altogether, especially in the arts and humanities. Rafter stands out as one criminologist whose work stands against this trend, though she was notably formally trained as a historian. As I will demonstrate throughout this chapter her scholarship both on the intellectual composition of Lombroso’s criminal anthropology and on the visual components therein cultivated the beginnings of the project presented in this dissertation.

If criminologists were to research Lombroso in his own temporal context they would quickly discover that the intellectual composition of nineteenth-century science—of which Lombroso’s criminal anthropology was part—could not be more different than twenty-first century science. As Rafter and historian of Italy Mary Gibson argue in their introduction to the most recent English-language translation of Lombroso’s *La donna delinquente: La Prostituta e la Donna Normale* [*Criminal Woman: The Prostitute and the Normal Woman*] (herein *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*]) (2004: 6):

In recent years, as more has become known about the intellectual context in which Lombroso worked, it has become clear that he built on concepts widely held by nineteenth-century scientists [...] recent work on the history of science and the relation of science to society has erased the formerly easy distinction between ‘science’ and ‘pseudoscience’. Instead of dismissing criminal anthropology as a naïve or aberrant science, scholars are beginning

to locate it in the production of scientific knowledge in the late nineteenth century.

Historians have generated several book-length works that have the effect of broadening the intellectual context in which Lombroso worked. Naturally their books appeared as Italian-language editions first. Notable among them is Renzo Villa. Villa wrote one of the most comprehensive biographies on Lombroso, *Il deviante e I suoi segni: Lombroso e la nascita dell'antropologia criminale* [*Deviancy and its Signs: Lombroso and the Birth of Criminal Anthropology*] (1985) (see also, Bulferetti, 1975; Baima Bollone, 1992; Delfina Dolza, 1990, has written a feminist biography which analyses the Lombroso family and notably Lombroso's two daughters, Gina and Paola Lombroso). Therein Villa describes Lombroso's criminal anthropology as a kind of semiotics and, as I will later describe in this chapter, a semiotic intellectual paradigm was the predominant one during the era in which Lombroso was working. That is to say, Lombroso was not out of step with his contemporaries across the intellectual spectrum. Villa, an Italian historian, has additionally and recently contributed an English-language chapter (Villa, 2013) to a rare criminological edited collection on Lombroso, *The Cesare Lombroso Handbook* (Knepper and Ystehede, 2013). Therein he elucidates the rich intellectual milieu in which Lombroso was practicing. The Italian cultural historian Delia Frigessi (2003) has similarly uncovered the extent to which Lombroso's ideas were widely embraced in Italian scientific and psychiatric practice.

English-language book length works by historians began appearing a little later. The best, because it is so comprehensive in its consideration of the social and political context, is still Gibson's *Born to Crime: Cesare Lombroso and the Origins of Criminology* (2002). Gibson is currently preparing an administrative and state-level history of the Italian penal system (Gibson, forthcoming) as part of Bloomsbury's History of Crime, Deviance and Punishment series which will be replete with new research on a still-little researched aspect of Lombroso's criminal anthropology, namely its effect on Italian penal politics and prisons. Next worth

mentioning is David Horn's (2003) cultural history of Lombroso's criminal body, *The Criminal Body: Lombroso and the Anatomy of Deviance*. Horn reveals the myriad and messy cultural practices through which the criminal and deviant body was attributed its status as such. There are no book-length works on Lombroso by criminologists, though there is an unpublished doctoral thesis by a criminologist that I will not discuss for the moment since its contribution is one that lays the foundations for the dissertation to follow and so it forms part of the substantive literature review below (Ystehede, 2008).

Shorter English-language contributions also exist. The historian Daniel Pick's book *Faces of Degeneration* contains a chapter that offers a nuanced account of the relationship between degeneration and Lombroso's criminal anthropology. Half of the literary historian Elena Past's book *Methods of Murder: Beccarian Introspection and Lombrosian Vivisection* (2012) is dedicated to Lombroso. Therein she demonstrates the influence of Lombroso's criminal anthropology on twentieth-century Italian crime fiction (2012). The cultural historian Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg's book *The Pinocchio Effect: On Making Italians, 1860-1920* (2008) contains a lengthy chapter on Lombroso. Therein she argues that Lombroso's criminal anthropology was one of the most important cultural forces in the project of 'making Italians'. The criminologist Piers Birnne's book *Inventing Criminology* (1993) is important. It is comprised of a series of fascinating essays about the origins of criminology in Europe. However, there is no chapter dedicated to Lombroso although his criminal anthropology is mentioned frequently throughout as a point of comparison.

Finally, there are also those isolated journal articles that demonstrate that claims about pseudoscience in the twentieth century were not necessarily anachronistic, but patently wrong. Fascist and even post-Fascist Italy was particularly fond of Lombroso's views and more so that in his own time (Caglioti, 2017; Rafter, 2008b; Dunnage, 2017). Moreover, Lombroso's views were shared internationally and could be found in Nazi Germany, too (Rafter, 2008b)

Contextualising Lombroso's criminal anthropology: more and less than science

Past's *Methods of Murder* (2012) and Stewart-Steinberg's *The Pinocchio Effect* (2008) mentioned in passing in the above prove particularly instructive when contextualizing Lombroso's criminal anthropology in terms of the production of scientific knowledge in the late nineteenth century. Past (2012) and Stewart-Steinberg (2008) argue that Lombroso's criminal anthropology was part of what the cultural historian Carlos Ginzburg (1980) in his famous essay 'Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm' called an 'evidential paradigm'.

Stewart-Steinberg describes the evidential paradigm in the following way: 'The texture of this paradigm is comprised of venatic, divinatory, or semiotic method that takes the individual case as its unit of analysis and that must, because it cannot reproduce causes, deduce these causes solely from their effects' (2008: 240). The paradigm characterised what Ginzburg calls the 'humane sciences' in the late-nineteenth century especially during the 1870s. Stewart-Steinberg (2008: 240) argues that, 'disciplines such as medicine, history, archaeology, art criticism, and eventually psychoanalysis rely on such a method as it is from such clues that such sciences seek to draw their conclusions'. Indeed, Ginzburg (1980) elaborates on some of the practices in which the paradigm might be found. He isolates the paradigm in criminal identification practices following the abolition of branding under Europe's *ancien regimes* as well as its manifestation in literary fiction. For example, Arthur Conan Doyle's (1893) fictional detective Sherlock Holmes divines the identity of his perpetrator by paying careful attention to the shape of an ear delivered to him in a cardboard box (see also, Doyle, 1888). So too, the late 1870s saw the rise of a criminal identification system developed by Alphonse Bertillon (1853-1914) where criminals were identified from a semiotic and intertextual reading of an anthropometric measurement and accompanying portrait photograph. Moreover, between the 1860s and 1880s in colonial Bengal and

Victorian England police administrator William Herschel and the eugenicist Francis Galton respectively developed fingerprinting on the same semiotic basis (Sekula, 1986).

So that it is clear that this paradigm was not just functioning in relation to the subject of criminality and it was an epistemology that was being applied elsewhere to very different kinds of subjects I want to offer one more example which relates to art history. Paying attention to small details the art historian, and Lombroso's Italian contemporary no less, Giovanni Morelli (1816-1891) catalogued all manner of anatomical details depicted in a particular painting¹⁵. Morelli pieced together the distinctive shape of a hand (painted by Sandro Botticelli) and an ear (painted by Anthony Mantegna), to take just two examples. In so doing, he identified hitherto unattributed paintings, distinguished originals from reproductions, and dis-attributed and subsequently attributed paintings in some of the leading Galleries in Europe¹⁶. Finally, and most importantly, is that Ginzburg also highlighted that the speculative paradigm was used by ancient physiognomists: 'we see filing past us the authors of treatises on physiognomy, Babylonian seers intent on reading the messages written in heaven and earth...' (Ginzburg, 1980: 23). Although Ginzburg (1980) does not mention Lombroso specifically, such an account clearly resonates with the skulls and photographs for which Lombroso is most famous (on which see chapter four). Although he does not mention Lombroso's physiognomic method, the interpretation of the mind through facial features has constantly characterised physiognomy from ancient to Lombroso's modern times. Indeed, the 1870s, when the paradigm flourished was precisely when Lombroso published the first edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876).

¹⁵ The most comprehensive account of the Morelli method remains the art historian Edgar Wind's Reith Lecture entitled 'Critique of Connoisseurship' reproduced verbatim in *Art and Anarchy* (1956).

¹⁶ For example, he is famous in art history for his 1880 attribution of the Dresden *Sleeping Venus* (c. 1510) to the sixteenth-century Venetian painter Giorgione (c. 1478-1510)—today it remains one of just a handful of paintings ever attributed to the artist.

Past (2012) and Stewart-Steinberg (2008) demonstrate how Lombroso's criminal anthropology fits into the evidential paradigm by comparing it to Morelli's art-historical method, already mentioned above. Lombroso, like Morelli, catalogued all manner of anatomical details or clues such as cranial measurements and facial angles amongst other things in order to make his own 'attributions' of born criminal status. The similarities between Morelli's art history and Lombroso's criminal anthropology are clear, where the former's obsessive attention to anatomical clues in a painting is analogous to the latter's 'excessively minute examination or criticism' (Past, 2012: 135) of human anatomy. Both reduced or abstracted complex bodily signs to an index; where Lombroso subjected the body to quantitative measurement Morelli subjected it to formal analysis (the analysis of an image on the basis of what is formally depicted in the image).

When it comes to the speculative element of Morelli's practice, the art historian Edgar Wind suggests, 'It is not just the assignment of a name that interests him'. Instead, Wind continues, 'he seeks to feel the authentic touch for which the name is merely an index' (Wind, 1963: 41). There is thus a recognition of 'the deeper qualities of the mind' (Morelli, 1892: 45-6), an invisible artistic genius lurking somewhere beneath the surface of the painting. And in relation to Lombroso's criminal anthropology the same can be said. Lombroso's tireless search for hidden meaning, his belief that body parts are icons, signs or symbols of something else, unknown and speculative, brings Lombroso close to practices that criminologists may hitherto perceive to be confined to art history. And so, where Morelli catalogued all manner of anatomical details in canonical artworks of the Renaissance in order to speculate about artistic genius, Lombroso did the same to speculate about depraved criminality.

The reason why Lombroso's belonging to the evidential paradigm is important is because it allows Past to argue that Lombroso's criminal anthropology was qualitative—not something that criminologists normally associate with it—because it was part of the

speculative paradigm: 'Lombroso's actual practice as criminologist engages in a much more complicated and less quantitative relationship with the criminal subject than might be assumed' (Past, 2012: 142-3). This is to say that it was not just the material and quantitative measurement or examination that interested Lombroso. Rather, Lombroso was searching for the deeper, criminal qualities of the mind which, he believed, lurked beneath the surface the body, for which the material or quantitative measurement was just a sign. In so doing she points to a qualitative intellectual context of Lombroso's criminal anthropology that was much broader than we criminologists may assume.

Following historians of art (Levy, 1996; Stafford, 1994; 1996) and science (Brain, 1996; Sargent, 1997) who evidence the interdependence of art and science from the medieval period to the present day, Nicole Rafter makes an epistemological argument about artistic composition of science in her essay 'Seeing and Believing' (2001). Rafter rejects what she calls a 'realist' interpretation of science. Those who subscribe to a realist interpretation of science 'picture science as an activity that maps or models an underlying reality, a world "out there" that can be apprehended directly' (Rafter, 2001: 72). Instead Rafter subscribes to what she calls a 'constructivist' interpretation of science, meaning 'science apprehends the world through representations' (Rafter, 2004: 72) and in doing so draws 'extensively' from 'art'. She takes art to mean 'any graphic or plastic human construction that conveys meaning visually, including charts and diagrams' (2001: 72). Rafter's argument about art and science gives her fuel to analyse various biological theories of crime from this visual and specifically artistic perspective (2001; 2004; 2008). Rafter analyses various biological theories of crime from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. These include Benjamin Rush's (1746-1813) moral derangement theory (2001), Richard Dugdale's (1841-1883) degeneration theory, Henry Goddard's (1866-1957) feeble-mindedness theory (2001), Earnest Hooton's (1887-1954) criminal anthropology (2004; 2008), William Herbert Sheldon's (1898-1977) constitutional psychology (2008), and more generally what Nikolas Rose (2000) calls new biocriminology.

The figure who is most important for the purposes of my dissertation but who I dismiss here is Lombroso, but it is nonetheless relevant to note that this reconsideration of earlier criminologists' work is occurring in a broader way and does not apply exclusively to Lombroso.

Jonathan Hilier (2008; 2013), cultural historian of Italy, frames the qualitative character of Lombroso's criminal anthropology in terms of culture and specifically the arts. Hilier's research is on Lombroso's and more generally the Italian School of criminal anthropology's critique of the literary and performative arts. Lombroso tackled modern authors including Dostoyevsky and Zola (for example Lombroso, 1889). Moreover, this was not simply a skirmish. To the contrary, Lombroso and his School published widely on a slew of modern authors (on this see, especially, Hilier, 2003; and, also, Rondini, 2001; Cavalli Pasini, 1982).

Hilier rejects as anachronism Nancy Harrowitz's, Italian studies scholar, claim that, 'Lombroso's use of such cultural expressions to make a 'scientific' point is the most unscientific part of his method' (Harrowitz, 1994: 32), cited in Hilier, 2013: 226). Instead, he emphasises 'the porous barrier between science and literature in Lombroso's Italy' on which he says the following (Hilier, 2013: 226):

To say that Cesare Lombroso was interested in studying works of literature and music in addition to his anthropological-criminological pursuits is to make a distinction between these two fields of inquiry that Lombroso himself would scarcely have recognized. The worlds of science and the works of art, real-life delinquents and fictitious characters, primitive "palimpsest" scrawled by prisoners and canonical works of European literature are inextricably intertwined in the very fiber of Lombroso's works.

Hilier further suggests that, 'distinguishing between "scientific" and "unscientific" in Lombroso is generally futile' and, thus, 'the preponderance (and what is more indiscriminate use) of cultural works in Lombroso's anthropological texts is doubtless a primary feature to be found therein'. This is to say that the arts were not separate from Lombroso's criminal

anthropology, but a constitutive part of it and that Lombroso's criminology would not have made sense without it.

In a different essay Per Ystehede and Rafter (2010) argue that 'science [...] can be shaped by the cultural traditions and artistic sensibilities of the period in which it develops' (Rafter and Ystehede, 2010: 264). Ystehede and Rafter (2010, see also Ystehede, 2008) isolate two specific and closely related 'cultural traditions' in which Lombroso's Positivism flourished: Romanticism and Gothicism (with regards to the latter, see also, Hurley, 1996). Ystehede and Rafter argue that Lombroso's criminal anthropology was 'suffused with Romantic notions' (2010: 271) and 'full of specifically Gothic elements' (2010: 271). Indeed, they are not the only scholars to argue that Gothicism affected ideas about crime and criminality in the late modern period (c. 1700-1900). The cultural historian Karen Haltunen argues in her *Murder Most Foul: The Killer and the Gothic Imagination* that serial killers were interpreted through a Gothic lens, as evident in, for example, reportage and even court transcripts.

Romanticism emerged in the late eighteenth century as a response to the Classicism and Rationalism of the Enlightenment (c. 1700-1800): 'The Romantics ... rejected the Enlightenment values of restraint, order, and reason, instead embracing emotion, adventure, the imagination, and irrationality' (Ystehede and Rafter, 2010: 271). In highlighting the rejection of Enlightenment values—'restraint, order, and reason'—Ystehede and Rafter hint at the shared identity between Lombroso's criminal anthropology as criminologists know it as a Positivist science while impliedly reconceptualising it as a Romantic one. They describe those principles of Romanticism as 'emotion', 'adventure', 'imagination', and 'irrationality' as I just quoted above as well as, they add, 'looking to nature for inspiration' (Ystehede and Rafter, 2010: 271). They offer a visual-cultural manifestation of these principles, namely Caspar David Friedrich's (1774-1840) famous image, *Wanderer above the Sea of Fog* (1817)

(figure 1): ‘One of Romanticism’s stock images was that of the lonely, tormented artist, searching for truth’ (Ystehede and Rafter, 2010: 271).



Figure 1. Caspar David Friedrich (1818) *Wanderer above the Sea of Fog*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed 30th September 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wanderer_above_the_Sea_of_Fog#/media/File:Caspar_David_Friedrich_-_Wanderer_above_the_sea_of_fog.jpg.

Ystehede and Rafter argue that Lombroso’s scholarship reveals that he conceived of himself as the figure in this iconic image: ‘he pictured himself as a beleaguered pioneer, an explorer

or hunter struggling bravely onward in search of truth' (Ystehede and Rafter, 2010: 266), 'a lonely, struggling genius, misunderstood by others but heroically soldiering on' (2010: 271). Their strongest argument comes in his commitment to the natural world or nature and man's place in it (2010: 271):

Most Romantically of all, Lombroso turned to nature for his truths, studying neither legislation nor political science (as Beccaria and Bentham had done) but physical man himself to unlock the secrets of crime. It is impossible to understand Lombroso's scientific project without recognizing its fundamentally Romantic character.

Gothicism as it affected the literary arts emerged from the late eighteenth century onwards as a subgenre of Romanticism and was marked by the publication of Horace Walpole's (1676-1745) *Castle of Otranto* (1764). The Gothic genre was at the forefront of the western-European literary canon by the 1790s and remained popular until the 1830s. It experienced a resurgence a century later in Lombroso's late-nineteenth century. Gothic literature was comprised of some defining characteristics. One such characteristic was a concern with temporality. In particular the idea of the past and especially antiquity was prominent. Another characteristic was a concern with 'interiority' or subjectivity. (Hogle, 2006: 1). These two characteristics, the past and interiority manifest through the introduction of a double or doppelgänger, usually an otherworldly monster who bears some resemblance to a past subjectivity. Ystehede and Rafter argue that Lombroso's criminal anthropology was Gothic and that this manifested in particular in relation to his born criminal. The born criminal embodied an atavistic and degenerative past that lurked in and thus haunted every single person. Moreover, while this doppelgänger could be identified by their external features, it was their interior self, their psyche, that was criminal.

Defining the visual in Lombroso: An impossible task

The sheer range of images in Lombroso's work makes it difficult to define the visual. Just as the boundaries between art and science blur in his writing, so too, does the limits of visual. Best known for his photographs, his oeuvre includes a vast array of other kinds of images. Sometimes, the pictures themselves are absent, and all that we have are his words. On each count, scholars have found different meaning and implication of his work.

Photographs

A small number of studies exist on Lombroso's unpublished photographs in Lombroso's archive at the University of Turin (Leonardi, 2015; Turzio, Villa and Violi, 2005; Turzio, 2009; Chiari and Montaldo, 2017). The photographic collections are enormous. The art historian Nicoletta Leonardi describes the photographic collection as comprising thousands of photographs: 'Nell'insieme il fondo è composto da 6650 unità, di cui 6289 positivi su carta (stampe all'albumina, al collodio e ai sali d'argento, aristotipi) e 361 negativi alla gelatina al bromuro d'argento su lastra di vetro [Overall, the fund is made up of 6650 units, of which 6,229 positives on paper (albumin prints, collodion and silver salts, aristotypes) and 361 negatives to gelatine and silver bromide on glass plate]' (2015: 37). However, the majority of these studies are published in Italian (Leonardi, 2015; Turzio, Villa and Violi, 2005; Turzio, 2009; c.f. Chiari and Montaldo, 2013), but it is critical that they are not lost amongst the Anglo-American criminological canon simply because there is almost no English-language scholarship on the subject (c.f. Chiari and Montaldo, 2017).

Silvana Turzio, Renzo Villa and Alessandra Violi's *Locus solus: Lombroso e la fotografia* [*Locus Solus: Lombroso and Photography*] (2005) is the only monographic study of Lombroso's photographs. In his opening essay to the monograph Turzio, who has written on the

Lombroso Museum's photographic collection elsewhere (2009), makes a convincing case for a sustained study of the subject. He argues that while the epistemology of Lombroso's criminal anthropology and many of the other collections at the Lombroso Museum are repeatedly analysed, Lombroso's photographic collections have not been analysed systematically. Furthermore, he observes the methodological difficulties of doing so. Lombroso never took his own photographs and, as such, collected them from a range of oftentimes foreign sources. Some were commissioned while others donated to the collection. Moreover, the format of the photographs is diverse as some come from, for example, the medical world and others the juridical world. As such they display myriad visual cultural and specifically photographic conventions. Turzio observes, for instance, what he suggests is a British visual convention in juridical photography whereby a mirror is angled somewhere between 45 and 90 degrees to capture an individual's profile image. Another major stumbling block is also the captions or annotations accompanying the photographs which vary and are sometimes missing. Together, these different factors make it difficult to historicise the photographs.

Leonardi explains that because of these myriad characteristics (2015: 36):

Si tratta, dunque, di una collezione i cui oggetti fotografici non riflettono soltanto gli interessi e le volontà di un singolo individuo, ma testimoniano il dialogo fra scienziati all'interno di reti istituzionali operative nell'ambito dell'antropologia criminale, della psichiatria e della medicina legale lungo l'arco di quasi un secolo. La presenza poi di materiale non necessariamente legato a rapporti istituzionali, ma afferente a situazioni più prosaiche, talvolta private e personali, nonché di oggetti inviati in maniera spontanea senza che ne fosse stata fatta richiesta, aggiunge complessità a una collezione che risulta di grande interesse anche in ragione del suo essere frutto di relazioni collaborative interdisciplinari, di rapporti sociali, nonché testimonianza della fama internazionale di Lombroso e del dibattito suscitato dalle sue controverse teorie.

It is, therefore, a collection whose photographic objects do not reflect only the interests and the will of an individual but testify to the dialogue between scientists within institutional networks operating in the field of criminal anthropology, psychiatry and legal medicine along the arch of almost a

century. The presence of material not necessarily linked to institutional relationships, but related to more prosaic situations, sometimes private and personal, as well as objects sent spontaneously without being requested, adds complexity to a collection that is also of great interest because of its being the result of interdisciplinary collaborative relationships, of social relations, as well as testimony to the international fame of Lombroso and the debate aroused by his controversial theories.

Leonardi argues that a history of Lombroso's photography should, because of these myriad networks which she argues are the foundation of visual culture, resist more traditional art historical methods of historicising photography that concentrate too much on one individual 'creator'. She takes a particularly sociological or social scientific view of art history in this respect, echoing Becker's *Art Worlds* (1982) and Bourdieu's *Photography: A Middlebrow art* (1996a) and *Who Created the Creators* (1996b) discussed in the preceding introductory chapter. She goes on to emphasise less the formal analysis of any one particular image or group of images and instead focuses on the photographs in the collection as objects to be exchanged between people (2015: 36-37):

In questa prospettiva metodologica, la fotografia viene considerata non più un fenomeno esclusivamente visivo, un'immagine da analizzare in quanto produzione testuale di un autore o come veicolo di forme di potere e ideologie proiettate su di essa, ma come un oggetto materiale dotato di una sua 'vita sociale', di una sua biografia. Questo cambiamento di prospettiva – dall'immagine come unica depositaria del contenuto e del significato, all'analisi delle forme materiali e di presentazione e dei diversi usi delle fotografie – è essenziale per comprendere a fondo la fotografia come oggetto che ha un ruolo nella nostra società.

In this methodological perspective, photography is no longer considered a phenomenon exclusively visual, an image to be analysed as a textual production of an author or as a vehicle of forms of power and ideologies projected on it, but as a material object endowed with a 'social life', a biography of it. This change of perspective - from the image as the sole custodian of content and meaning, to the analysis of the material and presentation forms and the different uses of photographs - is essential to fully understand photography as an object that has a role in our society.

Violi (2005) analyses the spirit photographs amongst the collection (see also, Ystehde, 2013)¹⁷. Violi reproduces an entire album of spirit photographs gifted to Lombroso by his contemporary and fellow Turinese physician *cum* spiritualist researcher Enrico Imoda (dates of birth and death unknown). Although Lombroso came to it later in his life, along with many other positivist sciences, and originating in the Americas, spiritualism, the belief that the living and dead can make contact, was a prominent discourse in nineteenth century Europe and the Americas from the 1850s onwards (see, for example, Oppenheim, 1985 and Brandon, 1983). Violi argues that Lombroso's writings on spiritualism 'generates a spiritualistic vogue in Italy' (2005: 48). Violi speaks of the camera's involvement in the construction of spiritual phenomena. At the same time, she notes that the supposed objectivity of the medium contributed to the scientific status of 'contact' made with the spiritual world. Besides spirit phenomena the Imoda album documents prominent figures involved in spiritualism in the late nineteenth century, as well as the material settings where spiritualist research took place.

The criminologist Per Ystehede observes that photographic phenomena like the double exposure, for example, fed Lombroso's detractors yet more proof that he was not in control of his photography and detracted from its scientific status. For this reason, Ystehede understands Lombroso's photographs as craftworks thus highlighting its creative potential, distancing it from science and bringing it close to the arts. Rafter, similarly, suggests that the re-reading of photography as something that was more creative than scientific allows criminologists to 'decode and analyse the rhetorical imagery of those sciences and to ponder assumptions about the boundaries between science and art' (Rafter, 2000: 5).

Eleanor Chiari, a cultural historian of Italy and Silvano Montaldo curator of the Lombroso Museum analyse the carte de visite photographs amongst the source images for

¹⁷ The same year as Violi's essay, an exhibition entitled *Le Troisième Oeil. La Photographie Et L'occulte* [The Third Eye: Photography and the Occult] was co-produced by the Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art, New York City and the *Maison Européenne de la Photographie*, Paris (2005).

L'uomo delinquente [*Criminal Man*] (2017)¹⁸. They included portraits of famous brigands whilst still alive and trophy-like portraits of dead brigands with their killers. They were taken by a photographer Chiari and Montaldo identify only as 'Bissi of Caserta' and in the style of *Risorgimento* photographer Emanuele Rissi (1844-1929). They observe that, '[l]ike other photographic materials in Lombroso's collection, these photographs were intended for measurement, as evidence of deviance and to demonstrate particular physical links between cranial features and criminal tendencies' (2017: 153). However, like Rafter, they too probe at the representational and artistic qualities that belie their documentary claims. For example, the photographs are symmetrically or geometrically organised to resemble a 'family tree'¹⁹. Moreover, the social and political history behind the production of these photographs is visible. As Montaldo and Chiari point out: 'Their hollowed eyes and inert bodies shattered by bullets tell stories of violence, which do not necessarily sit comfortably within a science museum' (Montaldo and Chiari, 2017: 152). Montaldo and Chiari offer a particularly disturbing example of the social and political history in their analysis of the photograph of Michelina di Cesare (1841-1868), a woman brigand popular with the Bourbon cause. The authors highlight that Lombroso did not collect the much more famous photographs of di Cesare which were common Bourbon propaganda in which di Cesare posed next to her rifle with a strong, confident stare. Lombroso's photo of her is instead one of 'pornographic scorn' (Stylianou and Stylianou-Lambert, 2017: 7). Troublingly, it presents her dead and

¹⁸ The *carte-de-visite* was a photographic format patented in the mid nineteenth century and popularized in the 1860s. It consisted of a small (two and a half by four inches in size) portrait photograph mounted onto card. For more on the *carte de visite* see, William Darrah (1981) (on the *carte de visite* generally); Andrea Volpe (2001) (on the formation of the American middle class); Lara Perry (2012) (on seriality and photographic likeness). For a history of nineteenth century photography see Roger Hargreaves (2001) (on identity formation more generally) and Lindsay Smith (1998) (on identity formation regarding women and children). On the history of nineteenth century photography in Italy see Maria Antonella Pelizzari (2010); Maria Francesca Bonetti and Monica Maffioli (2003); Lolla (2014); Roberta Valtorta, Sarah Patircia Hill and Giuliana Minghelli (2014); Giulio Bollati (1979); Cesare Lombroso and Susan Sontag (1988); Gabriele D'Autilia (2012); and Maria Antonella Pelizzari (2011).

¹⁹ This aesthetic strategy would likely have appealed to Lombroso's classificatory tendencies and the family tree would have spoken to an organising principle of Lombroso's criminology of heredity.

naked next to an all-too-clinical annotation about her four-month pregnancy at her time of death. The authors compellingly suggest that Lombroso's decision to include this photograph of di Cesare meant that Lombroso's criminal anthropology was as much a war of visual media—in terms of the realities it sought to visually construct—as it was of *Risorgimento*²⁰.

Drawing and painting

Lombroso was using other kinds of visual media besides photographs. Renzo Villa discusses the *Album delinquenti*, two notebooks filled with prisoner portraits. These, along with dozens of striking A-3 sized portraits currently on display in the Lombroso Museum, Turin, Italy, as a giant frieze in the main gallery, were line drawings by Luigi Frigerio, a physician-*cum*-artist who assisted and collaborated with Lombroso while he was medical director of the San Benedetto Psychiatric Hospital in Pesaro. Villa notes that they form the 'the first iconographic nucleus of *Criminal Man*' (1985: 132; see also Colombo, 2000: 114).

Verbal images

As well as line drawings and images more generally in their conventional, graphic sense, Lombroso's criminal anthropology comprised 'verbal' images. Verbal images are a common

²⁰ Lombroso discusses female corpses elsewhere, for example, in a discussion about the Italian Renaissance artist Michelangelo Buonarroti's 'indifference to women' or sexuality (Lombroso was an early sexologist) of which he said that 'he never used, it appears, the living female model, though he made use of [female] corpses' (Lombroso, 1891: 354). It is worth situating Lombroso's preoccupations with female corpses observed by Chiari and Montaldo as well as this one in the context of the then-emergent field of criminal forensics. Take, for example, Eduard von Hofmann's *Atlas of Legal Medicine* (1898). Hofmann was the progenitor of criminal forensics. An entomologist by training, he pinpointed time of death in criminal cases through the presence of insects in the body, a forensic method that continues today. Von Hoffman's *Atlas* is packed full of troubling images, page-after-page of female genitalia and fetuses still in the womb of these corpses.

literary device, descriptive written statements which conjure a mental image in the reader's mind. An example that will be familiar for criminologists is Foucault's scholarship. 'Foucault', Rafter argues, 'used few illustrations in his books but had an extraordinarily visual turn of mind' (Rafter, 2014: 131). Rafter is speaking here of Foucault as a *voyant* as Gilles Deleuze put it who, along with the visual cultural scholar, Martin Jay (1986), 'observe' the importance of the visual in Foucault's scholarship and who argued that to ignore the visual component of it was to misunderstand it (Deleuze, 2006; Jay, 1986):

Foucault delighted in articulating statements and in distinguishing between them, only because he also had a passion for seeing: what defines him above all is the voice, but also the eyes. The eyes and the voice. Foucault never stopped being a *voyant* at the same time as he marked philosophy with a new style of statement, though the two followed different paths, or a double rhythm (Deleuze, 1986/2006: 43).

Rafter points out that his most famous graphic verbal image is that of Robert-François Damiens' (1715-1757) public execution in his *Discipline and Punish* (1977) (Rafter, 2014). However, well before Foucault in the late-twentieth century, biological theorists of crime, like Lombroso were using verbal images. An example from Rafter's article 'Seeing and Believing: Images of Heredity in Biological Theories of Crime' Rafter analyses the visual component of Benjamin Rush's (1746-1813) scholarship on moral derangement: '[a]lthough Rush presented no visual displays, he did use image-rich narratives to illustrate his points' (Rafter, 2001: 75). Lombroso's written statements are so extravagant as to function as a verbal image (Past, 2012; Stewart-Steinberg, 2008)²¹. Of the verbal images that characterised

²¹ Indeed, there are many examples of verbal images in Lombroso's criminology, but the following is noteworthy because of its infamy. Lombroso wrote the following about Giuseppe Villella, a Calabrese brigand *cum* flesh-tearing and blood-drinking born criminal monster or, less impressively, a livestock and dairy thief: 'This man possessed such extraordinary agility, that he had been known to scale steep mountain heights bearing sheep on his shoulders. His cynical effrontery was such that he openly boasted of his crimes' (Lombroso, 1911: xiv). This quotation hints at a verbal image that comes fully into view when Lombroso declares the following in an infamously vitriolic and oft-cited passage: At the sight of that skull, I seemed to see all of a sudden, lighted up as a vast plain under a flaming sky, the problem of the nature of the criminal—an atavistic being who reproduces in his person the ferocious instincts of primitive humanity and the inferior animals. Thus were explained anatomically the enormous jaws, high cheek bones, prominent superciliary arches, solitary lines in the palms, extreme size of the orbits, handle shaped or sessile ears found in criminals, savages and apes, insensibility to pain, extremely acute sight, tattooing, excessive idleness, love of orgies and the irresistible

the scholarship of Lombroso's Italian School more generally, the cultural historian of Italy David Forgacs suggests the following: 'If [Alfredo Niceforo and Scipio Sighele's] texts strike the reader today as a hotchpotch of dramatic narration, colourful description *and* sobering collection of facts it is because the genre to which it belonged—the work of social investigation—had yet to become stabilized' (Forgacs, 2014: 34).

Verbal images have a close and not-to-be-overlooked relationship with the graphic images and specifically photographs in Lombroso's criminology. For example, Rafter (2009) argued that these kinds of verbal images allowed Lombroso to simultaneously embed his theory narratively and visually. Rafter's finding is similarly supported by literary scholars and critics. These scholars are attracted to Lombroso precisely because of the representational or mediated quality of his scholarship. As scholars who deal with representation and the literary medium, it makes sense that they would turn to Lombroso. For example, Past argues that Lombroso's narration brought his images to life: 'Lombroso strives to officially claim dependence on data to prove his points. On practice, however, he relies on a lively style and narrative, as well as graphic illustrations' (Past, 2012: 157). In Stewart-Steinberg's terms, Lombroso's images 'talk back' and 'produce a kind of choral effect of such power that they are able to make Lombroso's own voice join them to produce a popular language' (Stewart-Steinberg, 2008: 232).

Past argues furthermore that Lombroso's verbal images do not merely work *alongside* but *as* graphic images and specifically, photographs. For instance, she refers to Lombroso's 'narrative snapshots' and 'narrative portraits', that, taken together, form 'galleries' (Past, 2012: 157). His verbal images, she suggests, were tantamount to photography: 'Lombroso's criminal anecdotes are gathered in galleries of descriptive snapshots in the same way that the

craving for evil for its own sake, the desire not only to extinguish life in the victim, but to mutilate the corpse, tear its flesh, and drink its blood (Lombroso, 1911: xiv-xv).

atlas includes page after page of photograph' (Past, 2012: 157)²². At the same time, Past (2012: 157), points out, there is a key difference between the portrait photographs Lombroso uses, and the narrative portrait photographs he reproduces:

Unlike the portrait galleries, in which uniformly sized and shaped photographs occupy their appointed space on a page, descriptions of criminals and their delinquent acts vary in length and style and seem to have been chosen for their exceptional rather than typical qualities. They are piquants, often graphic portrayals that detect criminality into a subcutaneous domain of blood and violence' The anecdotes unlike the statistical tables are in effect, more representative of Lombroso's science, since they can never be averaged. As specific narrative portraits, their very presence signals an anomaly worthy of narration.

Past's observation in this regard resonates with literature elsewhere. In *The Criminal Body: Lombroso and the Anatomy of Deviance* (2003), for example, David Horn highlights that Lombroso's portrait photographs functioned as visual averages (see also, Sekula, 1986). This is to say that Lombroso was concerned with the 'recognition' of a criminal type rather than the 'identification' of an individual (Horn, 2003: x). Thus, whilst verbal may be analogised with graphic images, narrative snapshots or portraits with photographic snapshots or portraits, there remain important epistemological differences between how these different kinds of images were working to produce knowledge.

Visual criminology and art history

²² Lombroso (1876: 115) himself discusses how poetic verse conjures not merely any kind of image, but specifically a photograph: 'una gran parte della letteratura carceraria è in versi, ed è fattura dei delinquenti medesimi, che prediligono la forma poetica, forse perchè meglio risponde al bollore delle loro passioni, comechè essi vi portano sempre l'impressione del proprio io, i sentimenti del loro dolore dipinti con una forza ed una eloquenza straordinaria. E ben lo può provare questo scritto, dettato da un calzolaio, dapprima analfabeta, dell'ergastolo di S. Stefano, che giova, anche, inserire, perchè riproduce stupendamente la fotografia di una galera [A large part of the prison literature is in verse and the criminals themselves, who prey on the poetic form, perhaps because it responds better to their boiling passions, as they always bring the impression of their own, the feelings of their pain painted with extraordinary force and elation. And this can be proved by this text, dictated by a shoemaker, first illiterate, of the life of St. Stephen, which benefits, also, insert, because it reproduces beautifully the photograph of a prison].

The second departure point in my dissertation is the kind of visual media in Lombroso's criminal anthropology. Although, as my review of the literature above demonstrates, scholars have analysed Lombroso's photographic collections, his literary images and, less so, his drawings, no-one has to date analysed the visual arts that are in his scholarship. My interest is in how Lombroso used less familiar visual media including painting, sculpture and engraving, by some of the most illustrious artists in the modern history of Western-European art.

To help me to do this there exists a small body of scholarship on what can be called an art-historical visual criminology which is important for the purposes of my dissertation. Eamonn Carrabine explores how punishment has been represented in the literary and visual arts (2011: 47)²³. Carrabine's exploration includes figures as famous and varied as William Hogarth, Giambattista Piranesi, Francisco Goya, Gustave Courbet and Édouard Manet, Vincent Van Gogh, and Egon Schiele. Carrabine identifies that the majority of artists on this list belong to a particular moment or epoch in art history known as realism (Carrabine, 2011: 58) which predominated during the nineteenth century.

More recently the criminological historian Piers Bierne has similarly undertaken historical research that is visual in focus. Bierne's *Hogarth's Art of Animal Cruelty* (2015) 'sits at the intersection of art history, human-animal studies and green criminology' (2015: viii). Therein Bierne establishes how animals were perceived through an analysis and reception of William Hogarth's eighteenth-century artworks. Bierne's even more recent monograph *Murdering Animals* (2018), which combines criminology with the increasingly popular field of human-animal studies and explores the contradictions between murder on the one hand and 'theriocide' (the killing of animals by humans) on the other, has a substantial art-historical element. Herein Bierne extends his analysis of Hogarth's artworks by adding an analysis of

²³ Carrabine's analysis also includes cinematic and televisual representations of punishment. For the purposes of this literature review, I focus on Carrabine's analysis of visual rather than literary and cinematic representations of punishment.

Life of a Hunter (1647), a mid-seventeenth century painting by the Dutch artist Paulus Potter (1625-54) which depicts what may seem in today's speciesist age an odd scenario: a hunter who is put on trial, sentenced to death and roasted alive by their prey. This time, and unlike in the earlier work, Bierne aligns his scholarship with cultural and visual criminologies (2018: 6).

Finally, Willem de Haan (2015) analyses artistic representations of 'Kleptomania'. Specifically, he analyses a contemporary painting which was inspired by Theodore Géricault's nineteenth century oil painting *Kleptomaniac* (ca. 1820). De Haan's aim is to:

[C]ontribute to the growing field of visual criminology and, more specifically, to the work of those scholars in visual criminology who have taken an interest in visual representations of crimes and criminals in the arts (2015: 23).

Within his analyses de Haan observes the virtuoso visual arts in Lombroso's Italian School more generally, specifically in the Enrico Ferri's *Delinquenti Nell' Arte* (1896). De Haan observes Ferri's knowledge of Jean Martin Charcot's identifying 'hysterics' in the portraits of, for example, Raphael. Moreover, he also observes Ferri's knowledge of, 'the anthropologist Edouard Lefort who identified the characteristic facial features of criminals in more than 100 portraits by painters of the Italian, Flemish, Spanish and French school' (2015: xx). De Haan observes that 'Ferri concludes that portraits of criminals drawn and painted in the past centuries were, in fact, 'perfectly matched' to the scientific types of the born criminals that had been developed theoretically and empirically by his teacher Cesare Lombroso'.

Past's claim about the qualitative character of Lombroso's criminal anthropology is made in a section of her book entitled 'The Art of Criminal Anthropology' (Past, 2012: 150). After she links Lombroso's criminal anthropology to the speculative paradigm and consequently identifies its qualitative character she then goes on to describe how Lombroso

‘regularly integrates art into his science’ as proof of his born criminal theory. She argues that he did so with ‘canonical’ artworks in the same way in which he did with photographs. Lombroso reproduced these photographs row after row in the visual compendium or *Atlas* of his *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1896-1897d) (Past, 2012: 150): ‘Using a technique akin to the amassing of photographs for the *Atlas*, Lombroso involves canonical images rendered by Michelangelo to demonstrate that the criminal type visible in his Galtonian photographs had been ‘intuited’ hundreds of years by men of genius’. Past also explains why Lombroso did so (2012: 143):

Artists and scientists alike search for truth, [Lombroso] suggests, although they gain access to it in different ways: whereas science reaches truth by collecting data, the artist relies primarily on intuition. For Lombroso’s work, the significance of this common endeavour lies in the fact that a scientist can also use art as substantiation, collecting examples of good artistic intuition to illustrate, brilliantly and poetically, the legitimacy of his theories.

Conclusion

By turning to the literature in the fields of art history, visual cultural studies and visual anthropology I have demonstrated that visuality in nineteenth century sociology and anthropology has been well researched. Moreover, I suggest that as criminologists we should take particular interest in the efforts to do so in relation to anthropology. One of the key historical sites of the history of our own discipline was anthropological—Cesare Lombroso’s criminal anthropology. As such, of all the sites worthy of visual analysis Lombroso’s work should be it and this can be done from an anthropological perspective.

Although there has not been a visual-anthropological analysis of Lombroso’s criminal anthropology, there has been a visual analysis of Lombroso’s criminal anthropology. As such, I have focused on the literature in criminology that deals with the visual in Lombroso’s criminology. Overall, this literature demonstrates that there is a definite awareness that biological theories of crime were visually constituted, and that Lombroso’s

was especially so. This literature can be united by its shared interest in one particular visual medium—that of photography. Moreover, the literature understands photography to be doing creative work as representation and art.

This is an important site of analysis since the invention and advent of photography was co-terminus with criminology. But it does tend to obscure another kind of visual media—the visual arts. When it comes to art in Lombroso's criminology then, little has been written on this topic in criminology. And whilst the situation is more promising in art history, the concentration in that field seems to be on the extent to which Lombroso influenced or impacted the practice of artists (Callen, 1992; 1995; Druick, 1988; 1998). Where there has been a focus on art in Lombroso's criminology, it has been on the visual art created by prisoners and patients that Lombroso studied, not on fine art by lauded or virtuoso artists. I also look to the small literature on art history in criminology as inspiration. These art-historical criminological studies are important. They mark a shift from criminology's engagement with the academic field of visual culture (a field that criminologists perhaps feel comfortable working within considering its longer social scientific legacy described above) to the academic field of art history. In so doing they bring a range of visual artists, particularly nineteenth century artists practicing in the realist tradition, into the purview of criminology. This shift, though, is an ambitious enterprise. Unlike the academic field of visual culture, criminology and even social science more generally does not have an art historical legacy. This is new, uncharted territory.

This is the significance and contribution of my dissertation; it analyses the visual in Lombroso's criminal anthropology in terms of creativity and art. It also takes the virtuoso visual arts as new evidence in the history of the science of criminal man and more than this does so for criminology because as the field of art history demonstrates, art historians are more interested in what Lombroso did for art history than for the history of science. In this

way too, my dissertation elides the distinction between the histories of art and science by bringing them together. The next chapter explains how I go about this.

It is this second way in which Hilier researches the arts in relation to Lombroso's criminal anthropology that I am interested in—the extent to which the visual arts and specifically fine art influenced Lombroso. So, rather than a 'mélange' of literary authorities I look to that of visual-artistic authorities which, like those of the world of literature, served to give Lombroso's criminology credibility and weight. Indeed, what on first sight appears as a rhetorical strategy belies a much more rigorous application of the arts in his criminology.

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In this chapter I describe the research methods and methodological considerations that inform my research and my presentation of it in this dissertation. The chapter is organized into three parts. In part one I introduce the primary research method used in this study, namely discourse analysis. I begin by introducing the origins of discourse analysis. These are often overlooked in the criminological literature on discourse analysis, but accounting for the method's origins grounds what, because of the absence of such origin stories, can seem like an abstract and unstructured research method. Indeed, accounting for the origins of discourse conveys how rigorous and considered a research method it really is. I describe the method's origins in the theory of language or linguistics and specifically what is called semiotics today. I consider the main criticism of semiotics to open up a space in which to discuss discourse analysis as an antidote to that criticism.

Although criminologists are used to undertaking intertextual discourse analyses, these are analyses that understand discourse as forming across a range of different sites, they are less used to doing so with images. As such, I spend some time describing what can be considered visual for the purposes of discourse analysis in the first instance. In part two I explain how I will undertake my discourse analysis. I identify my starting points as well as the points of departure these lead me to. Finally, in part three I discuss the complementary digital methods I use to undertake my discourse analyses and discuss some of the practical and ethical implications of reproducing some of the images subject to analysis in this dissertation.

Describing discourse: from Saussure to Foucault

Visual cultural scholars use many different kinds of methods to analyse pre-existing images (on which see Rose, 2008). One such method that will already be familiar to criminologists is discourse analysis. The origins of discourse analysis lie in semiotics, first associated with Ferdinand de Saussure's (1857-1913) linguistic theory and especially his influential posthumous book *Cours de Linguistique Générale* [*Course in General Linguistics*] (1916/2011). In it, Saussure rejected the then-prevailing empiricist and positivist epistemology of language whereby it was understood that there was a direct correspondence between a word and its referent (Hawkes, 1977). Saussure thought the relationship between a word or 'linguistic sign' as he called it and its referent a construct. As such the relationship is not between word and thing or object but between a sound and a concept. This was Saussure's linguistic science which is now called semiology. The now-familiar terms, 'sign' together with 'signifier' and 'signified' were introduced when Saussure's work was translated into English in the mid-twentieth century (1916). A sign is comprised of a signifier (to use a familiar example, the sound or word image 'cat') which points to a signified (to continue with that familiar example, the concept or idea of the cat—and importantly not a cat itself).

Saussure's thinking influenced several prominent poststructuralist thinkers including Roland Barthes (1915-1980), Julia Kristeva (b. 1941) and Michel Foucault (1926-1984). Barthes developed Saussure's theory in *Mythologies* (1957/1972) by linking first to second-order signs. Barthes' first-order and second-order signs are now infamously known as denotation and connotation respectively. For Barthes, connotations come together to form complex systems or myths. Barthes reeled off numerous examples of such myths in a number of essays in *Mythologies* (1957/1972) on what he considered mass cultural phenomena children's toys, wine, plastic, and most curiously of all since wrestling had by no means reached the height of its zenith in the 1950s 'the world of wrestling', for example.

Barthes' semiotics is not merely linguistic. Indeed, discourse analysis as it is most often used in the humanities and social sciences is usually applied to the use of language across a range of different sites. This kind of discourse analysis is usually referred to as 'critical discourse analysis' but is not the method to which I subscribe. The discourse analysis that I use in this dissertation is one that can apply to non-linguistic forms. Crucially, this means that I am able to analyse images, and this might be in relation to other images, but it might also be in relation to written text in my primary source documents. These include historical books, but sometimes manuscripts and even letters sent and received by Lombroso.

This method of analysing different media—in this case written and visual—across different sites is characteristic of semiotics and discourse analysis and is called 'intertextuality' (for a concise account of the origins of the concept see, Alfaro, 1996). Kristeva coined the term in her collection of essays entitled *Recherches pour une sémanalyse* (1969) translated into English as *Desire in Language* (1980). Therein Kristeva enhanced Saussure's semiology by combining it with the philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin's (1965; 1973) idea of 'dialogism'. Bakhtin generated dialogism on account of his dislike of Saussure's semiology.

Kristeva created the idea of intertextuality precisely because she saw the literature that she was analysing as redistributing texts that preceded it into that single text. Through Bakhtin's dialogism she views these pre-texts in the same terms and so when analysing any one topic or sight it is inevitable that scholars must spread themselves widely between theoretically infinite number and range of texts.

