

Patriotism and Neo-Classicism:

The "historical revival" in French and English

painting and sculpture, 1746-1800.

by

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## ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The aim of this thesis is to explore the links between historicism and patriotism in French and English painting and sculpture from 1746 to 1800. It argues that the reaction to Rococo hedonism took the form of an "historical revival" to rejuvenate European culture and society by a return to an heroic morality for the individual and the community. While artists generally followed historians and poets in their choice of themes, they managed to produce images that defined and diffused the exemplary heroic virtues, and to endow different periods of history with tangibility and verisimilitude. While patriotic sentiments antedated the artistic "historical revival", the latter was important in enlarging and deepening that patriotism to include an historical ethnic nationalism.

Part I of the thesis uses a quantitative approach to analyse the numbers, types, themes and dates of "history" paintings and sculptures exhibited at the Paris Salons and London Academies until 1800, revealing that, though "history" works are in a clear minority in relation to "non-public" genres of art, they, and their heroic cults, form an influential and distinguished segment of French and English art of the period. Part II analyses in depth the main historical themes within some basic moral categories of the period to reveal both the common moral framework, and the vital stylistic and iconographical differences, of

French and English art. Part III charts the emergence of different styles for different historical periods, and some of the differences between a more literary English medievalism and a more historical French classicism. Finally, the role of key art critics and theorists reveals that while the French sought to revive an earlier era of national and artistic grandeur, their English counterparts, riding the crest of a wave of national glory, sought to enhance it by founding a native school of history painting and sculpture; but both encouraged artists to pursue the ideal of moral historicism avant Winckelmann, backed by their respective states and Academies, and so give deeper historical and ethnic content to a swelling civic patriotism.

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PREFACE

Recent decades have seen a vigorous expansion and diversification of the interests of art historians into areas that were traditionally considered to be beyond their domain, notably the history of taste and the sociology of art criticism and reception. Such interests have raised a variety of interesting issues and problems, and have attuned many art historians to new developments in other fields like linguistics, anthropology and sociology. But this very expansion raises the question of the relationship to traditional art-historical concerns in even sharper form, notably the issue of how style and creativity relate to the social forms in which they operate. There is, after all, always the danger that a history of taste and a sociology of patrons and publics may elide, or even deny, the inner world of the artist and the innovative synthesis it may distil.

It is with one such "inner world", or parts of it, that this study is concerned, and it seeks to bring together some of the concerns of the new developments in history and sociology, with the older problems of style and iconography and to some extent individual creativity. Hence the attempt to pursue the problems of neo-classicism and historicism by quantitative, as well as qualitative, methods; and to balance individual contributions to themes and styles with an analysis of their sociological coherence in a late eighteenth century context. At the

same time, my focus has been largely on the rich variety within a consistent moral framework which this "inner world" reveals and from which a significant minority of eighteenth century artists derived so much inspiration; and that in turn has meant concentrating on the works themselves rather than the writings of either artists or critics. It has also meant restricting my scope to painting, sculpture, and drawings, to the exclusion of architecture with its more immediate functions; and limitations of time, as well as space, precluded extending the analysis beyond France and England where this late eighteenth century inner world of "moral historicism" flourished most intensely and profusely, though I have at times signalled contributions from America, Scandinavia, Italy and Germany. Finally, my focus on this inner world makes it in one sense a necessary foundation for further sociological studies of, at one end of the chain of creation, training and patronage, and at the other, of social reception and criticism; on the other hand, it reveals at the level of meaning, the cultural contribution of artists to the wider social process of the formation of nations and the rise of patriotism, and so constitutes a historical sociology of aspects of Western cultural development.

As a student of ethnicity and nationalism, I am all too conscious of the many debts I have incurred to art historians who have studied the period and its art in a variety of ways and with wide erudition and sensitivity. In

particular, I should like to record my debts to Professor Robert Rosenblum, not only for his scholarly writings in the field which have been a model of perception and illumination, but also for his advice, particularly on the need to investigate the Society of Artists exhibition catalogues. I should also like to record my gratitude to Dr. D.Allan of the Royal Society of Arts for his advice and assistance, to Dr. Tom Gretton for several valuable and interesting discussions, and to the staff of the Witt Library, for their help and for the reproduction of the plates; and to the staff of several libraries, particularly the British Library, the Victoria and Albert Museum and Courtauld Institute libraries.