Like all research methods semiotics is subject to criticism (see, for example, Leiss et al., 2015). The most important of these criticisms is that semiotic analysis is too caught up in the signs in and of themselves. As a consequence, the social institutions and practices that produce these signs are ignored. The Foucauldian concept of discourse was developed in response to this criticism of semiotics (Rose, 2008: 136). The following quotation illustrates

the difference between semiotics and discourse: ‘discourse is a particular form of knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it’ (Rose, 2001: 136). In other words, discourse contributes to ‘doing’ and is, therefore, above all productive. It is because of its productivity that discourse compels us to look beyond signs or statements themselves to how they are used and distributed within social institutions and practices and in which they simultaneously exist and produce. It is not merely that it seems natural, as was the case with Barthes’ sign.

The Cultural geographer Gillian Rose defines discourse in the following way in her book *Visual Methodologies* (2001: 136) (a go-to text for social scientists researching the visual and/or using visual methods): ‘Discourse has quite a specific meaning. It refers to groups of statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act on the basis of that thinking’. The ‘statements’ that comprise discourse can be different. They might be written or oral as well as visual. Rose describes how written and oral statements can be further divided into two categories, namely verbal images and verbal texts.

I have already introduced verbal images in this dissertation (see chapter 1). The reader will recall that I discussed them in relation to Foucault’s literary style. By way of reminder, though, a verbal image is a written statement that is so descriptive that it constitutes an image in its reader’s mind. These kinds of images can be found in contemporary literature as stylistic device. However, this is not to say that social scientists and criminologists should be switching off to verbal images. To the contrary and as I show in this dissertation, verbal images can be found in scholarly work that adopts a literary style. As such, just because criminologists might not be dealing with literature in the traditional sense, it is crucial that they understand the visual character of a verbal text. This is particularly true when dealing with primary source documents that are historical. As this dissertation shows, eighteenth and nineteenth century scholarly style, even and especially in science, was different to our own whereby literary and scholarly style were one and the same. Visual

cultural scholars and art historians call verbal images *ephraksis* and it is a term that I use herein. A verbal text meanwhile is quite simply written material. It might describe anything including the visual. So, a verbal text might describe an image or explicitly mention it by name in the case of an artwork, for example.

Visual statements are graphic images. These different kinds of visual statements that comprise discourse speak to a defining characteristic of discourse; Kristeva's idea of intertextuality, discussed above in relations to Barthes' semiotics. Moreover, as well as being read in relation to one another the different kinds of statements that comprise discourse can be found across a range of different sources or sites.

Analysing discourse

Rose identifies two major steps in undertaking a discourse analysis. First, 'identify starting points' (Rose, 2001: 142). She suggests that there are no 'correct' starting points and they may be obvious or serendipitous finds (Rose, 2001: 142). Having said that, some are more obvious than others. An obvious starting point for my research on the visual in Lombroso's criminal anthropology are the five editions of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876, 1878; 1884, 1889 a and 1889b, 1896-1897a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, and 1896-1897d) and *La donna delinquente la prostituta e la donna normale* [*Criminal Woman, the Prostitute and the Normal Woman*] (1893)²⁴. These books deal with criminality in the most explicit of terms, are replete with images, and discussions about observation and picturing. In particular, for example,

²⁴ I only use this edition of *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) in this dissertation. According to Worldcat.org, the world's largest catalogue of library content, *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] went through two further editions during Lombroso's lifetime. The second edition was published just one year later in 1894 with a 'Nuova edizione economica' or new economic or abridged edition in 1903. Rafter and Gibson suggest that the third edition was published in 1913, the year Lombroso died. However, I was unable to trace this edition in any of the world's libraries via Worldcat. Moreover, their tone in describing the publication of *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) is uncertain. Instead, I found that the third edition was actually published two years after his death in 1915.

they are comprised of his thoughts about one visual medium on which he heavily relied, namely photography. As well as his discussions about the medium, these books are where Lombroso reproduced the infamous skull and portrait photographs. They can be found therein together with discussions about the photographs themselves. *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) is where the less well-known photographs and drawings of African women together with discussions about the images themselves and what they are supposed to represent, appear.

Finally, these books also contain Lombroso's discussions about the visual arts (Lombroso, 1896a). For more than a century these have been 'lost in translation'. It is little known that Lombroso incorporated the Western-European canon of art history into the first volume of the fifth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1896-7a). That art history in Lombroso's criminal anthropology has been ignored owes to the book's complicated translation and editorial history. Over the course of the convoluted translation history of Lombroso's *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*], these rich discussions were lost from their first mention in the first volume of the fifth, Italian-language edition (1896-7a) until now. The first English language translation of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878; 1884; 1889a, 1889b; 1896-1897a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d) which was called *Criminal Man According to the Classification of Cesare Lombroso* was published in 1911. A heavily edited and abridged translation, it excised these discussions in their entirety. They were partially recovered when Nicole Rafter and Mary Gibson undertook the massive task of translating and consolidating all five editions of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878; 1884; 1889a, 1889b; 1896-1897a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d) into one, coherent English-language whole, *Criminal Man* (2006). Rafter and Gibson reproduced the following heavily abridged passage in their English-language translation of the first volume of the fifth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (Lombroso, 1896-1897a/2006: 312):

In a painting by Andrea Mantegna, the executioner about to strike a Christian martyr has a receding forehead, squashed nose, wide mouth, full lips with protuberant lower lip, and a square chin. The artist Titian, in his painting *The Martyrdom of San Lorenzo* [*Saint Laurence*], shows an executioner with an oversized skull, broad face, and abundant hair growing low on his forehead. [Peter Paul] Rubens depicts Judith, who cut off the head of Holofernes, as a young muscular girl with attractive physiognomy marred by a large jaw and large protuberant lips. The lower half of her face is as violent as the upper half is calm. In the eighteenth century, [Francisco] Goya depicted that section of the underworld inhabited by brigands and thieves, including scenes of the execution of criminals in the Spanish style. One of his brigands, about to be put to death, has a receding forehead and very pronounced orbital arches.

This passage stands out because amongst the entire English-language translation of all five editions of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878; 1884; 1889a, 1889b; 1896-1897a, 1896-1897b; 1896-1897c; 1896-1897d) nowhere else is there a discussion of fine art. When returning to the first edition of the fifth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1896-1897a) from which Rafter and Gibson extracted the passage it is clear to see that much of the original Italian was nevertheless lost during the translation and editing processes. This short passage pales in comparison to the six-page discussion of the visual arts in the Italian-language translation. Indeed, since the publication of *Criminal Man* (2006), only one, passing reference has been made in relation to the visual arts in Lombroso's criminal anthropology and, rather than as a subject of analysis, only to exemplify the diversity of his data in the following way: 'Lombroso, in addition to his own statistical measurements...uses a painting by Goya of a brigand with a receding forehead as evidence of biological anomalies' (Gibson, 2013: 34).

As well as *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878; 1884; 1889a, 1889b; 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d) and *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) I select other less obvious starting points, too because Lombroso was a prolific scholar. His first academic publication (Lombroso, 1855) appeared when he was just sixteen years of age. He published his first full-length scholarly essay *Sulla pazzia di Cardano* [*On the madness of Cardano*]

on the Renaissance physician and mathematician Gerolamo Cardano (1501-1576) in 1855 (Lombroso, 1855) while he was a medical student at the University of Pavia (1852-1858). Following that he published over 100 monographs and 1000 papers during his lifetime (Gibson, 2002: 21). They included *L'uomo bianco e l'uomo di colore* [*The white man and the man of colour*] (1871) and *L'antisemitismo e le scienze modern* [*Anti-semitism and the Modern Sciences*] (1894), to take two important examples. His articles, some of which were afterthoughts, additions and revisions to pre-existing publications and especially books, were published in Italy's most famous academic journals (Hilier, 2009: 4) including his own journal *Archivio di psichiatria, antropologia criminale, e scienze penali* [*The Archives of Psychiatry and Criminal Anthropology to serve in the Study of Delinquent Man*]. One of his contemporary adversaries even observed that he may have written even more under his follower's names (Colajanni, 1890: 13-14, cited in Hilier, 2009: 2).

The size of Lombroso's oeuvre would mean it remiss to think that Lombroso's thoughts on criminal anthropology and the visual were only confined to the books with which criminologists are most familiar. As such, I go beyond the two works with which criminologists normally study. As such, I isolate his less well-known book—at least in criminology—the English language translation (1891) of the fifth edition of his *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (1889) and the sixth edition of *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (1894) as another starting point. There is reasoning behind why I select these two books. As with *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878; 1884; 1889a, 1889b; 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d) the output of Lombroso's scholarship on genius was part of a rapid and convoluted publication history. The relevant scholarship includes the first four editions of *Genio e follia* [*Man of Genius*] (1864; 1872; 1877; 1882) which appeared over a twenty-year period, each time significantly revised and expanded, and what are regarded as the fifth and sixth editions of which were renamed *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (1889; 1894). In 1891, between the fifth and sixth editions, Havelock Ellis, Lombroso's foremost English follower,

translated and abridged in his editing the fifth edition into English. Ellis reduced Lombroso's 650-page to one less than half its size at 300 pages and so I use the Italian-language editions (1889; 1894) as my source material. Following that, Lombroso then published two manifestly different works on the subject, *Genio e degenerazione* in 1897, finally concluding his studies with a new work, *Nuovi studi sul genio* in 1902. I use the fifth edition of *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (1889). This is because the art historian John MacGregor argues that this edition of *L'uomo di Genio* [*Man of Genius*] was Lombroso's most important contribution to academic debates about genius in general and that further still, 'no single publication has contributed more toward shaping the popular conception of artistic genius' (MacGregor, 1989: 94)²⁵.

The second major step in undertaking a discourse analysis that Rose identifies is as follows: 'once the more obvious starting points have been established, it is important then to widen your range of archives and sites' (Rose, 2001: 142). The way to do this is by letting the starting points above direct you to other primary and secondary sources. Thus, Lombroso's discussions about photography are his in isolation. They need to be contextualised by reference to further primary source material, comprised of ideas about photography constituting a natural science and collecting and comparatively analysing his European contemporaries' ideas about photography. This can reveal the extent to which the idea of photography as akin to nature was present in Europe more generally as well as isolating the peculiarities of Lombroso's own Italian situation. In turn, these primary source discussions point to secondary source literature on the subject that helps to contextualise attitudes towards photography in light of other prevailing contextual such as modernisation and more specifically industry and statecraft.

²⁵ There is an historiographical byproduct of selecting primary source material in this way, namely adjusting the nominal birth date of criminology which is conventionally identified as 1876, the year when the first edition of Lombroso's *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] was published (see, for example, Garland, 1988). It was during the 1870s onwards that criminology became an established intellectual and scientific field. However, as this dissertation shows, the germ of Lombroso's emerged in his earlier scholarship.

The varied quality of the reproductions of skull and portrait photographs raises questions about why some appeared with such vitality in Lombroso's publications and others did not. As such they point to secondary source literature on mechanical reproduction.

Lombroso's discussions of the photographs and drawings of African women points to their provenance which I trace. Doing so is not an easy task. It was not uncommon for Lombroso to cite incorrect sources. Moreover, he usually only attributed the photographs to secondary sources and so I had to trace them back to their primary source myself. Tracing the provenance of these photographs to their primary source means that I encounter a considerable number of primary source books some of which are difficult to work with because of their sheer size. For example, the second (Ploss, 1887a, 1887b) and third (1891a, 1891b) editions of *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde* [*The Woman in Nature and Ethnology*] are weighty German-language monograph comprised of two volumes, all of which are a little under 1500 pages long and each with over 100 images and still further images in the plates. Trawling these took a considerable amount of time and effort.

Methodological implications

My discourse analysis relied heavily on a range of complementary digital methods. Research on the digital has proliferated across the arts, humanities and social sciences. Criminology too has been part of this proliferation. Criminologists have analysed digital media. Indeed, scholarship on new or digital media is proliferating in criminology. Majid Yar (2012) observes that digital media takes torture for the camera beyond the exceptional or militarised contexts in the pre-digital era to the everyday, specifically criminal in the digital era. Visual cultural theorist and art historian Jonathan Finn (2015) has demonstrated this in relation to Russell Williams, former Colonel in the Canadian Armed Forces. Williams photographed himself wearing the underwear of the women he sexually assaulted and—in some cases—killed. Finn

argued that his doing so represented an example of ‘ubiquitous photography’, a characteristic of the digital age (Hand, 2012). Ubiquity is about the scale of photography in terms of its capture *and* distribution, a scale that has not been reached before the digital age²⁶. Alexandra Dodge (2016) has taken the ubiquitous nature of digital photography and added to that the idea of permanence or enduring nature of digital photography in her work on sexual violence. Elsewhere Dodge (2017) discusses the potential for digital photographs which she imbues with the legal persona of witness—a clever play on the camera’s long-cited role to bear witness and the legal role of the witness—to have the dual potential to but simultaneously buttress existing prejudice towards victims in the criminal court.

However, few criminologists engage with digital methods. I used digital methods in my research. Such methods included digital machine translation. As well as English language scholarship, this dissertation is based on Italian, French and German scholarship. Working with foreign-language scholarship presented a hurdle for me as a monolingual researcher. In the first instance I used statistical machine translation and specifically Google Translate. Statistical machine translation is no longer a recent development in digital technology. In 2010 approximately 1000 research papers were published on the subject with 50 percent of those papers published between 2007 and 2010 alone (Koehn, 2010: ix). Statistical machine translation is a ‘data-driven’ form of translation which is to say that software is programmed via text already translated by humans. Recent research suggests that machine translation is improving in its capacity to translate in terms of its grammatical and lexical accuracy (Koehn, 2010; Groves and Mundt, 2015). Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of machine translation. Its accuracy can be checked using a further combination of methods. Thus, in the second instance I checked the machine translations with individuals whose first

²⁶ It is the distribution element of ubiquitous digital photography that marks a break with the modern era. Modern scientists were certainly photographing on a bewilderingly large scale, but the confinement of their output leaves them as rarely viewed materials, even in their own time as the photographic collections of Edward Muybridge demonstrate, for example.

languages included Italian, German, and French. The addition of this ‘human’ component was crucial. There were occasions when the foreign-language translators were able to pick up cultural instead of literal translations where the machine was unable to do so. At the same time, both machine and human translation on their own were still not enough. I often sat with the foreign language speakers as they checked the machine language translations and occasionally neither the machine or human could capture the meaning of a word, phrase or expression. It was only by ‘triangulating’ the machine and human translations with my own deeper conceptual and academic literacy of Lombroso’s criminal anthropology and nineteenth century social science more generally that we were able to successfully translate in these instances. One final problem was the age and character of the evidence. Since my historical evidence dated from the nineteenth century, ancestral Latin appeared in the French and Italian materials. Moreover, since much of the historical evidence was medical in character, there were often curious medical lexicon that appeared, too. In both of these instances, the first language speakers obtained clarification from their own first-language networks in combination with my own knowledge on the text under translation. I also used the Italian-language encyclopaedia *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* [Italian *Encyclopaedia of Science, Letters, and Arts*] or *Treccani*. Treccani offers historically-sensitive cultural translation of words or terms that mean very little today (see <http://www.treccani.it/>).

Machine translation was not the only digital technology I used in my research. I collected my data or evidence using digital archives. To access the majority of historical books, I used the Internet Archive (see <http://internetarchive.org>). The Internet Archive was established in 1996. Since 2005 and in partnership with public and private institutions such as academic and heritage institutions around the world and Google this American non-profit organisation the Internet Archive has been digitising ‘artefacts’ or ‘objects made or appropriated by humans’ as cultural historians Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway and Sarah

Randles (2018: 8) define the term. Defined principally as a library, the Internet Archive's focus is on digitising a specific kind of artefact, namely books²⁷. At the time of writing, 15 million books were digitised for and downloadable from the Internet Archive. A significant number of the books digitised are rare books.

As well as the Internet Archive and specifically to access particularly rare books I used the digital library, Gallica, of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* [National Library of France] (see <http://gallica.bnf.fr>). 'The documents selected by the BnF [Gallica] illustrate the French written heritage and its influence in Europe and worldwide'²⁸.

To access historical photographs which were either not reproduced in the aforementioned historical books or if they were had some earlier, traceable provenance I used: the photographic collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum commonly referred to as the Getty (see <http://www.getty.edu/museum/>). The Getty has digitised a large number of historical photographs especially from the mid and late nineteenth centuries. To access images that pre-dated photography I utilised the digital collection of *le Muséum d'histoire naturelle du Havre* [The Museum of Natural History Le Havre] (see <http://www.museum-lehavre.fr/en>).

A final digital archive I utilised to access letters exchanged between Lombroso and his international networks was the collection at the University of Turin's *Lombroso Project* (See <http://lombrosoproject.unito.it/>). The Lombroso Project is the ongoing collection, cataloguing and digitising of Lombroso's archive. In particular the Project seeks to collect objects belonging to Lombroso's interlocutors to develop the extent and notably cultural character of his positivist discourse.

My extensive use of digital archives raises the question as to what is lost and gained when historical artefacts are digitised and how do these losses and gains effect the practice

²⁷ Other 'cultural artefacts' include audio, video, images and even computer and console software.

²⁸ http://www.bnf.fr/en/collections_and_services/digital_libraries_gallica/a.gallica_digital_library.html.

of doing history. The most obvious gains are practical ones. For example, take the ‘rare’ book. Different institutions have different criteria for the classification of a book as rare. However, the application of this label depends on temporality and applies to books that pre-date or closely ‘hug’ the immediate decades following the invention and patenting of the steam-powered printing press in the mid nineteenth-century. Following the invention and commercial use of the printing press, publications expanded exponentially and rapidly so, so that the number of copies of editions of books even in the late nineteenth century were and remain common in academic libraries throughout the world. Nevertheless, and far more often than not, no library in the United Kingdom including the British Library holds the majority of the 18th and 19th century foreign-language scholarship I use in my research. As such without digital archives this research would have taken much longer and been more expensive.

Another practical benefit is with regards to ‘data mining’ textual material. For example, the Internet Archive makes it possible to ‘mine’ or search the entire contents of e-books by entering keywords into its BookReader tool. This was particularly useful in relation to foreign-language scholarship. For example, using keywords such as ‘fotografia [photography]’, for instance, I was able to search anywhere in all the editions of *L’uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, and 1896-1897d) and *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) for all Lombroso’s explicit discussions on these subjects. From there I was able to machine translate the surrounding material in order to recover the fuller character of his discussions as well as identify any further keywords associated with photography in Lombroso’s discussions that would reveal other leads.

Another gain is a political-theoretical one and specifically concerns the democratisation of memory. Digital archives can be thought being premised on the same political philosophy that underpins the Open Educational Resources movement in higher education. That is one of access. Providing educators, students and researchers have internet

access, historical resources are a mere ‘click’ away. Moreover, the movement seeks to facilitate free access to a larger amount and wider demographic of individuals to once-material content for the purposes of education including teaching and learning as well as research. In particular digital archives make small steps towards redressing what scholars of disability call the ‘book famine’ (see, for example, Watermeyer, 2014) for print-disabled readers. Educators, students and researchers with print-disabilities can read e-books using screen-reading software (Harpur, 2017: 77-91).

This democratic character implies the rise of digital archives means that historical research is no longer the preserve of specialists who have the financial resources, time and training required to do the research. However, while the democratisation of knowledge should be desirable there is a convincing argument that problematise this argument. In short, it does not consider the requisite social and cultural capital required to access memory in the first instance. This particular form of the democratisation argument in relation to digital archives is grounded in a negative rather than positive liberty (the removal of barriers to freedom as opposed to presupposing freedom in the first instance). For instance, higher education scholar Jeremy Knox argues (2013: 824):

By promoting ‘openness’ in terms akin to negative liberty, the Open Educational Resources movement has overemphasised the removal of barriers as the principal concern of open education. However, as a result of this focus, there is a distinct lack of consideration for how learning might take place once these obstacles are overcome.

The practical benefits and democratisation of memory I discuss immediately above comes at a price. This price is one that gets at conceptualisations of electronic books or e-books. E-books—produced via photographic scanning—have no formal definition. They are frequently analogised with their material predecessors (Vassilou and Rowley, 2008: 356). However, the extent to which they are analogous varies depending on which institution and sometimes even who within the institution digitises the book. In the worst-case scenario

entire components of the book are absent in the e-book—commonly, the front and back boards or covers, for example. This leaves only the internal content digitised. In the best-case scenario the entirety of a book, including its leaves, front and back boards or covers, spine and fore-edge are digitised, with only the book’s head and tail missing.

Even in this best-case scenario, however, I experienced a persistent feeling of absence and loss when using e-books. That absence and loss was a material one. The cultural historian David McKitterick (2018: 4) in his *The Invention of Rare Books* claims: ‘Digital technology has much to offer for new publishing, but the existence of digitised versions of books is only partially satisfactory. They cannot replace the evidential value of artefacts’. Similarly, Nicholas Thomas in his *The Return of Curiosity: What are Museums Good For?* (2017) argues that the online digital image is not the same as a three-dimensional object. What is missing from the two-dimensional digital image is what is present in the three-dimensional object, namely its material presence and all that this embodies such as size and shape and texture, to take just a few examples. McKitterick and Thomas are arguing that an e-book is not, phenomenologically speaking, a book. An e-book is instead a collection of digital images. While it visually resembles its predecessor, it does materially resemble it. Although the written and visual texts that I based my research on were present, but only in the sense that they were visible. Although institutions digitise on the basis of the definition that an e-book should resemble its material predecessor, an e-book is only ever a collection of digital images. And so, when it comes to e-books, and so long as institutions and those using them subscribe to the idea that electronic are analogous to material books something remains missing—the book as a material artefact.

During my research with digital archives there were few signs of a pre-digital, material world. Occasionally, digitised books were prefaced with an accompanying ‘Google’ attribution of the digitisation or scanning of the book (figure 2). The attribution bears the familiar Google branding or logo at the top left-hand side of the page. Below that is an

explanation about Google's premise behind digitisation as well as various legal assurances about the reproduction of the digital file. For example, the opening paragraph is comprised of a series of conceptualisations. The first is appeals to the nostalgia of the material life of the now-digitised object. The second is a self-congratulatory acknowledgement to the company itself. The third speaks to the idea of the global and democratisation of knowledge: 'This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved by generations before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's book discoverable online'. The following sentence also speaks to the nostalgia of the now-digital object in terms of how long it has managed to 'survive' and simultaneously notes its (lack of) copyright restrictions. Again, there is a further appeal to democratisation politics behind Google's partnership with the Internet Archive: 'It has survived long enough [...] Public domain books are our gateway to the past representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover'. The final sentence underscores the continuing material life of the now-digital object. For example, it reifies reception and the value of marginalia: 'Marks, notations and other marginalia presented in the original volume will appear in this file—a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher, to the library, to you'. However, there is a reminder in this final quotation that what I am working with is not a book and an e-book, which Google explicitly defines here as a 'file'.

This material absence was highlighted even more when I came across two rogue images in one e-book I use in my research. They are surreptitiously lurking within the front matter of an e-book digitised by Google of François Escard's (1836-1909) late nineteenth century monograph *Le Prince Roland Bonaparte in Laponie* [*Prince Roland Bonaparte in Lappland*] (Escard, 1886). The first image was a small, passport-sized image of what looked to be someone's finger. I enlarged the image so that I could be sure. As I did so the image became more pixilated and therefore abstract and I was unsure of what I was seeing. The second

image, which appeared when I ‘turned the page’ was a fuller and this time definite image of the archivist’s hand (figure 3).

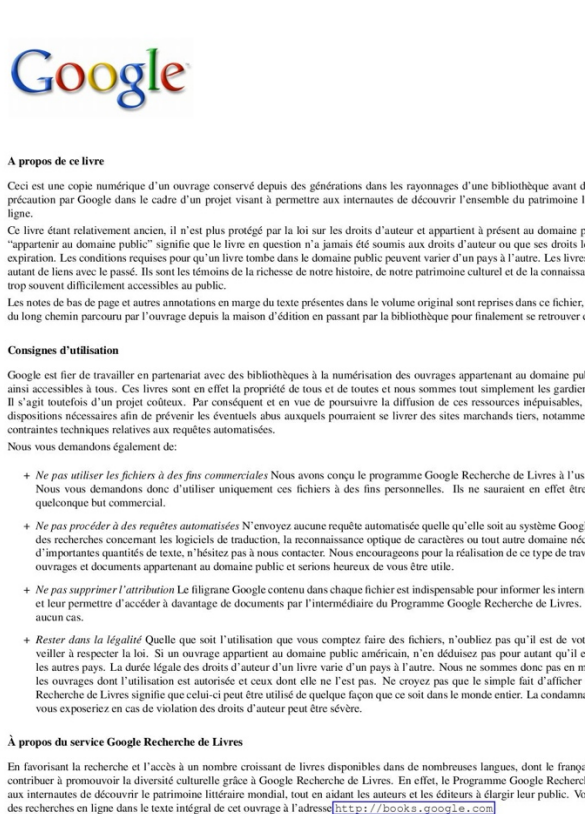


Figure 2. ‘Google legal disclaimer’ (Uploaded on May 10, 2008), Creative Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018,
<https://archive.org/details/leprincerolandb00escagoog/page/n1>.

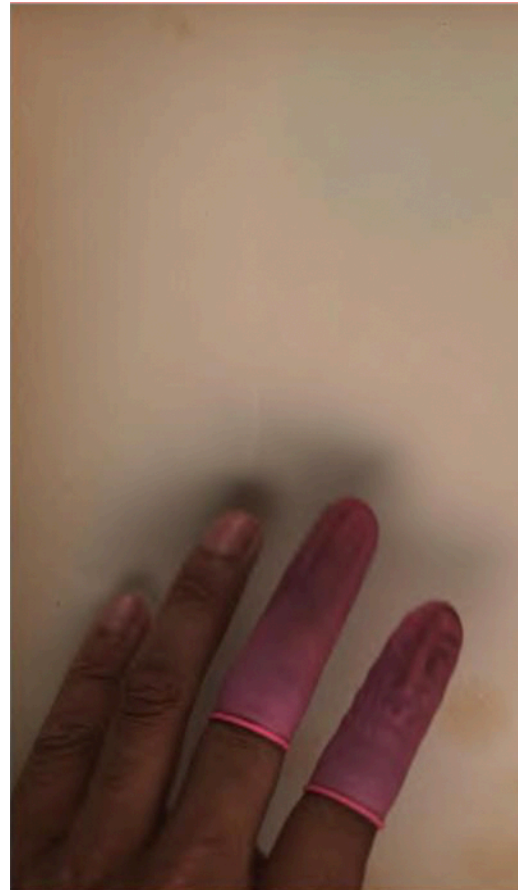


Figure 3. ‘Google/user tbp. Unknown archivist’ (Uploaded on May 10, 2008). Creative Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018,
<https://archive.org/details/leprincerolandb00escagoog>.

This image brings home the difference between the book and its electronic or digital version. It spoke to the absence that I persistently felt. Here I could see an archivist’s touch on the pages of a book I was only looking at in the form of a digital image.

The material absence I experienced speaks to a difference between material and visual culture. The art historian Alfred Gell in his *Art and Agency* (1998) identifies the difference between the two. At the centre of his theory of material versus visual culture is the idea of the thing or object, the material book that was profoundly different from the visual, which a person can see, but cannot touch. The emphasis on thingness is an important concept to debate and not least since criminologists are still ‘getting to grips’ with material culture (notably following the visual turn). In sum, these images spoke to a feeling I had throughout doing my research with primary sources. It spoke to something that I felt was missing. An embodied interaction with a primary source. As three-dimensional objects, the books bring the two-dimensional images to life. This is an anti-intellectual or non-cognitive process. Instead, rather than an experience of the mind, it is instead one of the body that is concerned with experience and feeling, rather than understanding or cognitive evaluation. ‘In this understanding, an image is more than simply a ‘projection of social meanings: it is a complex sensory experience’ (Sonnevend, 2012: 219). As such, what is crucial is: ‘[E]xperiencing material objects, not only understanding them cognitively or evaluating them morally but also feeling their sensual, aesthetic force’ (Bartmański and Alexander, 2012:1). This is the difference between treating these images as images and experiencing them as three-dimensional objects or artefacts with an embodied materiality.

To redress this absence, I sourced material copies of some of the primary source books I was studying. In particular, I sourced the four volumes of the fifth edition of Lombroso’s *L’uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1896-1897a; 1896-1897b; 1896-1897c; 1896-1897d). The three textual volumes (1896-1897a; 1896-1897b; 1896-1897c) had barely passed through anyone’s hands. The bindings were near perfect, the covers immaculate and, most interestingly, the pages were uncut, sealed together just as they were the day they came off the printing press in the late-nineteenth century. By contrast, the atlas or visual compendium (1896-1897d) on the other hand had been heavily used. It had been rebound at some point

between its publication and the present day, and even its new front and back boards as well as its spine were in a poor state. This suggested that the visual component of this book in its material life as an object or artefact was more heavily used than the actual writing.

What struck me about the atlas in its material book form was that it was not merely an object but had been designed to be an artefact in that it was immensely ornate or decorative. There was a floral inlay which were absent in the other volumes of the same edition. This was designed to be an object, an artefact; something of note. The size of it was striking and this was emphasised by the five of the plates which were large, fold-outs, and some of these are up to four times the width and half the depth of the original page.

The practicalities and ethics of reproducing images

I discuss images in this dissertation at length. I consider it important to reproduce them in this dissertation. I do so for various reasons. First and most obviously I do so in order that readers can refer to the images that are being described and analysed. Moreover, doing so is an antidote to their being 'buried' or hidden within the archive.

It is imperative to consider the practical and ethical implications of reproducing images. All of the images reproduced in this dissertation are reproduced within the boundaries of copyright law in England and Wales. I only own the rights to one image in this dissertation. Images of e-books are reproduced freely as content owned by the public domain. Images owned by private collections and galleries are reproduced freely because they are used in this dissertation for non-commercial use. The majority of the images are though are in the public domain because of their age (100 years old or more). Indeed, this makes researching historical artworks an easy logistical enterprise compared with those who work with contemporary visual media. These public domain images are reproduced using one of six Creative Commons copyright licenses (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/>):

The Creative Commons copyright licenses and tools forge a balance inside the traditional “all rights reserved” setting that copyright law creates. Our tools give everyone from individual creators to large companies and institutions a simple, standardized way to grant copyright permissions to their creative work. The combination of our tools and our users is a vast and growing digital commons, a pool of content that can be copied, distributed, edited, remixed, and built upon, all within the boundaries of copyright law.

The easiest way to find an image with a Creative Commons license is to use the Creative Commons search engine (<https://search.creativecommons.org/>). This search engine collates images from publicly available repositories, such as Wikimedia Commons—the multimedia repository of Wikipedia. It is still necessary to follow the image results to their original website source to ensure that it is licensed by Creative Commons and to obtain the legally-approved form of attribution.

Others are made available through the Getty Museum’s Open Content Programme. The Getty makes all of the digital images it holds the rights to as well as those digitised public domain images (totaling over 100,000) freely available without permission. Indeed, the Getty makes this the case for personal as well as commercial purposes, which is particularly unusual for a private as opposed to public archive, making it an ideal archive for scholars wishing to publish their research commercially.

Finally, where permissions cannot be obtained to reproduce an image, or where no digital image is available, I reproduce a digital image of a preparatory study for the image in question for which permissions can be obtained. If no digital images of preparatory studies are available, then I simply describe the image in writing.

The ethical implications of the reproduction of images in this dissertation pose a greater challenge than the practicalities of their reproduction. Visual criminologists frequently consider the ethics of images. For example, Claire Valier and Ronnie Lippens (2004) propose a normative ethics of looking at and responding to images. Eamonn Carrabine analyses the ethics of making images of other people (2010). Yet little has been

written about the ethics of reproducing images in criminology. This ethical question should not be overlooked. If images are the bread and butter of visual criminology, then it is necessary to consider how they are reproduced.

Many of the images reproduced in this dissertation produce ethical dilemmas. Many of the images made of human subjects were done so in problematic contexts and particularly those in the colonial context. In relation to photographs of Indigenous Peoples I take my cue from the visual and historical anthropologist, Elizabeth Edwards and her scholarship on visual repatriation which she describes as a “conscious shifting of photographs from a ‘public,’ ‘outsider’ to ‘private’ and ‘appropriate’ spaces. Photographs that were created as colonial documents, and which became ‘ethnographic’ records through their entanglements within specific institutional structures, become family history, clan history or community history” (Edwards 2003, 85). Visual repatriation ‘is about finding a “present” for historical photographs (Edwards 2003, 84). Of particular importance in this definition is the movement away from what is understood as “official” memory, towards that of the local and Indigenous.” (Dobbins, 2013).

At the same time some of the images present more ethical challenges than others. Most ethically problematic are the colonial anthropological images of African women in various states of undress and of African women’s and girl’s genitalia. These images were created by white male colonists and it is easy to see today that they were a source of pornographic and even pedophilic titillation. To simply reproduce these images uncritically would only serve to perpetuate this problematic gaze. Indeed, scholars have been criticized for doing just this. For example, the cultural historian of race, gender and Empire Sadiah Querishi (2004: 234) says the following with regards to Sander Gilman’s reproduction of these exact images: ‘[Sander Gilman's frequently cited work's] emphasis upon female genitalia and use of explicit visual material with little supporting discussion can appear voyeuristic’. At the same time Patricia Hill-Collins (2000) argues that if white scholars avoid

reproducing these kinds of images they erase Black woman's history. That is, to omit these images would be the equivalent of 'sweeping them under the carpet'. As such the images should be reproduced, but only where they are situated in appropriate critical context.

Conclusion

Criminologists practicing visual criminology overwhelmingly do so with images. This is a promising start in addressing what still remains, an iconoclastic discipline. Criminologists practicing visual criminology need to increase their visual literacy, thinking more flexibly about what can constitute the visual or image and thus come within their analytical purview. Visuality resides in more than images in their pictorial or graphic form alone. In this Chapter I have demonstrate that visuality resides in language, in terms of simplistically discussing pictorial images or in in the very form of language. With regards to the latter, literary and cultural historians have highlighted, with regards to Lombroso's scholarship, that visuality resides too in how Lombroso wrote. Lombroso was able to conjure powerful images in his reader's minds and this power remains today. Simultaneously, though, it becomes clear that these, alternative kinds of 'images' do not function in isolation to the conventional pictorial or graphic images and instead should be read intertextually with them. In this chapter, I showed that these literary images function merely as images in the generic sense, but as photographs. There is then, much to be learned for visual criminology from disciplines that seem unrelated, particularly literary studies.

When it comes to Lombroso, criminologists are too comfortable focusing on Lombroso's overtly criminological scholarship, namely *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878; 1884; 1889a and 1889b; 1896-1897a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d) and *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893). Criminologists need to move beyond this scholarship if they are to bring a fuller or more complete history of his criminological

thinking into view since ideas do not simply appear at one particular point in time but emerge as part of a process. Lombroso was a prolific publisher. His publications which are over 1000 in number offer criminologists rich data to undertake more nuanced intellectual histories.

The archive is not a familiar space for many criminologists. The field of historical criminology is small and there is little methodological literature to help criminologists undertake this kind of work (c.f. Bosworth, 2001)²⁹. As such I have discussed the increasing presence of digital archives. I observe that digital archives represent a certain democratisation of knowledge. Moreover, they are convenient. At the same time, though, digitised versions of Lombroso's scholarship do not reveal the full experiential dimension of the visual in Lombroso's scholarship. This can only be ascertained by working with his scholarship first-hand. Doing so reveals important findings. The example that I offered in this chapter was the fact that the visual compendium or *Atlas* accompanying *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1896-7d) was clearly well used to the extent that it had been rebound. By contrast the three other volumes had never been touched since the day they came of the printing press whereby their pages were still stuck together at the outside seems. Digital versions of the book could never have told me this was the case. Indeed, the pages in the digitised version of this edition may well have been broken for the purposes of digitisation itself.

Finally, as other criminologists have observed (Valier and Lippens, 2004; Carrabine, 2010) doing visual criminology poses inherent ethical dilemmas. Criminologists practicing in this area need to consider the ethical dilemmas posed by working with images. When it comes to Lombroso's criminology none of the criminals or suspected born criminals in the pictures that he reproduced consented to having their images taken. These kinds of images are reproduced all the time. We find them peppering all kinds of literature, but the ethical

²⁹ I exclude from this list formally trained historians of crime. Historians of crime tend to publish in history rather than criminology journals.

dilemma at their production is rarely considered. At the same time the archive should be understood as a place of intervention. Where images can be visually repatriated into more appropriate critical contexts. Whilst this can be achieved with the portrait photographs, they present the least problematic ethical dilemma. There are in addition highly disturbing images in Lombroso's scholarship. These include images of white female genitalia that were produced from their cadavers following the women's death in the name of medical jurisprudence. But so too they included images of the genitalia of women and even girls of colour commissioned and produced while these women and girls were alive. Reading the primary source accounts of the relations between the white colonial artists making these images and the women and girls therein make for disturbing reading. How can these images be repatriated? Should we want them to be? This question proves much more difficult to answer.

CHAPTER FOUR

PHOTOGRAPHY AND PHOTOGRAPHS

Introduction

No matter what their expertise, criminologists are likely familiar with the infamous portrait photographs that feature in the later editions of Cesare Lombroso's *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1889; 1896-7) and *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893). Their familiarity with these photographs probably began as students of the discipline. When I was an undergraduate student, for example, these photographs were displayed in the first criminology lecture I ever attended. I remember that lecture for no other reason than their reproduction. Some years later, when I was a postgraduate student, these photographs were also displayed in a seminar. Then, when I began teaching criminology to undergraduate students I, too, found myself reproducing these photographs as I introduced Lombroso to my students. Major textbooks in criminology reproduce these photographs too. The most recent edition of Tim Newburn's *Criminology* (2017) reproduces a plate from *Atlante*, the visual compendium to the fifth and final edition of Lombroso's *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (Figure 4)³⁰. The third edition of Eamonn Carrabine, Pam Cox, Pete Fussey, Dick Hobbs, Nigel South, Darren Thiel and Jackie Turton's *Criminology: A Sociological Introduction* (2014) reproduces a plate from the *atlas* of the second French-language edition of *L'Homme criminel* [*Criminal Man*] (1895) (Figure 5).

³⁰ Newburn incorrectly cites this image as originating from the first edition of Lombroso's *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876).

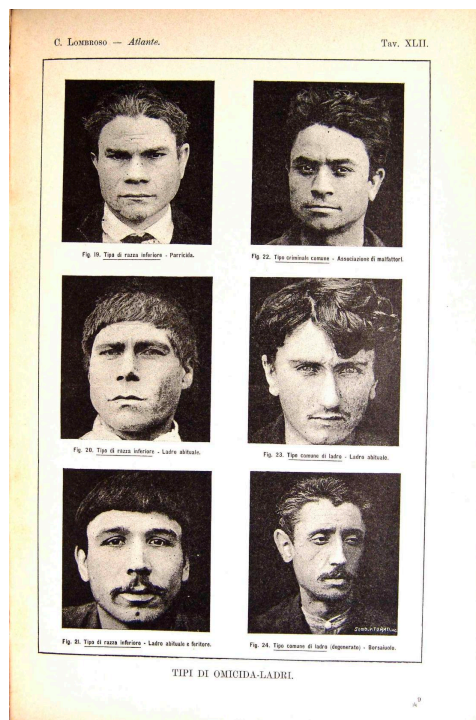


Figure 4. ‘Tipi di omicida-ladri [Types of murderous thieves]’, in Lombroso (1896-7d: Plate XLII), Creative Commons 1.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, <https://archive.org/details/BRes061652/page/n67>.

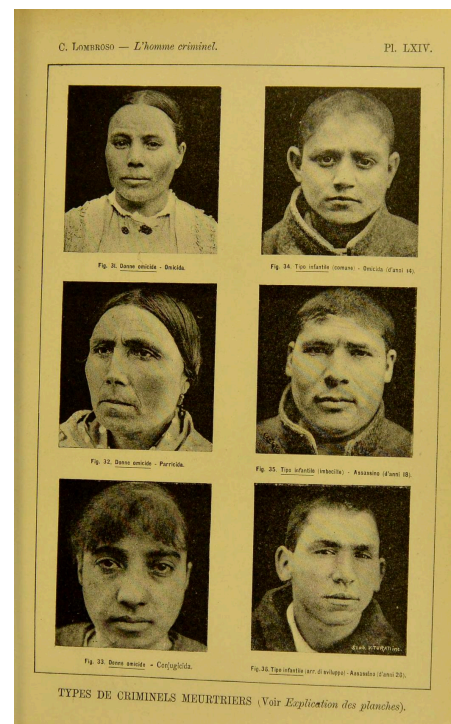


Figure 5. ‘Types de criminels meurtriers [Types of murderous criminals]’, in Lombroso (1895: Plate LXIV), Creative Commons 1.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008669349/page/n187

Not only are these photographs, familiar, they are, as the literary critic Elena Past (2012: 136) points out, one of the most reproduced components of Lombroso’s criminal anthropology more widely. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter these images are observed and used as a pedagogical prop in criminology. That this is the case is not because teachers and students alike say anything further about them. Rather, as is the standard visual-criminological criticism of criminology, these images feature as mere illustrations; they are a secondary and not even necessary feature of the textual material they accompany.

At the same time, however, the fact that these images *keep* being reproduced in the pedagogical context reveals the potential and promise for criminology to engage with them in more qualitatively productive ways. Whether they recognise it or not, when criminologists

show these photographs to their students they do so as more than mere illustrations. They are used as if they, alone, can stand for the entirety of Lombroso's criminal anthropology—a considerable feat considering how extensive it was. As such they are being used as icons rather than as illustrations. Their iconicity speaks to the art historian W. J. T. Mitchell's (2006) idea that images require more than what they have hitherto been afforded in criminology in the ways I describe above. For Mitchell, images do not passively await analysis; instead, they demand it. In this chapter I propose to do just that.

The chapter is split into three parts. In part one I address the absence of photographs in the early or first two editions of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878). I do so because criminologists conceive of Lombroso's criminal anthropology as a pictorial and photographic enterprise—as I argued in the introduction—yet it turns out that it can only be afforded this status if the nuances of this character are observed and accounted for. My discussion in this regard initially oscillates around photography as a medium rather than around the photographs themselves. Specifically, it focuses on describing and analysing Lombroso's discussions of the medium. In part two I account for the origin of and describe the content of the photographs that eventually appeared in the later fourth and fifth editions of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1889a, 1889b; 1896-7a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d) and *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893). Finally, in part three I analyse the photographs and argue that Lombroso used them creatively to conjure the image of his imaginary born criminal.

Part one: Explaining the absence of photographs in the early editions of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878)

Given the ubiquitous reproduction of these photographs in lectures about Lombroso, it may be surprising to learn, that, they did not appear in the earlier editions of his published

scholarship. Indeed, there was only one solitary photograph in the first two editions of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878), and it was quite different from the panels of portrait photographs I reproduce in the introduction to this chapter, above. I go on to analyse this early photograph as well as those more familiar portrait photographs later in the chapter, but before I do so, it is worth considering the causes and implications of their initial absence in Lombroso's published works.

The earlier editions of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878) were so free of photographs was because of Italy's belated uptake of juridical photography. Juridical photography was adopted in France a little under two decades after photography became a public medium in 1839 with the arrival of the daguerreotype and the calotype or Talbotype in 1841³¹. Evidence of the practice dates as far as the 1840s (Finn, 2009: 6; Tagg, 1988: 74). Elsewhere in Europe the evidence dates from the 1850s (Forgacs, 2017). Juridical photography was adopted in Great Britain and Ireland the practice was pioneered by James Gardiner, Governor of Bristol Gaol in 1854, and this 'Rogue's Gallery' became formalised in 1856 by William Garbutt of Derby Gaol (Gernsheim and Gernsheim, 1969). Garbutt instituted a register of images complete with descriptions and crime sheets. From the 1870s the practice became used more systematically (Forgacs, 2017). This was in some European states in helped by legislation. In Great Britain in 1865 a Select Committee of the House of Lords recommended to the Home Secretary the universal adoption of prison photography (Gernsheim and Gernsheim, 1969).

³¹ The daguerreotype and the talbotype were two of the earliest kinds of photographs and are the most famous relics in photography's history. They were eponymously named after their inventors Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1757-1851) who was practicing in Paris and his competitor William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) who was practicing in England. On the Talbotype see Talbot's instructions for his photographic method (Talbot, 1846), Brusius, Dean and Ramalingam (2013). On the daguerreotype see Daguerre's own instructions for his photographic method (1840), Barger and White (1991) and Buerger (1989). On the competition between these two men and their respective methods and particularly the rise of and litany of copyright legislation that emerged around their competition see, Sekula (1986).

In 1871, Parliament passed the Prevention of Crimes Act 1871 under which photographing of prisoners in Great Britain and Ireland became commonplace³². Juridical photography was practiced to such an extent outside Italy by the late-nineteenth century that individual photographs lost their identificatory utility amidst the mass of photographs that were produced (see, esp Sekula, 1986; see also, Tagg, 1989; Finn, 2009). For example, in Great Britain the central English registry of images at Scotland Yard which, by 1886, held images of nearly 60,000 criminals. Prisons were by no means the only state institutions to adopt the photograph as a means of recording likenesses of their inmates. In 1860, Stockport Ragged and Industrial School commissioned a local photographer to photograph staff and pupils, and between 1874–1905 the children’s charity Dr Barnado’s took some 55,000 portraits of their charges.

In Italy, however, photography was not systematically used by the Italian police according to cultural historian David Forgacs (2014) until the beginning of the 20th Century. As late as 1893, Lombroso highlighted that photography was prohibited in Italian prisons when he was writing *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893: 337):

Fra le menzogne convenzionali più ridicole che abbia l’Italia, o per meglio dire la sua burocrazia, che certo non è la prima in Europa, è quella della proibizione assoluta di misurare, studiare, fotografare i peggiori delinquenti una volta che furono condannati.

Among the most ridiculous conventions that Italy’s bureaucracy has, and which certainly is no leader in Europe, is the absolute prohibition of measuring, studying, photographing the worst criminals once they have been condemned.

Lombroso’s comments in the quotation immediately above were not only about the proscription of photography in Italian prisons. Their mocking and even exasperated tone reveal his impatience with Italy’s failure to harness photography in the juridical context. This

³² https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1871/112/pdfs/ukpga_18710112_en.pdf

attitude was fuelled by his admiration of the fact that other nation states were utilising one modern industry, juridical photography, *and* fusing it with others (Lombroso, 1876: 210):

In Austria e in Inghilterra si sono introdotte quelle compagnie di Detective, di Vertraute, che sono dei veri bersaglieri del crimine. Alcuni, isolati, nascondono la loro missione sotto nomi e professioni diverse, altri divisi in piccoli gruppi, ignoti gli uni agli altri, tutti ricompensati lautamente, a seconda dell'importanza dell'arresto, fanno una vera caccia al delinquente e spesso lo colgono in fragrante, servendosi delle ferrovie, del telegrafo, dello studio minuto, fatto nelle carceri, delle fisionomie e soprattutto del non mutabile sguardo dei malfattori e di una pratica che manca a noi, e pure si mostrò utilissima, ed è la raccolta fotografica dei carcerati, distribuita alfabeticamente e con annessa la loro biografia.

In Austria and in England those private detective companies have been introduced, which target real crime. Some isolated [detectives], keep their mission secret under different names and professions, others are divided into small groups, unknown to each other, and are all rewarded lavishly, depending on the importance of the arrest. They undertake a real hunt for the criminal and they often catch him using the railways, the telegraph, the minute study, done in prisons. Above all, they take advantage of a practice that has yet to arrive in Italy, but which is very useful: the taking of a photograph of prisoners which are then filed alphabetically with a short biography.

He emphasised Italy's failure to adopt photography was a state or national failure by discussing how in Germany photography was even being combined with yet another modern industry, the printing press, to disseminate the portrait photographs of criminals far and wide (1876: 210):

Or ora in Geramania si iniziava la pratica di inserire nella 4 pagina de' giornali più popolari le segnalazioni, le taglie e fino le fotografie dei delinquenti, di cui piti preme l'arresto. Ed ecco come la stampa, ed in a ispecie quella della 4 pagina, che fin ora era tanto spesso fonte a ricatti, truffe, calunnie, diventa un amminicolo per la difesa sociale.

Now, in Germany, the practice of inserting reports, measurements and photos of criminals into the most popular pages has begun. And this is how the press, and in particular the 4-page spread, which until now was so often a source of blackmail, scams, slander, becomes an admin for social defence.

Lombroso's concerns about the Italian state's failure to adopt juridical photography is significant when considering modernisation in terms of the *political, social, and cultural* contexts of the Italian unification. Politically, the antiquated, pre-modern constitutional arrangement of the Italian peninsula which was variously characterised by dynastic or divine rule was eroded. In its place a unified, modern Italian state emerged. Italy, thus, was constitutionally modern. Socially and specifically industrially, however, Italy was moving at a slower pace than other new European states (Melossi, 2008, Hill and Minghelli, 2014; Pelizzari, 2010).

Moreover, the slower pace of industrialisation was pronounced with regards to photography. In *Stillness in Motion: Italy, Photography, and the Meanings of Modernity*, the cultural historians Sarah Patricia Hill and Giuliana Minghelli (2010) discuss the relationship between photography, modernity and industrialisation in Italy. Hill and Minghelli juxtapose photography's modern character with a photograph of an ahistorical or unchanging Italian countryside scene. They suggest that photography has a particularly modern quality in Italy since areas of the Italian peninsula were experiencing a slower and more fraught period of industrialisation than in Europe more generally. This is to say that the historical narrative about photography and modernity is more applicable in Lombroso's Italy than anywhere in Europe. As such, Lombroso's harnessing photography modernised physiognomy even more so than in any other part of Europe (Hill and Minghelli, 2014; Pelizzari, 2010).

One way in which photography can be understood as 'modern' is with regards to its relationship with industry. When Hill and Minghelli contemplate photography as an expression of industrial Europe they are referring to its machinic qualities. As the historian of photography Steve Edwards says, 'the photographic production of images should be seen alongside the more general transformation of artisanal forms of labour in what we now call 'the industrial revolution' (Edwards, 1999: 74). Moreover, Edwards continues, '[i]t was common, for example, to place photography in line with other technological

improvements—steam power, the railway, and gas lighting’ (Edwards, 1999: 74-75). There exists much primary source evidence in this regard. Many prominent nineteenth century scientists working on the development of photography after its invention in the mid-nineteenth century conceptualised photography alongside such technological ‘improvements’. Take the Scottish physicist and historian of science David Brewster (1761-1868), for instance³³. Brewster was obsessed with industrial and specifically machine ‘progress’ and in an important essay on photography’s history, Brewster analogized photography with the steam engine (Edwards, 2006)³⁴. Lombroso, too, conceptualised photography in this way. In the first edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876) Lombroso prophesised the potential of photography to solve crime alongside other technologies, including the an early home security alarm system, namely the ‘telegrafo d'allarme [telegraphic alarm]’: ‘per mezzo d'un registro posto a capo del vostro letto, segnala l'ingresso del malvenuto, e con un altro movimento di chiave vi mette in comunicazione con un ufficio telegrafico, che immediatamente manda il soccorso [the alarm telegraph that, by means of a register placed at the head of your bed, signals the entry of the victim, and with another key movement he puts you in communication with a telegraph office, which immediately sends the rescue]’ (Lombroso, 1876: 209-210). To the telegraphic alarm Lombroso adds, the telegraph more generally, and trains and railway networks more generally: ‘La fotografia, il telegrafo, in ispecie se applicato ai vagoni delle ferrovie, le ferrovie stesse, ecco nuovi mezzi atti a neutralizzare i nuovi stromenti del male introdotti dalla civiltà

³³ Brewster’s relationship with photography emerged from his research the polarization of light (Smith, 1990: 12). He was a close friend and colleague of photography’s English progenitor, William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) whose positive-from-negative paper photography method predominated until the relatively recent rise of the digital age. For an overview on the invention of photography featuring an account of the main ‘players’ in this history, including the first woman photographer, Anna Atkins (1799-1871), see Larry Schaaf’s ‘Invention and Discovery: First Images’ (1997).

³⁴ Like scientists, practitioners using photography for physiognomic purposes as Lombroso did similarly characterised photography using such machinic analogies. For example, twenty years later than Brewster and South of the border in England, Hugh Welch Diamond, Superintendent of the women’s department at Surrey County Lunatic Asylum, used the same analogy as Brewster and added that: ‘[photography] rivals the electric telegraph, or the railway in the multiple interests it serves’ (Diamond, 1862: 366).

[The photograph, the telegraph, especially if applied to trains, the railways themselves, here are new means to neutralize the new instruments of evil introduced by civilization]' (1876: 210). Lombroso discussed photography as modern industry in the first edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876) amidst a conspicuous absence of photographs therein. His criticisms of Italy's failure to allow photography in the juridical context was, in other words, grounded in his concerns that modernisation would be hampered by social and specifically industrial failure.

A further cultural explanation as to why Italy was belated in its adoption of juridical photography can be offered with regards to Lombroso's attitude towards Italy. Lombroso does not speak about industrialisation, but is rather, concerned with a juridical culture that is quintessentially Italian. Lombroso argued that the prohibition against photographing prisoners spoke to outmoded metaphysical ideas about agency and selfhood of the person pictured propagated by his intellectual nemesis Cesare Beccaria, some 100 years earlier (Lombroso, 1893: 337-338):

Fino che vi è presunzione d'innocenza, finche essi non sono che indiziati, o accusati, voi potete infamarli in tutti i modi e fiare la massima pubblicità, pubblicarne gl'interrogatori. Ma quando sono riconosciuti ben bene per birbanti, quando sono rinchiusi per sempre nel carcere, oh ... allora diventano sacri. Guai a chi li tocca, guai a chi li studia [...] C'è di mezzo la dignità umana, il rispetto alla sventura e tutto il resto del vecchio ciarpame sub sentimentale inventato dai giuristi delle vecchie scuole, e questo soprattutto in Italia, dove è pur nata e fiorisce la nuova scuola che ne mostrò l'enormità.

As long as there is a presumption of innocence, as long as they are just suspects, or accused, you can defame them in every way and make their interrogations publicly known. But once they are judged as scoundrels, when they are locked up forever in the prison, oh ... then they become untouchable. Woe to those who touch them, woe to those who study them [...] What stands in the way is human dignity, the respect of misfortune and all the rest of the old sentimental rubbish invented by the jurors of the Old Schools, and this especially in Italy, where the New School was born and flourished, which showed its enormity (Lombroso, 1893: 337-338).

In this way, he argues, Italy's enlightenment vestiges had a profound implication for the institutional appropriation of photography that was quite unlike other European states. Although in other states metaphysical concerns structured criminal justice practice, notably in the criminal trial, they were not a constitutive part of their *cultural* identity in the same way that could be said in Italy, whose criminal justice system remained deeply shaped by Beccarian concepts of moral responsibility. Lombroso's desire to photograph—and perhaps to even visualise the criminal or to account for embodiment by any means—stood in opposition to the Classical School of Criminology which was driven by such theoretical and specifically metaphysical concerns about moral agency or responsibility.

In these comments above, Lombroso hinted at the root cause of the prohibition against photographing offenders in prisons by adding that the prohibition is in place only once guilt has been established. He built on this idea by then ridiculing the presumption of innocence, an ancient civil law maxim designed to protect the accused.

Part two: Photographs in *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1889a; 1889b) and *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893)

The belated uptake of juridical photography in Italy meant that Lombroso had to make do with picturing his subjects using different visual media. His efforts in this regard can be found in Album dei delinquenti N.1 (IT SMAUT Museo Lombroso 942) and Album delinquenti N.2 (IT SMAUT Museo Lombroso 943). These two albums were filled with portraits of prisoner portraits in pencil and watercolour made by the psychiatrist Luigi Frigerio (dates of birth and death unknown) (figure 6). Lombroso's biographer Renzo Villa describes these as 'the first iconographic nucleus of *Criminal Man*' (Villa, 1985: 132 n. 1, in Gibson and Rafter, 2006a: 23, n. 53).

IMAGE OMITTED AWAITING PERMISSIONS

Figure 6. “Ritratto di fronte e di profilo di un galeotto” [Front and profile portrait of a convict], dell'Album dei delinquenti n. 1 [album of delinquents n. 1], (IT SMAUT Museo Lombroso 942).

Lombroso supplemented these notebooks with photographs. Lombroso obtained his photographs from third parties. Before moving on to describe them I want to offer the reader a note about the quality of their reproduction. The photographic reproductions resemble material photographs more than others. There are two reasons why these reproductions take different forms. Firstly, the publication histories of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878; 1884; 1889a, 1889b; 1896-1897a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d) and *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1876-1897) spanned a period of change in the mechanical printing process that had implications for the way photographs were reproduced in particular. When the first edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] was published in 1876 photographs could only be reproduced by engraving. However, from the 1880s and especially 1890s onwards photographs could be reproduced by a new a new reproductive technology called the halftone process. The halftone process offered a direct trace of them (Reele, 2006) . This being the case, readers may have expected to see engravings in the first edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876) and then only halftones thereafter. However, this was not the case. Even by the time the fifth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* (1896-1897a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d) was published and notably so close to the ‘boom’ in halftone reproduction at the turn of the century new images, that is images that had not appeared in previous editions, were still sometimes reproduced using engraving. While there is a chance that there is a simple technological explanation for the eclectic form of reproductions in the various editions of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878; 1884; 1889a, 1889b; 1896-1897a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d) it is worth bearing in mind that there may have been a visual-cultural explanation.

The halftone process did not simply sweep aside older reproductive technologies. This is too simplistic a historical narrative, though promoted visual cultural scholars subscribe to it (Ivins, 1943; 1953; c.f. Fyfe, 1988). Instead it is fruitful to consider that these different reproductive technologies served different visual-cultural purposes during the era. The next question is to establish whether or not this was the explanation of competing visual forms in *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878; 1884; 1889a, 1889b; 1896-1897a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d) and *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893). That is to say was the print that appeared on the pages, from Lombroso's perspective, supposed to record the imaging technology (photography) and therefore its effects, or were they used to convey a different, less objective, more artistic visuality. The visual cultural historian Gerry Beegan suggests that this was the case (2008: 45):

Photography, wood engraving, etching, and reproductive engraving were all intertwined and shared common languages, and aims and, in many cases, common aesthetics (Beegan, 200: 48). Nicéphore Niépce's (1765-1833) initial experiments in 1827 were aimed at creating a printing plate to reproduce engravings rather than making an independent photographic object. His technique was described in his agreement with Daguerre as "a process for engraving on metal.

Many of the first photomechanical experiments were attempts at producing a more permanent form of photograph through the printed image. It is therefore not surprising that, from the beginning of the illustrated magazines in the 1840s, wood engraving and photography were closely linked. Over the next fifty years wood engraving's aesthetic became increasingly tonal and its purpose increasingly mimetic under the influence of photography. At the same time, early halftone photorelief developments were inspired by the way in which wood engraving achieved tone via dots and marks. As such, when halftone images were eventually incorporated into magazines, their appearance was shaped by the aesthetic standards that had been established by the wood engraving (Beegan, 2008: 46-7).

Lombroso claimed that he obtained photographs from the *Gazette*. However, this was not true. Many of Lombroso's anthropological contemporaries were exacting when

informing their reader as to the form of the images on the printed page. Oftentimes images were accompanied by a caption such as, ‘engraving after photograph’. Although this may appear an odd expression today, it pointed to the complexity behind the printed image. Lombroso’s claims belied the complexities of mass images in the late-nineteenth century illustrated press.

When Lombroso was sourcing images from the *Gazette*, a New York based *National Police Gazette* (1889a: 201) which I discuss in more detail later in this chapter, the images he obtained were wood-engraved reproductions of an early kind of photograph, the daguerreotype (Reel, 2006). Photomechanical reproduction and specifically the halftone process that the *Gazette* eventually favoured was not invented until the 1890s. Moreover, the *Gazette* did not use halftone until the early twentieth century. There is a standard historiography of photomechanical reproduction which is one of ‘progress’ or ‘revolution’ whereby the halftone replaced hand engraving processes (Ivins, 1943; 1953). However, the fact that the *Gazette* was not using them suggests an alternative possibility. The *Gazette* conformed to a hybridity that it and many other illustrated press publications in America and Europe were subscribing to (Beegan, 2008). Cultural historian Gary Beegan highlights rather than halftone simply replaced hand engraving processes, these different kinds of processes actually were refined and developed. He argues that this was the case suggests that these were all materially different processes and as such fulfilled different representational demands. Indeed, illustrated magazines like the *Gazette* would lose the sensationalist qualities of their images were they to lose the artistic license that engraving gave the images which is to say these magazines preferred wood engraving. This was why ‘From the 1890s and well into the twentieth century, mass reproduction incorporated manual interventions alongside technologies of photomechanical engraving in order to produce an acceptable mass image, one that conformed to the aesthetic standards wood engraving had set’ (Beegan, 2008: 71).

All of this is to say that Lombroso was reproducing wood engravings rather than photographs.

The photographs reproduced throughout the publication histories of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] and *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1876-1897) were remarkably varied in number, style, and subject matter. In the first edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876), for example, just one photograph appeared (Figure 7). It was discovered by police in Ravenna, Emilia-Romagna, Lombroso notes in a footnote, and subsequently posted to him (Lombroso, 1876: 66, footnote 1). Unlike the familiar grouped portraits, this photograph was of a tableau. It depicted a scene in which three men who had murdered their 'comrade' (Lombroso, 1876: 65) re-enacted their crime for the camera.

A similarly arranged photograph was reproduced in the first volume of the fourth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1889a) amidst Lombroso's discussion of criminals who commit suicide following their undertaking political assassinations. Figure 8 represents a photograph of a 30-year old man from Romania, 'che era stato condannato per omicidio e poi graziato un anno fa, attenta alla vita del re, sparaudo sulle sue finestre illuminate [who having been convicted of murder and pardoned the year previous, attempted to take the life of the King by shooting at him through his lit windows' (Lombroso, 1889a: 376). Lombroso was gifted this photograph from the Queen of Romania who he cited by her penname, Carmen Sylva (1843-1916).

The man is photographed in 90-degree profile and wears a uniform (as is indicated by the hat and medals that adorn his breast). From the left-hand side of the frame, partially out of shot, he holds and points a pistol towards his chest in a portrayal of suicide. A woman stands behind him restraining him. Her body is pictured in 45-degree profile. There is a large object behind the couple, possibly a bed or some kind of dresser, though it is difficult to tell owing to the quality of photo mechanical reproduction. In the bottom left-hand corner of the image is the signature 'V.Turati INC.', a reference to Count Vittorio Turati, an Italian

photographic pioneer who, together with other photomechanical printers in Italy including the Doyen brothers of Turin, brought the half-tone photomechanical printing process to Lombroso's publications³⁵.

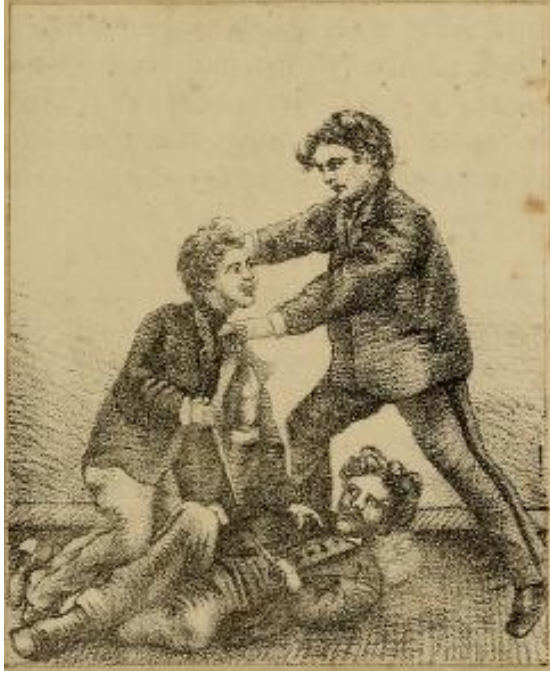


Figure 7. The three assassins, in Lombroso (1876: 65), Creative Commons 1.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, <https://archive.org/details/luomodelinquent/e00lomb/page/64>.

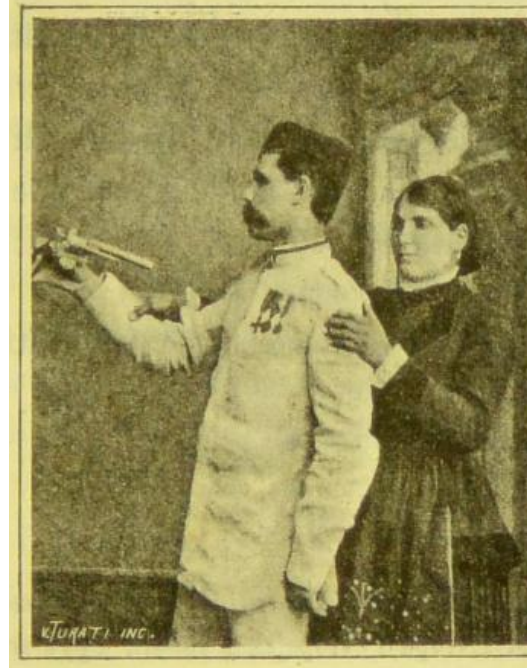


Figure 8. Portrayal of suicide, in Lombroso (1889a: 377), Creative Commons 1.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/b2812201x_0001/page/376.

Lombroso concluded that the act of these criminals photographing themselves was symptomatic of their vanity and, because vanity was a symptom of it, their criminality. In relation to the three men in Figure 3 he said the following (1876: 65-66):

Ma l'esempio più curioso ed insieme più chiaro di questa incredibile vanità del delitto fu da me raccolto a Ravenna, in questa fotografia scoperta dalla

³⁵ The art historian Sharon Hecker (2017: 76) observes that Turati is a little studied figure in the history of photography. Turati developed Synchronie printing and described the late-nineteenth century journal *The Photogram* in the following way: 'By this really wonderful process an almost unlimited number of different tints can be printed at one impression, so that it may well be spoken of as the high-water mark of photo-mechanical work up to date' (Ward and Ward, 1896: 199). The halftone was also brought to Lombroso's scholarship by the Doyen brothers printing establishment in Turin who specialised in lithographic halftones (see, for example, the signature at the bottom left-hand corner of plate I in the second volume of the fourth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* (1889b: plate. I opposite page 6).

Questura, in cui, a rischio di essere denunciati o di veder provato, come avvenne, il proprio delitto, tre sciagurati che avevano ucciso il loro compagno, si fecero ritrarre nell' attitudine in cui avevano eseguito il colpo. Gli sciagurati sentirono, appena commesso il misfatto, il bisogno di eternarne la ricordanza in quello strano monumento.

But the most curious and at the same time clearer example of this incredible vanity of the crime was collected by me in Ravenna, in this photograph discovered by the Police Headquarters, in which, at the risk of being denounced or seeing, as it happened, one's own crime, three unfortunates who had killed their companion, were portrayed in the attitude in which they had performed the blow. The wretches felt, as soon as the crime was committed, the need to eternise its memory in that strange monument.

In relation to the attempted murderer in Figure 4 Lombroso refers to a series of events that demonstrate the high regard the man held himself in. Lombroso described how the man wished to be infamous. Immediately following that and by way of elaborating on the point of infamy Lombroso described how a number of self-portraits were found including the photograph I reproduce above: 'Arrestato, racconta che l'aveva fatto per far parlare di sè ; una perquisizione nella sua camera fa scoprire parecchie fotografie di lui, armato, e fra l'altre questa (Fig. [4]) [At arrest he says he had done it so that people would talk about him; a search in his room reveals several photographs of him, armed, and among others this [photograph] (Figure [4])' (Lombroso, 1889a: 376). Lombroso went as far as to interpret suicide as an act of vanity in itself: 'evidentemente vi fu vera velleità, vanitosa sia pure, di suicidio, in un'epoca che precedette il reato, e che, se fosse stata soddisfatta, lo preveniva' [evidently there was true ambition, vain enough, of suicide, in an age that preceded the crime, and which, if it had been satisfied, prevented it] (1889a: 377).

That Lombroso interpreted this photograph too as a sign of vanity and therefore criminality is underscored by the fact that he pointed out that the Romanian Queen compares the man to another murderer with who Lombroso was familiar, Giovanni Cavaglià (Lombroso, 1889a: 376). In 1873 Cavaglià committed suicide in a Milanese psychiatric hospital (Lombroso studied his corpse for signs of criminality). In the second edition of

L'uomo delinquente [*Criminal Man*] (1878/2006: 150-153) Lombroso dedicated an entire appendix to Cavaglià. Therein Lombroso described him as 'one of the most perfect examples of *criminal man*' (Lombroso, 2006: 149, emphasis in original). He proceeded in detailing Cavaglià's vanity, exemplified by his suicide (Lombroso, 1876: 57-75).

A final piece of evidence that shows Lombroso interpreted photographic self-portraiture as a sign of criminality can be found in one further example that he offered. In it he described a criminal who was unable to kill his wife and instead shot at his own photograph before taking his own life: 'un criminale, che dopo aver tentato di uccidere la moglie, non essendo riescito, sparava contro la sua fotografia e poi si suicidava, dichiarandolo per iscritto. [And now in Milan a case took place (as the illustrious Proc. Gen. Mazza told me) of a criminal, who after trying to kill his wife, not being able, fired at his photograph and then committed suicide, declaring it in writing]' (Lombroso, 1889a: 337).

In summary, these two photographs and the discussion in which they are situated reveal a considerable amount about how Lombroso understood the relationship between photography and criminality. Lombroso considered the fact that criminals photographed themselves as a sign of their vanity and therefore criminality. Photography was thus a medium of criminality.

The portrait and skull photographs in Lombroso's criminal anthropology

The photographs reproduced and analysed above were not characteristic of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878; 1884; 1889a, 1889b; 1896-1897a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d) and *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893). To the contrary the photographs that were characteristic can be split into two categories, namely portrait photographs and skull photographs. These photographs came to characterise *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878; 1884; 1889a, 1889b; 1896-1897a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d) and *La*

donna delinquente [*Criminal Woman*] (1876-1897). That these kinds of photographs, photographs of skulls and portraits, characterised Lombroso's two major criminal-anthropological monographs was because Lombroso's born criminal theory was premised on the ancient practice of physiognomy and early-nineteenth practice of phrenology, called craniology by Lombroso's late nineteenth century (see chapter 1).

Lombroso reproduced almost 500 portrait photographs between the fourth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1889a, 1889b) and first edition of *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893). Lombroso reproduced such a large number of portrait photographs to redress criticisms that he had not undertaken enough physiognomic observations (Lombroso, 1893). Moreover, their large number was Lombroso's attempt to convey the innovative quality of his project. The art historian Martin Kemp (2016) describes that where experimental physicians considered photography a cutting-edge technology clinical physicians viewed the medium with suspicion. Kemp argues that to convince their detractors these physicians—Guillaume-Benjamin Duchenne (1806–1875) and Duchenne's protégée Jean Martin Charcot (1825–1893), medical teacher and clinician at the Salpêtrière, the Parisian asylum for criminally insane women and Eadweard Muybridge (1830-1904)—produced photography on a staggering scale. Kemp's argument can be applied to Lombroso's excessive and obsessive use of photographs. If Lombroso's photographic arsenal could not prove his born criminal hypothesis then he could reply by rhetoric of sheer number which overwhelmed the inconsistency of the method. In sum 'ubiquitous photography' (Hand, 2012), the scale of photography rather than content, emerged long before the rise of the digital age.

Lombroso obtained portrait photographs from various sources. He obtained a minority from colleagues working in Italy including the director of an asylum in Reggio d'Emilia, Augusto Tamburini (1848-1914); one of his collaborators, Gaspare Bergonzoli (see, for example, Lombroso and Bergonzoli, 1874); and Ernesto Bonvecchiato, an expert

on moral insanity (on who, see, Ashley, 2017: 55-80). Lombroso had to source the majority of portrait photographs from other states, due to ‘necessità giuridiche’ or ‘legal necessity’ (Lombroso, 1893: 337), as discussed in the part one of this chapter. Although he expressed some shame that he had no choice but to collect photographs from his ‘foreign’ colleagues: ‘le nuove ricerche si dovettero compiere a prezzo d’oro e spesso con personale pericolo, frugando i criminali nei loro ricoveri: e per le fotografie ricorrendo, non senza vergogna, all’aiuto straniero [the new research had to be carried out at a price of gold and often with personal danger, rummaging the criminals in their shelters: and for the photographs resorting, not without shame, to foreign aid] (Lombroso, 1889a: xxvi), the sheer range of sources provided ballast for his theory of the born criminal. Since the born criminal was a physiological inevitability they could be found anywhere in the world, even if some of his contemporaries disagreed (see, for example, Räcké, 1894). As such Lombroso obtained photographs of women from Pauline Tarnowsky (date of birth unknown-1911) the first woman criminologist and who worked in Russian prisons, and fellow anthropologist and psychiatrist Antonio Marro (1840-1913) (on Marro’s relationship with Lombroso, see Villa, 2014). He also sourced photographs from his academic colleagues in Germany.

One of Lombroso’s most interesting sources, though, was the New York based *National Police Gazette* and Boston-based *Illustrated Police News* (1889a: 201)³⁶. The *Gazette*, the more influential of the two American weekly publications, was founded in New York City in 1845 as a means of helping police capture criminals through the publication of information about crime. It enjoyed, as Lombroso’s use of photographs from it demonstrates, an international audience. ‘[The *Gazette*] rapidly gained a reputation for truthfulness and was praised for its credibility’ and ‘used this litany of fact to build a “philosophy of crime” (i.e., what it considered a science of crime)’ (Reel, 2006). The *Gazette*’s

³⁶ Lombroso cites a further source for his photographs called the *Police Journal* which he said was based in New York.

crime-scientific character would have appealed to Lombroso. Indeed, cultural historian Guy Reel has observed that the autopsy of a black man's skull reported therein as homage to Lombroso's criminal anthropology (Reel, 2006: 74). Furthermore, the cultural historian Glenn Shirley (1982) argues that Lombroso garnered his information about Bell Star, a woman brigand he discussed in *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893), from a biography of Starr that was written by the Gazette's editor Henry Fox. The *Gazette's* link to policing and criminal anthropology belied its 'racy' nature, however. As the cultural historian Guy Reel describes the *Gazette* was, 'one of the most lurid and sensational journals of the era', noting that James Joyce considered the publication to constitute 'soft-core pornography' (2006: 3). Lombroso was thus sourcing photographs from an early 'lads mag'. Elsewhere in the first volume of the fourth edition (1889a: 250).

The photographs were reproduced in large numbers (between 25 and 80) in bookplates. Their arrangement varied depending on whether they were engraving or halftone photomechanical reproductions. Figures 5 and 6 represent two bookplates that reproduce portrait photographs by engraving. The portraits are crammed tightly into the white space of each bookplate. Each portrait differs in size so that some appear further away than others. They are organised into groupings demarcated by a fine linear border in figure 9. These engraved portraits are both surrounded to varying extents by a border of halftone portraits—one row of halftones at the bottom of figure 9, the row of American criminals obtained from the *Gazette*, and a row of halftones down either side and again at the bottom of figure 10. There is a distinction between how the engraved and halftone portraits appear. The engravings see the portrait ending just below the shoulders and the cross-hatched lines gradually fade out of view. The halftones are very definite in their ending. The majority of the portrait photographs were reproduced as halftones on entire plates (figures 11 and 12). They are ordered into rows and columns, stacked neatly on top and beside one another.

There is also a degree of white space between each image. The corners of each portrait are cut diagonally as if stuck into a photograph album.

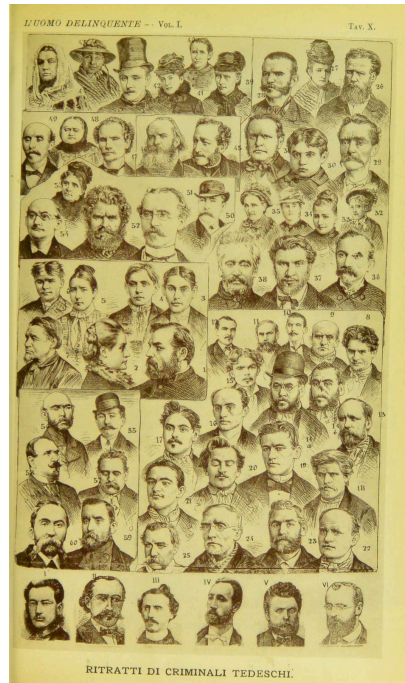


Figure 9. 'Ritratti di criminali Tedeschi [Portraits of German criminals]', in Lombroso (1889a: Tavole [Plate] X, between 250-251), Creative Commons 1.0, https://archive.org/details/b2812201x_0001/page/250.



Figure 10. Ritratti di criminali Tedeschi [Portraits of German criminals]', in Lombroso (1889a: Tavole [Plate] XI, between 250-251). Creative Commons 1.0, https://archive.org/details/b2812201x_0001/page/n329.



Figure 11. ‘Ritratti di criminali Tedeschi [Portraits of German criminals]’, in Lombroso (1889a: Plate XII, between 250 and 251), Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/b2812201x_0001/page/n331.

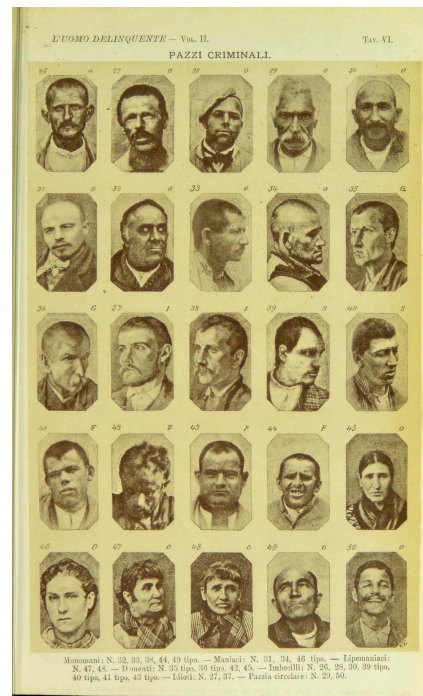


Figure 12. ‘Pazzi Criminali [Insane criminals]’, in Lombroso (1889b: plate V, between pages 188-189), Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/b2812201x_0002/page/n205.

Despite these differences just described a number of general themes can be described: The images Lombroso reproduced picture white men and women; they were though not exclusively, frontally shot. There is considerable variety amongst the photographs. Some, for example, were studio portraits, indicated by the sitter’s dress—Some of the men wear Top Hats and some of the women bonnets, for example—and their gaze where if set beyond the frame of the portrait indicating was unlikely a juridical portrait the conventions of which demanded a direct gaze towards the viewer.

A small minority of the portraits were reproduced either in isolation or in small groupings of up to 4 as figures set within the body of the text. For example, a frontal and profile portrait of a French prostitute called Gabriella Bompard appeared in *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (Lombroso, 1893: 363) (figure 13). The portrait adopts studio

conventions. In it Bompard sits frontally but with her head turned to a forty-degree profile as she stares beyond the frame. The backdrop is black with varied tonality. She wears a pinstripe jacket which is fastened at her left-hand side. There is a small glimpse of the chair she sits on behind her left-hand shoulder. Etched at the top of the portrait is her surname together with the date the portrait was either made or reproduced (26th January 1890).



Figure 13. ‘Gabriella Bompard’, in Lombroso (1893: 363), Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, <https://archive.org/details/b28066716/page/342>.

Lombroso cross referenced the physiognomic descriptions of the bookplate portraits with numerical data and supported his findings by way of reference to secondary sources. He often spent a longer time describing the physiognomy. About the portrait of Bompard, for instance, he said the following: ‘Gabriella Bompard presenta, secondo la fotografia che qui riproduco [...] tutti i caratteri dei criminalinati’ [‘The photograph I reproduce here [...] presents Gabriella Bompard as having all the characteristics of the born criminal’] (Lombroso, 1893: 363). He then goes on to describe a litany of Bompard’s atavistic

physiognomic characteristics (Lombroso, 1893: 364). He would often pair these descriptions with a lengthy account of their misdeeds.

Along with the portrait photographs, Lombroso reproduced a number of images of skulls. Some of these were, like the mug shot photographs, obtained from third parties including the great-nephew of the French emperor Napoleon (1769-1821), Prince Roland Bonaparte (1858-1924), an important figure in relation to Lombroso's criminal anthropology and who will be a major feature later on in the dissertation (see, chapter five). Bonaparte gifted to Lombroso copies from negatives of his albumen print photographs of Charlotte Corday's skull, minus its teeth and jawbone (figures, 9, 10 and 11) The skulls are pictured in total isolation marked, particularly in figures 10 and 11, by a tonally consistent background.

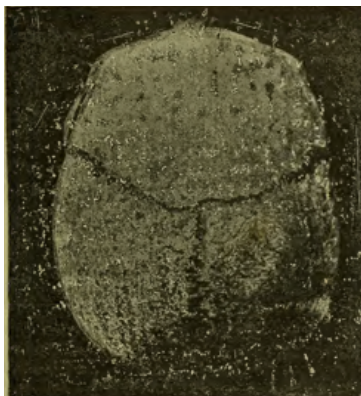


Figure 14. Charlotte Corday's skull photographed from above, in Lombroso (1893: 287), Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, <https://archive.org/details/b28066716/page/286>



Figure 15. Charlotte Corday's skull photographed in profile, in Lombroso (1893: 288), Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, <https://archive.org/details/b28066716/page/288>.



Figure 16. Charlotte Corday's skull photographed frontally, in Lombroso (1893: 289), Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, <https://archive.org/details/b28066716/page/289>

The remaining skull photographs that I describe in this part of the chapter were made by Lombroso himself. Figure 17 features three photographs of a skull minus its teeth and jawbone. Like that belonging to Charlotte Corday, these photographs are shot from above, in profile, and frontally. Underneath these three images is the name of the person to

whom the skull once belonged: ‘Gasparone’³⁷. Lombroso obtained Gasparone’s skull from his former student in psychiatry at the University of Pavia, chief physician of the Pie Case, friend and collaborator, and eventual recipient of the Nobel prize in physiology, Camillo Golgi (1843-1926): ‘Debbo alla cortesia dell'onorevole collega prof. Golgi, a cui la fama e la dottrina non scemarono la gentilezza dell'animo, di possedere il cranio e la fotografia del Gasparone [I owe to my illustrious colleague Prof. Golgi, to whom fame and doctrine do not lessen the gentleness of the spirit, my possession of the cranium and photograph of Gasparone]’ (Lombroso, 1882: 269; see, also, Lombroso 1902: viii)³⁸. At the bottom of figure 17 there are two further skulls, one photographed in profile (labelled ‘A’) and one photographed from above (labelled ‘B’). The skull photographed in profile rests atop a book which is placed at an almost 45-degree angle to the skull.

Figure 18 features six different skulls, with one photographed twice (labelled ‘fig.2. Anntioni, brigante’) They are arranged in three rows of two, three, and two. They are shot variously in 45- and 90-degree profile, frontally and from above. In addition, the cross section of one skull (labelled ‘fig.4. —Vilella’) is photographed from above. Details of this occipital bone of this skull are further labelled. All six of the skulls were identified by name in the same way as was Gasparone’s in figure 17 and additionally, but for Vilella’s skull their criminal labels are listed, too: the thieves, Tavecchio, Macchi, and Vilella, the brigand, Arnioni, the brigand and arsonist, Gatti, and the assassin and spy Chiesi.

³⁷ Figure 12 also features a profile portrait of Gasparone. I do not describe this portrait for the moment as will do so and bring its relevance to Gasparone’s skull in part three of this chapter.

³⁸ For a meticulously researched account of the intellectual relationship between Lombroso and Golgi see chapter 4 of Mazzaerllo (2010). Gasparone’s skull remains on display at the Lombroso Museum today and as with other skulls in Lombroso’s archive, is the subject of continuing repatriation efforts.

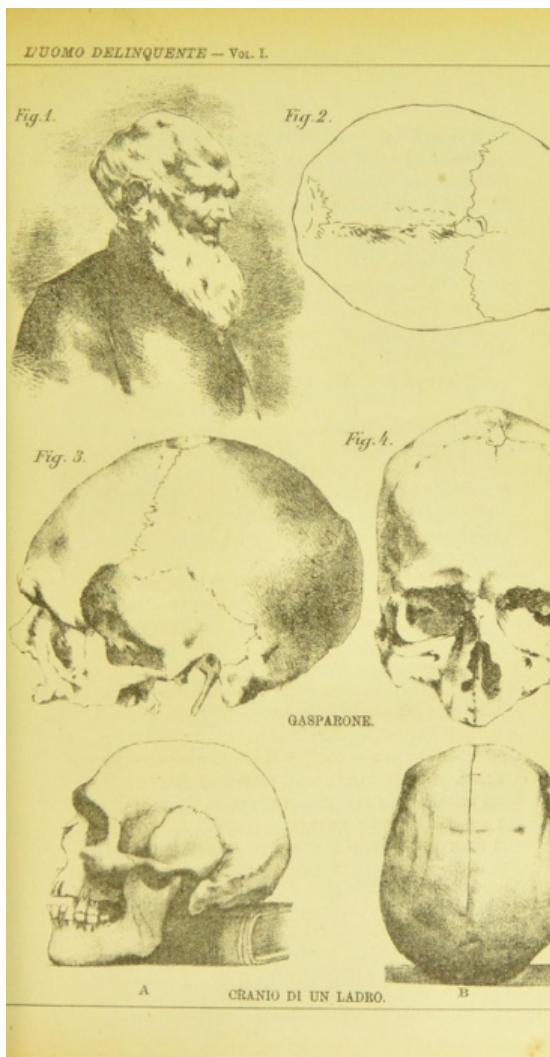


Figure 17. ‘Cranio di un ladro [Skulls of thieves]’, in Lombroso (1889a: opposite 148), Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/b2812201x_0001/page/148.

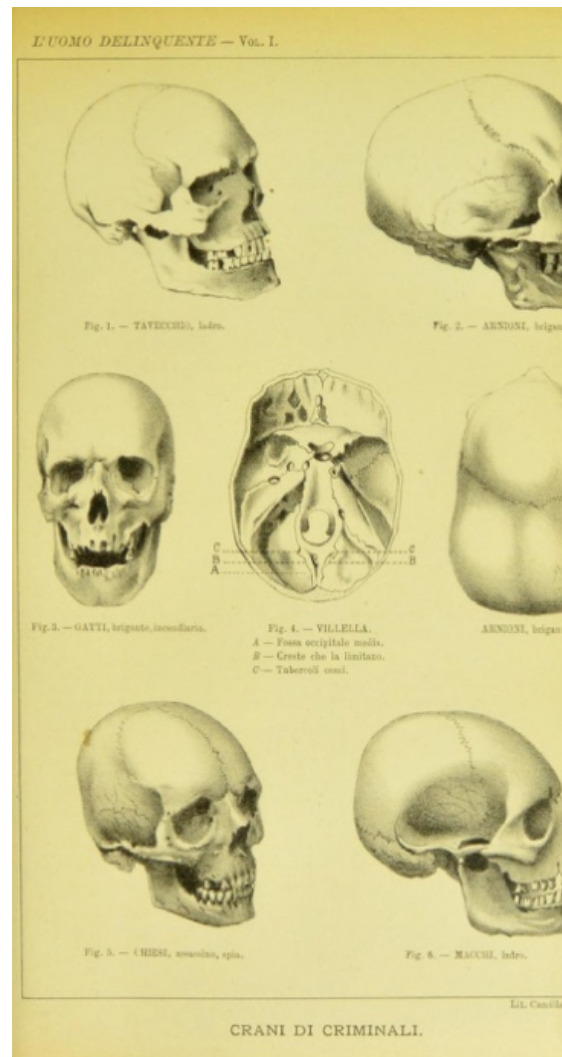


Figure 18. ‘Crani di criminali [Skulls of criminals]’, in Lombroso (1889a: between 164 and 165), Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/b2812201x_0001/page/164.

Figure 14 pictures 7 rows of photographs stitched or spliced vertically together so that the skulls appear stacked on top of one another giving the appearance of a cabinet from Lombroso’s museum. There are only 8 different skulls in this image all together (labelled OSS 11; 26; 36; 40; 48; 50; 47; 58). 4 skulls (OSS 11; 26; 36; 40) are photographed in profile in the first photographic row, frontally in the second photographic row, from above in the third photographic row, and, finally, from behind in the fourth photographic row. In this photographic row the skulls are all rested on some block-like support that looks to be a piece

of wood. 3 further skulls (OSS 48; 50; 47) are photographed frontally, from above, and in profile in the fourth, fifth and sixth photographic rows. Finally, there is an anomalous skull (OSS 40) that is photographed completely differently from the other 7. It is photographed from below, from behind, and in reverse profile in the fourth, fifth and sixth photographic rows. Each row of skulls sits on a shelf, but for the fourth row where the shelf is excluded from the photographic frame giving the skulls the appearance as if they float mid-air. The skulls stand out in contrast against a black background and light shines from the left-hand side of the image casting a shadow underneath and to the right of each skull. But for one (OSS 58) each skull has a visible cut running from the forehead to the back of the head—that would have allowed Lombroso to look at the cross section of each one. One of the skulls (OSS 50) has a clasp affixed at the point where the top of the skull meets the forehead, as the angle at which it was cut meant that the top would not stay on without it. Figure 19 is a reproduction of the photographs represented in figure 20. It was reproduced some four years later in *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893). There are differences between the two reproductions, however. The signature in the bottom left-hand corner of the photograph—V.Turati inc.—explains why. The beauty of Turati's Synchronie half-tone process was that it could reproduce photographs in varying degrees of tonality. As such, the shelves and props on which the skulls once rested have disappeared leaving the skulls to appear as if they float in mid-air against a pitch-black background.

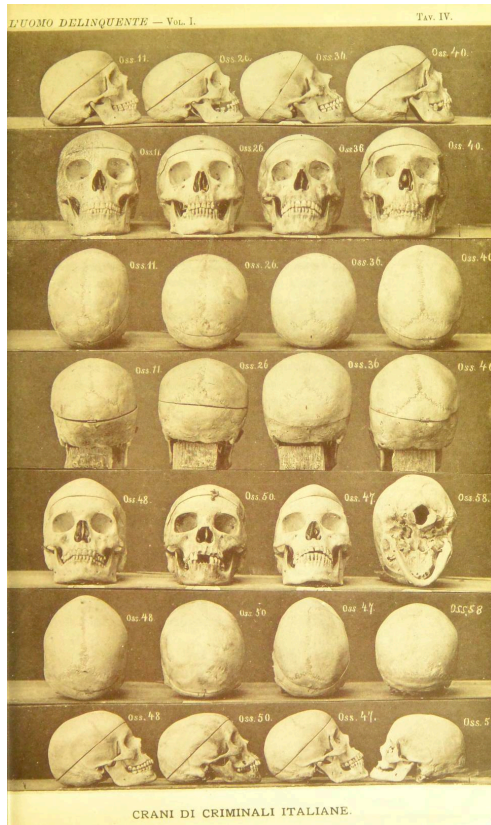


Figure 19. ‘Crani di criminali Italiane [Skulls of Italian criminals], in Lombroso (1889a: Tavole [Plate] IV, between 164 and 165), Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/b2812201x_0001/page/n233.

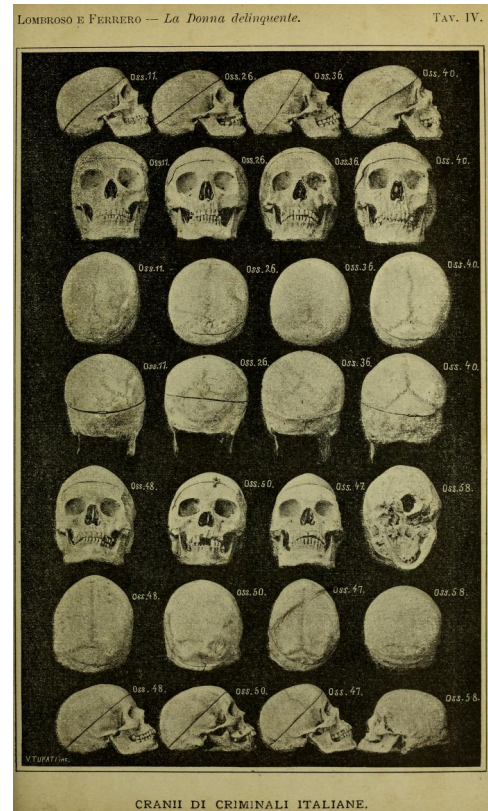


Figure 20. ‘Crani di criminali Italiane [Skulls of Italian criminals]’, in Lombroso (1893: Tavole [Plate] IV, after 640), Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, <https://archive.org/details/b28066716/page/n661>.

The third and final type of skull photograph I am going to describe in this chapter are those represented in Figure 21. It is comprised of five skull photographs, one large skull at the centre with four smaller skulls, two above and two below, surrounding the central skull. All of the skulls have a shadow or ‘halo’ surrounding them to some varying extent with the central skull displaying this convention the most. The eyes of all the skulls are black and hollow, far more so, than any of the skull photographs I have described in this chapter previously.

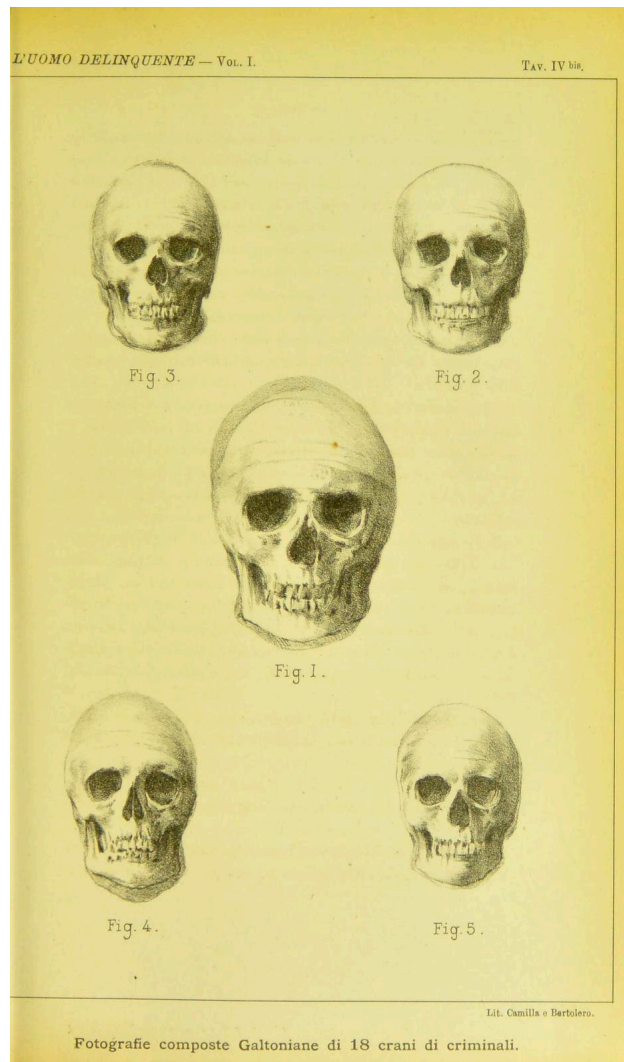


Figure 21. 'Fotografie composte Galtoniane di 18 crani di criminali [Galtonian composite photographs of 18 criminal skulls]', in Lombroso (1889a: plate IV *addition*, between 180-181), Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/b2812201x_0001/page/180.

Part three: Analyses of the photographs in the fourth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1889a, 1889b) and *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893)

The portrait and skull photographs in Lombroso's criminal anthropology differ from one another. At the most obvious level of distinction some feature living persons while others are of human skulls. Yet, even within these broad categories, there are important differences. Take the portrait photographs, firstly. Some are anonymous whilst others are named. Then take the skull photographs. Some skulls could belong to anyone. Others, once again, belonged to named persons. All the skulls are arranged differently on the page. Some are

multiple views of the same skull, whilst some are arranged in peculiar, almost decorative arrangements.

As I will show in this final part of the chapter, these differences spring from Lombroso's idea of a born criminal. Significantly, Lombroso made clear, the born criminal did not actually exist, for even the most atavistic criminal would have evolved by his contemporary moment: 'Dell'atavismo non vediamo nell'uomo attuale che una forma, che una parvenza parziale, altrimenti non avremmo sotto i nostri occhi un uomo, ma un mammifero [We can only see a partial resemblance of the type in modern man, otherwise we would have a mammal rather than a man before our eyes]' (1889a: xxxiii). The born criminal was an ideal, imaginary type or heuristic category and creativity was needed to visualise it.

Lombroso thought that the Galtonian composite was best suited to visualising the born criminal: [P]er dimostrare la esistenza tanto disputata del tipo criminale, abbiamo ricorso al nuovo metodo introdotto da Galton e perfezionato da Batut delle fotografie composite [To demonstrate the disputed existence of the criminal type, we have resorted to the new method introduced by Galton and perfected by [Arthur] Batut of composite photography] (Lombroso, 1889a: 180). The Galtonian composite revealed an ideal, imaginary type because of the photographic method it entailed. The Galtonian composite method eponymously named after its progenitor Francis Galton (1822-1911), a eugenicist³⁹. Galton wrote prolifically on the subject from the late 1870s and throughout the 1880s (see, especially, Galton, 1878; 1881). It occupied a great deal of his time and was not an obscure optical curiosity of a Victorian gentleman (Green, 1984). Galton described his method in his first publication on the subject (1878: 133-134). To summarise, his layering of multiple exposures of pre-existing portrait photographs onto a single photographic plate exposed the

³⁹ Photography was influential in nineteenth-century eugenics (Green, 1984; Maxwell, 2010) including in those studies that had a close relationship with criminology (Rafter, 1988).

common physiognomic characteristics of the individuals pictured therein and revealed an imaginary criminal type or visual average in one photographic print. His method was a statistical visual one. As the visual cultural scholar and art historian Alan Sekula puts it: 'In effect Galton believed that he had translated the Gaussian error curve into pictorial form. The symmetrical bell curve now wore a human face' (1986: 48) and as one-time curator of London's National Portrait Gallery Roger Hargreaves described the method as, 'the 'averaging' of physical characteristics in a single image, so that the 'normal distribution' could be observable in the same way as a graph might indicate how a population's characteristics were related to their statistical mean—via a bell-shaped curve' (2001: 96). In short, Galton had devised a visual means of representing abstract statistical dangerousness.

Rather than using multiple portrait photographs of living persons, though, Lombroso used 18 skulls from his own collections. The halo that is evident in Lombroso's Galtonian composites were a typical of this method of image making. The varying physiognomy and specifically the outliers would leave this ghostly or ethereal halo-like trace. Moreover, these photographs more than any other have lost their depth of field that the other skulls have and present the skulls in more two-dimensional terms than the other photographs of skulls do which convey a much more obvious sense of three-dimensionality.

The photographer Arthur Batut (1846—1918) in correspondence with one of Lombroso's fiercest French critics, Paul Topinard, suggested that Lombroso's composite photographs were imaginaries, 'images of the invisible', and constituted art rather than science (Hamilton, 2001: 34). Yet Lombroso sought to temper the creativity of the Galtonian composite by referencing the medium of photography's natural mechanics by emphasizing the role of nature and specifically the sun in this practice: 'Quindi si può dire che il tipo criminale fu confermato dall'imparziale testimonianza del sole [So, it can be said that the criminal type was confirmed by the impartial testimony of the sun]' (Lombroso, 1889a: 180). It was not uncommon in the nineteenth century to naturalise photography in this way. For

example, in a letter to John Herschel in 1840, James David Forbes (1809-1868), one of the principal Scottish practitioners of positive-negative photography, writes, "There are many cases in which it might be interesting to cause Nature herself to depict what she sees in her own phenomena, instead of trusting to the fidelity of Philosophers' (HS7: 295, Royal Society, London, cited in Schaaf, 1997: 26). In short, photography was championed for its apparent capacity to eliminate artistic mediation in scientific illustration (Green, 1986): 'In allowing nature to take her own portrait, the prejudices of man would be bypassed' (Schaaf, 1997: 51). It was believed that machinery would eliminate artistic mediation.

That the Galtonian composite was representative of Lombroso's thesis is further evidenced by observing that a composite portrait photograph appeared as the frontispiece to *Criminal Man* (1890) which was written by Lombroso's foremost English follower, Havelock Ellis's (1859-1939), to communicate Lombroso's ideas into English. In early modern or sixteenth-to-seventeenth century England a single image at the beginning of the book that was separate from the title page, known as a frontispiece, served as an icon which stood for the content of the book (Saenger, 2006). Ellis's use of Lombroso's Galtonian composite is testimony to the idea that he, at least, saw this kind of photograph to stand as an icon for Lombroso's entire criminal anthropology.

There is an additional reason why the Galtonian composite photographs visualised Lombroso's born criminal best of all. As mentioned above, Lombroso thought that the born criminal was best observed in the physiognomy of a skull, rather than a living person's face (Lombroso, 1889a: 325). A characteristic of Galtonian composites of the era was that they featured a composite portrait of living persons. However, Lombroso's Galtonian composites were made using pre-existing photographs of skulls rather than pre-existing photographs of people. In part 1 of this chapter I observed that Lombroso was unable to photograph living persons because of the legal proscription against photographing offenders in Italian penal institutions. However, that Lombroso used photographs of skulls rather than people to make

his composites was more than an act of desperation. By the time Lombroso was using Galtonian composite photographs he had already collected hundreds of pre-existing portrait photographs that he could have utilised to make his composite photographs. But he chose not to.

The next type of photograph that is best suited to picturing the born criminal are the museum-style cabinet photographs. The sense of ‘typicality’, characteristic to the born criminal, is conveyed through various visual strategies. The first such strategy is one that emphasises the quantity of skulls. Although there are only 8 different skulls in this image, the image gives the *impression* that there are many more. This impression is created because of the amount of times each skull has been photographed together with the repetition of the ways in which it is photographed (in profile, frontally, and from above). This arrangement makes it very difficult to tell how many skulls are really in the photograph and only close observation can reveal this. The labelling system of the skulls themselves (OSS 11; 26; 36; 40; 48; 50; 47; 58) also contributes to this impression. The labels are small and secondary, even difficult to make out in places, indicating that these do not necessarily matter to the visual effect. Crucially, but for these labels, they are also anonymous. Whoever these skulls once belonged to is irrelevant. By placing the skulls at the edge of the photographic frame, the images give the impression that the rows are infinitely long⁴⁰. A similar effect is created by the manner in which they are stacked from top to bottom.

In their anonymity, the two skull photographs labelled ‘A’ and ‘B’ at the bottom of figure 17 convey the typicality required of Lombroso’s born criminal. However, confusingly, Lombroso is careful to indicate that it belonged to a specific born criminal type, the thief. Already here the born criminal is losing its sense typicality and acquiring one of specificity. This sense of specificity only increases in the rest of the photographs in figure x. Above

⁴⁰ Only one skull disrupts the sense of quantity that the image offers and hints at the futility of trying to impose classificatory order.

these two photographs are those of Gasparone's skull. In naming the owner of this skull there is a greater sense of specificity. Unlike the two skull photographs below these, Lombroso did not indicate the kind of criminal that Gasparone was. This was likely because he needed no introduction to his contemporary and especially Italian audience. Antonio Gasbarrone (1793-1880) known as 'Gasparone' was an infamous early-nineteenth century brigand leader who, eventually captured by Pontifical authorities, was imprisoned for over forty years, before being pardoned in 1871 following the unification, but only to be detained just a year later in Pie Case degli Incurabili Abbiategrasso [Charitable Hospital for Incurables], Abbiategrasso. As the historian of medicine Paolo Mazzarello explains: 'The Pie Case was the final destination for individuals who had received, unsuccessfully, all possible kinds of treatments in other hospitals' (Mazzarello, 2010: 98). The image of this skull, therefore, carries with it a specific and well-known individual identity. Indeed, Lombroso points to that identity by including a profile portrait of Gasparone in the top left-hand corner of figure 17. His doing so adds a new dimension to his skull photographs-the embodied life of Gasparone's skull. Further details about that life can be found in Lombroso's oeuvre more generally. For instance, and before the publication of these photographs in the fourth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1889a, 1889b) they had appeared earlier in Lombroso's oeuvre and specifically *Delitti vecchi e delitti nuovi* [*Old and New Crimes*] published in 1882. Therein Lombroso reproduced an early psychological profile of Gasparone. To do so he utilised a French biography of the brigand indulging in its narrative or literary aspects.

This was not the only time that Lombroso's skull photographs lost their aesthetic of typicality. The same can be said in relation to figure 14, 15 and 16, the skull of 'Charlotte Corday herself' (Lombroso, 1893: 287). Corday was so famous in the mid-to-late nineteenth century the infamous 'l'ange de l'assassinat [angel of assassination]', as she was called mid-

century (Lamartine, 1847: x) who murdered French Revolutionary and Jacobin leader Jean Paul Marat (1743-1793)⁴¹.

Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, Lombroso reproduced a vast number of photographs in his criminal anthropology. Some of these photographs, namely the portrait photographs, are familiar to criminologists because they are reproduced in criminology text books (Newburn, 2017; Carrabine, Cox, Fussey, Hobbs, South, and Thiel, 2014) as well as in their own lectures. Although criminologists know that they exist, they have been slow to pay them critical attention. Such silence is confounding.

Much is to be said and learned about criminology's origins by analysing these photographs as I have demonstrated in this chapter. One such lesson is that the Italian juridical culture had an effect on Lombroso's criminal anthropology as a photographic enterprise. Conventions, rooted in Lombroso's epistemological nemesis—Beccaria and the Classical School—prevented Lombroso from photographing human subjects meaning that he was compelled, much to his own disgust, to acquire portrait photographs from colleagues around the world. At the same time, Lombroso found a way to circumvent this photographic prohibition by supplementing these acquired photographs with photographs of skulls, which, exceptionally, he made himself. Since, Lombroso argued, the somatic essence of criminality lay in an individual's cranial rather than facial features these skull photographs trumped the fact that he was unable to take his own photographs of living persons.

Beyond these logistical problems, there is much to be said and learned about what these photographs can tell us about Lombroso's project as a visual enterprise. Lombroso

⁴¹ He distributed his portfolios around the world and that legacy remains as they can be found in collections all over the world.

admitted that visually representing the born criminal was an empirically impossible task. As he himself acknowledged the born criminal was an imaginary. As such, and although we criminologists consider Lombroso the progenitor of positivism, in his pursuit of the born criminal, we see far more clearly the complexity of Lombroso's so-called science. The implication is that he used visual methods and specifically photography creatively. The main aim was to anonymise the individuality or identity of those he pictured to present them as a monolith and a normative type. He produced hundreds of portrait photographs and used creative photographic methods to visually construct this imaginary.

Having analysed Lombroso's photographic project in this chapter and revealed Lombroso's attitudes towards the medium, the kinds of photographs he was using as well as the extent to which he was using photographs creatively, in the next chapter I develop my argument that Lombroso's visual enterprise was creative and, we will see, artistic.

CHAPTER FIVE

TRACING ARTISTIC NETWORKS OF PRODUCTION

Introduction

In this chapter I analyse a series of images of images that Lombroso reproduced in his treatise on criminal woman, *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893). I analyse these images in the colonial-anthropological context from which they originated. My analysis of these images in this context shed light on the relationship between colonial anthropology on the one hand and criminal anthropology on the other—a relationship that is rarely acknowledged and if so only in passing (see, for example, Carney, 2010). My analysis also reveals the extent to which these images were creative and even—in some cases—artistic images. I begin the chapter by introducing *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893). I observe that since criminal woman, like criminal man, could be identified by way of her physiognomy this book, too, *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) was, like the later editions of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1884; 1889a, 1889b; 1896-1897a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d) comprised of hundreds of portrait photographs. I focus in on one kind of portrait photograph in particular, namely the profile portrait. I trace the origins of this portrait to the colonial-anthropological context. I demonstrate how these portraits displayed a mixture of anthropological *and* fine-artistic, that is aesthetic conventions. I then identify aesthetic conventions in the profile portraiture of an anthropologist who made profile portraits for Lombroso. Following my analysis of portrait photographs I move on to analyse a series of images of so-called African and Hottentot⁴² women in *La donna delinquente*

⁴² I use the terms 'African' and 'Hottentot' on the one hand and 'European' on the other hand to reflect the eighteenth and nineteenth century context only. They can interpreted as meaning 'black' and 'white'. However, this interpretation is only intended to reflect the idea of 'race' in the nineteenth century, a biological construct whose salient feature was skin colour. This is to say that I do not use these categories with the intention of obscuring the cultural heterogeneity of people within either category nor with the intention of further reifying the what Paul Gilroy (1993) describes as metaphysical categories of black and white.

[*Criminal Woman*] (1893). I begin by observing that as well as by her facial appearance of physiognomy criminal woman could be identified by her genitalia and buttocks. I attribute this causal theory to Lombroso's fetish of a racialised and gendered nineteenth century cultural icon called the Hottentot Venus. I discuss the provenance and production of the images of Hottentot genitalia to provide a critical context in which to analyse the rest of the images. With regards to the rest of the images I demonstrate how these images, too, displayed anthropological as well as fine-artistic conventions.

Introducing *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893)

The images that are the focal point of analysis in this chapter are all from Lombroso's *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893). *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] was published in 1893. Although Lombroso had dedicated sections on criminal woman as early as the first edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876) he had not undertaken a sustained analysis of criminal woman before this time. There was a large amount of scholarship written by Lombroso and members of the Italian School on criminal woman at the time (Lombroso, 1893; Ottolenghi, 1896; Guerrieri and Fornasari, 1893; Gambarotta, 1899). Forty articles dealt with the criminality of women and these were in particular as the foregoing citation suggest around the 1890s (1889-1895) (Gibson, 1990: 36 f.n. 36). These were a political and specifically patriarchal response to the so-called Woman Question about the inequality of the sexes. The Woman Question emerged following the Unification (1861). It was then, later than its western-European counterparts, that Italy followed a well-trodden path in other parts of Europe and industrialization began in the north (Melossi, 2008). At the same time women became mobile and socialist and bourgeois feminist movements began to emerge demanding economic and labor reform and legal, educational and political reform respectively (Gibson, 1990: 26-7; 1999: 42). *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) was

thus part of a larger effort to return newly-realized gender mobility achieved under these conditions back to its immutable biological origins (Gibson, 1990: 12).

With the above in mind, that *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] would not have been published if it weren't for a woman is no small irony. That woman was the physician and criminal anthropologist Pauline Tarnowsky (date of birth unknown-1911). In her lifetime she was considered to be the 'only woman criminologist in the world' (MacDonald, 1911: 666) and upon her death one obituarist remarked that Tarnowsky was 'the leading woman criminologist in Europe' (Wigmore, 1911: 270). Tarnowsky 'spent many years in the prisons and dwellings of the poor in Russia studying the criminal classes with a zeal and excitement rarely excelled' (Wigmore, 1911: 270) and applied Lombroso's methods of anthropometric measurement to 160 female murderers from central Russia (Meyer, 1908: 556) in her 'last and greatest work' (Wigmore, 1911: 270), *Les femmes homicides* (1908) before eventually joining Lombroso's intellectual network (Knepper, 2011). Nicole Rafter and Mary Gibson point to Tarnowsky's work as the possible influence for him dedicating a book-length work to the study of female crime (Rafter and Gibson, 2004: 12 f.n. 39). The cultural historian Sander Gilman goes much further and argues that Lombroso essentially plagiarised Tarnowsky's research: 'The paper in which Pauline Tarnowsky undertook her documentation of the appearance of the prostitute is repeated word for word in the major late nineteenth-century study of prostitution and female criminality, *La donna delinquente*, written by Cesare Lombroso together with his son-on-law Guglielmo Ferrero, and published in 1893 (1985: 98). This is to say that Lombroso undertook no empirical research of women himself. Moreover, the authors paraded the research as the first scientific study of woman's criminality (Ferrero, 1894).

Visualising criminal woman through photographic portraiture

Like criminal man, criminal woman's criminality could be spotted by observing her physiognomy or facial features. As such, Lombroso studied Tarnowsky's photographs of criminal women. Additionally, he studied Tarnowsky's photographs of law abiding or what he called 'normal' women. These photographs of normal women were subject to Lombroso's gaze because his methodology especially his absent study of a control group was being attacked towards the end of the 1880s by French anthropologists who were also studying criminality (Nye, 1976). Lombroso stated that 'Anyone wishing to observe personally the anomalies we have described, can refer to our photographs of French and Russian offenders' (Lombroso and Ferrero, 2004: 135). However, he did not just obtain photographs from Tarnowsky.

In the previous chapter I described how Prince Roland Bonaparte (1858-1924), great-nephew of the French emperor Napoleon (1769-1821) provided Lombroso with photographs of French revolutionary Charlotte Corday's skull (see chapter 4). As well as these photographs, though, Bonaparte made a series of portrait photographs of women criminals especially for Lombroso (figure 22).



Figure 22. Profile and frontal portraits of Berland and Thomas, in Lombroso (1893: 345), Creative Commons, viewed October 1st 2018, <https://archive.org/details/b28066716/page/344>.

Bonaparte's photographs for Lombroso featured profile and frontal shots of two French women. That they were French is important because Lombroso argued that French were closer to the criminal type than Russian women, whose photographs Tarnowsky provided (2004: 139). Lombroso identified them only by their surnames, Berland and Thomas. Lombroso did not mention Berland's crime and described Berland as 'lasciva ed omicida [lascivious and homicidal]' (1893: 344) a curious description that he borrowed from the French novelist Maurice Talmeyr (1850-1931). 'Here', Lombroso said in relation to Berland, 'we find overly close eyes; a receding forehead; a small head; ears too tightly attached

to the head; numerous deep premature wrinkles; crooked lips; a flat, crooked nose curving outward; a receding chin; and a virile physiognomy' (Lombroso, 2004: 140). Unlike Berland, Lombroso described Thomas's crime whereby she had 'committed hundreds of abortions falling into dipsoepileptic stupor immediately after each crime' (Lombroso, 2004: 140). This crime made Thomas a particularly depraved criminal woman. Of all the crimes criminal woman could commit this was the worst because criminal woman's greatest evil was subverting her maternal instinct: 'The very worst examples of such barbarity are provided by mothers in whose maternal affection—the most intense of all human—sentiments—has been transformed into hatred' (Lombroso, 2004: 183). His description of Thomas was like that of Berland, hardly forgiving. He described her as a 'alcoolista, libidinosa [libidinous alcoholic] (1893: 344). 'Her face' Lombroso said, 'was asymmetrical, her protruding ears were abnormally tight against her head, her nose was oblique and twisted, her lips were thin and crooked, and her wrinkles were extraordinarily plentiful' (Lombroso, 2004: 140).

These portrait photographs of Berland and Thomas can be contrasted with those portrait photographs of criminal men and women that I analysed in the previous chapter and that featured in the later editions of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1884; 1889a and b; 1896-7a, b, c, and d). To be sure some of these featured women. However, the difference I wish to point out is not one to do with gender. The portraits in the previous chapter were all small in size and were crammed into repetitious columns and rows. By contrast, these are much larger and elicited far lengthier description and analyses from Lombroso. All of this points to their import. Specifically, what distinguishes them the most, though, is that they are not just frontally shot, but that they are accompanied by a profile shot, too.

These profile portrait photographs were atypical of Lombroso's criminal anthropology. Only a small minority of the frontally-shot portrait photographs were accompanied by a profile shot in the portrait photographs I reproduced in the previous chapter (chapter 4). This was because Lombroso sourced the large majority of those portrait

photographs from third-parties working either in the juridical or medico-legal contexts. The profile portrait only appeared sporadically in these contexts in the late-nineteenth century and was not systematically introduced until the Parisian police clerk Alphonse Bertillon's (1853-1914) eponymously-named late-nineteenth century criminal identification system, *Bertillonage*, was invented (on which, see, esp. Sekula, 1986; Tagg, 1992).

These photographs were shot in profile as well as frontally because of the profession of the person that made them. Roland Bonaparte was not just Napoleon's great-nephew; he was also a successful gentleman anthropologist. The profile portraits of Berland and Thomas that Bonaparte made for Lombroso were not juridical ones. Though this style came to characterise juridical photographic portraiture later in the centre as I described above, it was, prior to its appropriation in this context, an anthropological one. That the profile portraits of Berland and Thomas were anthropological ones can be ascertained by tracing and discussing the anthropological origins of this style of portraiture.

One of the earliest documented instructions of the now-familiar style of the profile portrait were described by the highly influential Parisian zoologist and naturalist Georges Cuvier (1769-1832). Cuvier is one of the most important figures in the history of anthropology. Criminologists rarely discuss Cuvier. This omission is an odd one if criminologists take Lombroso to be the progenitor of scientific ways of thinking about crime. Cuvier was among a group of anthropologists including Carl Linnaeus (1739-1778) and Johann Blumenbach (1752-1840) whose scholarship on race (Linnaeus, 1758; Blumenbach, 1787) invented Lombroso's racialist epistemology. Moreover, Cuvier's attention towards the human body displaced earlier Enlightenment and specifically philosophical ways of reflecting on human behaviour (Jones, 1988: 37; Stocking 1964: 142). Here it is possible to identify an epistemological transition that is often attributed to Lombroso. It could be said that what Lombroso did for criminology, Cuvier did for

anthropology. Or, if criminologists take a more expansive anthropological view of the history of their discipline they might extend that accolade to Cuvier in the first instance.

Cuvier discussed instructions for the profile portrait in documents he prepared for the *Voyage de découvertes aux mers australes* [Voyage of discovery to the Southern Territories] more commonly known as the Baudin Expedition. The Baudin expedition took place between 1800 and 1804 (on the expedition see, for example, Horner, 1987; Brown, 2008; Fornasiero, West and Monteath, 2010; Starbuck, 2013). The expedition travelled to 'New Holland' (now Australia), 'Van Diemen's Land' (now Tasmania) and the 'Cape of Good Hope' (now South Africa).

One of the principal aims of the Baudin expedition was to study the people who lived in there. Herein lay the expedition's anthropological character. In fact, it was the first ever anthropological expedition. It was funded and approved by the French government and so, as well as being an anthropological expedition it was simultaneously a colonial one, too.

Indeed, anthropology emerged at the beginning of what can be retrospectively described as the age of imperialism (from c. 1860). This age marked a time when expeditions from a number of European states travelled to, influenced and colonised places overseas. These expeditions were comprised of anthropologists whose job it was to observe and picture 'native' or Indigenous peoples for analysis back in the metropole. This is to say that anthropology's and by extension criminology's origins are rooted in colonialism (Asad, 1973; Lewis, 1973). This coming together of colonialism and anthropology was characteristic of the era. In fact, the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century origins of anthropology are rooted in colonialism (Asad, 1973; and Lewis, 1973 remain the most influential critical accounts of the relationship between anthropology and colonialism). Scholar of French studies and anthropologist Stephanie Anderson (2000: 228) argues that the Baudin expedition was bound up with anthropology's beginnings:

Nicolas Baudin's *Voyage de découvertes aux mers australes* as it was officially called, marks the beginning of field anthropology in a number of ways. First, Baudin was issued with specific instructions concerning both physical anthropology and ethnography, though these were not then known by these terms. The term anthropologist was, however, used in connection with this voyage and, it seems, for the first time in a sense implying an active scientific role. It was François Péron, a young enthusiast in the field of natural science who, with himself in mind, petitioned for the inclusion of 'anthropologistes' in Baudin's complement of scientists.

As such, Cuvier (1799) prepared rigorous instructions according to which expedition members should have described 'native' bodies. Cuvier began his instructions by stressing the inadequacy of written descriptions of Indigenous people. Cuvier (1799: 69) began his instructions by stressing how a written description of a 'object'—which Cuvier took to imply Indigenous person—was not good enough. He accused textual description as being inherently wanting. He went as far as to say it was the equivalent of illusion. In particular they were useless, he thought, when they were used as comparative reference points when undertaking new studies. Overall, he emphasised the primacy of the eye in observation and when making comparisons the need to have some kind of document that was the equivalent of seeing the empirical referent before the eye, impliedly, thus, an image (1799: 69):

En vain voudrait-on s'en rapporter aux observations faites sur les lieux par des voyageurs et consignées dans leurs journaux. L'expérience prouve qu'en histoire naturelle, toute description absolue est vague, et que toute comparaison faite entre un objet présent et un objet absent est illusoire. Les plus grands naturalistes ont confondu ou distingué mal à propos les êtres les plus faciles à reconnaître, parce qu'ils ne les avaient pas à la fois sous les yeux.

Only in vain do we wish to refer to the observations made on the spot by travellers and recorded in their journals. Experience proves that in natural history all absolute description is vague, and that any comparison made between a present object and an absent object is illusory. The greatest naturalists mistook or misidentified the beings most easily recognized because they did not have them at once under the eyes.

Since Cuvier placed so much emphasis on seeing and picturing it was therefore imperative that the Baudin expedition was comprised of members who could fulfil these requirements. Three men were commissioned to make images during the expedition. They were Jacques-Gérard Milbert (1766-1840), Michel Garnier (1753-1819) and Louis Lebrun (dates of birth and death unknown). It is important to note that at least two of these men were academically-trained fine artists. Milbert was a genre and landscape painter. Garnier was also a genre painter. Prior to the expedition Garnier had practiced in the service of the French royal court. His painting *La jeune musicienne* [*The young musician*] (1788) (figure 23) is exemplary of the kind of artworks he was making prior to the expedition.



Figure 23. Michel Garnier (1788) *La jeune musicienne* [*The young musician*], Wikimedia Commons, viewed on October 2nd 2018, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Michel_Garnier_-_La_jeune_musicienne,_1788.jpg.

Milbert, Lebrun and Garnier, left the expedition ship on the outbound journey at Mauritius (Smith, 1985: 197). This left two de facto image makers in charge of Cuvier's precious observational and pictorial mission. They were Charles-Alexandre Lesueur (1778-1846) and Nicolas Martin-Petit (1777-1804). Lesueur was a trained technical draughtsman. Petit on the other hand was a fine artist who trained with the famous painter Jacques Louis-David (1748-1825). That the members of the expedition making images were all trained as draughtsman and even fine artists is significant since it demonstrates that there was an inextricable link between anthropology at its origins and fine art.

The art historian Viviane Fayaud (2009: 27) explains with regard to these image-makers that '[t]he precision of forms must supplant the imperatives of aesthetics because of a widespread idea: the physical can decipher the inner man'. This is to say that aesthetic considerations should not play a role in anthropological image making. Cuvier himself expressed this idea when he voiced his concerns about fine artists who had made images of Indigenous peoples. Cuvier (1799: 69) complained about how academically-trained artists depicted people in the colonies arguing that 'the greatest painters' 'smeared with soot' white (read as classical) figures thus obscuring the physical differences between races that his anthropology relied upon. The art historian Bernard Smith calls this classical overlay onto indigenous subjects during this era a 'European vision' (Smith, 1985). European vision represents indigenous subjects as 'virtuous', 'noble' bringing them into a discourse of whiteness. He had in fact predicted what would happen on the expedition. As Cuvier himself put it in full (1799: 69):

Tout le monde sait que les plus grands peintres ont souvent mal saisi le caractère du Nègre et n'ont peint qu'un Blanc barbouillé de suie. Les dessins qui se trouvent dans les voyages modernes, quoique faits sur les lieux, se ressentent plus ou moins des règles et des proportions que le dessinateur avait apprises dans les écoles d'Europe, et il n'en est presque aucun sur lequel le naturaliste puisse assez compter pour en faire la base de recherches ultérieures.

Everyone knows that the greatest painters have often misunderstood the character of the Negro and have painted a white smeared with soot. The drawings found in modern journeys, although made on the spot, are more or less felt to be the rules and proportions which the draftsman had learned in the schools of Europe, and there is almost none on which the naturalist can count enough to make it the basis of further research.

If Cuvier had concerns about any one of those men making images during the expedition it would have been with Petit. The art historian Jane Southwood (2013: 113; see also, Hunt and Carter, 2008; Jones, 2002; c.f. Plomey, 1983) observes that Petit's training

with David predisposed him to neo-Classical visual conventions. She argues that Petit applied his ‘European vision’ (Smith, 1985) to Petit’s full-figure portrait of a Tasmanian woman he called Arra-Maïda who was from Bruny Island, Tasmania (figure 24). Southwood’s argument is especially underscored when she compares Petit’s portrait to a neo-Classical sculpture (figure 25).



Figure 24. Nicolas-Martin Petit (1804), *Portrait d'Arra-Maïda, femme de Tasmanie* [*Portrait of Arra-Maïda, Tasmanian Woman*], Le Havre, Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Collection Lesueur, public domain, viewed 1st October 2018, <http://www.museum-lehavre.fr/fr/collections/ca-lesueur/lesueur-peintre-voyageur>.



Figure 25. Jean-Antoine Houdon (1780), *Diane*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed 2nd October 2018, https://fr.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Diane_Jean-Antoine_Houdon.jpg.

In an effort to prevent these artistic conventions from manifesting in expedition portraiture Cuvier described some very specific instructions. Specifically, Cuvier’s instructions signal the birth of the anthropological profile portrait (1799: 70):

Il faut des études particulières pour le genre de portraits que nous exigeons; il doit réunir au mérite des portraits ordinaires celui d'une précision géométrique qu'on ne peut obtenir que dans certaines positions de la tête, mais qui doit être rigoureuse. Ainsi, il faut toujours que le profil pur soit joint au portrait de face.

We need special studies for the kind of portraits we require; To the merit of ordinary portraits he must add that of a geometrical precision which can only be obtained in certain positions of the head and which must be rigorous. Thus, it is always necessary that the pure profile is joined to the frontal portrait.

Additionally, Cuvier described how the frontal and profile portraits must be free of '[l]es costumes, les marques par lesquelles la plupart des sauvages se défigurent, et que les voyageurs ordinaires ont tant de soin de nous transmettre, ne servent qu'à masquer le véritable caractère de la physionomie [t]he costumes, the marks by which most savages disfigure themselves, and which ordinary travellers have so much care to transmit to us, serve only to mask the true physiognomic character]' (1799: 70). In addition to the frontal and profile portraits, the subject of which should be free of 'costumes' and cultural insignia that would serve to detract from the anthropologists main focus, namely the body, Cuvier instructed the Baudin image makers to ensure that the sitter's hair was away from their forehead and did not obscure the shape of the skull: 'Il serait important que le peintre représentât toutes ses têtes avec le même arrangement des cheveux, le plus simple possible, et surtout celui qui cacherait moins le front et qui altérerait moins la forme du crâne. [It would be important for the painter to represent all of his heads with the same arrangement of the hair, the simplest possible, and especially the one that would hide the forehead less and less alter the shape of the skull] (1799: 70).

The extent to which Petit and Lesueur met Cuvier's instructions varied. Petit's portrait (figure 26) of an African man displays a mixture of anthropological and fine-artistic conventions that are once more a product of his 'European gaze' that he exhibited in the portrait of Arra-Maïda (Smith, 1985). The man is pictured neither frontally or in profile, but

somewhere in between. Moreover, the sitter is pictured from the waist upwards. Archivists at the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle in Le Havre identify this as a typically Classical convention. Second, the man's pose is typical of bourgeois studio portraiture. That this is the case can be seen by comparing Petit's portrait with his tutor's portrait of a European statesman (Figure 27).

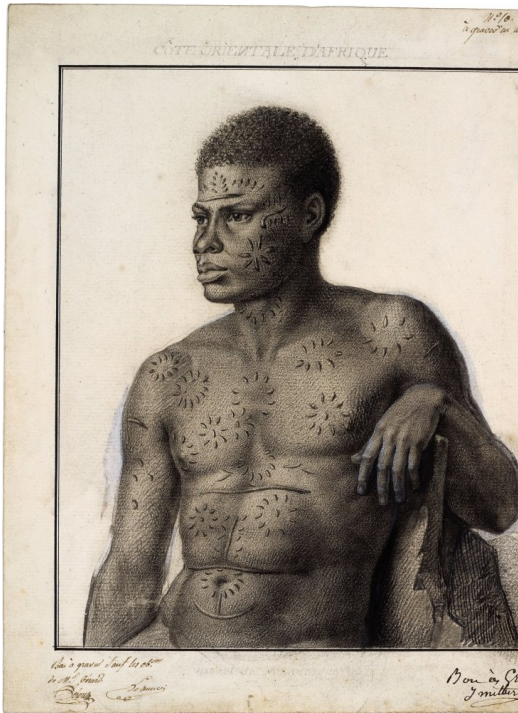


Figure 26. Nicolas Petit (1804) *Homme d'Afrique, dit du Mozambique* [Man from Africa, specifically Mozambique], Le Havre, Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, public domain, viewed 1st October 2018, <http://www.museum-lehavre.fr/fr/collections/calesueur/lesueur-peintre-voyageur>.



Figure 27. Jacques-Louis David (1788) *Portrait de Gaspar Mayer* [Portrait of Gaspar Mayer], Wikimedia Commons, viewed on 2nd October 2018, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jacques-Louis_David_-_Portrait_of_Gaspar_Mayer_-_WGA6074.jpg.

But for the direction of the men's gazes, their poses are identical. Both men are sitting down. Their left shoulders are pulled back away from the artist. At this point Petit's European gaze manifests itself. Where the European man is sitting on a chair, Petit pictured the African man sitting on a rock which features a convenient chair-like back. Their respective 'chairs' lend themselves as props upon which both men rest their arms and wrist

upon leaving their left-hand limp which was supposed to signify a lack of self-consciousness, as if the artist had just happened upon his sitter. Lesueur's portrait of an African woman, meanwhile, better conformed to Cuvier's instructions (figure 28). Like Petit's portrait, the woman is pictured somewhere between frontal and profile. This time, though, only the upper third of the sitter's body is pictured. There is very little else going on in the portrait.



Figure 28. Charles Lesueur (1804) *Femme d'Afrique du Sud* [South African Woman], Le Havre, Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Public Domain, viewed 1st October 2018, <http://www.museum-lehavre.fr/fr/collections/ca-lesueur/lesueur-peintre-voyageur>.

Returning to Bonaparte, who was practicing later in the nineteenth century (c. 1880s) it is possible to identify a concern not with fine art, but certainly by the aesthetic criteria that underpinned it in his anthropological portrait photographs. By the time Bonaparte was practicing anthropological portraiture he was conforming to updated

thinking on the subject. This was the age of photography and Bonaparte was practicing the visual and specifically photographic ethnography of Paul Pierre Broca (1824-1880), founder of the first ever school of anthropology (1860). Broca's photographic-ethnographic method was contained in his *Instructions générales pour les recherches anthropologiques* [*General Instructions for Anthropological Research*] (1865). The method instructed the photographic-ethnographers to shoot the sitter frontally *and* in profile. Broca's exact instructions were as follows: 'On reproduira par la photographie: (1) des têtes nues qui devront toujours, sans exception, être prises exactement de face, ou exactement de profil, les autres points de vue ne pouvant être d'aucune utilité [The photograph should reproduce: bare heads, which must always be taken exactly opposite, or exactly in profile, the other points of view being of no use [The photograph will reproduce: bare heads, which must always be taken exactly opposite, or exactly in profile, the other points of view being of no use] (Broca, 1865: 6). The historical and visual anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards argues that this visual style, 'emphasised the requirement of clear, systematic photography of the subject in full face and profile, capable of yielding raw data in the delineation of 'racial types' for comparative study' (Edwards, 2001: 216). Broca then recommended that these pairs of photographs were annotated with further textual description and enumeration of the sitter's physiognomy.

The portraits of Berland and Thomas that Bonaparte made for Lombroso conformed to Broca's exact instructions. If Bonaparte left his physiognomic descriptions behind this was hardly mattered since Lombroso, as I showed, made sure to provide his reader with them as I described above. It should not be forgotten that Lombroso's born criminal theory was premised on the idea of 'race' (see chapter 1). Lombroso thought that these photographs would reveal the sitter's racial other within—they were 'European'⁴³

⁴³ I use the term 'European' to reflect the historical context. Anthropologists including Lombroso used this descriptor for white women.

women—and, therefore, their criminality. Above all and in short, the portraits of Berland and Thomas were anthropological images.

Lombroso knew that Bonaparte was an anthropologist. That is to say that he was employing the anthropological image purposefully. This is evidenced in which he gushed about his and Bonaparte's collaborative effort. Therein he made explicit reference to Bonaparte's anthropological collections: 'Devo questi due ritratti alla cortesia dell'illustre principe Rolando Bonaparte, che ha una delle più belle collezioni antropologiche d'Europa, e che per me appositamente li fece eseguire [I owe these two portraits to the courtesy of the illustrious prince Rolando Bonaparte, who has one of the most beautiful anthropological collections in Europe, and which he had specifically commissioned] (Lombroso, 1893: 344 f.n. 1).

The collections to which Lombroso was referring and to which he impliedly hoped that his own photographs made by Bonaparte might resemble were numerous. One of which was comprised of frontal and portrait photographs *à la* Broca of the 'Lapps' of 'Lapland'⁴⁴. Bonaparte travelled to Lapland in 1884 as part of his own private 'petite escouade scientifique [little scientific squad]' (Escard, 1886: vii), as François Escard (1836-1909) put it in his write-up of the expedition entitled *Le Prince Roland Bonaparte in Laponie* (Escard, 1886). Although not a state-sponsored expedition, Bonaparte's expedition had the same anthropological aims as his predecessors'. The expedition was additionally comprised of a third-party 'Le photographe ordinaire [ordinary photographer]'. Barely any historical evidence about Bonaparte's photographer remains. He was only identified as 'G. Roche' in Escard's account (Escard, 1886: vii) and at the bottom right-hand side of the photographs that he made. Roche made 196 negatives in total that were reproduced on 99 photographic

⁴⁴ I use the terms 'Lapps' and 'Lapland' to reflect the historical context. These are considered pejorative terms and have been replaced by 'Sami' and 'Sámpi' respectively.

plates and were collected in an album entitled *Lapons: Collection du Prince R. Bonaparte: Phototypie G. Roche* (c. 1886)⁴⁵.

The photographs of a young Sami woman directly below are typical of the album (figure 29). It is comprised of a series of standardised anthropological visual conventions. To start with, the photograph is comprised of two images, one profile portrait to the left and one frontal portrait to the right. Even this left-right division mimics Bonaparte's later photographs of Berland and Thomas that he provided Lombroso. In the profile portrait the young woman sits upright, her hands rest on her lap and her gaze is set directly forwards. Her headdress has been pulled back onto the crown of her head so as to expose her forehead—as per Broca's instructions. In the frontal portrait her hands are loosely folded, and her hands clasped against them. The placement of her hands is particularly awkward. Her expression is neutral, and her gaze once more is set directly towards the camera. Her headdress is no longer on the crown of her head and instead covers her entire forehead. These conventions were supposed to allow the woman in these portraits to be typologically compared to those in the other 196. Edwards argues that these visual conventions played on the Sami's otherness so that the Sami were visually constructed as Europe's 'aboriginals' (Edwards, 2001: 218).

⁴⁵ Object number: 84.XO.672, <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/32753/prince-roland-napoleon-bonaparte-plates-by-g-roche-lapons-collection-du-prince-r-bonaparte-phototypie-g-roche-french-about-1886/>.



Figure 29. Roland Bonaparte/G. Roche (negative c. 1884-print c. 1886) *Anna Hurri*, Digital image courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum’s Open Content Program, viewed 1st October, <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/100550/prince-roland-napoleon-bonaparte-plates-by-g-roche-anna-hurri-french-negative-about-1884-print-about-1886/>.

In his account of Bonaparte’s expedition to Lappland, Escard emphasised the ‘natural’ qualities in the making of these photographs. That Escard did so can be discerned from his description of how the expedition interpreter attempted to convince a reluctant would-be sitter, who they called ‘Siva Elias Phara’, to sit for the camera. In this attempt the interpreter explained the natural qualities of photography. In particular he pointed to the importance of the right weather conditions meaning light required to capture the images: “Siva, disait notre interprète, il faut vous avancer: si le temps devient mauvais, nous ne pourrions plus prendre votre figure? [‘Siva’, said our interpreter, ‘you must go forward: if the weather becomes bad, how can we capture your face?’ (Escard, 1886: 29). They continued to cajole the would-be sitter to sit for the camera by elaborating on the effects of the sun which they required to ‘fix’ the image to quell his nerves about the process: ‘M. Cox vint aussi lui expliquer, en lui montrant une de ses épreuves de naturaliste, comment le soleil agissait par des effets de lumière de l’objet à l’objectif [Mr. Cox also explained to him, by showing him one of his naturalist proofs, how the sun acted by the effects of light from the object to the objective] (Escard, 1886: 29).

The way in which these members of Bonaparte's expedition appealed to nature and specifically sunlight was part of the scientific discourse surrounding photography from its origins in the mid-nineteenth century. For example, in a letter to John Herschel (1792-1871), inventor of cyanotype or blueprint photography James David Forbes (1809-1868), one of the principal Scottish practitioners William Henry Fox Talbot's (1800-1877) positive-negative photography, writes, "There are many cases in which it might be interesting to cause Nature herself to depict what she sees in her own phenomena, instead of trusting to the fidelity of [natural] Philosophers' (HS7: 295, Royal Society, London, cited in Schaaf, 1997: 26). In short, photography was championed for its apparent capacity to eliminate artistic mediation in scientific illustration.

However, although Bonaparte's original photographic practice was part of this 'natural' photographic discourse, the original collotype photograph reproduced above underwent visual transformations as it was disseminated to the public. This photograph appeared as an engraved frontispiece in Escard's *Le Prince Roland Bonaparte in Laponie* (1886) (Figure 30). The portrait was reproduced as an engraving executed by the wood engraver Henri Thiriat (1866-1897). There is inevitable loss in the transformation from photograph to engraving. The vitality that characterised the photograph is left as she became a series of crude crosshatchings. Notwithstanding these unavoidable differences, the portrait was nevertheless subject of creative embellishment. Specifically, a slight smile replaces her former straight, expressionless face. Moreover, the portrait has been cropped, and the index cards are nowhere to be seen and the double-lined, decorative frame replaces the anthropological visual conventions. The portrait has been subject to creative transformation so much that, but for the position of her arms and hands and the absence of honorific props, it is difficult to differentiate it from a studio portrait.



Figure 30. François Escard (1886: between ix and xii), ‘Femme de Laponie (Collection du Prince Roland Bonaparte [Lappish woman (Collection of Prince Roland Bonaparte)]’, Creative Commons, viewed October 1st 2018, <https://archive.org/details/leprincerolandb00escagoog/page/n23>.

Visualising criminal woman beyond physiognomic portraiture

Criminal woman’s biological essence was not simply revealed in her face. As well as in her buttocks. Criminal woman’s biological essence could also be found in her genitals. Throughout *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] Lombroso discussed the degenerative nature of women’s vaginas. He argued that the clitoris was the most anomalic part of criminal woman’s body, that it was pointless and even prevented reproduction (2004: 53).

Remembering that criminal woman was a racialised woman helps to explain why Lombroso found the causes of crime in her genitals. Colonial and colonialist anthropologists were obsessed with the genitals of the so-called Hottentot Venus. The Hottentot Venus was a sobriquet given to Saartjie Baartman (1789-1815) who was ‘exhibited’ in various European metropolises in Cuvier’s time at the beginning of the nineteenth century (on which see, for example, Holmes, 2007). The term ‘Hottentot’ was one applied by the Dutch to Khoisan people who derived the name from their pejorative interpretation of Khoisan phonetic clicking sounds (Daniels, 2010: 5). The appellation of ‘Venus’ was not nineteenth-century specific. Instead, it was a Classical reference (Holmes, 2007). It specifically referred to the Roman goddess of sex. Venus was, thus, a sexual signifier. Venus was everywhere represented in modern (c. 1500-1919) visual culture—predominantly in the western-European painting. She was the ‘apotheosis of feminine beauty’ (Thomson, 2017: 71). In these paintings Venus was white, however. As the cultural historian Janell Hobson (2018) who has written extensively on the subject of the Hottentot Venus icon says, the attribution of Venus to black woman was a parody. Scholar of visual arts Kiana Ford argues that the addition of ‘Venus’ to the term Hottentot marked the simultaneous intersection of race with gender. Ford says this figure was ‘the fantasy of the extreme other’ and ‘iconic evidence of the spectacular and peculiar sex of black woman’ (2010: 100). More than race and gender, though, Ford argues that the Hottentot Venus symbolised ‘a foundational element of the discourse of deviance’ (2010: 100). There was a fascination in colonial medicine with one particular phenomenon pertaining to the Hottentot Venus, namely the so-called Hottentot apron’ (Ducros and Ducros, 1989: 21). Lombroso shared in this fascination and, the cultural historian Sander Gilman argues, fetishisation (1985). Lombroso wrote extensively on Hottentot female genitalia in relation to women’s criminality. Unlike man’s, woman’s criminality could be found in her genitals. One such sign of criminality, or what Lombroso called anomaly, was the ‘Hottentot apron’, a characteristic of the ‘inferior races’ (Lombroso,

2004: 53). Elsewhere Lombroso claimed that the apparent phenomenon existed in gorillas and was, thus, ‘atavistic’ (Lombroso, 1884).

True to form Lombroso reproduced several images of Hottentot genitalia in *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) all of which were reproduced on a single plate entitled ‘anomalie vulvari in ottentotte [Anomalies of the vulva in Hottentots]’ (Appendix, figure 1)⁴⁶. Lombroso cited Raphaël Blanchard (1857-1919) as the source of these images. Blanchard was a colonial physician and parasitologist and the eventual founder of the Paris Faculty of Medicine’s Institute of Colonial Medicine (1902). His career was characterised by an enduring interest in physical anthropology and racial difference (Osborne, 2014: 189-216). This made his scholarship an ideal resource for Lombroso whose criminal anthropology was premised on both of these things. He shared Lombroso’s ideas about the Hottentot apron and particularly its atavistic origins (Blanchard, 1883).

Blanchard reproduced the images of Hottentot genitalia in ‘Une Étude critique sur la stéatopygie et le tablier des femmes boschimanés [a Critical Study on Steatopygia and the Apron of Bosnian Women]’ by Blanchard (1883) in the *Bulletin de la Société Zoologique de France* (Appendix, figures 2 and 3). They appear differently—in colour—than their reproduction in Lombroso’s *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893). Blanchard did not make these images of Hottentot genitalia, himself, however. Rather, like Lombroso, he reproduced them as secondary sources. The original images were instead made by an artist whose work I discussed earlier in this chapter, namely Charles Lesuer. Not only were they made by Lesuer, but they were made during the Baudin expedition (appendix, figure 4).

⁴⁶ Lombroso also reproduced images of European (white) women’s genitalia from the scholarship of Edouard von Hoffman (1837-1897). Hoffman was an Austrian forensic entomologist and who is now retrospectively recognised as the progenitor of criminal forensic investigation. Thirteen editions of his Italian-language *Trattato di medicina legale* [*Treaty of legal medicine*], the Italian language edition of his influential *Lehrbuch für Gerichtliche Medizin* [*Textbook for Legal medicine*] were published between 1885 and 1919 and Lombroso worked from the first edition (1885). Hoffman’s scholarship belonged to the field of medical jurisprudence (called forensic medicine today).

Read intertextually with the artist's written account co-authored with the anthropologist François Auguste Péron (1775-1810) (Péron and Lesueur, 1883) of the expedition these images reveal the conditions under which the images in *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) were made. Take the following quotation. Therein, Lesueur and Péron are active and the women are passive in the following quotation whereby the women were brought to Lesueur and Péron meaning they did not come to them freely and, moreover, Lesueur and Péron undress the women (Péron and Lesueur, 1883: 17):

Plusieurs femmes de la même espèce que celles de la veille nous furent amenées; après les avoir fait déshabiller, nous choisîmes celle qui nous parut la mieux conformée en ce genre; mon ami Lesueur se mit à dessiner de grandeur naturelle toutes les parties sexuelles, et moi-même je les décrivis en même temps avec la plus parfaite exactitude.

Several women like those who were brought to us the day before were brought to us; After having undressed them, we chose the one whose [genitalia] appeared to us to best conform [to the Hottentot apron]; my friend Lesueur began to draw all the sexual parts of life, and I myself described them at the same time with the most perfect accuracy.

That Lombroso himself was less inclined to understand that black women were less than human is supported by his disturbing comments elsewhere about his 'examination' of people of colour (Lombroso and Carrara, 1896, cited in Ellis, 1901):

As to their psychology, what struck us first was the exaggeration of their modesty; not in a single case would the men allow us to examine their genital organs or the women their breasts; we examined the tattoo-marks on the chest of one of the women, and she remained sad and irritable for two days afterwards.

The lack of agency is underscored by the age of those represented. One of the images (Appendix, figure 2) is of a young teenage girl: 'Dans la quatrième, mon ami Lesueur a représenté, de grandeur naturelle aussi, la vulve d'une jeune fille de 13 à 14 ans. [In the fourth [image], my friend Lesueur represented, of natural size too, the vulva of a young girl from 13 to 14 years old (Péron and Lesueur, 1883: 19).

In summary, the Hottentot women who 'modelled' for these portraits were not individuals. Indeed, they were not identified by name. Instead they were simply reduced to their biology. Signs of identity are expunged. When read in conjunction with the written description about them, the pictures show these women as little more than objects and even as animals (Lesueur, unlike Petit, was the zoological artist and was charged with zoological or animal rather than figurative or human artworks). These findings are in keeping with those of historian of science and empire Sadiah Qureshi. Qureshi (2004: 234) describes how Hottentot women were visually represented in seventeenth century colonial imagery:

Throughout the history of colonial occupation at the Cape, many representations of indigenous peoples have been used to facilitate their subjugation. Wildness and savagery characterized depictions of the Khoikhoi during the seventeenth century, quickly establishing them as the 'link' between ape and human in nature's great hierarchy.

As well as her genitalia, criminal woman's biological essence could also be found by her excessive size. Criminal woman's size was especially evident in her breasts and buttocks (Lombroso, 2004: 48). Lombroso wrote extensively on the 'hypertrophic' or apparently oversized buttocks of African women. In 1883 Lombroso presented a French-language paper at the Société d'Anthropologie de Bruxelles [Anthropological Society of Brussels]. It was entitled 'Le lipome des portefaix, la stéatopygie des Hottentotes et la bosse des chameaux et des zébus' [The burden of fat, the steatopygia of the Hottentots and the hump of camels and zebus] (Lombroso, 1883). It was a comparative anatomy study comparing the humps of camels and zebus or oxen with 'Hottentot' (Khoikhoi) women's 'steatopygia' or large buttocks. After this he incorporated it into his analysis of criminal woman by interpreting the buttocks of African woman as a sign of her sexuality and therefore of their inherent criminality (Lombroso, 1893).

Lombroso reproduced a series of images to demonstrate his theory about criminal woman and her dastardly secondary and primary sex characteristics, as Lombroso called

them (2004: 52). These images were placed quite differently to the photographs. Rather than being set in the body of the writing or in plates distributed throughout as the photographs were, these images were reproduced in plates at the end of the book. One explanation as to why these images appeared at the end of *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) was that they were too scabrous for contemporary eyes of the 1890s. Indeed, this was certainly the case in England and America. *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) was translated into English and printed in New York state and London as *The Female Offender* in 1895, just two years after its original Italian-language publication it excised these images in their entirety, as well as all much of the written materiality on women's sexuality more generally (Gibson and Rafter, 2004: 242-244). At the same time graphic images of women were not uncommon in late-nineteenth century scientific scholarship, not least the ones that Lombroso was reading and cited in his scholarship. One example is German Austrian forensic entomologist and progenitor of criminal forensic investigation Edouard von Hoffman's (1837-1897), influential *Trattato di medicina legale* [*Treaty of legal medicine*] (1885). This book was published in 1885, almost a decade before *La donna delinquente* (1893). However, Hoffman's scholarship was designed for a specialist scientific audience whereas Lombroso's was designed for a much larger general—as well as specialist scientific—audience. There were others, too. Among them, the gynaecological anthropologist Max Hermann Heinrich Bartels Ploss's (1819-1885) *das Weib in der Natur-und Völkerkunde: anthropologische Studien* [*The Woman in Nature and Ethnology: Anthropological Studies*] (1891a and 1891b) stands out. *Das Weib* (1891a, 1891b) was a heavily illustrated three-volume tome on women's sexuality, comprising just under 2000 pages with 600 cumulatively speaking in-text images as well as 30 plates. On opening the book, a frontispiece of the author, typical of the era, is present. So far, it seems just like any other late-nineteenth century scholarly publication. However, just a few pages a small image of a six-week old foetus features at the top right-hand side of the page (1891a: 4). It is entitled 'Die Entwicklung der Genitalien [the development of the genitals]'. The

foetus's chest is open and is—since the textual discussion about the image does not mention it—gratuitously displayed and its genitals are visible. This image was supposed to introduce the reader, at the beginning of the book, to the idea that female genitalia do not form immediately in the womb. This small image is a sign of what is to come. As the reader makes their way through the book they are confronted by a slew of images of women's and—in some instances—girl's genitalia. They are dotted around—unlike the other images—in corners and margins. One such image is barely a centimetre square (1891a: 150). That their covert placement and small size was a deliberate strategy can be ascertained by the fact that the other images in the book take up whole pages or at least significant part of them.

In sum, these images may not have been scabrous in the context of scientific literature, but Lombroso's scholarship which was more generalist and intended for such a generalist audience had more demands of decency upon it. The more probable explanation, however, is that it was a change in Fratelli Bocca's (Lombroso's trusty Turinese publishing house) formatting of his books. The images of women's genitalia were reproduced alongside more benign images, namely the kind of portrait photographs discussed in the previous chapter. This suggests that there was nothing unique about the graphic quality of the images. Together the plates in *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) almost form their own identity independent of the preceding text. The fifth and final edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1896 and 1897) published a few years after *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) represents a progression in the same format. Here images were not merely collected at the end of the book, but in their own separate volume. By collating images together in one place and placing them at the very end, Lombroso signalled to the reader, an increasing importance of images in his criminal anthropology. Here, what Lombroso observed could be seen by his reader for themselves without being encumbered by text.

One such images featured two African women standing next to one another as if they are in conversation (figure 31). The woman on the left is a 'Bongo' or Gabonese woman.

She is pictured in a full, almost-posterior portrait, but for the a forty-five-degree angle so that the profile of her face is just in view as per anthropological convention. There is something curious about her posture, however. Her weight is on her right leg and her left leg is limp by her side. Her stance in this regard closely resembles the neo-classical pose that was present in the portrait of *Arra-Maïda* (figure 24, above) which was in turn based on neoclassical sculpture (figure 25, above). Moreover, the limpness of her leg speaks to the nonchalance of the pose similar to that of Petit's portrait of an African man described and analysed above (figure 26, above) which was in turn based on neoclassical portraiture (figure 27, above). It gives the impression as in these cases that the woman did not pose for the image, but that she was happened upon by the image maker. This resemblance was not coincidental. To the contrary it demonstrates that artistic visual conventions had infiltrated these anthropological images, too.

The woman on the right is a full-profile portrait of a 'Koranna' or Griqua woman entitled 'Donna Koranna con cuscinetto posteriore e ipertrofia delle natiche e delle coscie [Koranna woman with hypertrophic buttocks and thighs]' (1893: tavole [plate]. II following 640). Although her body is in profile, her head is turned outwards so that her face can be seen, and she stares directly forwards. Her hands are folded across her stomach and her hands are clasped. Her clothes lay at her feet. This particular detail is striking because at the far left of the entire image are signs of shrubbery and flora. That is to say there is a strange mixture of outdoor and, judging from the style of the clothing, indoor domestic space. This is a sign that not everything is as it seems with this image, as I will go on to describe below.

Lombroso cited his source for this image as the first volume of the third edition of Ploss's *das Weib in der Natur-und Völkerkunde: anthropologische Studien* [*The Woman in Nature and Ethnology: Anthropological Studies* (1891a) introduced earlier in this chapter in my discussion of the prevalence of 'scabrous' imagery in late-nineteenth century scientific texts. The image from Lombroso's *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) appeared therein under the

title ‘Fettleibigkeit und Steatopygie [obesity and steatopygia]’ (figure 32). They appeared therein and in the same composition. This is to say that it was not the sleight of hand from Lombroso’s trusted printer whose initials are—as with many of his reproductions visible in the bottom right-hand corner (see, chapter 4).



Figure 31. ‘Donna bongo. Donna Korrana con cuscinatto posteriore e ipertrofia delle natiche e delle coscie [Bongo woman. Korrana woman with hypertrophy of the buttocks and thighs]’, in Lombroso (1893: tav. II following 640), Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 1st 2018, <https://archive.org/details/b28066716/page/n657>.



Figure 32. ‘Fettleibigkeit und Steatopygie: Bongo frau (Central-Afrika)-Koranna-Weib (Süd Afrika) [Obesity and steatopygia: Bongo woman (Central Africa) -Koranna woman (south Africa)]’, in Ploss (1891a: 125), Creative Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/b24868115_0001/page/124.

Ploss, like Lombroso, reproduced this image as a secondary source. He attributed the source to the botanist and physical anthropologist Georg August Schweinfürth’s (1836-1925) *The Heart of Africa or Three Years’ Travels and Adventures in the Unexplored Regions of the Centre of Africa from 1868 to 1871* (1874a, 1874b). Schweinfürth approved of ‘faithful’ (1874a: 22) images. For him such an image should be ‘taken from nature’ (1874a: 22). This expression is significant and is reminiscent of the discourse surrounding photography during

Bonaparte's expedition to Norway, discussed above. The image is *taken* from nature so that it is nature itself. This language minimises any idea that the image is a product of human intervention in nature. Schweinfürth celebrated the extent to which his contemporaries achieved this normative criterion and during his expeditions he showed copies of some of the images of Africa in his possession to Indigenous people. However, these included those by well-known artists of the time, the landscape artist Édouard Riou (1833-1900), the artist Gustave Doré (1832-1883), John Hanning Speke's (1827-1864) travel diaries, and Samuel White Baker's (1821-1893) African hunting images. He claimed that his audience approved of their 'facsimile' status (Schweinfürth, 1874a: 319).

Schweinfürth's images, though were not faithful. The women who appeared on the left-and right-hand sides of Lombroso's image in *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) appear in separate images in Schweinfürth's book (figures 33 and 34). Schweinfürth described figure 33 as being based on a photograph held at the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte [Berlin Anthropological Society] where he was member⁴⁷. Therein woman who was on the left of the image in *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) now finds herself in conversation with a different woman. The addition of this new woman to the image underscores my argument above about the neoclassical conventions Lombroso's image. Her stance is similar to that of her partner's. Her weight is on her right foot, allowing her left leg and—in this case—arm to remain limp as per the neoclassical convention discussed in relation to the portrait of Arra-Maïda (figure 24, above) and those of African and European men (figures 26 and 27, above).

⁴⁷ The anthropologist Andrew Zimmerman observes that the Berlin Anthropological Society, 'was the most important institution for the study of physical and cultural anthropology and European prehistory in Germany before the second World War... Its archive has survived in a single attic room in the Museum für Vor-und Frühgeschichte in Berlin. Consisting of largely unordered boxes hastily packed up during World War II, the archive holds many buried treasures for historians willing, literally, to get their hands dirty digging'. (Zimmerman, 1996: 15). Zimmerman highlights that there is a sizeable photography collection 'including pictures of artefacts and "representatives" of various races' (1996: 15), likely similar to those that Schweinfürth reproduced. On the origins of German anthropology and its relation to empire see, for example, the historian of modern Europe H. Glenn Penny and anthropologist Matti Bunzl's edited collection (2003).

The woman who was on the right of the image in *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893) now features in a photographic image on her own (figure 34). This demonstrates the artificiality of Lombroso's image whereby she had been 'cut and paste' so that she appeared in the same outdoor scene.

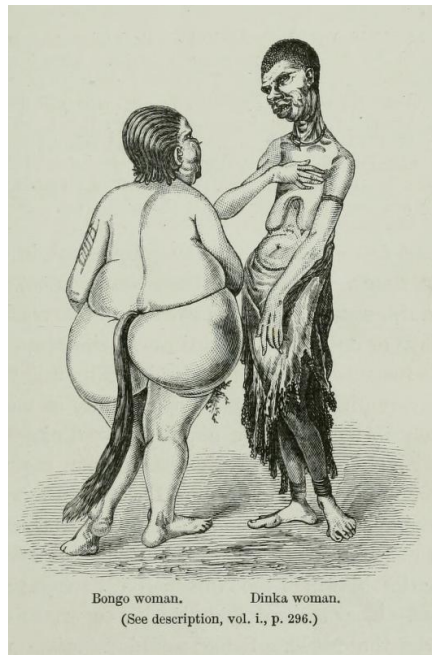


Figure 33. 'Bongo Woman. Dinka woman.', in Schweinfürth (1874b: 121), Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, <https://archive.org/details/heartofafricathr02schw/page/120>.



Figure 34. 'Hochgradige steatopygie bei einem Koranna-Weibe (Süd-Afrika) [Extreme steatopygie in a Koranna woman (South Africa)]', Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, <https://archive.org/details/b21705938/page/n181>.

Another image that Lombroso reproduced to demonstrate criminal woman's obesity was entitled 'Ballerina o prostituta Abissina [Abyssinian dancer⁴⁸ or prostitute]' (figure 35). It is a full-frontal portrait of an Abyssinian woman. She sits on a rock with a tambourine in her right-hand which rests on the lap of her upper right leg. She rests her head against the

⁴⁸ I have translated 'ballerina' as dancer as the original Italian term does not refer to accomplished ballet dancer as it does in English (a 'prima ballerina' in Italian. Instead it simply refers to a dancer (who may dance ballet). This conflation of dance and prostitution was common in late-nineteenth century Italy. Specifically, ballet was perceived as a path to prostitution (Gibson, 1999: 66).

heel of her left hand and stares directly forwards. This image is from the second volume of the third edition of gynaecological anthropologist Max Hermann Heinrich Bartels Ploss's (1819-1885) *das Weib in der Natur-und Völkerkunde: anthropologische Studien* [*The Woman in Nature and Ethnology: Anthropological Studies*] (1891b) (figure 36). Therein the image is captioned 'Abyssinierin in den matronenjahren [Elderly Abyssinian woman]'. This title differed from Lombroso's— 'Abyssinian dancer or prostitute'. By contrast, Ploss made no textual reference to the woman's status as a dancer.

Ploss did not make any first-hand observations and instead he collated secondary sources from colonial travelogues and questionnaires that he sent to colonial explorers (Hulverscheidt, 2013: 96). These were, thus, secondary sources. As to its primary source, Ploss only says that the engraving is based 'Aach einer Photographie im Besitze des Herausgebers [after a photograph in the publisher's possession]' (Ploss, 1891b: 641).

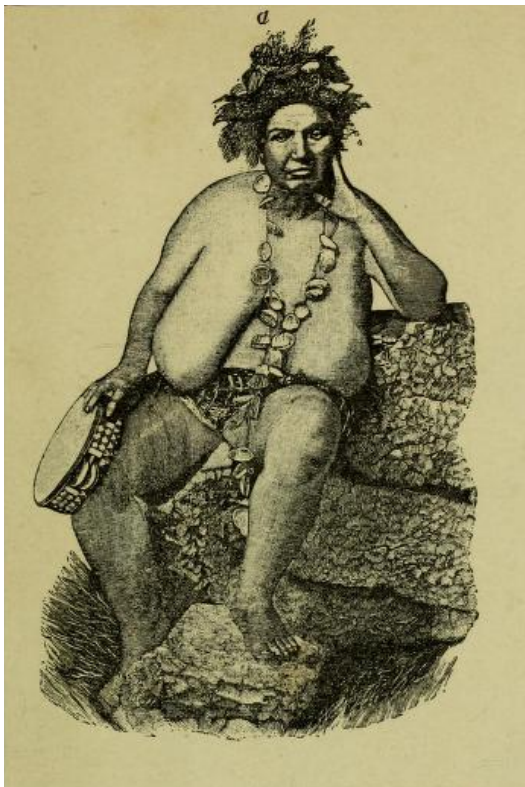


Figure 35. 'Ballerina o prostituta Abissina [Abyssinian dancer or

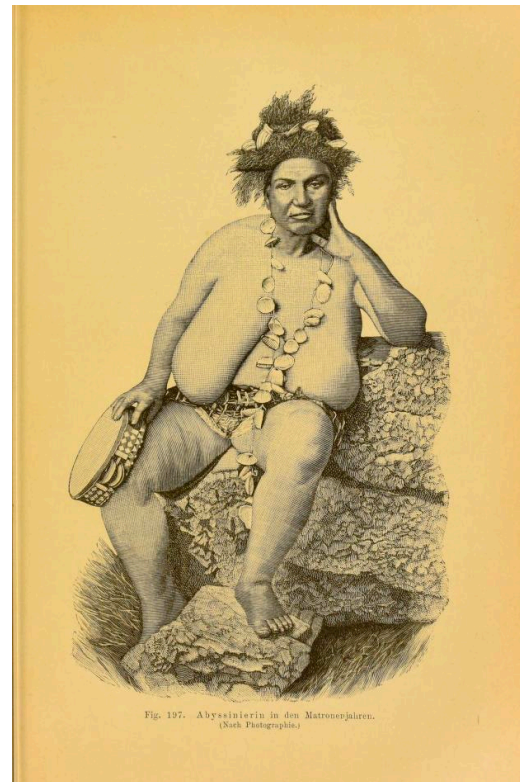


Figure 36. 'Abyssinierin in den Matronenjahren (nach photographie)

prostitute]’, in Cesare Lombroso (1893: tav. II following 640), Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, <https://archive.org/details/b28066716/page/n657>.

[Elderly Abyssinian woman]’, (after photography]’, in Ploss (1891b: 541), Creative Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/b24868115_0002/page/540.

Ploss emphasised the ‘genaue Porträtähnlichkeit [exact portrait likeness]’ of women’s portraits in *dab Weib* (Ploss, 1891b: 606):

Es ist hierbei eine ganz besonders grosse Sorgfalt auf genaue Porträtähnlichkeit gelegt worden, und daher wurden diese Köpfe ausnahmslos nach guten photographischen Aufnahmen gezeichnet und zwar von dem auf diesem Gebiete in hervorragender Weise geübten und erfahrenen Herrn W. A. Meyn in Berlin.

Particular care has been taken in this respect for exact portrait likeness, and therefore these heads were invariably drawn after good photographic photographs, and indeed of the one outstanding in this field experienced and experienced Mr. W. A. Meyn in Berlin.

Ploss sought to enhance the images likeness to its referent by way of written descriptions that were made after the original ‘scharfen [sharp]’ photographs (Ploss, 1891b: 606). Yet Ploss’s image of an Abyssinian woman, reproduced by Lombroso, was far from facsimile. To the contrary this image was visually conventionalised in a number of ways. The woman’s holding a tambourine represents her as embodying a nineteenth century raced and gendered trope of the ‘danse sauvage’ or ‘savage dance’. This concept is usually invoked in the early twentieth-century context and specifically in relation to black woman performer Josephine Baker (1906-1975) who performed her ‘danse sauvage’ in Paris (1925). ‘Every aspect of the danse sauvage [...] was meant to represent the exotic, the primitive and the colonial, such as scantily clad female bodies [...] and beaded necklaces’ (Adair, 2013: 80-81). However, it has been traced to the nineteenth century and specifically to Baartman, the original Hottentot Venus (Hobson, 2018). Baartman was made to perform a ‘savage dance’ during her ‘exhibition’ in London and Paris. Primary source documentation places an emphasis on her

dance, her singing, and her use of musical instruments. We can say that this image places the woman ‘squarely in a tradition of white consumptive spectacles of black dancing bodies’ (Hobson, 2018). Particular accessories, or colonial ‘authentica’ as the cultural historian Rachel Holmes calls it were used to signify black woman’s body as the Hottentot Venus *cum* danse savauges. One of these included necklaces and beads. In fact, Baartman was almost naked but for these—as is the Abyssinian woman in the image.

Another carefully cultivated visual convention in this image is the Abyssinian woman’s pose. The woman is sitting down and her head rests on the heel of her left hand. This pose speaks to an early modern iconography of melancholy best represented by Albrecht Dürer’s early modern engraving *Melancholia I* (figure 37). This image sees its subject posed as ‘the thinker’ or ‘the philosopher’. The cultural historian Sander Gilman (1996) argues that it experienced a renaissance not just in the nineteenth century, but specifically in relation to psychiatric portraiture.



Conclusion

The images in Lombroso's criminal anthropology were supposed to be anthropological ones. In this regard they were supposed to conform, amongst other standards, to those that had been set by prominent anthropologists earlier in the century. Instead Lombroso's images were the product of a complex relationship between anthropology on the one hand and artistic ones on the other. As such these images begin to erode the façade of documentary representation that is supposed to characterise the images in Lombroso's criminal

anthropology. In the rest of the dissertation I analyse the extent to which the visual arts infiltrated his criminal anthropology.

CHAPTER SIX

THE BORN CRIMINAL IN FINE ART

Introduction

In the previous chapter I argued that the anthropological images in Lombroso's criminal anthropology emerged from artistic networks of production. Indeed, by tracing the provenance of these images I showed how some of them were made by third-party photographers and draftsmen as well as academically trained fine artists. Therefore, it should be unsurprising to discover that Lombroso argued that his born criminal could be observed in dozens of fine artworks. These were typically paintings, including frescoes, though engravings appeared amongst their number, too.

Some depicted historical moments including biblical subjects such as Christ carrying his cross on his way to his execution and modern revolutionary subjects such as the plight of castaways aboard the raft of the French warship *Medusa*. Others depicted fictional events including mythical subjects such as Charon carrying damned souls to the Greek underworld and subjects of major works of western-European literature including Eugène Delacroix's (1798-1863) depictions of William Shakespeare's (1554-1616) play *Hamlet* (1623) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's novel (1749-1772) *Faust* (1828).

This array of historical and fictional artworks presents a puzzle in light of Lombroso's positivist epistemology that was wedded to the contemporary observable moment. I solve this puzzle in this chapter. I argue that Lombroso did not select these artworks because of their subject matter, outlined above. Instead, I argue that Lombroso selected these artworks because of their purely visual or aesthetic criteria, what art historians call their 'form' and 'style'. This is to say that when Lombroso visualised the born criminal 'what' was less important than 'how' that what was depicted. At the same time, although

Lombroso attempted to ignore or minimise their subject matter, his efforts were futile in this regard. This is to say that the subjects of these artworks were deeply entwined with his born criminal thesis.

At the beginning of the chapter to set the scene I introduce the concept of fine art (herein art) as it pertains to Lombroso's nineteenth century and introduce Lombroso's use of art as part of a movement in nineteenth century physiognomy more generally. The chapter then proceeds in three further parts. In part one using the Lombrosian criminologist Hans Kurella's (1858-1916) (1911) biography of Lombroso I demonstrate what kind of art was considered 'positivist' in Lombroso's nineteenth century, namely art that depicts the contemporary, observable moment. In part two I explain why, despite his positivist epistemology, Lombroso did not argue that his born criminal could be observed in positivist art, arguing that Lombroso was interested in the way in which or how art was depicted, rather than its subject. Finally, in part three I show how despite his focus on the style of an artwork Lombroso could not resist entertaining its subject matter.

What was fine art?

Fine Art or Art with a capital A (herein art) is unfamiliar to criminologists. Even visual criminologists are unfamiliar with it since their preferred media is photography (c.f. Carrabine, 2017; de Haan, 2015; Bierne, 2017, 2018). Art had a specific meaning in Lombroso's late nineteenth century. The concept emerged in the early modern period, crystallised in the eighteenth century and continued into the twentieth century (Kristeller, 1951: 497; Venturi, 1929; Collingwood, 1938; Parker, 1885; McMahon, 1945). During this period Art was understood as an object of intellect and taste (see, also, Bourdieu 1984; 1993) and the basis of its own academic subject; whereas previously it was understood as an object of skill and utility (Shiner 2001: 47-52). Art in this modern understanding included five

practices: painting; sculpture; architecture; music; and poetry (Kristellar, 1951: 497). ‘Certain additional arts are sometimes added to the scheme, but with less regularity, depending on the different views and interests of the authors concerned: gardening, engraving and the decorative arts, the dance and the theatre, sometimes the opera, and finally eloquence and prose literature’ (Kristellar, 1951: 497).

Nineteenth-century physiognomists’ use of fine art besides

Several nineteenth century physiognomists who used photographs to evidence their theories in the contemporary moment as Lombroso did additionally used art to evidence their theories historically that is before the invention of photography. One such physiognomist was Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893). Charcot was the first neurologist and is also the progenitor of therapeutic psychiatry (Didi-Huberman, 2003: 18). As well as these achievements he was also chief clinician at the Salpêtrière, the infamous Parisian hospital for criminally insane women (on which, see, Bosworth, 2001).

The philosopher Georg Didi-Huberman’s monograph *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of Salpêtrière* (2013) is the most authoritative account of Charcot’s photographic project at the hospital. Didi-Huberman subscribes to Rafter’s (2004: 72) ‘constructivist’ conception of science that I outlined in the literature review (see chapter two). As such he argues that Charcot *invented* rather than *discovered* hysteria, a gendered neurological condition. Hysteria affected women first at the Salpêtrière (because the condition was invented there). But the condition appeared to spread like a disease and can be found in the archives of state psychiatric asylums in other parts of Europe. For example, Hysteria was recorded by the state as the main cause of death at the Criminal Lunatic Department at the state or convict prison at Perth in Scotland in the second half of the nineteenth century (West, 2019).

Just as Lombroso did with criminality, Charcot invented or constructed hysteria visually. Like Lombroso observation or seeing for Charcot was of the utmost methodological importance. Indeed, Didi-Huberman describes the *Salpêtrière* as a ‘great optical machine’ (2013: 9). Since, as I described in the introductory chapter (see, chapter one), seeing and picturing were related practices, it follows that the Salpêtrière was also an iconographic machine, to continue with Didi-Huberman’s expression. One early twentieth-century critic said, ‘[k]nowing that images speak more vividly to the mind than words, [Charcot] gave images a place of the highest order’ (Souques, 1925: 32-34, cited in Didi-Huberman, 2013: 308).

Didi-Huberman following Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) (1893) before him analogises Charcot’s invention of hysteria with art. ‘Hysteria’, Huberman says ‘was covertly identified with something like art, close to theatre or painting’ (2013: 4) and so much so that he argues Charcot was practicing in the style of Tony Robert-Fleury’s (1837-1911) eighteenth century painting of his predecessor practicing at the same institution (figure 38). As such he calls his account of Charcot’s hysteria as ‘a chapter in the history of art’ (2013: 4).



Figure 38. Tony Robert-Fleury (1795), *Pinel orders removal of chains from patients at Paris Asylum for insane women*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed on 30th September 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippe_Pinel#/media/File:Philippe_Pinel_%C3%A0_la_Salp%C3%AAtre.jpg

That Charcot's scientific practice is conceptualised in terms of art is important. Charcot's photographic cache *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* [*Photographic iconography at the Salpêtrière*] is infamous. However, Charcot was additionally using art to evidence his argument that because hysteria was a hereditary condition it had always existed. In doing so Charcot joined forces with Paul Richer (1849-1933). Richer was professor of artistic anatomy at École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris which was one of the most prestigious art schools in modern Europe and where some of the most illustrious western-European artists of the era trained, including those who will be discussed later on in this chapter in relation to Lombroso's criminal anthropology. Charcot and Richer published two books together, *Les Démoniaques dans l'art* [*The Demoniacs in Art*] (1887) and *Les Difformes et les maladies dans l'art* [*Disorders and Diseases in Art*] (1889). Charcot and Richer used a large amount of art to prove hysteria had existed throughout time. These included a painting from Andrea Mantegna's (1451-1506) *The Triumphs of Julius Caesar VII: Captives* (Charcot and Richer, 1889: 22) (figures 39 and 40), and a painting that criminologists will likely be familiar with because

of its use as a frontispiece to Foucault's *The Order of Things* (2005) Diego Velázquez's (1599-1660) *Las Meninas* (1656-1657) (Charcot and Richer, 1889: 38) (figures 41 and 42) to just take a few examples. Charcot and Richer argued that artworks like these offered scientific evidence of hysteria in history. They had no qualms about harnessing art compared with as, say, photography and to the contrary argued that there was a close relationship between science and art in that art told truth (Dobelbower, 2006: 209). They went as far as to reject the idea that art diverged from truth in its conventions and instead understood it to picture nature itself (Dobelbower, 2006: 210)



Figure 39. Andrea Mantegna (1484-1492) *The Triumphs of Julius Caesar VII: Captives* (detail), in Charcot and Richer (1889: 22), Creative Commons 1.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9609494h/f46.image>



Figure 40. Andrea Mantegna (1484-1492) *The Triumphs of Julius Caesar VII: Captives* (detail), Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Triumphs_of_Caesar_\(Mantegna\)#/media/File:Triumph7-Mantegna-captives.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Triumphs_of_Caesar_(Mantegna)#/media/File:Triumph7-Mantegna-captives.jpg)



Figure 41. Diego Velázquez (1656) *Las Meninas* [*Ladies in Waiting*] (detail), in Charcot and Richer (1889: 38), Creative Commons 1.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9609494h/f62.image>.



Figure 42. Diego Velázquez (1656) *Las Meninas* [*Ladies in Waiting*] (detail), Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018,

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Las_Meninas#/media/File:Las_Meninas,_by_Diego_Vel%C3%A1zquez,_from_Prado_in_Google_Earth.jpg.

A second nineteenth century physiognomist who was using fine art was the Lombrosian criminal anthropologist and member of the French School of criminal anthropology Edouard Lefort (date of birth and death unknown) who also used similarly fine and to evidence Lombroso's born criminal theory. In *Le Type criminel d'après les savants et les artistes* [*The Criminal type according to scholars and artists*] (1893) Lefort compared the physiognomic traits of individuals pictured in criminal identification photographs lent to him by Alphonse Bertillon (1853-1914) to criminal types depicted in Flemish, French, Spanish and Italian artworks (Hagins, 2013: 284). Although Lefort understood that the visual arts could be influenced by imagination (Lefort, 1892: 35) he nevertheless concluded that there was a 'perfect analogy between artistic creation from the last several centuries and Professor Lombroso's conception of the born criminal' (Lefort, 1892: 96, cited in Dobelbower, 2006: 212).

Lombroso's use of fine art

Lombroso was inspired by Lefort's use of paintings to evidence his born criminal. Lombroso (1896a: 321) observed that Lefort had already spotted a born-criminal likeness in Charon, ferryman to the underworld, depicted at the bottom right-hand corner of Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* (1536-1541) painted onto plaster or 'frescoed' on the altar wall of the Sistine Chapel (figure 43): 'Secondo il dott. E. Lefort (*Le Type criminel d'après les savants et les artistes*, Lion, 1892; Arch. Di psich., XIII, pag. 460), Michelangelo aveva già sostituito alla forma animale dei demoni la figura umana [According to Dr E. Lefort (*The Criminal Type According to Scholars and Artists*, Lyon, 1892; Arch. Di psich., XIII, pag. 460), Michelangelo had already substituted demons with human figures for the animal forms].



Figure 43. Michelangelo (1536-1541) *Last Judgement* (detail), Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018,
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Last_Judgment_\(Michelangelo\)#/media/File:Last_Judgment_\(Michelangelo\).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Last_Judgment_(Michelangelo)#/media/File:Last_Judgment_(Michelangelo).jpg).

Some years earlier, in 1893 Lombroso expressed doubt about fine artists' capacity to picture truthfully in a work that pre-dated even the first volume of the fifth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1896-7a) wherein he discussed Lefort's observations regarding art. This book was called *Più recenti scoperte ed applicazioni dell'antropologia criminale* [*Most recent discoveries and applications of criminal anthropology*] (1893). As was typical of Lombroso's oeuvre it recycled lots of his old scholarly material including many of his images. However, his short discussion on art therein was new. Lombroso declared the following in section on the application of criminal anthropology in art: '[L]'occhio non vede le immagini delle cose come sono, come fotografie, ma facendo una rapida scelta tra le immagini successive: che vede, insomma, ciò che vuol vedere [[T]he eye does not see the images of things as they are, like photographs, but instead making a quick choice between the following images it sees so that, in short, it sees what it wants to see]' (Lombroso, 1893: 363). Herein Lombroso denigrated human observation, championing photography above it in terms of objectivity.

To underscore his point Lombroso quoted Bertillon's (see, above, chapter 2, and chapter 5) comments on the same subject. Bertillon denigrated artists' and especially painters' capacity to achieve what photography could. Specifically, he argued that painters

created the illusion that they could capture complex bodily movements⁴⁹ as photography could (Bertillon, cited in Lombroso, 1893: 363):

Bertillon scrive nella sua fotografia giudiziaria: 'si è ora unanimi nel riconoscere l'errore di certi pittori, che per riprodurre la verità più davvicino, pretesero trasportare, senza scelta, nelle loro combinazioni pittoriche, le combinazioni straordinarie dei movimenti rivelati dalle fotografie istantance.

Bertillon writes in his judicial photo: 'it is now unanimous in recognizing the error of certain painters, who, in order to reproduce the truth more closely, pretended to carry, without choice, in their pictorial combinations, the extraordinary combinations of the movements revealed by the instantaneous photographs'.

By 1896-7 when Lombroso published the fifth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] Lombroso's concern that art was not analogous to photography appeared to have fallen by the wayside. Here, following Lefort, and in the first of four volumes that comprised the fifth and final edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1896-1897a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d) Lombroso analysed the physiognomy of various figures in a large number of artworks, typically paintings and engravings, and argued that his born criminal could be observed therein.

Unlike the skull and portrait photographs, and the drawings and photographs of African women analysed in the two preceding chapters, Lombroso did not reproduce the Fine Artworks that formed the basis of his discussion. It is not clear why this was the case. Perhaps he did not wish to reproduce crude engravings as his predecessors Charcot and Richer had done. However, engraving was not the only option open to Lombroso. By the 1890s, photomechanical reproduction, which emerged towards the end of the 1880s, had

⁴⁹ At the time Lombroso and Bertillon were writing there an emergent form of photography captured the experimental scientific world. The English photographer Eadweard Muybridge (1830-1904) invented motion photography. This was a kind of photography that captured 'complex bodily movements', as Bertillon put it. Most famous, and familiar to contemporary audience because they are now considered artworks are his cycles of jockeys galloping on horses. It is possible, thus, that Bertillon is referring to these.

improved significantly (see chapter four). As I demonstrated in chapter four Lombroso had already established a relationship with the Turinese photographer Vittorio Turati. Moreover, he had form in reproducing Art using Turati's photomechanical printing house, Turati Incorporated. In the fifth¹ edition of *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (1889) Lombroso reproduced Fine Art and to a high photomechanical standard. These included five paintings by Antoine Wiertz (1806-1865): *Suicide* (1854); *Polyphemus* (date of execution unknown); and *Final Thoughts of a Decapitated Head* (1853) (Lombroso, 1889: Tav. III., between 46 and 47) (figure 44); as well as *Study for a Severed Head*; and *Guillotined Head* (1855) (Lombroso, 1889: Tav. XXV., between 286 and 287) (figure 45).

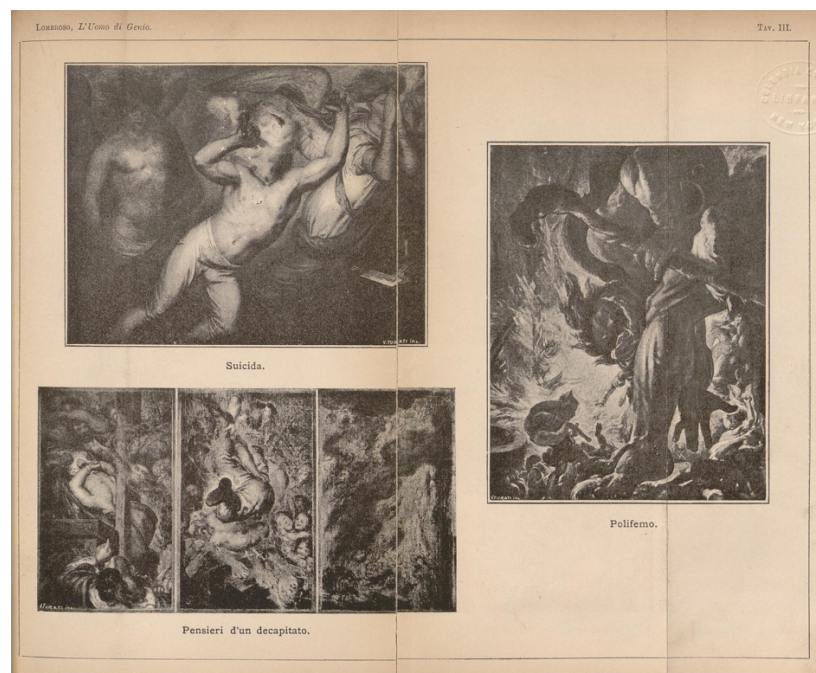


Figure 44. Plate featuring three of Antoine Wiertz's artworks, in Lombroso (1894: Tav. III, between 46 and 47), Creative Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/ldpd_11151456_000/page/88.

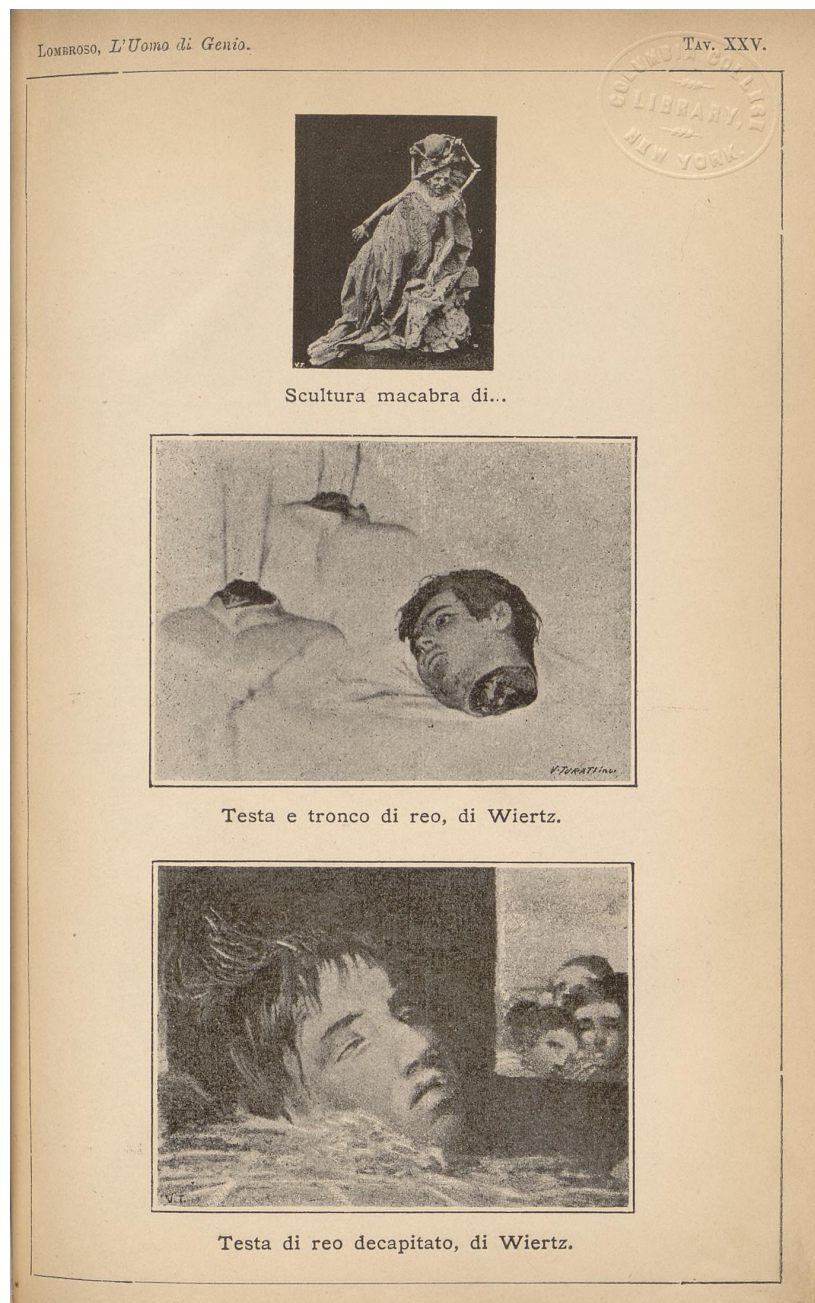


Figure 45. Plate featuring two of Anotine Wiertz's artworks, in Lombroso (1884: between 286 and 287), Creative Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/ldpd_11151456_000/page/346.

Rather than reproducing images, Lombroso described a series of frescoes, paintings, sculptures and engravings in a six-page discussion that he titled 'Applicazione del tipo criminale alle arti belle [The Application of the Criminal Type in the Fine Arts]' (Lombroso, 1896-1897a: 321). Six pages may not seem like a particularly lengthy discussion, especially when considering how long the fifth and final edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*]

(1896-1897a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d). It was comprised of three written-text volumes totalling 1,902 pages and a fourth volume totally 57 pages and 102 plates (Gibson and Rafter, 2006: 1, f.n.2). However, there are at least two ways to appreciate their greater significance in the context of this ostensibly damning numerical evidence. A first way is to consider Lombroso's writing style more generally. Lombroso tended to jump between ideas and erratically so without explicit linkage. Typically, his focus on one subject was often passing or short. As such, his six-pages discussion of these visual arts remains lengthy or sustained by comparison. A second way to attribute further significance to this six-page discussion is to appreciate the material qualitatively. This discussion can be interpreted as a tip of an iceberg about fine art and even creativity and imagination more generally in Lombroso's criminal anthropology, the underbelly of which I flesh out elsewhere in this dissertation. At the same time, these defenses are redundant since quantifying the length of the discussion is irrelevant in light of such qualitative appreciation.

Identifying the artworks

Lombroso observed his born criminal in the following artworks (Lombroso, 1896-7a: 321-326): *The Last Judgement* (1536-41), by Michelangelo; *Martyrdom of St. James* (1455) by Andrea Mantegna; *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (1567) and *Christ Crowned With Thorns* (1542-3) by Titian; *The Last Supper* (1493-6) which was misattributed to Raphael during Lombroso's lifetime and reattributed to Perugino in twentieth century; *Christ falling on his way to Calvary* (1514-16) by Raphael; *The Last Judgement* (c. 1585) by Jean Cousin the Younger (c. 1522-1595); *The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* (c. 1660) by Mattia Preti (1613-99); *The Flagellation* (date unknown) by Ludovico Carracci (1555-1619); *The Crucifixion* (1589) by Agostino Carracci (1557-1601); *The Torment of St. Stephen* (1660) by Pietro Berrettini (da Cortona) (1596-1669); *The Flagellation of Christ* (1655-7) by Carlo Maratti (1625-1713); *Judith*

and Holofernes (c. 1616) by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1614); *Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* (1644); *Torment of St. Laurence* (c. 1620-5); *Saint Januarius Emerging Unharmed from the Furnace* (1647) all by José de Ribera (Lo Spagnoletto) (1591-1652); *Italian brigands surprised by papal troupes* (1830) by Emile Jean Horace Vernet (1789-1863); *Heads of Torture Victims: Study for the Raft of the Medusa* by Théodore Géricault (1791-1824) *Scènes avec des brigands* or *Scenes of brigandage* (date unknown) by Louis-Leopold Boilly (1761-1845); *Faust and Mephistopheles* (1848) and *The Kiss of Judas* (1857) by Ary Scheffer (1795-1858); *Il Bacio di Giuda* (1852) by Jacometti Ignazio (1819-1883); and, finally, *Scene of St. Bartholemew* (1833) by Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury (1797-1890).

Lombroso also recommended his reader observe Francisco Goya's (1746-1828) entire oeuvre: 'Goya, nel secolo XVIII, si è particolarmente dedicato a riprodurre tutta una parte del mondo criminale della sua epoca, voglio dire i briganti e i ladri [In the 18th century, Goya was dedicated to reproducing the entire criminal world of his time, especially bandits and the thieves] (Lombroso, 1896-7a: 324). Additionally, he isolated two of Francisco Goya's (1746-1828) artworks. It is difficult to say with certainty which ones he was referring to, however. Unlike in his discussions of the artworks above he neither described the artwork sufficiently to allow for accurate identification or explicitly name them. In one instance he mentioned that the born criminals in Goya's artworks were 'giustiziati secondo il costume spagnuolo' [executed according to the Spanish custom] (Lombroso, 1896-1897a: 324). Lombroso was referring to Spain's official method of execution which the historians identify as Franz Böckle and Jacques Marie Pohier identify as the garotte (1979: 21). This makes it possible to say that he was referring to, for example, plate 34 *Por una navaja* [For a clasp knife] from the artist's 82-print print series *Los desastres de la Guerra* [The Disasters of War] (1810-1820) or *El agarrotado* [The Garrotted Man] (c. 1778-1780)⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ As well as Goya's etchings of garrotting, Lombroso also explicitly identified another of Goya's artworks by title: 'Decapitato [Beheaded]' (Lombroso, 1896-7a: 324). He identified paintings explicitly by title in several of the

Overall, identifying the Artworks Lombroso discussed is a labour-intensive task. In the majority of examples Lombroso explicated an Artist's name and briefly mentioned the broad subject of the scene as in the following example: 'un martirio, un carnefice che è pronto a colpire, ha fronte sfuggente, naso schiacciato, bocca larga e labbra grosse, il labbro inferiore che sporge e mento quadrato [In a picture by Andrea Mantegna depicting martyrdom, an executioner who is ready to strike has a receding forehead, a squashed nose, wide mouth and prominent lips, the lower lip is protruding and square jaw]' (Lombroso, 1896-7*a*: 321-2). It is possible to identify the Artwork in question from Lombroso's explicit identification of the Artist and description of the scene as one of martyrdom. However, Mantegna frescoed a cycle of dedicated to the martyrdom of St. James and St. Christopher, two Christian martyrs, on the northern and southern walls of the *Cappella Ovetari* or Ovetari Chapel which was part of the Eremitani church in Padua, Italy⁵¹.

However, Lombroso's reference to an executioner about to strike the martyr can only describe one of these; Mantegna's *Execution of Saint James* (c. 1448-1457) depicts the eponymous saint, his head secured in a medieval guillotine as the executioner, who caught Lombroso's attention, swings a *mazzolare* or mallet to break his neck (figure 46)⁵².

examples I offer in the preceding paragraphs. In these cases, the titles translate to the named artists' artworks, but in this instance it does not. This is the case even when taking a more expansive interpretation of the title. That is, at least one of Goya's artworks might be relevant here. Among them is his *Judith y Holofernes* [*Judith and Holofernes*] (1819-1823). This painting features Judith and her maid servant. Holofernes is out of sight. I was able to rule this painting out, however, because Lombroso refers to his born criminal therein possessing a beard.

⁵¹ A fresco is a type of mural painting, commonplace in the Renaissance period.

⁵² Figure x is a digital reproduction of an etching in the style of or, as art historians tend to say, 'after' Mantegna. Mantegna painted the *Execution of Saint James* (c. 1448-1457) as part of a six-part fresco in the Capella Ovetari [Ovetari chapel] of the Emiratani church in Padua, Italy. The fresco was badly damaged but nevertheless intact in Lombroso's nineteenth century, but it was destroyed during the second world war and all that remains are grayscale photographs thereof. I am unable to obtain permissions to reproduce the photographs. As such, it is worth noting that there is a compositional difference between the etching and Mantegna's fresco, namely that the image is inverted. Otherwise the etching conveys Mantegna's narrative and honours the physiognomy of the executioner—Lombroso's interest—well. The reproduction in the body of the text here is derived from monochrome photographs made before its destruction. A reconstruction from coloured grayscale photos of the original fresco is available here:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ovetari_Chapel#/media/File:Ovetari_storie_di_san_giacomo_o.jpg. I do not reproduce it because the colouring of the grayscale photos diminishes the form of the image so much so that it is difficult to make out the physiognomy of the executioner who Lombroso is interested in. The grayscale



Figure 46. Martyrdom of Saint James the Great. Etching by G. David after A. Mantegna, Wellcome Collection, Creative Commons 4.0, viewed October 3rd 2018, <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/xrbb7nvq>.

photographs of the original fresco can be viewed here: http://www.shafe.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/mantegna_martyrdom_of_st_james_1452.jpg.



Figure 47. Pietro Perugino (1493-1496) *Cenacolo di Fuligno [the Last Supper]* (detail), Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=Perugino+last+supper&safe=active&rlz=1C5CHFA_enGB781GB783&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj-79WXg-rdAhWHAMAKHaqEArIQ_AUIDigB&biw=1828&bih=1069#imgsrc=ppIvoz1mS-z-uM:

Even where the artist and subject are explicated, identifying the specific piece is complicated by a changing art history. In one example, for instance, Lombroso referred to the Artist—Raffaele Santi—and the subject, the last supper: ‘Raffaello Sanzio, nella Cena, ha dato a Giuda testa larga, sopracciglia contratte, labbro superiore corto e grosso. [Raffaello

Sanzio, in the Supper, gave Judas a broad head, frowning eyebrows, and a short, large upper lip]’ (Lombroso 1896-7*a*: 322). Lombroso could have been referring to one of two depictions of the subject. In the first, frescoed inside the Vatican, only Judas’s profile is visible⁵³. In the second Judas is clearly identifiable; sitting, as was typical of Renaissance depictions of the subject, across the table in isolation (figure 47)⁵⁴.

A final complication in identifying the images Lombroso drew upon, is that even when he explicitly names an individual painting (which he only did for three of the twenty-four artworks he describes) the art history complicates things still. Consider the following quotation, for example: ‘Tiziano, nel *Martirio di San Lorenzo*, rappresenta un carnefice colla testa grossa e robusta, con grande sviluppo trasversale della faccia, capelli impiantati in basso e abbondanti [Titian, in the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, depicts an executioner with a big and heavysset head, with a remarkable transversal development of the face, low hairline and a full head of hair]’ (Lombroso, 1896-7*a*: 322). Although Lombroso cites Tiziano Vicelli’s or Titian’s *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, it remains unclear as to which Artwork he is referring to. Titian painted two versions of the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (figures 48 and 49).

⁵³ I am unable to obtain permissions to reproduce the digital image of this painting.

⁵⁴ Lombroso attributed this painting to Raphael because of a mid-nineteenth century misattribution. Upon its discovery in the mid-nineteenth century this fresco was attributed to Raphael and this remained the case during Lombroso’s lifetime. It was later reattributed to Raphael’s teacher Perugino in the twenty-first century, but after Lombroso’s death) (Coonin, 2003: 119, footnote 21). To avoid confusion I refer to its author as Perugino.



Figure 48. Titian (c. 1548-1559) *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Martyrdom_of_Saint_Lawrence_\(Titian\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Martyrdom_of_Saint_Lawrence_(Titian)).

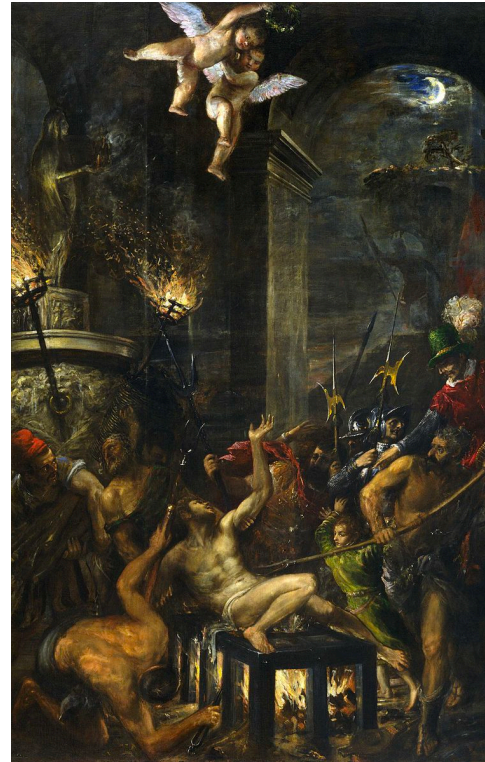


Figure 49. Titian (c. 1567) *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Titian_-_Martyrdom_of_St_Lawrence_-_WGA22837.jpg.

Both depict the same biblical subject, the torturous execution of the eponymous Christian saint and martyr upon a grid iron stoke with hot coals. And it is clear that Lombroso is referring to the executioner on the bottom right of one of these two images, but which one? In this case, formal differences between the two images help determine to which one Lombroso was referring. The composition of the two images is remarkably different. In the earlier version (there is a balance between the figures depicted in the foreground and those in the backdrop. They are both carefully depicted and perspectively ordered. So too, the architecture looms large in the backdrop. The leading art historian on Titian, Harold Wethey, argues in relation to the later version that the loss of these figures in backdrop, so carefully depicted in the earlier version, is the most fundamental difference between the two images

(1969: 139). Indeed, Wethey's argument can be extended to the loss of the Classical architecture, which itself is as carefully depicted. The physiognomy of the executioner in the later version is revealed and much clearer to see than the earlier, Venetian version.

Géricault painted two images of severed heads. I am able to identify which of the two Lombroso was referring to through his formal description of it: 'Géricault ha studiato i criminali, e la testa del suo Suppliziato è giustamente celebre; è una figura aperta e piatta, di cui l'ossatura è potente. La fronte è ristretta, bassa e sfuggente, le bozze frontali e i margini orbitali spiccano; la palpebra sinistra sembra più cadente che la destra, il naso è forte e corto e deviato a destra, mentre il lobulo schiacciato si dirige a sinistra. Il labbro superiore è fortemente tirato da questo lato, la bocca semi-aperta lascia vedere qualche dente mal piantato: le ossa zigomatiche sono sporgenti, le guancie scavate da profonde rughe, i capelli rari: le orecchie ad ansacoi contorni irregolari, si distaccano dai lati del cranio. [Géricault studied criminals, and the head of his tortured is rightly famous; It is an open and flat figure, with heavy set bones. The forehead is narrow, low and sloped, the bones are protruding; the left eyelid seems droopier than the right, the nose is strong, short and bent to the right, while the squashed lobule is tilted to the left. The upper lip is pushed to this side, the open mouth reveals some bad teeth: the zygomatic (cheek) bones are protruding, the cheeks are sunken and heavily wrinkled, the hair is receding; the ears are bent and irregular and are protruding from the side of the skull] (Lombroso, 1896-7*a*: 325). In summary, Lombroso referred to both the left and right eyelids, visible only in one of the images, and, most of all, the description the mouth and teeth revealed again only visible in this image.

Part one: Positivist fine art

Criminologists might expect that Lombroso was using art that complemented his positivism. Lombrosian criminal anthropologist Hans Kurella's (1858-1916) scholarship reveals what

positivist art was⁵⁵. Kurella set out his thoughts on the relationship between Art, positivism and Lombroso's scholarship in a four-page appendix of his early-twentieth century biography of Lombroso *Cesare Lombroso: A Modern Man of Science* (1911)⁵⁶. The purpose of this appendix was to support Kurella's thesis that Lombroso's intellectual thought was not merely at the apex of positivist criminal anthropology, but positivist intellectual thought more generally (Kurella, 1911: v-vii). It was entitled 'Facts and documents of positivism 1841-1865' (1911: 178-181). It was a 'tabular' (1911: vi) or list-like intellectual history of Positivism separated by four sub-headings classified by time period as follows: 'Preparatory work [of Positivism], 1841-1850'; 'Dominance of Positivism, 1851-1860'; 'The four Classical Years of Positivism, 1857-1860'; and 'After Effects [of Positivism], 1861-1865'.

However, this intellectual history of positivism is not one that criminologists will be familiar with. Typically, criminologists do not associate Lombroso's criminal anthropology in a broader intellectual positivist history that may take them outside their intellectual comfort zone that is comprised of the human sciences when they turn their attention to this time period. If Lombroso's criminal anthropology is situated within a broader intellectual context it tends to be in relation to some usual suspects. These include, for example, the French positivists Augustus Comte (1798-1857) and Adolphe Quetelet (1796-1874) (Taylor, Walton and Young, 1978; Bierne, 1993). To be sure these figures do appear in Kurella's intellectual history of positivism. For example, the sixth and final volume of French positivist Augustus Comte's (1798-1857) *Cours de philosophie positive* [*Course on Positive Philosophy*] (1842), in which Comte introduced observation as *the* epistemic criterion from which Positivism

⁵⁵ He translated a large amount of Lombroso's and his School's Italian-language scholarship into German. His entire oeuvre between 1892 and 1913 was dedicated to criminal anthropology alone (Gadebush Bondio, 2006: 191) and one of his works hinged on Lombroso's born-criminal doctrine (Kurella, 1893).

⁵⁶ An historic book review by a reviewer only identified by their initials, 'J.R.L.', in the then *Journal of Mental Science* (the now *British Journal of Psychiatry*) (J.R.L., 1911) explains that this short English-language book 'first appeared' in the German-language journal *Monatsschrift für Kriminalpsychologie und Strafrechtsreform*. However, what J.R.L. referred to was not a book but an eight-page essay. Though its content is similar to the book in question it is by no means the same piece as the book in question. This is the closest I have got to being able to trace the original German version. published in German in the journal a year previous.

emanated and which Lombroso relied, appears in Kurella's historiography. As does Quetelet's *Du système social et des lois qui le régissent* [*The Social System and the Laws that Govern it*] (1848) from which the idea of moral averages emerged. However, Kurella's intellectual history is far more diverse drawing on a range of academic fields impliedly linking them to one another. This was the case even when it came to which of Lombroso's scholarly works featured therein. The first edition of Lombroso's *Genio e follia* [*Genius and Madness*] (1864) featured in the list. The book comprised Lombroso's extensive analysis of prisoners' creative outputs including their so-called jargon and art (on which see, MacGregor, 1999). Lombroso's first scholarly publication (Lombroso, 1851) also featured a book review of physician-*cum*-linguist Paolo Marzolo's⁵⁷ (1811-1868) *Monumenti storici rivelati dall'analisi della parola* [*Historical monuments revealed by the analysis of the word*] (1847) on evolutionary linguistics that inspired Lombroso's research into prisoner jargon and artwork in the first instance (Gibson, 2006: 140). Kurella additionally lists various works from the Arts—understood in the way I described at the beginning of this chapter. These included examples from everything including the performative arts, namely opera (e.g. Wagner, 1851), to the literary arts, namely poetry (e.g. Whitman, 1855) and literature (Flaubert, 1857). Kurella's intellectual history of positivism also included three then-famous paintings. I introduce and describe these below because they will act as a departure point against which I analyse the artworks in Lombroso's criminal anthropology.

The first was Gustave Courbet's (1819-1877) *A Burial at Ornans* (1849-50) (figure 50). The second was Jean-François Millet's (1814-1875) *The Sower* (1850) (figure 51). The third was Édouard Manet's (1832-1883) *Luncheon on the Grass* (1863) (figure 52).

⁵⁷ On the personal relationship between Marzolo and Lombroso see Villa, 1985: 92-102).



Figure 50. Gustave Courbet (1849-1850) *A Burial at Ornans*, Wikimedia Commons, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_Burial_At_Ornans#/media/File:Gustave_Courbet_-_A_Burial_at_Ornans_-_Google_Art_Project_2.jpg.



Figure 51. Jean-François Millet (1850) *The Sower*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Fran%C3%A7ois_Millet#/media/File:Jean-Fran%C3%A7ois_Millet_\(II\)_013.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Fran%C3%A7ois_Millet#/media/File:Jean-Fran%C3%A7ois_Millet_(II)_013.jpg).



Figure 52. Edouard Manet (1863) *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* [*Luncheon on the grass*], Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Le_D%C3%A9jeuner_sur_l%E2%80%99herbe#/media/File:Edouard_Manet_-_Luncheon_on_the_Grass_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg.

Courbet's, Millet's and Manet's paintings all depict empirically observable, contemporary moments. Courbet's painting depicts a graveside burial in Ornans in Franche-Comté. A large innumerable crowd takes up two-thirds of the space in this painting. Looking closely at the painting reveals that faces blend into the muted tones of the background and become hard to make out with any certainty. There are several figures towards the front of the crowd that are distinct including a priest, crucifix-bearer, pallbearers, choir boys, a man not dressed in the dark clothing who is accompanied by his dog. Millet's painting depicts a man sowing corn. Two figures feature therein. In the background a small shadowy figure works their plough. The foreground is almost taken up in its entirety by a large figure. His stride is long. His left arm cradles a sack of corn and his right arm swings by his side allowing his hand to scatter the seeds. The tones and colour are muted. They are particularly dark in the foreground and this darkness is only disrupted by the bright blue of the sower's trousers. In the background the colours are muted but light. Around the smaller figure the colours are extremely light. Manet's painting depicts a group of bathers taking lunch outdoors. The

foreground of this painting is dominated by three figures—two men in conversation and one partially-naked woman who looks out towards the viewer. In front of them is a picnic. In the background there is another woman knee-deep bathing. The colours are all very similar, dark greens and browns. The only contrast is the woman's white skin and the blue dress of the bather who is in the background. It was in this way that Kurella considered these paintings to be positivist.

The same qualities that made Kurella consider these paintings to be positivist meant that to a nineteenth century audience they were 'Realist'. Unlike other art-historical epochs such as the Renaissance and Romanticism the Realist epoch was not identified in retrospect. The art historian and authority on Realism Linda Nochlin (1990) describes Realism as having emerged in the 1840s and endured until the 1870s. As such it maps onto what Kurella defined as the Positivist era (1841-1865). Nochlin also observes that Realism was characterised by the idea that artists be of their moment and depict present-day or contemporary scenes because these were what they could see themselves and were real rather than imagined. In short Realist art rejected historical and fictional subjects because they were neither present nor real or visible (Kleiner, 2010: 630). In this way Realism, criminologists might say, was empirical. In turn its empirical character made it positivist, like Lombroso's scholarship and his criminal anthropology. It was additionally characterised by depictions of the ordinary and, especially, provincial and industrial working-class scenes.

Following the end of positivist period that Kurella documented (1841-1865) artists continued to practice in this positivist way by depicting the observable contemporary moment. Notable amongst their number was Edgar Degas (1834-1917). Not only did Degas believe that art should represent the observable contemporary moment but also one that was informed by science (Druick, 1998: 83; see also, Druick and Zegers, 1988). He was especially fascinated by social Darwinism and the new and related positivist science of physiognomy which he frequently read about in the scientific journal *La Nature* (Buchanan,

1997). For example, his painting, *Portraits at the Stock Exchange* (c. 1879) (figure 53) demonstrated an anti-Semitic obsession with the physiognomy of Jewish people (Nochlin, 1989) and his painting *Song of the Dog* (1876-1877) (figure 54) demonstrated his obsession with atavistic woman's physiognomy (Druick, 1998: 83).



Figure 53. Edgard Degas (1878-1879) , *Portraits at the Stock Exchange*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed 30th September 2018, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Edgar_Degas_-_Portraits_at_the_Stock_Exchange_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg

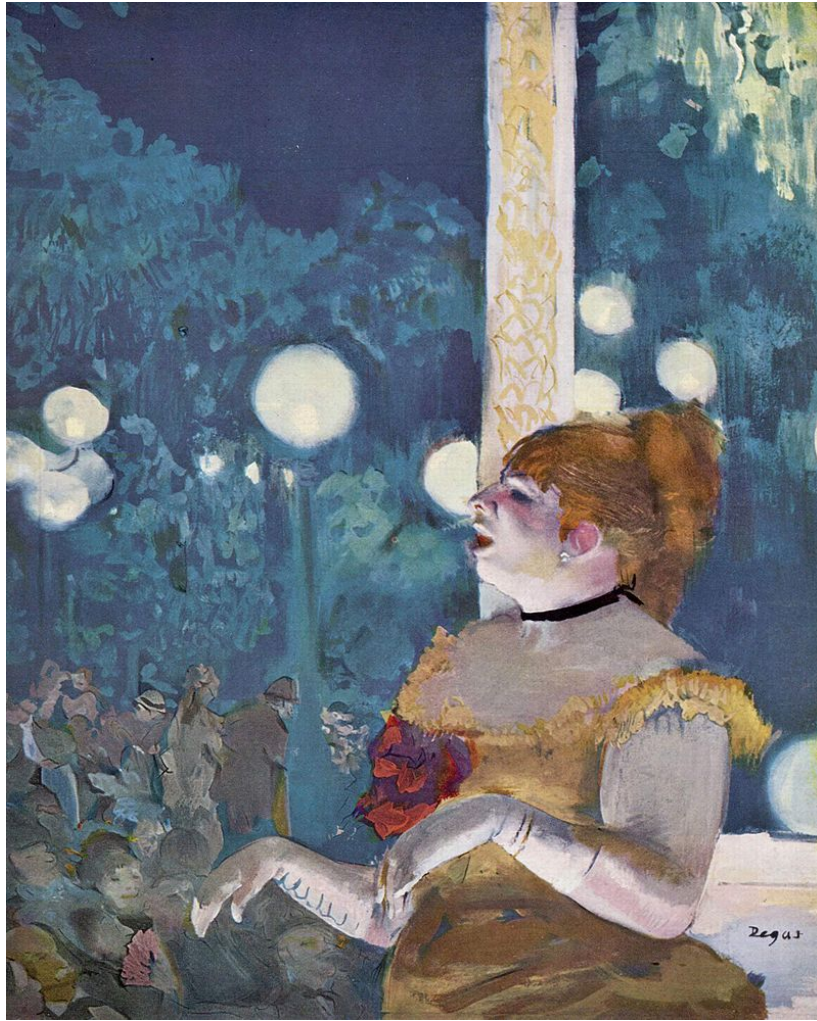


Figure 54. Edgar Degas (1875–1877) *At the Café-Concert: The Song of the Dog*, Wikimedia commons, viewed 30th September 2018, http://en.wikimedia.org/wiki/Edgar_Degas.

Art historians argue that this fascination encouraged Degas's characteristic animalising of the human form. They have especially observed the Lombrosian character of this fascination in his sculpture *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen* (c. 1878-1881) (figure 55). Martin Kemp and Marina Wallace assert in passing that '[a] striking testimony to the penetration of Lombrosian theories of atavism was provided [...] by Edgar Degas's now popular sculpture of the *Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen* [(c. 1878-1881)]' (2000: 143). Anthea Callen undertakes a sustained analysis of scientific discourse in Degas's art more generally and concludes that he was picturing Lombrosian born criminals. Commenting specifically on *The Little Dancer* Callen concludes that '[Degas made explicit use of images current in science and medicine

to make his figure instantly recognizable as a member of the so-called *classes dangereuses*' (1995: 1). Together with the fact that this sculpture was of a ballerina, a profession which was considered akin to prostitution in nineteenth century Paris and likewise by Lombroso, Degas's *Little Dancer* (c. 1878-1881) was Lombroso's born criminal woman materialised.



Figure 55. Edgar Degas (c. 1878-1881/) *Little Dancer Aged Fourteen*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edgar_Degas#/media/File:Danseuse2_degas_Musee_Orsay.jpg.

Around the time that Degas made *Little Dancer* (c. 1878-1881) he attended a high-profile double-murder trial to depict the physiognomy of the defendants. Degas made various etchings of the defendants. The art historian Harvey Buchanan claims that one of Degas's resulting pastel portraits, *Physionomie de Criminel* [*Criminal Physiognomies*]⁵⁸ (1880-1881), featured 'a Darwinian subtext and Lombrosian demonstration of innate criminality' (Buchanan, 1997: 87-88). The art historian Douglas Druick suggests that Degas's taking his interest into the criminal court suggests a more explicit fascination with Lombrosian criminal anthropology (Druick, 1998: 83).

Part two: Where was the positivist artwork in Lombroso's criminal anthropology?

Criminologists might expect Lombroso to have observed his born criminal in the positivist artworks I describe above. They might especially expect to see those by his contemporaries who were practicing within a Lombrosian discourse, namely Degas. However, Lombroso did not spot his born criminal in positivist artworks, artworks that depicted the contemporary observable moment. Instead, the large majority of the works Lombroso referred to subject matters that pre-date the contemporary observable moment in that they depicted biblical, allegorical, mythical and even literary subjects. A small minority depicted factual subjects, but they were historical scenes of significant revolutionary moments that were not witnessed by the artists themselves. Goya's *Disasters of War* depicted the Spanish uprisings and ensuing Peninsular War (1808-14) (figure x); Vernet's *Italian Brigands* depicted unsuccessful insurrections in the Papal States (1831) (figure x). Louis Leopold Boilly's (1761-

⁵⁸ I have not obtained permissions to reproduce the digital image of this artwork.

1845) *Scenes of Brigandage* (date of execution unknown) represents the European fascination with brigandage surrounding the revolutionary era more generally. Finally, Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury's (1797-1890) *The Assassination of Brion, Tutor of the Prince of Conti at the Saint Bartholomew Day Massacre August 1572* (1833) depicts the assassination of the Calvinist tutor of a Bourbon prince by protestant Huguenots on the night of the Massacre of 1572 during the French Wars of religion.

The reason why Lombroso omitted positivist artworks can be found at the beginning of his discussion in the first volume of the fifth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] about the relationship between fine art and criminal anthropology: Un'altra prova dell'esistenza del tipo criminale si ha nel vedere come il genio degli artisti ne abbia intuito e applicato l'esistenza assai prima che l'antropologia criminale lo dimostrasse scientificamente [Another piece of evidence of the existence of the criminal type can be seen in *the way in which* artistic genius glimpsed its reality and applied its existence, long before criminal anthropology was able to prove it scientifically] (Lombroso, 1896-1897a: 321, my emphasis). Lombroso pointed to 'the way in which' or put more simply 'how' artists practiced.

Lombroso's concern with the 'how' of artistic practice, described above, meant that he was interested in what art historians call the 'form' of the artwork's in which he saw his born criminal. An artwork's form is comprised of various visual properties. These properties can be observed and measured. They can, therefore, be simultaneously described as an artwork's 'positive' properties. These positive properties include size and shape for instance, the same properties that also guide physiognomic analysis. Described in these, positive, terms, Lombroso's interest in them begins to become clear. Take any one of Lombroso's discussions about the artworks and his interest in the size and shape of a figure's facial features is evident. For example, in his description of an assailant and victim in Robert-Fleury's *Scene of Saint Bartholomew Day, August 15th 1572* (1833) (figure 56) Lombroso described the former as having 'la faccia larga, le guancie grosse, il naso volto all'insù, col lobulo piegato

a sinistra e schiacciato; la bocca allargata ed elevata agli angoli, mette allo scoperto dei denti digrignanti [a broad face, large cheeks, nose upturned face, with lobule bend left and crushed; enlarged and elevated mouth corners, exposes gnashing of teeth]' (Lombroso, 1896-7a: 326). He described Minos in Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* (1536-1541) (figure 57) as having 'fronte sfuggente, naso affilato, grandi orecchie ad ansa' [a sloping or receding forehead, sharp nose, large handle-shaped ears]'. He also described Judas in Pietro Perugino's *Last Supper* (figure 58) as having 'testa larga, sopracciglia contratte, labbro superiore corto e grosso [wide head, contracted eyebrows, short and thick upper lip] (Lombroso, 1896-7a: 322). Likewise, he describes Judith in Ruben's *Judith and Holofernes* (c. 1616) (figure 59) as having 'musculatura enorme, fisionomia bella, ma con mandibola enorme e labbra grosse e sporgenti. In questa metà inferiore del volto l'espressione è altrettanto violenta, quanto è calma nella metà superior [enormous musculature, beautiful appearance, but with huge jaw and thick lips and protruding. This lower half of the face expression is just as violent, as it is quiet in the upper half] (Lombroso, 1896-7a: 323). This aforementioned list is by no means exhaustive, but it is certainly representative of the kind of discussion Lombroso undertook in relation to the artworks in which he argued that his born criminal lurked.



Figure 56. Robert-Fleury (1833) *The Assassination of Brion, Tutor of the Prince of Conti at the Saint Bartholomew Day Massacre August 1572* (detail), Wikimedia Commons, viewed on October 3rd 2028, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sc%C3%A8ne_de_la_saint-Barth%C3%A9lemy_-_Joseph-Nicolas_Robert-Fleury_-_MBA_Lyon_2014_-_d%C3%A9tail_5.JPG.

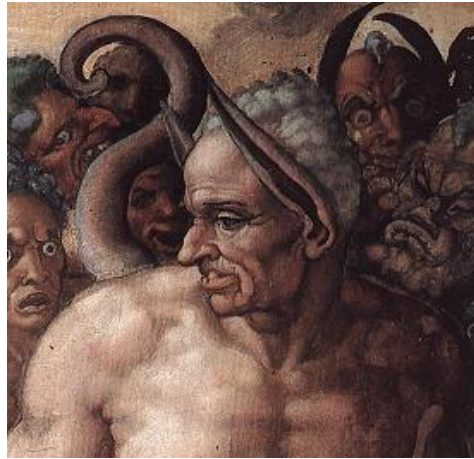
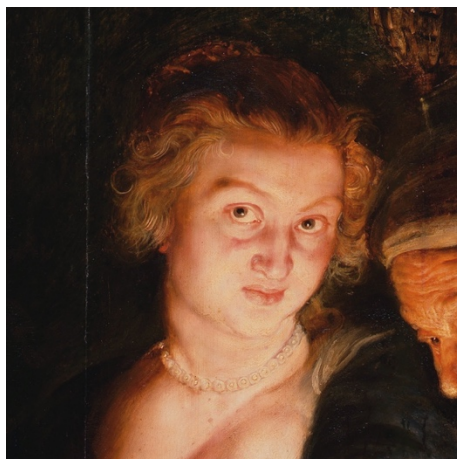


Figure 57. Michelangelo (1536-1541) *Last Judgment* (detail), Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018,
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Last_Judgment_\(Michelangelo\)#/media/File:Last_Judgment_\(Michelangelo\).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Last_Judgment_(Michelangelo)#/media/File:Last_Judgment_(Michelangelo).jpg)



Figure 58. Pietro Perugino (1493-1496) *Cenacolo di Fuligno [the Last Supper]* (detail), Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018,
https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=Perugino+last+supper&safe=active&rlz=1C5CHFA_enGB781GB783&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj-79WXg-rdAhWHAMAKHaqEArlQ_AUIDigB&biw=1828&bih=1069#imgrc=ppIvoz1mS-z-uM



cautions his reader that many artists are not to be trusted: ‘Many men of genius [artists] believe that they embody in themselves absolute truth; they modify scientific conclusions in their own interests, and in accordance with the part they are themselves able to take’ (Lombroso, 1891: 46). He thought one such artist was Eugène Delacroix’s (1798-1863). Lombroso denigrated Delacroix’s preference for colour, that which—as I described above—is associated with a painterly form. As Lombroso put it: ‘Delacroix, incapable of drawing beautiful lines, declared, "Colour is everything” (Lombroso, 1891: 46). Lombroso equates linearity with drawing in the preceding quotation. More importantly, however, Lombroso makes a value judgement about linearity therein. Lombroso declares linearity to be ‘beautiful’ and denigrates Delacroix by judging him ‘incapable’ of achieving this standard. He then champions Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres’s (1780-1876) declaration, in response to Delacroix, that ‘Drawing is honesty, drawing is honour’ (Lombroso, 1891: 46).

Lombroso did not name specific artworks made by either Delacroix or Ingres. Yet, through comparing these formal differences discussed above, two well-known examples that would fit Lombroso’s engagement with the Delacroix-Ingres debate, demonstrates the point. They are Delacroix’s and Ingres’s respective ‘oriental’ paintings of ‘odalisques’, *Odalisque Reclining on a Divan* (1827-8) (figure 60) and *The Grand Odalisque* (1814) (figure 61).

In Delacroix’s painting, the odalisque’s body appears as a homogenous mass of colour. The contours of her body are not clearly defined and seep into the red fabric on which she lies and into the dark blue and almost-black backdrop. There are no details in this painting either in the odalisque or backdrop. Colours seep into one another. In Ingres’s painting meanwhile, the outlines are so carefully executed with precision even given to the luxurious fabrics surrounding the odalisque. Moreover, there is equal attention paid to the backdrop. Everything is visually certain, and nothing is left to the imagination.



Figure 60. Eugène Delacroix (1827-1828) *Odalisque Reclining on a Divan*.
 Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Eug%C3%A8ne_Delacroix_-_Odalisque_Reclining_on_a_Divan_-_WGA06172.jpg

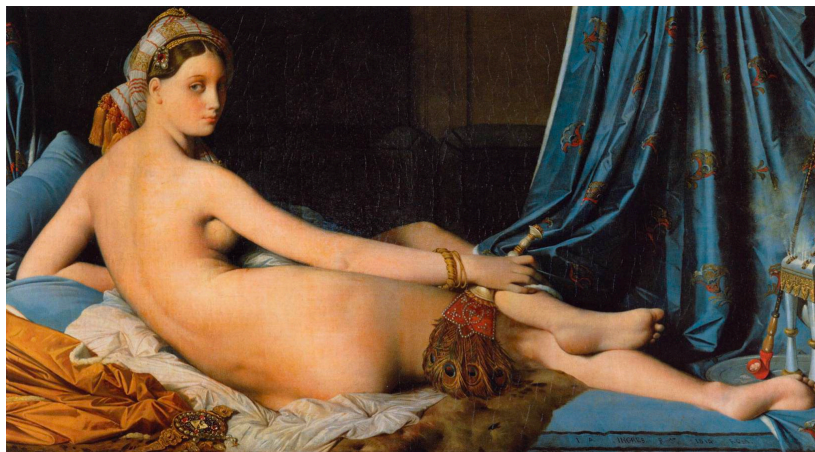


Figure 61. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1814) *La Grand Odalisque* [*The Grand Odalisque*], Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grande_Odalisque#/media/File:Jean_Auguste_Dominique_Ingres_-_The_Grand_Odalisque_-_WGA11841.jpg

Despite his criticisms of the form of Delacroix's artworks in *Man of Genius* (1891), Lombroso nevertheless observed his born criminal in a selected number of Delacroix's artworks. Specifically, he observed his born criminal in Delacroix's seventeen lithographs produced for the first French-language translation of a major work of nineteenth-century German literature, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's (1749-1722) poem *Faust* (1828) and sixteen lithographs (a type of drawing, 'traced', as Lombroso pointed out, onto lithographic stone that is in turn hand pressed onto paper) based on Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (1623)⁶⁰ that Delacroix self-published between 1834 and 1843. Delacroix published thirteen of these, in a lithographic suite entitled *Hamlet, Treize Sujets Dessinés par Eug. Delacroix* [*Hamlet, Thirteen Subjects Drawn by Eug. Delacroix*] (1843)⁶¹: 'Délacroix, in una serie di disegni, ha tracciato le differenti scene del Fausto di Goethe e dell'Amleto di Shakespeare [Delacroix, in a series of drawings, traced the different scenes of Goethe's Faust and of Shakespeare's Hamlet]' (1896-1897a: 326) (figures 62 and 63).

⁶⁰ I cite the first comprehensive First Folio English-language edition of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Delacroix's artworks were not based on a staged version but written version (Edenbaum, 1964: 341 c.f. Young, 2002: 108-109) and likely an English-language version (Hamilton, 1944: 365-386). Moreover, I am interested in the nineteenth-century reception of the literary work, which can be ascertained through how it was represented in the visual arts at this time.

⁶¹ Only eighty copies of this first thirteen-print edition were printed (Young, 2002: 109). 200 copies of an expanded sixteen-print set was published in 1864. It was likely that Lombroso was familiar with this second edition. All sixteen *Hamlet* lithographs are reproduced to scale in Loÿs Delteli's (1869-1927) third volume of *Le Peintre-graveur illustré* (Paris, 1908).



Figure 62. Eugène Delacroix (1828) *Marguerite à l'église* [*Margaret in Church*], courtesy of the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, viewed October 3rd 2018, <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/25937/>.

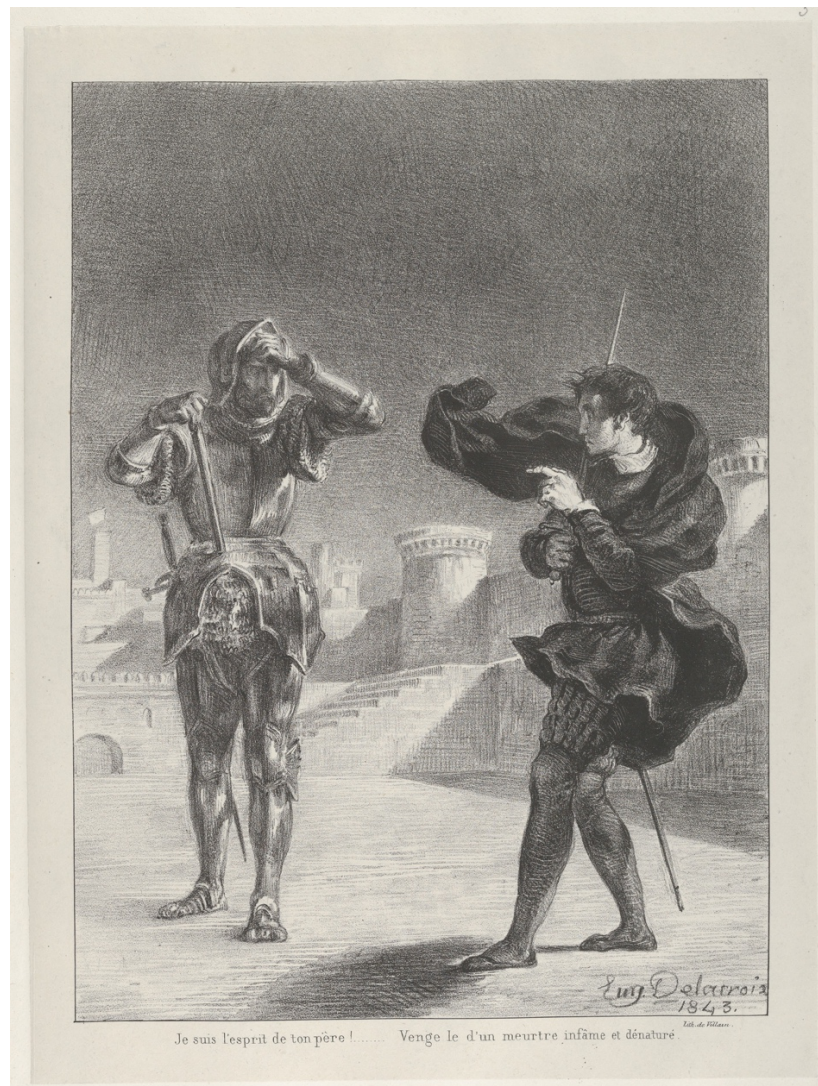


Figure 63. Eugène Delacroix (1828) *La fantôme sur la terrasse* [*The Ghost on the Terrace*], courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, viewed on October 3rd <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/337329>

That Lombroso saw his born criminal in Delacroix may seem like a contradiction. Lombroso subscribed to linearity that was not characteristic of Delacroix's artworks. Moreover, Lombroso denigrated Delacroix as 'incapable' of conforming to linearity. On first appearances, that Lombroso saw his born criminal in Delacroix's lithographs is odd. However, Lombroso did not see his born criminal in Delacroix's *Odalisque*, discussed above. Nor did Lombroso see his born criminal in Delacroix's painterly artworks that were

characteristic of his oeuvre⁶². Delacroix's lithographs take a different form to his paintings. His loose, painterly style has disappeared and is instead replaced by a definite linearity. Moreover, Delacroix made several oil-on-canvas paintings of Shakespeare's Hamlet including, for example, *La fantôme sur la terrasse* [*The Ghost on the Terrace*] (1825) (figure 64) but he still elected to cite his lithographs⁶³. This is to say that Lombroso's use of Delacroix's lithograph circumvented his own criticisms of the artist's paintings.

⁶² I am thinking of one of the most famous depictions of modern revolution—an art-historical subject matter than Lombroso did cite—was Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People* (1830) does not feature alongside Lombroso's five images of revolution.

⁶³ Delacroix Hamlet paintings were numerous. Young (2002: 109) offers a full inventory.



Figure 64. Eugène Delacroix (1825) *Ghost on the Terrace*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed on October 3rd 2018,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Delacroix_Ghost_of_Hamlet%27s_father.jpg
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As well as form, Lombroso's concern with 'how' artists practiced meant that he was interested in what art historians call the 'style' of the artwork's in which he saw his born criminal. An artwork's style is the repetition or patterning of its form (Harris, 2006: 305). All of the artworks in which Lombroso saw his born criminal would have been described in the late-nineteenth century context as 'realist' (Williams, 1983: 258).

This nineteenth-century term is confusing as first since I discussed another nineteenth-century 'Realism' earlier in this chapter. However, there is a difference between those artworks that were considered Realist (uppercase) on the one hand and realist

(lowercase) on the other in the nineteenth century. Realist (uppercase) artworks were those that depicted the contemporary observable moment. Realist (lowercase) belong to those that displayed ‘an exceptional accuracy of representation’ (Williams, 1983: 259). Here the picture should be as close as possible resemble the empirical referent it represents.

This kind of Realism is associated with an optical way of seeing to which Lombroso subscribed. They were made at various points during the modern period between the mid-fifteenth and nineteenth centuries (1448-1857).

This earlier kind of realism dominated the visual arts from the fifteenth century (c. 1450) (Gombrich, 1950). Indeed, it is especially pronounced in the fifteenth and sixteenth century artworks that Lombroso analysed. Take Michelangelo’s *Last Judgement* (1536-41) and Mantegna’s *Martyrdom of St. James* (1455), for example. Both Michelangelo and Mantegna honed their observational methods to depict the human body naturalistically. Mantegna did so through observation of Classical sculpture. Although he produced a mediated, ‘sculptural reality’ (Manca, 2012: 29) it was naturalist in the extent to which it so closely honoured its empirical referent. Later, Michelangelo did so by undertaking the dissection and observation of human anatomy. Their empirical way of seeing characterised these two Artists’ Artworks. The three hundred and sixty or so human and human-like figures in Michelangelo’s *Last Judgement* are so sinewy that their skin clothes their muscular anatomy. Their faces are given specific characteristics—as Lombroso noted. Moreover, the outlines of their bodies are certain whereby there is a clear distinction between each figure and the next or the surrounding space. Furthermore, Michelangelo’s commitment to his naturalist method is additionally meta-referenced in the artist’s self-portrait discovered by art historians in the early twentieth century (La Cava, 1925: 47) as the flayed skin held aloft by Saint Bartholomew, blade in hand, pictured to the lower left of Christ (figure 65).



Figure 65. Michelangelo (1536-1541) *Last Judgment* (detail), Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018,
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Last_Judgment_\(Michelangelo\)#/media/File:Last_Judgment_\(Michelangelo\).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Last_Judgment_(Michelangelo)#/media/File:Last_Judgment_(Michelangelo).jpg)

The outline of the figures in Mantegna's *Martyrdom of St. James* are similarly certain. Mantegna employed the method of perspective. Harris explains that '[p]erspectival systems enabled artists [...] to plot with extreme accuracy the size of objects, and their rate of getting bigger

or smaller, within the perspectively ordered visual field' (Harris, 2006: 234). The art historian Jonathan Manca argues that Mantegna's foreshortening was so effective that the Saint's eventually-decapitated head would appear as if it lay at a spectator's feet. 'The Execution of Saint James vividly makes it appear as if the scene depicted, and the world of the viewer are coterminous', Manca says (2012: 20a).

Realism (lower case) declined as it became subject to criticism by the mid nineteenth century because it was considered 'superficial' in its concern with 'outward appearance rather than its inner reality' (Williams, 1983: 260; Harris, 2006: 157; Gibson, 2003: 203). Furthermore, because 'inner reality' was 'not accessible to ordinary observation' or 'imperfectly or not at all represented in how things appear a [realism] "of the surface" can quite miss important realities' (Williams, 1983: 260). A further criticism was that naturalism was an illusion. 'For many centuries producing convincing illusions of objects and space in paintings, prints, and drawings was seen as one of the artist's most important tasks and ways to demonstrate their abilities' (Harris, 2006: 157). But, as Williams (1983: 260-1) puts it:

[T]he medium in which his representation occurs, whether language or stone or paint or film, is radically different from the objects represented in it, so that the effect of "lifelike representation", "the reproduction of reality", is at best a particular artistic convention, at worst a falsification making us take the forms of representation as real.

Michel Foucault objects to realism on these grounds of illusion in his little-known writings on visual art⁶⁴. In *Manet and the Object of Painting* Foucault he puts his objection is as follows (Foucault, 2011: 29):

⁶⁴ Foucault's writings on the visual arts are extensive. They span the sixteenth to twentieth centuries. *Manet and the Object of Painting*, the work I cite above, is concerned with modern art, the period between the quattrocento and nineteenth century. However, his writings on art include his famous commentary on Diego Velázquez's *Las Meninas* (1656) in *The Order of Things* (1966)... and Foucault's analyses of modern artists, including his 1971 Tunis lecture on Edouard Manet (1832-1883), his book on René Magritte (1898-1967), and lesser known writings and interviews on Paul Rebeyrolle (1926-2005), Paul Klee (1879-1940), Vasily Kandinsky (1866-1944), Andy Warhol (1928-1987), Gérard Fromanger (b. 1939), Werner Schroeter (b. 1945), and Duane Michals (b. 1932). Rafter cites Foucault's scholarship as a rebirth of visual criminology. She directs our attention to

Since the fifteenth century, since the quattrocento, it was a tradition in western painting to try to make the viewer forget, to try to mask and sidestep the fact that painting was put down on inscribed on a certain fragment of space which could be a wall, in the case of a fresco, or a panel of wood, or again a canvas or eventually even a piece of paper; to make the viewer forget, therefore, that the painting rests on this more or less rectangular surface and in two dimensions ... it is in this way that painting, since the quattrocento, has tried to represent three dimensions even while it rests on two.

Criticisms of this kind are especially concerned with the methods of realism like the ones I described above. They are nothing more than clever *trompe l'oeil*, defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as the: '[d]eception of the eye, an illusion, specifically in Art (*sic*) with regard to the material reality of the object(s) represented' and 'a painting, plaster ornament, etcetera, intended to give an illusion of reality'⁶⁵. Appearance, the argument goes, was not reality; though it was called such.

Part three: How the artworks' subjects relate to Lombroso's criminal anthropology

In art-historical theory, an emphasis on an artwork's form and in turn style compromises one on its subject matter. Lombroso's focus on how artists practiced and therefore the form and style of the artworks in which he saw his born criminal meant that it was his normative intention to disregard the subject matter of the artworks in which he saw his born criminal. So long as the artworks he discussed featured human or human-like figures and therefore offered him an array of physiognomies to analyse and that these were depicted realistically were all he thought necessary.

Yet this dichotomy between form and subject on the one hand and subject matter on the other is merely a theoretical one. Some art historians notably Erwin Panofsky (1970)

Foucault as a visual criminologist. Rafter cites Foucault as, 'a man who used few illustrations in his books but had an extraordinarily visual turn of mind.' (2014: 131).

⁶⁵ "trompe l'œil, n.". OED Online:

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/206648?redirectedFrom=trompe+l%27oeil>.

argue that the two can never be divorced. This was the case with Lombroso's criminal anthropology.

For example, Lombroso was unable to sever an artwork's form and style from its larger subject matter as evidenced by the way in which he discussed the paintings and artworks more generally. In so doing Lombroso found it impossible to omit even the smallest reference to an artwork's subject despite the fact that his intentions were only to undertake a formal or stylistic analysis of it. For example, when Lombroso (1896-7a: 323) observed de Ribera's (figure 66) representation of Saint Bartholomew's executioner in emphasising how the Executioner was represented he inevitably strayed into referencing what was depicted therein namely the Executioner and the Saint as well as the latter's flaying:

Ribera, nel *Martirio di S. Bartolomeo*, diede al boia, che taglia a pezzi il santo, fronte elevata, leggermente rientrante nel mezzo; ma le sopracciglia sono abbassate e segnano il contorno dei seni frontali; l'occhio è fisso e il naso lungo e forte. Se si esamina il rapporto delle due metà superiore e inferiore della faccia, si resta colpiti dal poco sviluppo di quest'ultima: l'orecchio è grande col lobo molto sviluppato

[Ribera, in the *Martyrdom of St. Bartholomen*, gave the Executioner, who flays the saint, high forehead, slightly indented in the middle; but his eyebrows are lowered and mark the outline of the frontal sinuses; the eye is fixed and a long nose and strong. If you examine the relationship of the two upper and lower halves of the face, one is struck by the little development of the latter: the ear is large with very developed lobule].



Figure 66. Jusepe de Ribera (1644) *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martyrdom_of_Saint_Bartholomew#/media/File:Martyrdom_of_Saint_Bartholomew_at_MNAC.jpg

Moreover, when considering many of the artwork's subjects reflect themes in Lombroso's criminal anthropology more generally. Take Théodore Géricault's (1791-1824) painting *Severed Heads* (figure 67), for example. As the title suggests it features two severed heads. They are presented in total isolation except for the dressed table on which they rest. They are 'unidentified and unidentifiable' (Janes, 2003: 118). Of all the Artworks Lombroso used this was the best candidate for his stylistic focus since the physiognomies seem so isolated from a subject matter. As such Lombroso described the severed head on the right

as having a 'narrow, low and sloped forehead, 'protruding cheek bones, 'sunken and wrinkled' cheeks, a 'strong, short and bent' nose, 'receding' hair, 'protruding, bent and irregular' ears (Lombroso, 1896-7*a*: 325).



Figure 67. Théodore Géricault (1818) *Têtes coupées* [*Severed Heads*], Wikimedia Commons, viewed September 30th 2018, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Th%C3%A9odore_G%C3%A9ricault_-_T%C3%AAtes_coup%C3%A9es.jpg.

During the nineteenth century, Géricault's *Severed Heads* was considered to be a preparatory image for the artist's then-famous *Raft of the Medusa* (1818-1819) (figure 68) (Batissier, 1841). *The Raft of the Medusa* depicts an early-nineteenth century international scandal, namely the horrific aftermath of a shipwrecked French warship called Medusa. Medusa was on its way to secure colonial power of Saint-Louis, Senegal, but wrecked before its destination. Crewmembers were set adrift upon a raft, and mutiny and cannibalism ensued. This point brings an entirely new content to the *Severed Heads*, a story of Empire,

shipwreck, mutiny and cannibalism and it is within this narrative Lombroso's born criminal is found.

Lombroso thought that cannibalism was the archetypical act of born criminality, racializing it by likening its practice to 'primitive', animal behaviour, going as far as to agree with his student Enrico Ferri (1856-1929) that contemporary Catholic rituals were akin to it (Lombroso, 2006: 180-181). Lombroso would not only have viewed those on the raft as born criminals, but the most depraved kind since the most troubling aspect of the plight of those aboard was that they were compelled to cannibalism to survive.

The event was seared into criminological conscience. For instance, Gabriele Tarde (1843-1904), one of Lombroso's French adversaries began his *La philosophie pénale* [*Penal Philosophy*] (1890) ridiculing Lombroso's thoughts on cannibalism in this regard by way of reference to the event on the raft of the medusa (1912/2001: 235):

Can one also explain those temporary aberrations, such as anthropophagy, which held way for a few days upon the raft of the Medusa, by atavism? It is quite possible that some advanced disciple of Darwin might go as far as this'.

Again, Tarde can be interpreted as ridiculing Lombroso, and the Italian school more generally in this case.



Figure 68. Théodore Géricault (1818-1819), *The Raft of the Medusa*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed 30th September 2018, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Raft_of_the_Medusa#/media/File:JEAN LOUIS THÉODORE GÉRICULT - La Balsa de la Medusa \(Museo del Louvre, 1818-19\).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Raft_of_the_Medusa#/media/File:JEAN LOUIS THÉODORE GÉRICULT - La Balsa de la Medusa (Museo del Louvre, 1818-19).jpg).

Lombroso observed that his born criminal appeared in Delacroix's seventeen lithographs that were made for a French-language translation of a major work of nineteenth-century German literature, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's (1749-1722) poem *Faust* (1828). That the title of Scheffer's painting explicitly refers to Goethe's *Faust* rather than any other literary reworking of the legend of Faust can be gleaned from Harriet Grote's (1860: 22, f.n.*) mid-nineteenth century biography of the artist: 'Goethe's wonderful poem of "Faust" furnished to Scheffer a subject of which his imagination seems never to have tired... [Faust] awakened in Scheffer's soul, images, which would appear to have floated around his fancy to his latest moment'. The image is of one scene in particular, *Marguerite à l'église* [*Margaret in Church*] (Goethe, 1828: between 112 and 113) (figure 62, above). He also observed his born criminal in Ary Scheffer's (1795-1858) painting, *Faust dans son cabinet* [*Faust in His Study*] (1831) (figure 69).



Figure 69. Ary Scheffer (c. 1831) preparatory study for *Faust dans son cabinet* [*Faust in his Study*], Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fau%20st_in_His_Study_by_Ary_Scheffer,_c._1831.jpg.

Faust (Goethe, 1828) tells the tragedies of the eponymous protagonist and scholar Faust and his lover Marguerite. Faust aspired to knowledge beyond the realms of human possibility. He made a pact with the devil Mephistopheles to achieve this aspiration. Mephistopheles offered Faust infinite knowledge in exchange for his soul. Marguerite becomes inveigled with Faust and, through him, Mephistopheles. She unwittingly kills her mother by giving her a poison procured by Faust, discovers she is illegitimately pregnant by Faust, and witnesses the death of her brother at Faust's hands in an ensuing duel before committing infanticide.

Faust was a Romantic and Gothic literary works. These two artworks represent some of the most prominent scenes in the literary work (Goethe, 2007: 20-29). The title of Delacroix's lithograph *Marguerite à l'église* [*Margaret in Church*] refers to a specific scene in the cathedral or church (Goethe, 1828: between 112 and 112). Therein an evil spirit torments Marguerite as she kneels in prayer. The spirit reminds Marguerite of her lost innocence and observes the 'evil' that 'lurks within [Marguerite's] heart' (Goethe, 2007: 67) and the 'blood [w]hich stains [Marguerite's] threshold' (Goethe, 2007: 67). The title of Scheffer's painting refers to two scenes set in Faust's study. In the first of two scene and while Faust struggles to translate a passage from the New Testament Mephistopheles appears 'drest as a travelling student' (Goethe, 2007: 21). In the second of the two scenes and appealing to Faust's intellectual prowess Mephistopheles makes a pact with the scholar offering him infinite knowledge and immortality in exchange for his soul.

Both Delacroix's *Marguerite à l'Eglise* [*Margaret in the Church*] (1828) and Scheffer's *Faust dans son cabinet* [*Faust in his Study*] (c. 1831) feature Mephistopheles. Mephistopheles was the name invented by Goethe in the sixteenth century for the Devil, the best-known symbol of radical evil in the modern period (Russell, 1986). It is significant that Lombroso saw his born criminal in Mephistopheles. The historian Jeffrey Russell (1986: 169) argues that positivism 'was characterised by a rejection of belief in anything that could not be demonstrated empirically' and as such the Devil was not a subject that characterised positivism. He mentions that German materialists—whom Lombroso admired—thought anything that was not material was speculation. Whilst this may well have applied to the materialists, it did not apply to Lombroso's criminal anthropology. To be sure Lombroso subscribed to the materialists, but the underlying speculative element meant that there was precisely that! Indeed, Lombroso had an interest in that which the materialists did not, the inner workings of the mind, he was an early psychologist. Indeed, this was what made him a Romantic. As such, although Lombroso was a secularist, there was a creative space in

which the Devil flourished. In fact, it was the shift from Beccaria and Bentham—who made no room for a transcendent power etc that created this space (Russell, 1986: 170).

More than any other painting the subject matter of Émile Jean-Horace Vernet's *Italian Brigands Surprised by Papal Troops* (1830) (figure 70) maps onto Lombroso's criminal anthropology. Vernet's painting depicts series of events: bandits (identifiable because of their bright, eclectic dress) are ambushed by Papal soldiers identifiable because of their sharp, military uniforms) while in the midst of attacking a carriage along the road (abandoned in the left-background) and abducting a young woman (in the blue dress, being led away up the mountain on the back-right).

The narrative takes place amid a mountainous coastal landscape. The cliffs dominate the image, so much so, that its coastal aspects, a serene, by contrast, beach and sea linger in the background, as the eye is drawn through the cliffs and along the road. A large part of the foreground depicts the road. Breaking with these rural signs are some signs of 'civilisation'; the well-trodden road, indicated by its clear path, the surrounding wall as well as a tomb and chapel. At the centre-front of the painting two Papal soldiers are on horseback (more linger in the background).

The narrative aspects of this painting are conveyed by capturing mid-action. Two Papal soldiers on horseback are about to strike two bandits. The bandit centre-front of the painting. The more frontal male bandit stabs the horse in vain (indicated by the wound on the horse and the blood covered blade in his hand). The Papal soldier is about to shoot him, with, the image suggests, ease. Meanwhile the second soldier is about to kill a bandit at his feet, extremely difficult to make out as his clothing blends into the horse, so much so that it is easy to confuse the soldier as attacking one of the female bandits who kneels, at his feet her arm and hand outstretched in physical and symbolic defence. The other woman bandit prays on the steps of the chapel. These two women bandits are more passive than the men. On the right-hand side of the image one bandit shoots his gun, the sparks from the

gunpowder are visible whilst one flees with an ornate cushion and case. Though the two social types are merged in the cluster in the foreground, they are clearly separated in the background. In the right background a woman in a light blue dress stands out. She is flanked by two bandits, being led deeper into the rocky landscape. The instantaneous timing of the scene is emphasized; one of the soldiers, his horse, and the bandit he is fighting are frozen above the ground. The soldier is holding the bandit by the bandana around his neck. The powerlessness of the bandit's position is emphasized in the extension of his limbs. The soldier's gun is steady against the bandit's head, and the bandit's weapons are pointed away in a haphazard manner. The same details that show the scene as a frozen instant in time, also create a sense of uncertainty. Though the mounted soldiers have the upper hand in the fight, their victory does not seem guaranteed. Although the scene is set in modern actuality, there are references to Italy's history as well, such as the carved marble sarcophagus in the right foreground. Such details and the costumes worn by the bandits and their women locate the scene firmly into modern Italy. Though Vernet painted a complex narrative in *Italian Brigands Surprised by Papal Troops*, he draws the viewer's focus to the fight between two soldiers and two bandits. The remaining narrative elements act as background and emphasis on this central group



Figure 70. Émile Jean-Horace Vernet (1830) *Italian Brigands Surprised by Papal Troops*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, [https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q18748591#/media/File:Horace_Vernet - Italian Brigands Surprised by Papal Troops - Walters 3754.jpg](https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q18748591#/media/File:Horace_Vernet_-_Italian_Brigands_Surprised_by_Papal_Troops_-_Walters_3754.jpg).

Conclusion

Lombroso argued that his born criminal could be observed in Fine Art. Although he selected the artworks he did because of their style he was unable to suppress their larger subject matter. In the next chapter I move on to focus on a series of artworks that depict a specific subject—that of the Gothic. That Lombroso was unable to suppress an Artwork's content and even subject beyond his focus on born criminal physiognomies is significant when considering how Art contributed to the born criminal's visibility. As much as he attempted to suppress it, Art for Lombroso was narrative. In this respect it can be contrasted with the taxonomic, 'decontextualized' (Malcolm, 2008) skull and portrait photographs in Lombroso's criminal anthropology. In the case of portrait photographs signs of subjectivity or personhood were removed or minimised to discern instead the ideal or type. These Artworks were operating

in a different way to the skull and portrait photographs. Narrative accounts they contribute to the visuality of the born criminal. These images were part of Lombroso's narrative efforts to construct his born criminal (on which see Rafter, 2009).

CHAPTER SEVEN

ARTISTIC GENIUS AND CRIMINALITY: AN IRREDEEMABLE RELATIONSHIP?

Introduction

I began the preceding chapter by citing a quotation which appeared in the fifth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1896-1897a). The quotation appeared at the beginning of his discussion and analyses of the relationship between criminal anthropology and fine art. It is worth repeating: 'Un'altra prova dell'esistenza del tipo criminale si ha nel vedere come il genio degli artisti ne abbia intuito e applicato l'esistenza assai prima che l'antropologia criminale lo dimostrasse scientificamente [Another piece of evidence of the existence of the criminal type can be seen in how the genius of artists glimpsed its reality and applied its existence, long before criminal anthropology was able to prove it scientifically]' (Lombroso, 1896-1897a: 321). Therein I focused in on Lombroso's interest in 'how' artists practiced. I return to that quotation in this chapter. This time, though, my focus is on the ways in which this quotation acts as a starting point from which to ascertain Lombroso's thoughts about those fine artists whose artworks he argued depicted his born criminal. Specifically, there are two components of this quotation that hold the key to Lombroso's thinking in this regard. The first is component of which is the point that Lombroso made about artists having 'glimpsed' (Lombroso, 1896-1897a: 321)—a reference to seeing—the born criminal well before he and his colleagues did. The second component is a concept therein, specifically Lombroso's use of the term 'il genio degli artisti [artistic genius]' (Lombroso, 1896-1897a: 321).

I begin this chapter firstly by analysing the idea that these artists were Lombroso's precursors. I outline the argument by a member of Lombroso's school, Antonini Giuseppe, that artists were depicting the born criminal because of their status as geniuses. I then offer

a brief history of genius, tracing the concept from the ancient through to the early modern and finally late modern period. Moreover, I describe Lombroso's efforts therein, identifying his corpus on the subject. I then argue and demonstrate how Lombroso's focus on genius was a specific one on artistic genius. I describe Lombroso's causal theory of genius observing that because he explained it in biological terms that it was very close to his theory of criminality. I then go on to demonstrate that Lombroso did indeed think of many artistic geniuses as criminals and he offered accounts of their heinous crimes but that he redeems them, and it is in this context of redemption and triumph that they came to feature in his criminal anthropology.

This was the concept that Lombroso applied to those artists whose works he argued depicted the born criminal and, as such, analysing its meaning reveals the ways in which Lombroso thought about them which in turn explains why he considered them suitable authorities for his criminal anthropology.

Artists as Lombroso's precursors

The quotation that I cite in the introduction above reveals that Lombroso considered artists to be criminal anthropological precursors (Lombroso, 1896-7*a*: 321). Lombroso's daughter, Gina Lombroso-Ferrero (1872-1944) translated Lombroso's Italian-language version of this quotation as follows: 'Painters and poets unhampered by false doctrines divined this type long before it became the subject of a special branch of study' (Lombroso, 1911: 49). Lombroso-Ferrero took a more expansive definition of artist adding literary to Lombroso's visual or fine artists. Moreover, she replaced Lombroso's explicit reference to 'glimpsing' (Lombroso, 1896-1897*a*: 321) or seeing with 'divination'. This, too, is significant because it was a nod to artists belonging to Lombroso's evidential intellectual paradigm that literary

and cultural historians have already observed (Past, 2012; Stewart-Steinberg, 2008) (see, chapter two).

That artists were considered to be Lombroso's precursors were echoed by his contemporaries. For example, take member of Lombroso's school Antonini Giuseppe's *precursori di Lombroso* [*The Precursors of Lombroso*] (1900). Chapter six therein is entitled 'I precursori nell'arte e della psico-patologia del genio [The forerunners in the art and psychopathology of genius]' (1900: 156-169). Antonini repeats Lombroso's sentiments with regards to artists being early criminal anthropologists: 'Fra le prove che possono essere portate a dimostrare che esiste un tipo di fisionomia criminale facilmente rilevabile a chi abbia acume di osservazione, stanno le opere dei grandi artisti [Among the tests that can be carried out to show that there is a type of criminal physiognomy easily detectable to those who have acumen of observation, are the works of great artists] (1900: 156). Antonini did not cite the works of art in which Lombroso saw his born criminal. To the contrary he pointed out that Lombroso himself had already achieved this. Instead Antonini added that anyone might visit their local art gallery and see with their own eyes how artistic geniuses depicted Lombroso's born criminal. Antonini himself speaks of a trip to a Piedmont art gallery (likely the Varallo *Palazzo dei Musei*) in which he saw exactly this in a series of artworks that spanned the entire modern period, that is from, he said, the fifteenth century (1900: 157):

Ognuno visitando la pinacoteca che gli è più vicina può facilmente persuadersene. Citerò solo per esperienza mia come in quel grande e meraviglioso museo di arte italiana dal quattrocento ai giorni nostri, che è il Santuario di Varallo-Sesia, io abbia riscontrato perfettamente che i migliori artisti, pittori e scultori hanno sempre colpito le note caratteristiche del tipo delinquente nella rappresentazione dei soggetti che nell'azione esprimevano la malvagità.

Everyone visiting the closest art gallery to them will be easily persuaded. I will mention only for my experience as in that great and marvellous museum of Italian art from the fifteenth to the present day, which is the Sanctuary of Varallo-Sesia, I have found perfectly that the best artists, painters and sculptors have always impressed the known characteristics of

the type delinquent in the representation of the subjects that in the action expressed the wickedness.

A brief history of genius

Antonini is simultaneously adamant that these artists' doing so was related to their genius. In fact, the predominant contents of his chapter on the subject was concerned with unpacking the relationship between depictions of the born criminal type in fine artworks and what he called 'La questione del genio [the question of genius]' (1900: 156).

The visual cultural and art historian Jonathan Harris observes that: '[A]rtistic genius encapsulated the traditional art historical idea that the greatest artists have inborn, instinctive abilities that are mysterious, or, at any rate, hard to explain, and possibly divinely inspired' (Harris, 2006: 130). This conception of artistic genius dominated during the early modern period. It can be found, for example, in the art historian Giorgio Vasari's (1511-1574) conception of Michelangelo's abilities in *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori* (*Lives of the Most Excellent Italian Architects, Painters and Sculptors*) (1550).

This early modern understanding of genius premised on the idea of a higher spiritual and even divine order and typified by scholars such as Vasari was gradually eroded throughout the modern period. The cultural historian Darrin McMahon observes that by the seventeenth century a 'new kind of cultural hero' of genius had emerged (2013: 68). Prominent intellectual figures participated in the erosion of pre-modern genius including René Descartes (1596-1650) and the philosopher François-Marie Arouet or Voltaire (1694-1778) (McMahon, 2013: 68). Seventeenth and eighteenth-century genius was a man of rationality and reason. In Lombroso's nineteenth century genius underwent another shift and was explained through a new knowledge framework premised on materialism and empiricism.

Research on genius attracted a considerable number of venerable scholars during the era (McMahon, 2013). One such scholar was Lombroso. Lombroso's thinking on genius was contained in his first monograph *Genio e follia* [*Genius and Insanity*] (1864)⁶⁶. This credit usually misattributed (see, for example, Nisbett, 1982) to Lombroso's English colleague—a familiar figure from chapter 4, namely Francis Galton (1822-1911) (1869), whose composite-photographic method Lombroso thought best for visually representing his born criminal (see, chapter 4). While Galton's theory of genius, published in his *Hereditary of Genius* (1869) was far more influential—herein Galton coined the term 'eugenics'—it did not predate Lombroso's. In any case, hereditary explanations of genius like Lombroso's gathered scholarly interest throughout the close of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century with the rise of eugenics and relatedly fascism in Italy and Germany. Though the idea still endures in popular culture, it was finally rubbished mid-century by the denigration of what was by then parodically called the 'cult of the genius' (Harris, 2006).

Like *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878; 1884; 1889a, b; 1896-1897a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c and 1896-1897d), *Genio e follia* [*Genius and Madness*] underwent a convoluted publication history. The first four editions of *Genio e follia* (1864; 1872; 1877; 1882) appeared in a short twenty-year period, each time significantly revised and expanded. The fifth and sixth editions were renamed *L'uomo di genio in 214 acia214i alla psichiatria, alla storia ed all'estetica* [*Man of genius in relation to psychiatry, history and aesthetics*] (herein *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*]) (1889; 1894). In 1891, between the fifth and sixth editions, Havelock Ellis (1859-1939), Lombroso's foremost English follower, translated and abridged the fifth edition into English. Ellis reduced Lombroso's 650-page to one less than half its size at 300 pages. Following that, Lombroso then published two manifestly different works on the

⁶⁶ It was published some thirty years before the fifth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* (1896-7) from which the quotation above is from. Nevertheless, the quotation demonstrates that *Genio e follia*'s principle idea—that of (artistic) genius—was carried into *L'uomo delinquente*. As such, it is important that criminologists familiarise themselves with this earlier work. As with *L'uomo delinquente* (1876) *Genio e follia* (1864) underwent a convoluted publication history.

subject, *Genio e degenerazione* [*Genius and Degeneration*] in 1897, finally concluding his studies with a new work, *Nuovi studi sul genio* in 1902. I use the fifth edition of *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (1889).

Lombroso and male genius

Women were notably absent in Lombroso's list of artistic geniuses. That women were absent may owe to Lombroso's considering genius more generally to be absent in women. 'In the history of genius,' he declared, 'women have but a small place'. Yet it seems he was willing to concede that they could exist, claiming that, 'women of genius are rare exceptions in the world' (Lombroso, 1891: 137). He goes on to list exceptional women across the intellectual spectrum including in what he calls the 'fine arts'. They were: French Realist painter Rosa Bonheur (1822-1899), a prominent woman artist and Élisabeth Lebrun (1755-1842), great niece of Charles Lebrun who made Lombroso's list of authoritative men artistic geniuses. And yet, for all his bringing these two women into the limelight, he did so only for a moment since he was not entirely willing to concede the accolade of artistic genius to women. He concluded in his discussion of women geniuses in the fine arts that: 'But of all of these, none touch the summits reached by Michelangelo'. The distinction here between Michelangelo and the aforementioned women artists is a qualitative one. At first sight, this comparison with Michelangelo presents as a quantitative distinction whereby genius is on the extreme end of a continuum of talent.

The historical sociologist George Becker describes how there was a belief that genius was merely an excess of talent was one that existed at this time. However, as Becker points out, Lombroso viewed this as a qualitative distinction (Becker, 1978). This is evidenced in what he went on to say: 'Even J.S. Mill, who was very partial to the cause of women, confessed that they lacked originality. They are, above all, conservators' (Lombroso, 1891:

137-8). In his attributing conservator status to these women he is saying that they are merely guardians or custodians of the arts, that they are not, as he suggests Mill says, original, but are continuing and preserving what already exists, namely the work of men. Thus, whilst these women were exceptional to Lombroso's mind, they were not geniuses. Lombroso took this idea to *La donna delinquente*, too: 'Compared to male intelligence, female intelligence is deficient primarily in creative power [...] This deficiency reveals itself immediately in the absence of female geniuses' (Lombroso, 2004/). The same list of women artists appeared, once more with the addition of the Italian Baroque painter, Elisabetta Sirani (1638-1655). Yet, tellingly, they do not make the grade as authorities for his criminal anthropology.

Lombroso and (artistic) genius

The art historian John MacGregor (1989: 94) argues that 'no single publication has contributed more [the fifth edition of *Genio e follia*] toward shaping the popular conception of artistic genius'. I was unable to obtain a copy of the fifth edition of *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (1888) and so I refer to its English-language translation *The Man of Genius* (1891) and its sixth edition (1894) in this chapter and its English-language translation, *Man of Genius* (1891). Lombroso's was not merely concerned with genius, but 'artistic genius'. This is not surprising since genius was associated with creativity and the arts more generally at that time. Raymond Williams (1983: 143) highlights that in both France and England by the late-eighteenth century genius was concerned with creativity which turn by the eighteenth century was associated with the arts (Williams, 1983: 82-84).

That Lombroso's scholarship on genius was about the arts is evidenced by Havelock Ellis's English-language translation of the fifth edition of *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (1889), *Man of Genius* (Lombroso, 1891). The reader is immediately confronted by a five-page fold-out frontispiece on opening the book (figure 71). Three maps of the newly unified

Kingdom of Italy feature therein. The cultural geographer and historian Susan Schultern (2012) discuss how nineteenth century map-making was not merely a way to illustrate data but were visually significant as images in and of themselves. The geographical distribution of artistic geniuses specifically visual and performance artists that is painters and musicians is indicated by a colour-coded system (a rare example of a colour image in Lombroso's scholarship).

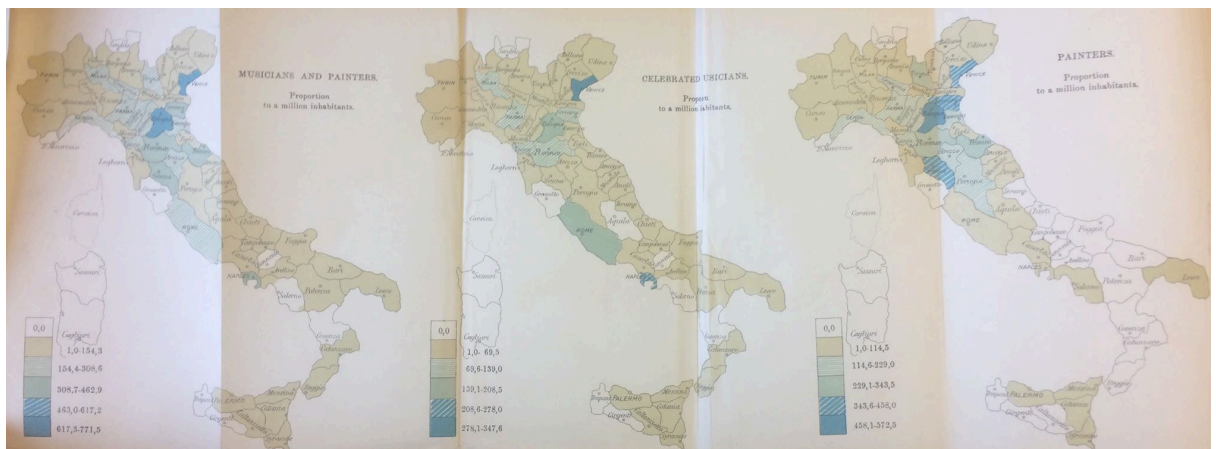


Figure 71. *Man of Genius* (1891: frontispiece). Kate West photograph.

Literary scholar Gérard Genette (1997) argues in his influential book *Paratexts* that the frontispiece of a literary text is, like its content more generally, material legitimated by the author. Although *Man of Genius* (1891) is not a literary text literary scholars and criminologists argue that Lombroso's style was a literary one (see, for example, Past, 2008; Rafter, 2009). The historian Laura Meneghello goes as far as to argue that a literary style played a central role in popularising his book among his intended middle-class audience. Meneghello argues that this was especially the case with his foreign-language translations (2017:406), such as *Man of Genius* (Lombroso, 1891). It is possible to discern signs of the literary in Lombroso's *Man of Genius* by paying attention to its publishing house, too. The Walter Scott Publishing Company published literary, not scientific works. However, the publisher set up a new 'Contemporary Science Series', edited by Havelock Ellis in the late

nineteenth century. Lombroso's *Man of Genius* (1891) was part of the series. Nevertheless, that *Man of Genius* took a literary form can be discerned from the way in which these books were designed as cultural artefacts for the middle classes. All of this is to say that the use of this image as the frontispiece was both legitimated by Lombroso. Moreover, all of this is to say that the frontispiece also worked as frontispieces did in literary works more generally. And literary scholars argue that the late modern⁶⁷ (c. 1700-1900) frontispiece served as a 'visual clue' (Barchas, 1996: 265) or icon of a book's larger content that is concerned with literary and visual artists.

A letter sent by Ellis to Lombroso (figures 72 and 73) demonstrated Lombroso's efforts to ensure that the English-language translation of *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (1889), *Man of Genius* (1891), in which the frontispiece appeared retained its focus on painters. Lombroso and Ellis enjoyed not infrequent written communications during the late nineteenth century. The letter in question dates from the beginning of September 1890, one year before *Man of Genius* went to press. On the first page of the letter Scott implies that the reproductions of paintings in Part Three of *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (1889)—which I discuss later in this chapter—were not of sufficient quality to reproduce:

We should only be able to use a few of the illustrations of the Genius book in their present shape; the rest we should either have to omit or do entirely afresh. We should have to omit [illegible] painters from Part III, but I do not propose to omit anything of the earlier part of the volume, dealing directly with genius.

Overleaf written at a ninety-degree angle on the inside left margin of the second page of the letter, Ellis, independently of the rest of the letter: 'you are no doubt aware of the beautiful and curious pictures by a paranoiac artist given in the *American Journal of Psychiatry* for May 1888 and a subsequent number'.

⁶⁷ I do not use the terminology 'late modern' in the social scientific, but historical context.

IMAGE OMITTED AWAITING

PERMISSIONS

Figure 72. Letter from Ellis to Lombroso 5th September, 1890 (1 of 2), *Museo Lombroso*, IT SMAUT CARRARA_2016_CL.54. 1a.

IMAGE OMITTED AWAITING

PERMISSIONS

Figure 73. Letter from Ellis to Lombroso, 5th September, 1890 (2 of 2)., courtesy of *Museo Lombroso*, IT SMAUT CARRARA_2016_CL.54. 1b

A specific kind of artistic genius occupied a predominant role in *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (1889). This is immediately apparent when taking a cursory glance through the book. It is characteristically visual, and images abound therein. Of all of the images, though, the ones that stand out are the paintings Lombroso reproduced by Antoine Wiertz (1806-1865). Early on in the book Lombroso reproduced Wiertz's *Suicide* (1854); his *A Giant of the Earth* (1860); and Wiertz's tryptic *Thoughts and Visions of a Decapitated Head* (1853). Later on, in the book Lombroso reproduced Wiertz's *Severed Head* (1855); and an associated study (date of execution unknown). I do reproduce these images here at this early stage of the chapter since they will be the subject of analysis later in the chapter where therefore I do reproduce them.

The causes of artistic genius: atavism and degeneration

Lombroso begins *The Man of Genius* by reflecting on the way in which alienists understand genius: 'Even genius the one human power before which we may bow to the knee without

shame, has been classed by not a few alienists as on the confines of criminality, one of the teratologic forms of the human mind, a variety of insanity' (1891: 2). He observes, thus, that alienists have related genius to criminality (and, in turn, insanity).

As to the cause of genius Lombroso cited a biological explanation⁶⁸. It was this explanation that meant that Lombroso was not just another thinker in the history of genius and his role therein was by no means a marginal one. To the contrary Lombroso was the first scholar to explain the causes and idea of genius in biological terms. That he did so should not be surprising—as criminologists know, Lombroso's epistemology was rooted in biological explanations and his research on genius was by no means an exception

Specifically, he considered geniuses to be degenerates: 'A theory, which has for some years flourished in the psychiatric world, admits that a large proportion of mental and physical affections are the result of degeneration, of the action, that is, of heredity'. For Lombroso the clinical explanation of degeneration lay in a person's 'phagocytes' (Lombroso, 1894: 630, cited in Sergi, 1889: 91):

The explanation and the origin of genius is to be found in degeneration; its anomalies, its atavistic regressions, are explained by that struggle which is carried on by the phagocytes of the organs, described by Roux and Metchnikov, which takes place in all great transformations of living organisms, and which leads necessarily to the predominance of one organ, and to the atrophy of others.

Later, Lombroso would revise his causal theory of genius in *Genio e degenerazione* (1897) arguing that genius was the product of a new concept called 'regressive evolution', where certain parts of the body remain stagnant while others evolve, or new ones evolve. Moreover, as well as this biological explanation of genius, Lombroso also argued that practicing the visual arts could 'encourage the development of mental disease' (1891: 205)⁶⁹.

⁶⁸ Just like his biological explanation of criminality, Lombroso's biological conception of artistic genius was displaced by later sociological ways of thinking about the concept (see, for example, Becker, 1982).

⁶⁹ Here we see Lombroso's purely biological thesis fading as he incorporates ideas about social practices into it. It is comment here about the potential for biological disease to develop from an embodied social, cultural and

Genius and criminality: an indistinguishable relationship

Using a biological explanation and specifically degeneration as the cause of genius brought Lombroso's theory of genius close to his theory of criminality. As the historian of medicine Paolo Mazzarello (2011: 97) observes, Lombroso thought that 'criminality, madness and genius were all sides of the same psychobiological condition: an expression of degeneration'. Geniuses were like born criminals, atavisms, manifestations of an earlier, degenerate stage in evolution.

It is possible to identify the similarities between genius and criminality even in terms of his using the same secondary explanatory frameworks to describe its somatic symptoms, that is symptoms that were visible on the body. Lombroso listed a characteristically long list of the various signs of degeneration. Among them were physiognomy and craniology, those two medical discourses that structured his analyses of criminality more generally. Lombroso observed 'cretin-like physiognomy' (1891: 3) in a number of visual and literary artists including Gottfried Mind (1768-1814), 'a celebrated painter of cats' according to Lombroso and Rembrandt (1606-1669) as well as Fyodor Dostoyevsky (1821-1881).

That physiognomy and craniology were among the indicators of genius is significant. Lombroso observed that other intellectuals had noticed that criminals and geniuses had similar physiognomies. Take the following quotation where Lombroso unusually and almost exceptionally deferred to a woman intellectual, Louise-Cécile Vincens whose penname was Arvéde Barine (1840-1908), a French historian and literary critic (Lombroso, 1891: 334 and Barine, 1887 cited therein)⁷⁰: 'Arved Barine, in noticing the beauty of countenance of certain

specifically artistic practice can be interpreted as a precursor for what Nikolas Rose calls the 'new biological criminology' (2010) whereby environment can anticipate a biological predisposition to antisocial behaviour and even crime.

⁷⁰ Lombroso's citing Barine was an exceptional instance in which he deferred to a woman intellectual. Lombroso considered women intellectuals inferior to their male counterparts. He may have deferred to Barine

brigands figured in my work in *L'uomo Delinquente*, has very justly observed that “[brigandage] requires high intellectual endowments, and precisely the same as those needed by [geniuses], who certainly have had no superabundance of moral sense. History proves that the moral sense is in no degree a function of the intellect”.

This elision in Lombroso’s scholarship between the concepts of artistic genius and criminality warrants explanation. That artistic genius and criminality were part of the same framework would present artists as a problematic figure. Indeed, scholars have interpreted Lombroso’s views on genius more generally as problematic with regards to his viewing them as degenerate atavisms. For example, Becker (1978: 38) argues that degeneration was the most damning characteristic of Lombroso’s conception of genius:

The most controversial indictment of genius is contained in the degeneracy argument, encountered most often in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This concept [...] popularized by Lombroso [...] conceived of degeneracy as a state of biological inferiority caused by reversion to an earlier type.

One early-twentieth century critic, the psychologist Woodbridge Riley (1869-1933), attacked Lombroso’s conception of genius precisely because it framed such great men in such ‘negative’ terms. He further lambasted Lombroso for including some of the most famous men in what he aptly called ‘the dragnet of degeneration’ (1905: 345). Even today (MacGregor, 1989: 94) has embraced a similar disdainful view towards Lombroso’s biological explanation of genius and the baggage of insanity and by extension criminality it carries. MacGregor describes that Lombroso implicated some of the most celebrated figures of ancient and modern history into his theory of genius:

because her analysis of his criminal anthropology entitled, ‘Physionomie du criminel: D’après M. Lombroso’ and published in the *La Revue politique et littéraire* [*The Political and Literary Review*], was forgiving compared to those by her French counterparts and especially Gabrielle Tarde. *L'uomo delinquente* was translated into French in 1887. The reviews were immediate and overwhelmingly negative. This observation relates to recent historical research that revises the well-trodden historiography of Lombroso’s negative reception in France. This scholarship is for the first time demonstrating the convergence rather than dissonance in thought between the French and Italian Schools of criminal anthropology (see, Renneville, 2013).

No major figure in the arts, philosophy, or even natural science could escape the vilification of these mudslinging pathographers. Lombroso's determination to attribute the creativity of most artists, and particularly those he did not like, to hereditary insanity inevitably led to serious distortion and exaggeration in his study of the fine arts.

Criminal genius: the artist and especially the painter

Lombroso confirmed that there was indeed a close relationship between genius and criminality in a chapter entitled 'Intelligenza e istruzione dei delinquenti [Intelligence and education of delinquents] in the first edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876: 88-101). In a section on 'Delinquenti di genio [Delinquency of genius]' (1876: 93) Lombroso described how there were many geniuses who were criminals: 'Non si può negare, tuttavia, che vi sieno stati, qua e là, dei delinquenti di vero genio [It cannot be denied, however, that there were, here and there, criminals of true genius' (1876: 93).

His conception of criminal genius was premised on the idea of creativity. He argued that criminal geniuses were 'creatori, cioè, di nuove forme di delitti, 223aci inventori del male [creators, that is, of new forms of crimes, true inventors of evil] (1876: 93). He noted that this was particularly the case in their ability to evade punishment. He cited various geniuses to illustrate this idea including Eugene François Vidocq (1775-1857) (1876: 93):

Certamente era uomo di genio il Vidocq, che riusciva ad 223acia223 una ventina di volte ed a far cadere nelle mani della giustizia parecchie centinaia di delinquenti, e tracciarci colle sue Memorie una vera psicologia del delitto.

Vidocq was certainly a genius man, who managed to escape about twenty times and to drop several hundred of criminals into the hands of justice, and to trace with his Memoirs a true psychology of the crime.

As the above quotation described Vidocq was a nineteenth-century criminal famous and known to Lombroso not on account of his crimes but his unrivalled capacity to repeatedly successfully escape from France's prisons including the Bicêtre, the men's prison at the Paris

Hôpital Général (Bosworth, 2001: 432 f.n. 2). Lombroso also knew Vidocq for his profession as a scientist and specifically ‘criminalist’ or forensic scientist. Lombroso also likely admired him because he set up the first private-detective agencies. In chapter four I observed that Lombroso admired private-detective agencies because he considered them as the forefront of a modern response to crime (Lombroso, 2006: 135-136).

Lombroso’s use of Vidocq to illustrate the concept of criminal genius was important. Lombroso juxtaposed scientists with artists to emphasise that artists not scientists were typical criminal geniuses. In a section entitled ‘Delinquenti scienziati, ecc [Delinquent scientists, etc] (1876: 94) Lombroso described how he was relieved that scientists were not often found among the ranks of criminal geniuses: ‘È bello il notare, come scarsissimi sieno i delinquenti nel mondo scientifico. E anche di questi, alcuni non bene accertati [It is nice to notice how scarce criminals are in the scientific world] (1876: 94). Lombroso then goes onto explain the reasons why this was the case. Scientists, Lombroso argued, were able to overcome ‘passioni [passions]’ that he thought would otherwise drive them to commit crime (1876: 95):

E in ciò non "è alcuna meraviglia. Uomini avvezzi a respirare la serena atmosfera della scienza, che è già scopo e diletto a sé stessa uomini, esercitati ai criterj del vero, più facilmente riescono a domare le brutali passioni, e naturalmente ripugnano dal ravvoltolarsi nelle tor- tuose e sterili vie del delitto

And it is no wonder that this is the case. Men accustomed to breathing the serene atmosphere of science, purposeful and a pleasurable to men, practice according to the criteria of truth. They easily manage to tame the brutal passions and are naturally repelled from being inveigled in the tormented and base ways of crime.

By describing scientists in this way Lombroso was then able to juxtapose them with artists, which he took to mean literary and visual artists. As such, he isolated a particular artistic genius as being particularly criminal, namely visual over literary artists: ‘Più spesso

che nei letterati, troviamo il delitto negli artisti, [More often than in the literati, we find criminality in [visual] artists' (1876: 95)⁷¹.

Men favorevolmente si presenta la criminalità nei letterati ed artisti. In molti di questi le passioni, prevalendo assai più, perchè entrano fra i più potenti fattori dell'estro, sono meno frenate dai criteri del vero e delle severe deduzioni della logica, che non negli scienziati.

Men are favourably presented in the literati and artists. In many of these passions, prevailing much more, because they are among the most powerful factors of estro, are less restrained by the criteria of truth and by the strict deductions of logic than by scientists.

Historian of Renaissance Italy Paolo Rossi observes that Lombroso's perception about visual artists being characteristically criminal had a longer cultural history (1994: 179). Indeed, it continues to the present day. For example, this thesis endures in the scholarship of criminologists today. Shlomo Giora Shoham's *Art, Crime and Madness* (2002) is notable in this regard. Shoham argues that artists and criminals are 'innovators', the latter but not the former in the Mertonian (1938) sense. They both transcend normative boundaries in this regard. In their innovations they must both transcend the boundaries of consciousness, which Shoham interprets as a form of madness. Lombroso highlighted in particular that visual artists committed, 'specialmente il delitto di sangue per causa d'amore e per gelosia di mestiere [especially bloody crimes inspired by love and professional jealousy]' (1876: 95).

Amongst their number Lombroso cited Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571), famous for his bronze-cast statue, *Persius with the Head of Medusa* (1545-1554) (figure 74), which can be seen today in the *Loggia dei Lanzi*, a building on the *Piazza della Signoria*, Florence, Italy.

⁷¹ Lombroso may well have been taking criminality amongst artists out of context, which has historically been done in relation to specific crimes, specifically sodomy which although legal proscribed was widely practiced (Rossi, 1994: 179).



Figure 74. Benvenuto Cellini (1545-1554) *Persius with the Head of Medusa*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed 29th September 2018, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perseus_with_the_Head_of_Medusa#/media/File:03_2015_Perseo_con_la_testa_di_Medusa-Benvenuto_Cellini-Piazza della Signoria-Loggia dei Lanzi-volta a crociera-ordine corinzio \(Firenze\) Photo Paolo Villa FOTO9260.JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perseus_with_the_Head_of_Medusa#/media/File:03_2015_Perseo_con_la_testa_di_Medusa-Benvenuto_Cellini-Piazza_della_Signoria-Loggia_dei_Lanzi-volta_a_crociera-ordine_corinzio_(Firenze)_Photo_Paolo_Villa_FOTO9260.JPG).

Cellini was particularly well-known in Lombroso's late-nineteenth century. His notoriety owed to the posthumous eighteenth-century publication of his autobiography. Cellini wrote his autobiography *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini scultore fiorentino* [*The Life of Bevenuto Cellini Florentine Goldsmith and Sculptor*] (herein *Vita*) in the mid-sixteenth century

but it was not published until 1728. It was canonized during the nineteenth century (Betjemann, 2009) and read widely by eminent scholars including Lombroso. That Lombroso read Cellini's *Vita* (1728) can be deduced from what he wrote about the artist, writings which are almost lifted of the pages of Cellini's *Vita*. Historians of Renaissance Italy have observed that Cellini's *Vita* was characterised by a fictitious, literary dimension (see also Alteri Biagi, 1972; Forti-Lewis, 1986; Guglielminetti, 1974; 1977). Paolo Rossi argues in the edited collection *Crime, Society and the Law in Renaissance Italy* (Trevor and Lowe, 1994) Cellini's *Vita* was 'a literary adventure, a reworking of specific *topoi* [literary themes] to recreate, not the real man, but a carefully, delineated image' and that '[i]t is not the life of Benvenuto that is being set before us but that of a character called Benvenuto' (Rossi, 1994: 158). This is to say that Cellini fabricated, distorted, or, by contrast suppressed or totally omitted some of his crimes (all of which he details in Book One of the *Vita*). What tells us that Lombroso derived his knowledge from Cellini's *Vita* is the fact, that as I will show below, is his re-telling of Cellini's *Vita* compared with what historians have been able to discern from historical archives about Cellini's criminal career (Rossi, 1994: 159-160):

If we believe every instance of crime recorded in the *Autobiography* and add those recorded to archival documents, the St Peter would have had a formidable list to consider in judging Cellini at the pearly gates. According to the *Autobiography*, he was guilty of three murders, numerous counts of assault, brawling, duelling, and causing malicious damage, two accusations of theft and two accusations of sodomy. Not mentioned in the *Autobiography*, but revealed in the archival documents, are two convictions for sodomy, two court appearances for violence and one death sentence. But these crimes should not be grouped together. Some crimes were committed by the character Cellini in the *Autobiography* while other belong to the real world.

As Rossi concludes: 'Crime and punishment are important themes in Cellini's autobiography, but they are not there as a record of reality' (1994: 181). The claim was most applicable to Cellini whose many and varied crimes were frequently a result of professional jealousy

according to his *Vita*. That he had read the *Vita* can be inferred from the following passage (Lombroso, 1876: 117):

Nella sua Vita²²⁸ Cellini orpellare alcuni delitti, altri scusarli quali un effetto della fatalità delle²²⁸ aciae, come si diceva a quei tempi; in due soli passi egli si tradisce affatto, quando non solo non respinge "accusa di sodomia, gittatagli in²²⁸ aciaa da un avversario, ma se ne pavoneggia, quasi di una prova di gusto fino; e quando mostra co'egli reputasse lecito, e quindi non degno di biasimo, il commettere delitti. « Sappi che gli uomini come il Benvenuto, unici nella loro professione, non hanno da essere obbligati alle leggi »; ma anche in questo passo si nasconde al'ombra del pontefice.

Cellini tries to address some of his crimes during his life, excusing them as an effect of the fatality of the stars, as was said at the time; in only two steps he betrays himself at all, when he not only does not reject the accusation of sodomy, thrown into his face by an adversary, but he boast about it, almost like a proof of his tastes; and when he shows how he considered lawful, and therefore not worthy of blame, to commit crimes. "Know that men like Benvenuto, unique in their profession, do not have to be obliged to the law"; but also, in this passage he hides himself in the shadow of the pontiff.

Lombroso could be referring here to the second murder Cellini tells his reader about—the murder of his brother's killer. As Lombroso notes, Cellini went to lengths to excuse himself of criminal responsibility for this crime (Cellini, 1985 Book I: 51, cited in Rossi, 1994: 165):

I raised my dagger above his bent head and drove it exactly between his neck-bone and the nape of his neck... Giovan Bandini came in and told them that it was his dagger, and that he had lent it to me and that I wanted to revenge my brother. When they heard this the soldiers kept apologizing for having interrupt me though I had had my revenge in good measure.

Cultural and literary historian of Italy Richard Klopp observes that Cellini perceived his hallucinations as 'divine visions' (Klopp, 1999: 20). Others interpret them as astrologically inspired (Rossi, 1994: 181). 'The *Autobiography* was to represent the trials and tribulations of an innocent man, driven by his stars to perpetrate acts of violence against his will... Here the character Cellini is redeemed, enlightened and indeed illuminated when, like a saint from a religious painting, he emerges embellished with a personal halo bestowed on him as a mark of divine favour' (Rossi, 1994: 181) His firm belief in astrology led him to see his life as

determined by the effects of Mars in Scorpio. It That Lombroso himself was aware of this too can be seen from the way he refers to Cellini's hallucinations as 'fatality of the stars' (Lombroso, 1876: 95).

Beyond these, more explicit references to Cellini's autobiography, Lombroso draws implicitly from Cellini's autobiography. For example, he mentioned the painter's 'vagabondage', 'love of wandering' and 'frequent journeys' (which he argued was a characteristic of genius more generally). He explicitly mentioned Cellini's travels between Florence, Rome and Paris (Lombroso, 1891: 317). Cellini's vagabondage, as Lombroso put it, with some minor exceptions were mostly as a result of his many crimes, some of which Lombroso was aware. Thus, he was sentenced to death only to be saved by banishment from his native Florence for a violent assault on the Guasconti family in 1523—a crime fuelled by professional disagreement, testimony to Lombroso's point above. From there he travelled to Rome where he received papal favour—again something Lombroso points out when he remarks 'he hides himself in the shadow of the pontiff' (Lombroso, 1876: 117). In Rome, Cellini tells his reader that he murdered an adversary to avenge his brother's own murder. Cellini offers a lengthy excuse for this which is testimony to Lombroso's interpretation of his *Vita* where the criminal anthropologist is outraged by his attempts to justify his murder. Note that Rossi suggests this was one of Cellini's fabricated murders and so that Lombroso cites it in the first place is evidence of his reading and literal interpretation of Cellini's *Vita*.

Historians of the Italian Renaissance observe that there are no archival records of this happening, and as such indicates that Lombroso received this story from Cellini's autobiography. In 1534 Cellini murders again, once more because of a professional dispute, and this time in 'cold blood' (there is no excuse about vengeance here).

On this point he is referring to Cellini's travels to Rome (which were because of Cellini's banishment from his native Florence for an assault on the Guasconti family in 1523, a family of goldsmiths with whom there was mutual bad feeling (Cellini was also sentenced

to death but was saved by his banishment), his return to Florence in 1529 (to have the banishment repealed), his travels from Rome to Paris in c. 1539 after he lost the papal protection, and, eventually his return to Florence in 1545. These likely refer to the painter's trips to France to seek political refuge (Klopp, 1999: 13).

Lombroso identified Cellini's crimes as theft and murder: 'E basta ricordare la vita del Cellini, più volte omicida e forse ladro [And just remember the life of Cellini, several times homicide and perhaps thief] (Lombroso, 1876: 95). Cellini was additionally accused of stealing papal jewels.

Lombroso argued that painters were more criminal than any other type of artist. He explains painters' criminality through the idea of passion once more (Lombroso, 1876: 95):

E notisi, che mentre i pittori così abbondano fra i delinquenti, sono pochissimi gli scultori (non trovai che Cellini); nessun architetto; forse perchè qui la calma meditazione vuol la sua parte, come nella scienza. I pittori danno un contingente maggiore al delitto, anche forse per esser più dediti degli altri agli alcoolici.

And I notice, that while the painters so abound among the criminals, there are very few sculptors (with the exception of Cellini); no architect; perhaps because here calm meditation plays a part, as in science. The painters have a greater tendency to commit crime, perhaps because they are even more dedicated than others to the passions.

Lombroso criticised an entire swathe of 'omicidiarij [homicidal]' (Lombroso, 1876: 95) painters in this regard. Lombroso reeled them off in a crescendo-like fashion. First he berated the fifteenth-century painter Andrea del Castagno (1423-1457): 'E basta ricordare la vita del [...] Andrea del Castagno, che pugnava a tradimento Domenico Veneziano, per restar solo depositario del segreto della pittura ad olio [It is enough to remember the life of [...] Andrea del Castagno, who treacherously stabbed Domenico Veneziano to remain the sole custodian of the secret of oil painting]' (Lombroso, 1876: 95). Castagno had sought to discover and retain his friend and painter Veneziano's unique skills in oil painting, a medium he brought to Florence. He was yet another artist who succumbed to 'il delitto di

sangue per causa d'amore e per gelosia di mestiere ['bloody crimes inspired by love and professional jealousy]' (1876: 95)⁷². Next in Lombroso's firing line was 'il Tempesta [the Tempest]' (1876: 95), a nickname that he pointed out belonged to the seventeenth-century painter Pieter de Molyn the younger on account of his painting so many tempest-like landscape images (c. 1637-1701) (Lombroso, 1876: 117). Lombroso described how Molyn 'che uccide la moglie per sposare una ragazza [kills his wife to marry a girl]' (1876, 95). The nineteenth century art historian Matthew Pilkington (1701-1774) who wrote the standard nineteenth century reference work on artists described Molyn therein as 'dissolute and vicious' (Pilkington, 1857: 355) on account of his affair with a young woman in Genoa and subsequent plot and successful execution of his wife's murder (Pilkington, 1857: 355-356). Others included the sixteenth-century painter Agostino Tassi (1578-1644) (Lombroso, 1876: 95) who, like Molyn, fell in love with a young woman, the artist Artesmisia Lomi or Gentileschi (1593-1656), and organised the murder of his own wife. Next up was the sixteenth century painter Michelangelo Caravaggio (1571-1610) (Lombroso, 1876: 95) famed for the grisly murder of Ranuccio Tommasoni (date of birth unknown- 1606) in Rome during a 'gang fight' in 1606 (Stone, 2010). Finally, Lombroso (1876: 95) identified an artist by the name of 'Courtois', the French spelling of a seventeenth-century artist who spent his entire life in Italy where he was better known as (Jacopo) Cortese or *Il Borgognone* (1621-1676). Like Molyn and Tassi, Cortese was accused of murdering his wife, too (Pilkington, 1824: 233).

⁷² In 1862, well more than a decade before Lombroso's writings on the subject, Gaetano Milanesi (1813-1895) (1862a; 1862b), a nineteenth century art historian revealed that Castagno died four years before Veneziano. This meant that he could not have committed the murder that Lombroso tells his readers about (Milanesi, 1862). Lombroso, was perhaps unaware of this finding, although it is worth noting that he was reading Milanesi's other scholarship on the Renaissance visual arts, specifically his *Le lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti* [The letters of Michelangelo Buonarroti] (1875) leaving the question open of whether he chose to ignore preferring instead to marshal a famous, cold-blooded murder motivated by envy in the history of art for his thesis about artists. This is to say that Lombroso's knowledge about the criminal exploits of these artists was sourced from Vasari, for example, who made up del Castagno's murder of Veneziano (del Castagno did not in fact commit this crime, but it was transmitted into history as such by Vasari). Lombroso could only have acquired this history of the Castagno-Veneziano murder from Vasari (Vasari, 1888 (2): 667-82).

Lombroso also cited painters who committed less serious crimes. They included the fifteenth-century artist Francesco Filippo Lippi (c. 1404-1469). Lombroso described Lippi as having ‘che ruba una novizia [kidnapped a nun] (1876: 85), Lucrezia Buti; Andrea del Sarto (1486-1530) a ‘truffatore [fraudster]’ (Lombroso, 1876: 118). Lombroso described del Sarto’s defrauding the French Court which lent him money to acquire Italian art and which he spent for his own personal gain⁷³.

Artworks by criminal artists are symptomatic of their criminal character

Lombroso argued in the sixth edition of *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (1894) and the first edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876) that the genius and therefore criminality of painters was evident in their artworks. Lombroso starts off with Wiertz’s artworks in the third chapter of part two of *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*], entitled ‘I mattoidi letterari ed artistici [Literary and artistic mattoids]’ (1884: 355-391). Therein he reproduced Wiertz’s *Severed Head* (1855) (figure 75 and 76) and an associated study (date of execution unknown) (figure 77 and 78). He was shocked by their macabre subjects which he interpreted as a product of genius. They are characterised Lombroso said by an originality, but one that recalls the foibles of medieval art—that is impliedly not a good quality: ‘originalita mista a una selvaggia bellezza sui generis che ricorda fino a un certo punto i capolavori dell’arte medioevale [originality mixed with a wild beauty sui generis that reminds to a certain extent the caprices of the medieval art]’ (Lombroso, 1884: 386).

⁷³ Also, amongst number are several artists who I have been unable to identify or, where I have been able to identify them, unable to trace their murders. These include an artist that Lombroso identified as ‘Herrera’ who was a ‘falso monetario’ or fraudster; ‘Benvenuto l’Ortolano’ or the artist known only as Ortolano (c. 1480-date of death unknown) and the French painter Charles Lebrun (1619-1690). There is also ‘Luino’ who may be one of three Italian Renaissance era painters of this name including Bernardino (c. 1480-1532), his son Auurello (1530-1593) or unrelated Tomamaso (1597-date of death unknown).



Figure 75. Antoine Wiertz (1855) *Severed Head*, in Lombroso (1884: between 286 and 287), Creative Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/ldpd_11151456_000/page/346.



Figure 76. Antoine Wiertz (1855) *Severed Head*, courtesy of the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels / photo: J. Geleyns - Art Photography.



Figure 77. Antoine Wiertz (1855) Preparatory study for *Severed Head*, in Lombroso (1884: between 286 and 287), Creative Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/ldpd_11151456_000/page/346.



Figure 78. Antoine Wiertz (1855) Preparatory Study for *Severed Head*, courtesy of the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels/ no photographer attributed.

Lombroso argued in *L'uomo delinquente* that the criminality of artistic geniuses was evident in their artworks [*Criminal Man*] (1876: 117):

V'ebbero, è vero, come sopra toccai, artisti e letterati non pochi, che pencolarono, e qualche volta, inabissarono fino al delitto ma quel senso del retto, quel pudore del giusto, che è sentito fino dai rei più volgari, e da essi ancora piti, li trattiene dal lasciar nelle loro opere troppo chiara l'impronta delle loro delittuose passioni; tuttavia va notato, come alcuni pittori omicidi quali il Molyn, il Lebrun, il Tassi, amassero dipingere scene selvaggie o di sangue; e per una simile predilezione l'Andrea del Sarto fu chiamato Andrea degli Impiccati, Molyn fu detto il Tempesta.

It is true, as I have touched upon, many artists and writers sank into the abyss of crime; but even the most vulgar offenders, felt moral norms, sometimes even more so, and this kept them from leaving in their [art]works a clear imprint of their criminal passions; however, it should be noted, some murderous painters, such as Molyn, Lebrun, and Tassi, liked to paint wild or gory scenes; and for a similar predilection Andrea del Sarto was called Andrea degli Impiccati whilst Molyn was called the Tempest.

Lombroso referred to three painters already mentioned above: Molyn, Lebrun and Tassi, suggesting that they like to paint 'wild' or 'bloody' subjects. For example, here, Lombroso offers an explanation as to why Molyn was known as the tempest—because of his 'wild' paintings. Specifically, it is possible to identify that Lombroso was talking about a particular theme of Molyn's, those of shipwreck in violent seas such as *A ship wrecked in a storm off a rocky coast* (mid seventeenth century) (figure 79). Indeed, one nineteenth century art historian suggested that these wild images of 'tempests, shipwrecks and storms' incited 'pity and terror' (Pilkington, 1824: 65). And, in relation to Lebrun, he would have been referring to paintings such as *the Suicide of Cato the Younger* (c. 1646) (figure 80). Finally, as for Tassi, Lombroso was referring to his storms at sea such as *The Fleet of Aeneas* (Figure 81) a subject that he developed whilst he was imprisoned for murder incidentally (Pilkington, 1824: 364). Lombroso would not have afforded the lofty accolade of being declared precursors to criminal anthropology to these criminal artists as many others were (Lombroso, 1876: 95):

Many [literary and artistic men who are criminals] are ruled by the passions, because they provide the most powerful source of inspiration. These passions are less restrained by criteria of truth and by strict logical deductions than in the case of scientists.



Figure 79. Pieter de Molyn (mC17), *A ship wrecked in a storm off a rocky coast*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed 29th September 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pieter_Mulier_II#/media/File:Pieter_Mulier_A_Ship_Wrecked_in_a_Storm_off_a_Rocky_Coast.jpg.



Figure 80. Charles Lebrun (c. 1646), *Suicide of Cato the Younger*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed 29th September 2018, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Charles_Le_Brun_-_Suic%C3%ADdio_de_Cat%C3%A3o_de_%C3%9Atica.jpg.



Figure 81. Agostino Tassi (1627) *The Fleet of Aeneas*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed 29th September 2018,
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/88/Tassi%2C_Agostino_-_Naufragio_della_flotta_di_Enea_-_1627.jpg

Artistic genius redeemed

The evidence discussed thus far paints a damning picture of artistic genius. There can be little doubt that those artists and especially painters that he singled out—Cellini; del Castagno; de Molyn; Caravaggio; Tassi; Cortese; Lippi; del Sarto; Wiertz; and Lebrun—could do little to redeem themselves. However, closer study of Lombroso’s *Man of Genius* (1891) and *L’uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (1894) complicates the overall picture that artistic genius, artists and especially painters were beyond redemption.

Lombroso highlighted the ostensible paradox about genius being considered within the same hereditary framework as criminality: ‘How, in fact, can one suppress a feeling of

horror at the thought of associating with idiots and *criminals* those individuals who represent the highest manifestations of the human spirit?’ (Lombroso, 1891: v). Lombroso’s saying this, though, is a rhetorical strategy. The atavistic and degenerate hereditary essence of artistic genius did not perturb Lombroso. To the contrary, he distinguished artistic genius from born criminality by arguing that the former’s atavistic character was indicative of evolutionary *progress* and not, as was the case with the born criminal, *regression*. That he thought about genius in this way is demonstrated by the following quotation in which he cited the anatomist and like him follower of Darwin’s theory of natural selection Karl Gegenbauer (1826-1903):

[R]ecent teratologic researches, especially those of [Karl] Gegenbauer [(1826-1903)], have shown that the phenomena of atavistic retrogression do not always indicate true degradation, but that very often they are simply a compensation for considerable development and progress accomplished in other directions (Lombroso, 1891: v).

In the sixth edition of *L’uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (Lombroso, 1894: 630, cited in Sergi, 1889: 90-91), Lombroso elaborated on what he meant by the above quotation:

[I]t is easy to explain the inequalities and the atavistic regressions of geniuses. The more powerful one part of their wonderful organisms becomes, the more the other parts become weakened; the more the brain and therefore intelligence increases, the weaker becomes the stomach, the muscles, and even the bones ... Always one part of the organism suffers from the superior excellence of other parts.

For example, Lombroso also discussed Weirtz’s same paintings in part one, chapter five on ‘L’esaurimento nel genio [Exhaustion in genius]’ (1894: 140-149). Lombroso interpreted many of the degenerate traits of genius through the lens of exhaustion and he argued that ‘grandi pittori or great painters’ (1894: 141) such as Wiertz were able to produce such fantastic work because of his exhaustion, but despite, or more accurately in spite (because it was because of exhaustion that these painters might produce such magnificent artworks) of it they were able to produce magnificent artworks. Lombroso declares that ‘Basta per ciò

studiare con l'animo imparziale le migliori opere ... del Wiertz, in ispecie *I pensieri di una testa troncata* e *Il Ciclope*, che passano per capolavori, e possono benissimo' dirsi la creazione di un pazzo [It is enough to study with the impartial mind the best works ... of Wiertz, especially *the thoughts of a decapitated head* and *the Cyclops*, which pass as masterpieces, and may very well be the creation of a madman' (1884: 141-2).

Lombroso reproduced these three of Wiertz's artworks in the lengthy second chapter of part one of *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] on the 'aratteri degenerativi del genio [degenerative characteristics of genius]' (1894: 6-59) (figures 82, 83, 84, 85, 86 and 87). One such degenerative characteristic was that of 'originalità [originality]' (1894: 44), a characteristic that he attributed to Wiertz. Following the aesthetic philosopher and Jürgen Meyer (1829-1897) Lombroso described the character of originality. In particular he highlighted that talented people reproduce what they see whereas geniuses invent and create. Citing the aesthetic philosopher Jürgen Meyer Lombroso says (Meyer, 1887: unknown page number, cited in Lombroso, 1894: 44):

«La fantasia del talento riproduce il fatto constatato, quella del genio il nuovo. La prima scopre o ripete: la seconda inventa e crea. Il-talento è un tiratore che mira a una meta, che a noi sembra difficile a raggiungere; il genio, invece, ad una meta che niuno pur vede. Ben inteso, il nuovo non è negli elementi, è nel loro cozzo.»

“The fantasy of talent reproduces the observed fact, that of genius the new. The first one discovers or repeats: the second invents and creates. Talent aims at a goal, which we think difficult to reach; the genius, however, aims at a goal that no one sees.”

The above quotation is particularly interesting because Meyer is explicit that artists do not depict what they *see* but what they divine and imagine; that is to say that they are creative. Lombroso argued that Wiertz's paintings demonstrated his originality:

Quando Wiertz immagina quei suoi quadri, com'è il *Poliferno*, e soprattutto *I pensieri di una testa troncata*, che sembrano sogni amari di un delirante in cui nell'enorme miscuglio di teste, di gambe, di angeli, di stivali e di sangue, pure

si sente la sintesi d'un'idea gigante, egli ci dà prova dell'immensa originalità del genio che rasenta il delirio; ed egli creò un metodo di pittura in cui i vantaggi dell'olio e dell'affresco sono fusi.

When Wiertz imagines those paintings of his, such as the *Suicide*, and above all *The Thoughts of a Decapitated Head*, which seem bitter dreams of a delusional in which in the huge mixture of heads, legs, angels, boots and blood, yet we hear the synthesis of a giant idea, he shows us the immense originality of the genius that borders on delirium; and he created a method of painting in which the advantages of oil and fresco are fused.



Figure 82. Antoine Wiertz (1854) *Suicide*, in Lombroso (1894: between 46 and 47), Creative Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/ldpd_11151456_000/page/88.



Figure 83. Antoine Wiertz (1854) *Suicide*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed on October 3rd 2018 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Antoine_Wiertz_-_Suicide.jpg.



Figure 84. Antoine Wiertz (1860) *A Giant of the Earth*, in Lombroso (1894: between 46 and 47), Creative Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/ldpd_11151456_000/page/88.



Figure 85. Antoine Wiertz (1860) *A Giant of the Earth*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed on October 3rd 2018, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:A_Giant_of_the_Earth.jpg.



Figure 86. Antoine Wiertz (1853) *Visions of a Guillotined Head*, in Lombroso (1894: between 46 and 47), Creative Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://archive.org/details/ldpd_11151456_000/page/88.



Figure 87. Antoine Wiertz (1853) *Visions of a Guillotined Head*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed on October 3rd 2018, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_visions_of_a_guillotined_head.jpg.

Conclusion

In the previous chapter (chapter six) I described how Lombroso cited the artworks of artistic geniuses in his criminal anthropology. In this chapter I showed how artistic geniuses and especially painters had a problematic character in Lombroso's criminal anthropology. These great men, it seemed, were no better than his born criminal. At the same time, Lombroso did create space to admire painters. This is why they appeared as authorities in his criminal anthropology.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION: WHAT WAS CRIMINOLOGY?

Introduction

What is criminology? Mary Bosworth and Carolyn Hoyle posed this question with their eponymously titled edited collection (2010). Six years later and this time with Lucia Zedner, Bosworth and Hoyle published a further collection of essays called *Changing Contours of Criminal Justice* (Bosworth, Hoyle and Zedner, 2016). These publications represent an opportunity to pause and consider the intellectual composition of criminology today. But they also represent the opportunity to pause and consider the intellectual composition of criminology in past times, too.

In the introduction to *Changing Contours of Criminal Justice* Bosworth, Hoyle and Zedner (2016) reflect on the intellectual history of British criminology (see also, Garland, 1988). Their historical narrative is constructed around the arrival of three famous criminologists to Britain in the 1940s, Max Grünhut (1893-1964), Hermann Mannheim (1889- 1974) and Leon Radzinowicz (1906-1999). They describe Grünhut, Mannheim and Radzinowicz's shared vision of criminology as follows (2016: xviii):

[A]ll three shared a common view of criminology as a scientific, practical and purposive. Its role, they believed, was to ensure that policy formation was informed by expert knowledge and scientifically rigorous empirical studies.

As I have mentioned elsewhere in this dissertation throughout Lombroso also would have characterised his 'criminology'—that of criminal anthropology—in exactly these terms. Like Grünhut, Mannheim and Radzinowicz Lombroso sought to change Italian criminal justice

policy on the basis of his expert, avowedly scientific and empirical studies. In each of the five editions of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878; 1884; 1899a, b; 1896-1897a, 1896-1897b, 1896-1897c, 1896-1897d) Lombroso increasingly developed his thoughts on public and especially criminal justice policy. A newly unified Kingdom of Italy presented fertile soil for such endeavours. Lombroso sought to reform the entire Italian criminal justice system from the police through the criminal courts to prisons, and all of his suggested reforms were rooted in his criminal anthropology (Gibson and Rafter, 2006: 13). In his recommendations Lombroso researched the criminal justice systems of western-European nation states recommending to the government that Italy's criminal justice system be more like these (Gibson and Rafter, 2006: 13). In her *Born to Crime: Cesare Lombroso and the Biological Origins of Criminology*, one of the most rigorously researched historiographies of Lombroso's criminal anthropology, Mary Gibson argues that Lombroso's criminal anthropology generated both conservative and liberal shifts in Italian criminal justice (2002). Indeed, criminal justice was just one area of 'policy formation' to quote Bosworth, Hoyle and Zedner once more as above (2016: xviii) in which Lombroso had a demonstrable impact⁷⁴.

Yet, although Radzinowicz, Mannheim and Grühut may have shared with Lombroso aspirations to be 'scientific, practical and purposive', by the twentieth century, their field of study had shifted far from the approach taken by Lombroso in the nineteenth century. At its origin in Lombroso's time and in its subsequent and continued development today, criminology reflected and reflects, and at times influenced and influences, changes in the meaning and boundaries or concept formation of 'science'. Science, thus, was, is and will continue to be an historically-situated concept. As this dissertation has shown, Lombroso's science of criminal anthropology was characterised and even defined by not merely a visual component, but a visual component that was creative and even artistic in composition.

⁷⁴ Lombroso's criminal anthropology also impacted psychiatric practice (Frigessi, 2003).

In the conclusion that follows, I return to the main themes and arguments of this dissertation, summarise my contribution, reflect on its limits and finally look ahead to the future. As I shall argue, part of the answer to the question of what criminology is, rests in what it was. Science is not an ahistorical concept, and neither is our discipline. In paying more attention to its historical roots, we open pathways not taken, overgrown, or overlooked, that, alongside more familiar ideas, may provide new ways of thinking.

Summarising my contribution

My contribution began in chapter four. Therein I analysed Lombroso's thinking about and relationship with photography as well as his infamous skull and portrait photographs that feature throughout all five editions of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876; 1878, 1884, 1889, 1896-7) and *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893). Italy's uptake of juridical photography was belated compared with other European states. For Lombroso the delay in the adoption of this technology was a sign of Italy's failure to modernise. He specifically blamed Italy's actions in this regard on his colleagues and competitors in the Classical School, who, in the most well-known figure of Cesare Beccaria, left an indelible impression on the nation's legal structures.

Like his colleagues elsewhere in Europe Lombroso embraced photography because of its capacity to eliminate artistic mediation inherent to all other visual media. At the same time, as I suggest in chapter four, an analysis of his skull and portrait photographs that we criminologists routinely reproduce in our teaching but say little else about reveals the extent to which these putatively objective records were shaped by creative and artistic practices. Nowhere was this truer than in relation to those composite portrait photographs that represented Lombroso's born criminal best of all.

From chapter five onwards I expanded the visual media under my analytical purview to reveal the diverse visual media that Lombroso was using. In chapter five as well as photography, that medium that so preoccupies visual criminologists (c.f. Carrabine, 2011a; 2011b; 2017a; 2017b, Bierne, 2017; 2018; de Haan, 2015), I considered a visual medium less frequently associated with Lombroso's criminal anthropology, namely drawing and painting. I analysed a series of photographic as well as line-drawn and painted images from *La donna delinquente* [*Criminal Woman*] (1893). These images are less familiar than Lombroso's skull and portrait photographs and were only introduced to English-language readers in the most recent translation of that work (Lombroso, 2004). These images were of African women and girls in various states of undress. Tracing their provenance allowed me to demonstrate the networks of visual-cultural production in which Lombroso was participating in, namely those of anthropology and by extension colony and Empire. Tracing their provenance also revealed what kind of individuals were making the images, namely third-party professional photographers and academically trained fine artists who were practicing in the Imperial colonial-anthropological context. Delving deeper into the objects, manuscripts and published scholarship that accompanied these images revealed the gendered and racializing as well as—in at least one instance—paedophilic—power relations in which the images were made.

From chapter six onwards I left photography behind in its entirety. Moreover, I left images that were made *for* or in the service of the science of (criminal) anthropology behind, turning instead to the significance of the fine artworks that Lombroso used to evidence his born criminal in the fifth and final edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1896-1897a). These were typically paintings, including frescoes, though engravings appeared amongst their number, too. None of these artworks depicted the contemporary and therefore observable moment. Instead they depicted historical moments including biblical subjects such as Christ carrying his cross on his way to his execution and modern revolutionary subjects such as the

plight of castaways aboard the raft of the French Imperial warship *Medusa*. Others depicted fictional events including mythical subjects such as Charon carrying damned souls to the Greek underworld and subjects of major works of western-European literature.

Lombroso's discussions about these artworks have, even taking the most recent English-language translation of his *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (Lombroso, 2006) been lost in translation for well over a century until now. Moreover, although the artworks have been mentioned in passing by literary, cultural and art historians (Past, 2008; Horn, 2003) they have not yet been the subject of a sustained analysis of the kind I undertook in this chapter. Lombroso utilised artworks not instead but in addition to photographs. Where photographs evidenced Lombroso's contemporary born criminal they could not do so prior to the late-nineteenth century. This was because, as I described in chapter four, photography did not become a public medium until the middle of the nineteenth century (1839). Moreover, it was only from the 1850s onwards that photography was used in the juridical context. Lombroso needed to use a visual medium that predated photography to supply evidence that his biological inevitability the born criminal had existed throughout the ages. At the same time, Lombroso was wary of artistic mediation. He participated in bourgeois popular-cultural debates about particular artistic forms and styles lent themselves to objective visual representation. It was his inclusion of artworks that conformed to his normative stylistic requirements that allowed him to incorporate non-contemporary and even wildly fictitious subjects. Yet, at the same time, Lombroso was never quite able to suppress the subjects of his artworks—Ultimately, he was fascinated by the sinful and monstrous characters therein.

In chapter seven, the final substantive chapter, I analysed Lombroso's thoughts about fine artists from the English-language translation of the fifth edition of *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (1889) and the sixth Italian-language edition of *L'uomo di genio* [*Man of Genius*] (1894) as well as first edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1876). In these books,

Lombroso argued that fine artists were geniuses. Paradoxically, the cause of their genius was the same as that which caused criminality, namely atavism and degeneration. These were discursively constructed concepts (Pick, 1989) and as such the importance of Lombroso's use of them was what they signified, namely pathology and criminality. Lombroso isolated signs of atavism and degeneration in their artworks. Moreover, he marshalled the crimes of some of the most prominent western-European artists as evidence of their born criminality. Lombroso was, though, able to explain this unfortunate coincidence. He argued that atavism and degeneration in artists allowed them to excel in other areas, namely artistic practice. In the end, the fine artist emerged as a triumphant cultural hero and therefore a worthy intellectual authority for Lombroso to cite.

What my contribution achieves

This dissertation married two sub-fields within criminology, visual criminology and historical criminology. I take the latter to include the history of criminology or criminological history. Early on in the dissertation in chapter two I summarised the contribution to visual and historical criminologies. In that chapter I championed what I consider to be visual criminology's biggest achievement—bringing a fundamental and increasingly pervasive feature of contemporary life, namely the visual, into criminology. I also described visual criminology's shortcomings. Visual criminology has a limited temporal focus whereby visual criminologists tend to study contemporary subjects. Moreover, visual criminology has a limited focus on the kinds of media visual criminologists study. Visual criminologists tend to study photographs and especially so-called documentary photographs. It is less often the case that visual criminologists study other kinds of visual media. As such, in chapter 2 I described that although historical criminologists do not have a visual focus.

My dissertation redressed these collective omissions of visual and historical criminologies. It took a historical site as its focus, namely the long nineteenth century and Lombroso's criminal anthropology therein. Moreover, it took an expansive range of visual media as its subject of analysis including painting and drawing into the analytical purview. More than this though, I elided the distinction between science and art that is commonplace today. This distinction is simply anachronistic in Lombroso's late-nineteenth century. That this was the case was evident in his criminal anthropology whereby he utilised fine art.

In marrying visual and historical criminologies I reveal new ways of thinking about criminological history through questioning the kinds of historical evidence criminologists' value and how such value-attribution effects the production of criminological knowledge. It is, therefore, in many ways, a methodological thesis. It urges criminologists to reflect on, as Nicole Rafter (2001: 72) puts it, the 'constructivist', creative and artistic character of our discipline.

Researching the visual in Lombroso's criminal anthropology has resulted in a more diversely comprehensive history of Lombroso's criminal anthropology than there has hitherto been written. Moreover, it has resulted in a more diversely comprehensive history of criminology more generally because Lombroso is the progenitor of this discipline. To put it another way, art in Lombroso's criminal anthropology is a valid subject of study in its own right. However, it is simultaneously a window through which to view art in criminology more generally. My dissertation should be understood on these two levels.

Not only does my research reveal a hitherto hidden and more diverse history of Lombroso's criminal anthropology and criminology it also challenges broad assumptions that have been formed about these two things in the absence of research on the arts and visual arts specifically in relation to them. The most obvious assumption in this regard is the view that Lombroso's criminal anthropology was a 'pseudoscience'. It was labelled as such as early as the twentieth century. Criminologists were undermining it as such up until the

1970s (Taylor, Walton and Young, 1978). And one prominent scientist made the attribution of this label to Lombroso's criminal anthropology famous in the 1980s (Gould, 1980). Indeed, my recurring sense of embarrassment when telling fellow criminologists that I research Lombroso's criminal anthropology is generated from my pre-emptively knowing that this is how Lombroso's criminal anthropology is still widely regarded by criminologists and social scientists more generally—it was certainly how I did before I began this project.

However, this label is anachronistic since it is premised on ignoring the context of Lombroso's criminal anthropology. Recent scholarship is finally redressing this lack of engagement with the context of Lombroso's criminal anthropology. This scholarship demonstrates that Lombroso's views were not obscure laughable musings, but ideas that were taken seriously, even championed, appropriated and developed at the social, political and cultural levels. At the same time this literature, particularly that in the arts broadens the intellectual landscape of criminal anthropology so that the intellectual composition of his science of criminal anthropology is better understood in terms of the arts.

I have not analysed art as a handmaiden for science and specifically the science of criminal anthropology. Instead I have presented art as a constitutive part of science and the science of criminal anthropology. Keeping Lombroso's criminological enterprise constantly in view, this dissertation has started to reveal the significance of art in our discipline's history.

A close examination of art in Lombroso's criminal anthropology challenges the application of the categories of 'science' and 'art' in Lombroso's criminology and by extension, nineteenth century criminology more generally. Science and art were not the inverse of one another in this period. Instead, each was inextricably part of the other.

This duality, and interconnectedness of disciplines we currently consider to be distinct is key to understanding not just Lombroso's criminal anthropology, but, I suggest, for understanding criminology and social science more generally at this time. Lombroso's criminology—and the wider discipline, should be viewed as a complex discipline comprised

of different fields that were epistemologically coherent. In short, although its apparent difference has left the visual arts in the shadows of Lombroso's criminology more generally, it is time to bring it into the light.

Such attitudes towards Lombroso's criminology have obscured a potential future area of study—the continuing importance for the arts, especially the visual arts in the Positivist School and indeed criminology more generally and even social science. Indeed, there is a further argument to be made here and a poignant point to finish on that although criminologists have only recently turned to analysing the visual, this is by no means a new thing; it is, rather a renaissance of the visual in a discipline that was visual at its origins.

While the cultural historian Jonathan Hillier (2008; 2013) has problematized these categories in his consideration of the literary and performing arts in relation to Lombroso's criminal anthropology he has not done so in relation to the visual arts. As such, I have shown done so in relation to the visual arts and Lombroso's criminal anthropology.

What inspired the research undertaken in this dissertation was a larger thinking about how I ended up in criminology. My research in art history was not an attempt to shirk my responsibilities as a criminologist, but to strengthen them. I had always had my heart set on a visual research project: my supervisor Mary Bosworth helpfully suggested that an obvious place to start would be Lombroso's scholarship. She pointed out the photographs of skulls and mug shots. On further research it turned out that these kinds of images were the tip of the iceberg in terms of the visual in Lombroso's criminology. They directed me to what at first baffled me: the presence of fine art, some of it deeply historical dating to the sixteenth century, in Lombroso's criminology. It would have been easy to shrug or pass off the inclusion of this material as a product of Lombroso's intellectual eccentricity; the idea that he was a jack of all trades and master of none. But this would be a profound mistake. Lombroso's criminology was comprised precisely of all these trades. When it comes to

Lombroso's positivism, no-one stops to think that his positivism was shaped by the arts when, as I demonstrated in this dissertation, it was.

In conclusion, my dissertation has provided an increasingly indispensable history of a discipline that is now, after nearly 150 years, finally rediscovering the visual. I have demonstrated shortcomings in existing approaches in visual criminology in general (in terms of its lack of its historical engagement), in historical criminology (in terms of the range of visual media it analyses and in terms of its understanding criminology's invention as a moment rather than a process involving a range of different intellectual material—including an unlikely ally in the visual arts. In place of these shortcomings I have presented a different and revealing framework whereby artists, artworks and artistic process are fundamental and indispensable to the analyses of the question: 'What was criminology'?

In the future, when undergraduates are introduced to Lombroso's criminal anthropology for the first time, perhaps they will no longer be met with rows upon rows of portrait photographs without further reflection as to their significance *as images*. Perhaps as well as these images they will be met with, say, Titian's *Martyrdom of Saint Laurence*, Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* or Goya's *Disasters of War*. The history of our discipline is rich; why not celebrate it?

The limitations of my contribution

I have experienced writing this dissertation as a continual process of learning. As much as I hoped that writing it would be merely a clerical task—the transcription of a dictation that was the product of already-fixed ideas I had. However, this was nothing like the case. The literary scholar Eric Hayot in his *Elements of Academic Style: Writing for the Humanities* (2014) advocates the following conception of writing:

Writing as though you already know what you have to say hinders it as a medium for research and discovery; it blocks the possibilities—the openings—that appear at the intersection of an intention and an audience, and constitute themselves, there, as a larger complete performance.

The way in which Eyot describes writing above was exactly how I experienced it. I did and could not know what I was thinking and the significance of that thinking until I began writing. This is why my dissertation is not the one I began with or necessarily the one I wanted. Yet, understanding and embracing this point is why I am able to reflect on its limitations.

The biggest limitation, a sort-of elephant in the room, is my choice of subject—Lombroso. If ever there was a criminological pariah, he is it on account of his privilege and therefore power. Lombroso was a member of the Turinese bourgeoisie, a member of the *Partito Socialista Italiano* or Italian Sociality Party and Turin City Council (Frigessi, 2003: 263) and a colonialist. If one voice about criminality could be heard in late-nineteenth century Italy, his would be it. My project drew on his scholarship, and the objects, manuscripts and books of other colonialists. Always when studying these documents, I felt that I was party or even voyeur to a one-sided conversation. I often wondered about the individuals that Lombroso discussed in such disparaging manner, particularly those whose lives he offered a brief albeit sensationalist glimpse into through the use of his literary style to individualise them. While reading the travelogues of colonial explorers I again could not help but miss the voices of the people who were subject to their gaze.

Similarly, my focus on fine artists and placing the artwork of ‘ordinary’ criminals to one side presented its own challenges. These were sharpened or brought into focus when faced with the profound creative outputs—what we call ‘prisoner artwork’ today—that criminals were creating in the institutions where Lombroso worked and which I was confronted with in Lombroso’s archive in Turin. I felt uncomfortable, because I was

researching these ‘great’ fine artists and their artworks, rather than the ‘ordinary’ criminals who were producing such skilled creations.

Tempering these anxieties about my reliance on primary sources produced by Lombroso and the networks were the practical limitations of locating primary sources that could elevate or platform the voices of those individuals who were studied by Lombroso and the anthropological networks his research was informed by. Lombroso’s criminal anthropology was, as this dissertation has shown, constructed from international sources. Moreover, it is difficult to piece together institutional or state level and even privileged voices in historical research. At the same time, it is not impossible. It would however require criminologists to focus on one, discreet site as well as possessing the necessary expertise to analyse such sites.

Tempering my anxiety about researching ‘virtuoso’ or fine art I was constantly aware that my aim was not to perpetuate the status of these artists as Lombroso did, but to appreciate that status was itself a constructed rhetoric. Lombroso, it should be remembered viewed the creative outputs of fine artists as symptoms of their intellectual superiority.

Futures of historicising criminology

This dissertation is an important starting point when it comes to broadening the history of criminology. However, as with all research projects this one raises more questions than it answers. That is to say that this dissertation is not exhaustive, and nor do I pretend that it is. Further research is needed to bring a more comprehensive history of the visual and especially the visual arts in the history of our discipline into view.

Indeed, there are good normative reasons why criminologists might want to do so. One of the most taken-for-granted pieces of knowledge about Lombroso’s criminal anthropology is that it was epistemologically opposed to what the Positives School’s

members dubbed the ‘Classical School’, namely Cesare Beccaria’s (1738-1794) *On Crimes and Punishments* (1764). Beccaria’s thesis was a metaphysical one. He considered crime to be the outcome of intellectual and specifically moral reasoning, twinned with the maxim that punishment should ‘fit’ the crime. With its focus on biological determinism and, thus, the criminal rather than the crime, often lecturers teach their students that Lombroso’s school displaced the classical school. However, this is simply not the case. For one thing the Classical school was not displaced; it carried on. Luigi Luccini (1847-1929), for example, carried on the work of Beccaria, not only in his academic journal, *Rivista Penale* [*Penal Magazine*], but so too in his practice as a lawyer and jurist. This tells us that we have a power to make rather than reveal history.

This story can be applied to another well-known and taught epistemological transition in the history of our discipline; that from Lombroso’s biological determinism to sociological ways of thinking about crime that we endorse today. Again, the historiography implies that the latter displaced the former, when that was not the case. Lombroso’s criminal anthropology did not fall off the face of the earth. Nor did the criminal-anthropological investigations into fine art merely stop. Beyond this dissertation, though, there is a wealth of primary source material that could be studied and the findings of which could contribute to the expansion of this project. Most relevant here is the scholarship of Lombroso’s School. I have focussed on the visual arts as it pertains to Lombroso’s criminal anthropology. This research has been balanced by analysing his oeuvre more generally and not just his overtly criminological scholarship with which criminologists are most familiar. However, the scholarship of Lombroso’s contemporaries and especially his followers and successors may well prove beneficial.

For instance, during this dissertation I brought further primary-source criminological scholarship to bear on Lombroso’s criminal anthropology (see, for example, Kurella, 1912). Hans Kurella’s biography of Lombroso contained an explicit micro-history of positivism

that took a broad intellectual spectrum into account. In it, Kurella cited Lombroso's criminal anthropology alongside, the literary, performing and visual arts as well as the technological sciences. Kurella's micro history offers further evidence that criminal anthropologists were drawing on a much broader range of disciplines than we might be inclined to do today.

Enrico Ferri (1856-1929), the third founding member of the Positivist School of criminal anthropology (with Lombroso himself and Raffaele Garofalo (1851-1934)) not only replicated but developed Lombroso's thoughts on fine art (Ferri, 1897). In turn, Ferri's scholarship in this regard was only ever translated into French, and from that French translation, Dutch. That Ferri's scholarship on fine art was not translated in English represents part of the reason, too, why this material was lost. An obvious place to begin would be with Enrico Ferri's (1856-1929) book-length study of criminals in art *I Delinquenti Nell'Art* [*Criminals in Art*] (1897). This book was published in 1897, around exactly the same time as Lombroso published the fifth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* [*Criminal Man*] (1896-7). It is an almost-200-page book dedicated to the subject. *I Delinquenti Nell'Art* (1897) was instantly translated into French (Ferri, 1897b) and from its French-language translation into Dutch (1905). Interestingly it was never translated into English. These publications are unknown in criminology. Indeed, without taking this broader historical lens to Lombroso's criminal anthropology in the way I have done in this dissertation, it would seem unnecessary for it to be known.

A cursory analysis of *I Delinquenti Nell'Art* (1897) reveals that Ferri was also reading Édouard Lefort's *Le type criminel d'après les savants et les artistes* [*The Criminal Type According to the Scholars and the Artists*] (1892) as Lombroso did (1896a: 326). Moreover, Ferri agreed with Lombroso as to the utility of fine art for criminal anthropology in that he too considered fine artists to be criminal-anthropological predecessors. He thought that they, like criminologists, were consummate observers of the social world and so it would have been impossible for them *not* to picture criminality (Ferri, 1897: 9). Moreover, Ferri agreed with

Lombroso that fine artists were able to visually capture a true image of the criminal (Ferri, 1897: 33):

Però l'artista si riavvicina alla realtà umana quando dipinge l'assassino "colla testa nell'ombra, rischiarata soltanto dal riflesso della torcia, ch'egli tiene in mano, i capelli sparsi, la faccia breve e larga, il fronte basso, gli occhi leggermente strabici, il naso grosso, schiacciato, ritorto a sinistra, le labbra forti e le mascelle, specialmente l'inferiore, molto potenti, con pochi peli sul mento.

[But the artist comes close to human reality when he paints the killer with his head in the shadows, illuminated only by the reflection of the flashlight he is holding it in his hand it reveals the scattered hair, the short and wide face, the low forehead, eyes slightly close together, big nose which is squashed and twisted to the left, strong lips and jaws, especially the lower, very powerful, with a few hairs on the chin.]

Human reality, here, is that which criminal anthropology revealed. He noted that fine artists had, since time immemorial, pictured the material manifestation of an individual's inner mental state. They were early anthropologists in this regard. Slavishly following Lombroso, Ferri too celebrated Michelangelo, Boilly, Vernet, and Géricault; even citing, in the case of Michelangelo, Goya, Vernet and Géricault, exactly the same images in this regard⁷⁵. However, Ferri also went beyond Lombroso to include more artists and their artworks still. Recalling a visit to the Louvre, Paris Ferri recall's the French neoclassical and Romantic artist Pierre-Paul Prud'hon's (1758-1823) allegorical work *Justice and Divine Vengeance Pursuing Crime* (1808) (figure 88).

⁷⁵ Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* (1536-1541), Goya's *Disasters of War* (1810-1820), Géricault's study of severed heads for the *Raft of the Medusa* (1818-1819) and Vernet's *Italian Brigands Surprised by Papal Troups* (1830) can be identified from Ferri's description of them in this quotation.



Figure 88. Pierre-Paul Prud'hon (1808) *Justice and Divine Vengeance Pursuing Crime*, Wikimedia Commons, viewed October 3rd 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre-Paul_Prud'hon#/media/File:Pierre-Paul_Prud'hon_-_Justice_and_Divine_Vengeance_Pursuing_Crime.JPG.

Moreover, Ferri speaks of the extent to which, now that criminal anthropology has arrived it will help fine art in its pursuit to become more mimetic/naturalistic.

Like Lombroso, Ferri, turned to the depiction of religious icons and especially Christ's enemies. And so, he brings up Ary Sheffer's Gothic depiction *The Kiss of Judas* (1852). What is more promising, though, is that Ferri's writings on criminal anthropology and fine art were more discursive than Lombroso's. This is to say that his writing was less fragmented and more developed than Lombroso's writings on the subject. Unlike Lombroso, who undertakes a formal description of the image, in his description of the facial physiognomy

of Judas, Ferri undertakes a much more contextual analysis using adjectives such as ‘dreamlike’ and ‘noble’:

Nel famoso Bacio di Giuda, invece, di Ary Scheffer, non solo è eloquente il contrasto tra la fisionomia un po' sognatrice, nobilmente serena di Gesù e la faccia del traditore; ma questa nei lineamenti aguzzi, nello sguardo tenebroso, nella espressione volpina si stacca appunto dalla fisionomia omicida e violenta, per riprodurre realmente le caratteristiche del truffatore e del fraudolento.

In the famous *Kiss of Judas*, Ary Scheffer not only eloquently contrasts the traditional, dreamlike physiognomy and noble serenity of Jesus with the face of the traitor, but in the pointy features, in the dark gaze, in the fox-like expression, he also distinguishes it from a murderous and violent physiognomy, to reproduce the real characteristics of the fraudster.

A further starting point would be Lombroso’s collaborator and eventual successor of his professorial chair in psychiatry at the University of Turin in 1909, Mario Luigi Patrizi (1866-1935). Patrizi was a Recanatian criminal anthropologist and, in the words of Lombroso, ‘un letterato distinto’ or ‘distinguished scholar’ (Lombroso, 1897a: 57) who published in Lombroso’s *Archivio di psichiatria* and trained in Turin under Lombroso (Hillier, 2009: 71). Like Lombroso, Patrizi had written on the criminality of fine artists. His initial forays into criminal anthropology were concerned with the literary rather than visual arts but eventually he came to focus on the latter. Patrizi’s research was not as varied as Lombroso’s and to the contrary his main focus was on art history’s ‘psycho-anthropological’ component. His major work on the subject was a monograph about Caravaggio and criminality *Un pittore Criminale, Caravaggio e la nova critica d’arte* [*A criminal painter: Caravaggio and the new art criticism*] and was published in 1921, but he wrote many more (1913; 1917; 1921; 1923). Thus far, almost no research has been done on the subject. The exception is a single journal article by the Italian cultural historian Valentina Crifò (2013) that makes for fascinating reading.

Undertaking research on these areas will produce new ideas and evidence for thinking about how to revise and re-write the history of criminology in the way I have done in this dissertation. In turn this kind of research would raise some important questions. What

consequences would this kind of revisionist history of criminology have for the current history we have which becomes overtly sociological from the twentieth century? Whose history is this exactly and had we followed a different one, would we be practicing a different kind of criminology today?

Such questions are outside the remit of this dissertation. They inevitably raise further ones. In my own contribution, I have sought to focus on process rather than moment. In so doing, I have produced a visually-focussed history of criminology which provides insights into the diverse, creative and even artistic ways in which criminology was practiced at its origins and which provides fuel for those wishing to trace that history further. Lombroso, for better or for ill, was a key figure in our shared history. I look forward to discovering other histories as I go on.

APPENDIX

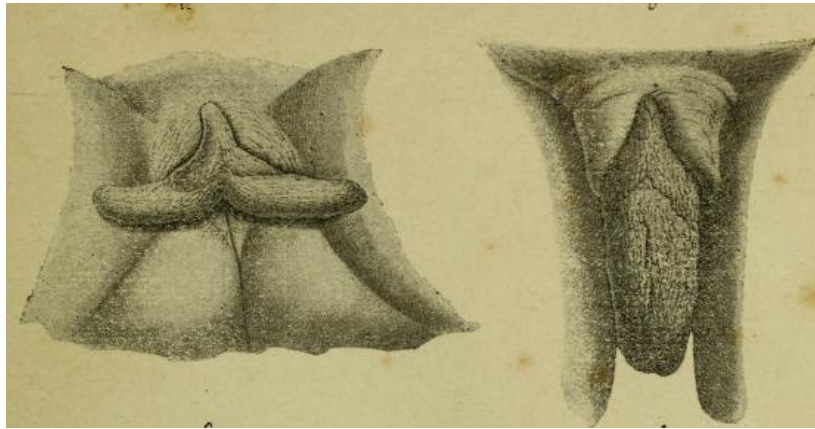


Figure 1. ‘anomalie vulvari in ottentotte [Anomalies of the vulva in Hottentots]’, in Lombroso (1893: Tav. [Plate] I), Creative Commons, viewed October 5th 2018, <https://archive.org/details/b28066716/page/640>.

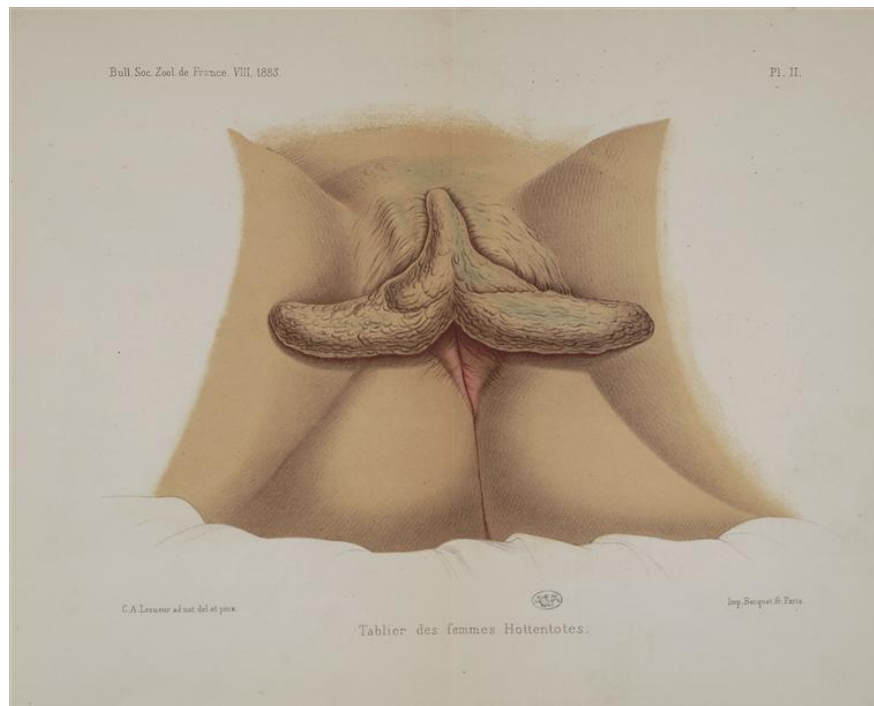


Figure 2. ‘Tablier des femme Hottentotes [Hottentot woman’s apron]’, in Blanchard (1833: Plate II), Creative Commons, viewed October 5th 2018, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k54426883/f549.image>.

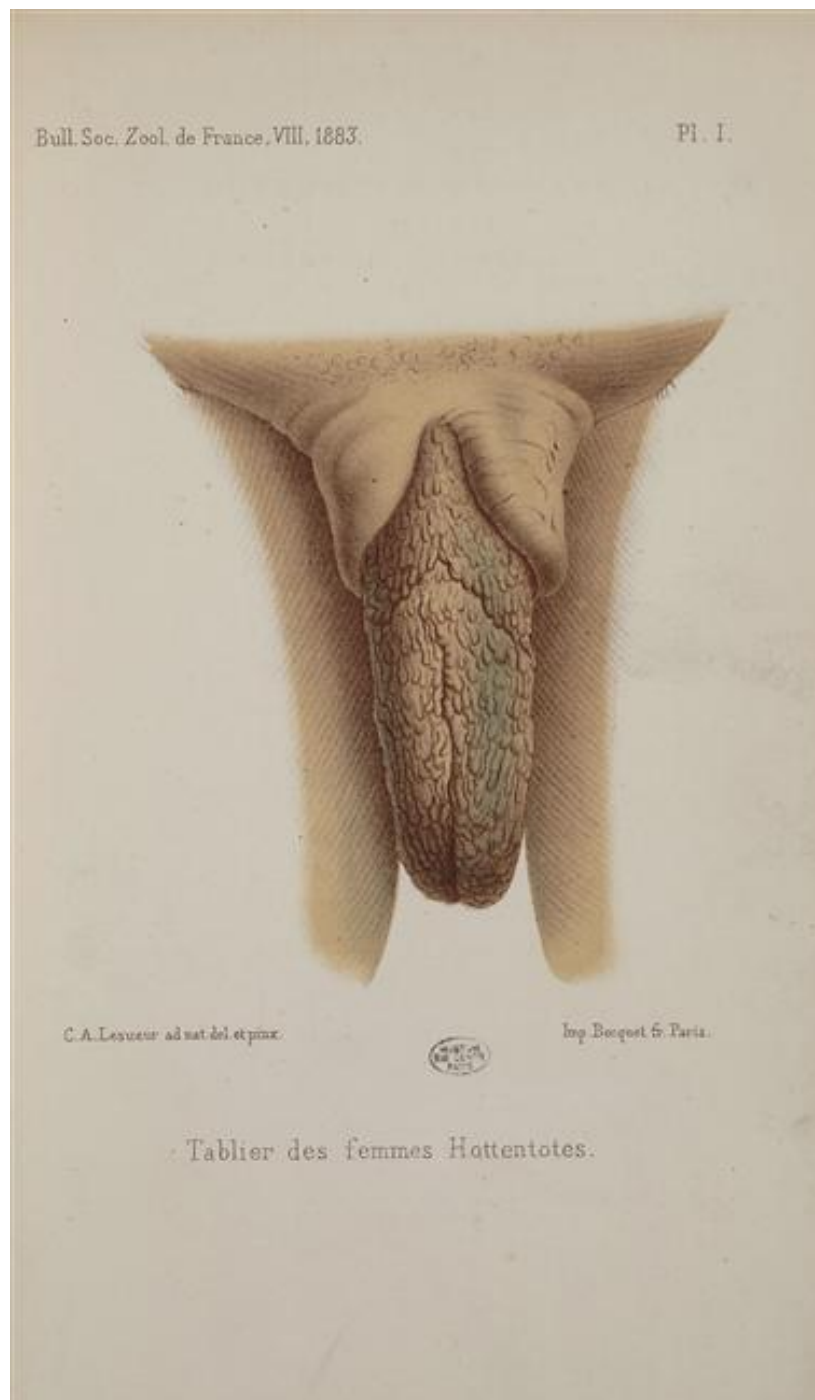


Figure 3. 'Tablier des femme Hottentotes [Hottentot woman's apron], in Blanchard (1833: Plate II), Creative Commons, viewed October 5ht 2018, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k54426883/f549.image>. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k54426883/f551.image>.

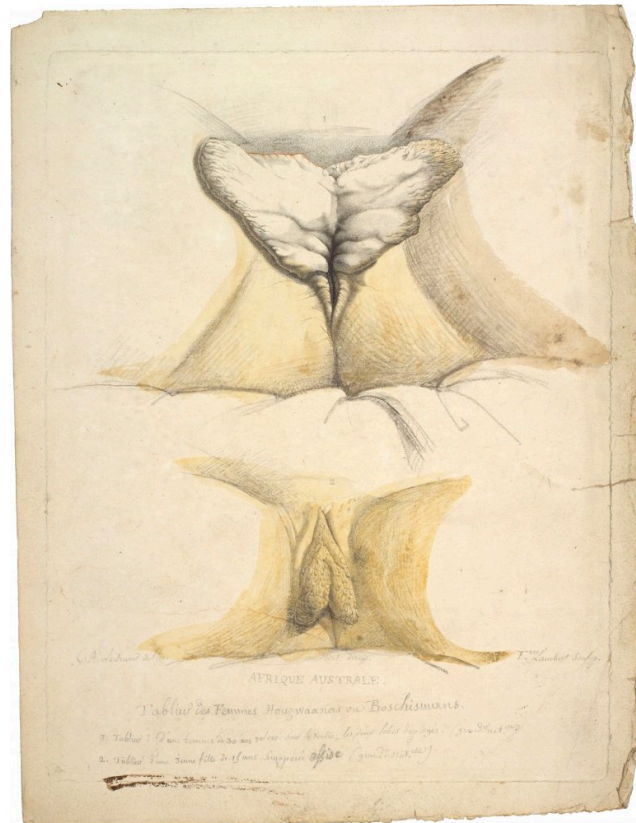


Figure 4. Charles Lesueur (1804) Tablier d'une femme d'Afrique du Sud [Apron of a woman from South Africa], Le Havre, Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Collection Lesueur, public domain, viewed 1st October 2018, <http://www.museum-lehavre.fr/fr/collections/ca-lesueur/lesueur-peintre-voyageur>.

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