It is never an easy task to pursue research in the intervals between teaching, in a field outside one's teaching areas; but the task has been made much lighter, and more enjoyable, by the unfailing interest and kindness of my supervisor, Professor William Vaughan, who always rekindled my interest when it threatened to flag, and who has guided me along my path, enabling me to share the interests of art historians, both the traditional and the more recent ones, and to harmonise them with my own historical and sociological concerns. While responsibility for errors and omissions is mine alone, he shares in whatever merit and interest this study possesses.

Anthony D.Smith,

London, January 1987.



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## INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to explore the many links between historicism and patriotism in French and English painting and sculpture in the second half of the eighteenth century. The period marked a conscious return to classical antiquity and history on the part of an influential minority of writers and artists, and it was accompanied by considerable experimentation with a wide range of themes and styles. At the same time, ideological and stylistic "neo-classicism" tended to set the tone and prevail over other cults and manners, a trend that has perhaps led to a fairly general equation of the spare, monumental and severe style with Greco-Roman virtues and subject-matter, and a widely held assumption that the reaction to Rococo hedonism naturally took the form of a return to classical antiquity as the prime example of a heroic morality.

But it soon became apparent that ideological and stylistic neo-classicism need not go together, that Greco-Roman exempla may be couched in Rococo (or "romantic" Baroque) modes, and conversely that non-classical motifs and subjects may be decked out with trappings borrowed from classical antiquity and be expressed through a severe, rectilinear style. This was one problem, and it meant that stylistic questions needed to be treated separately from iconographic ones and related to a broader framework than the equation between thematic classicism and "severe"

neo-classicism allowed.

This realisation quickly led to a second problem, namely the relationship between morality and history in late eighteenth century perceptions. In general terms, it was the desire of visual artists to instruct as well as please that inspired them to produce grandiose history paintings and sculptures on morally edifying themes. But the question immediately arose, as to which periods and places were deemed worthy sites for such edification. Even in traditional academic circles a distinction had been drawn between subjects from scripture and themes drawn from Greek and Roman antiquity. What was the position of other histories, especially the distant pasts of the nations to which western European artists belonged? Could they too purvey the appropriate lessons in public virtue and heroism, that their classical counterparts were assumed to furnish? Generally such histories were admitted to the canon of public moralities, but on a lower scale; yet this concession to popular taste was to prove profoundly significant, since it suggested that "history" is multiple and ethnically particularist.

This raises the further question of how far such ethnic "historicism" reflects a growth of patriotic and national sentiments, and how far it actually contributes to the expression and mobilisation of such aspirations and sentiments. What is the function of images in the rise of

ideological and political movements? The increasing concern with factual reportage and archaeological fidelity throughout the period underscored the quest for a tangible recreation of multiple ethnic histories which would teach as well as intrigue; and while the artists generally followed historians and poets in their choice of themes, their images sought to crystallise in the popular imagination, and diffuse to wider strata, the exemplary virtues and mores of distant times and places in a broad "historical revival" that increasingly placed all histories on a par, insofar as they evoked sentiments of national prestige and national achievement.

Finally, there was the problem of the role of the artist in this broad transition to a nationally based political order with its civic and ethnic culture. Leaving aside such striking, and exceptional, incidents of artistic presaging of political actions, as David's Oath of the Horatii, how should we define the role of at least some artists in the evolution to a different social and political order? Can there be any sense in which artists may be said to anticipate, even herald, such changes? If so, how? Without entering into questions of causality, given that they are themselves part of the processes they obliquely chart, perhaps we may be able to discern areas, and societies, in which circumstances combine to allow them a greater role as spokesmen, myth-makers or disseminators of moral images.

Consideration of the extremely varied patterns of artistic creativity in the latter half of the eighteenth century, suggests no easy answer to any of these questions; just as the vexed issue of the causes of the conscious return to classical, and later medieval, history admits of no final resolution. All that may be attempted, is to place such questions in a different light by exploring the ways in which the growing tide of patriotism and nationalism contributed to the quest for an art of "moral historicism", while itself being fed and reinforced by that art. This is to take the issue away from the familiar debate between those who insist on tracing the evolution of artistic patterns without (or with very little) reference to social and political trends, and those who relate that evolution closely to particular social and political processes of class and republican politics. Given the variety of artistic patterns, it is unwise to seek to tie them too closely to particular political or social developments; but equally, the arts are fed at every turn by social, and political, influences of many kinds, so that it becomes necessary to seek a guiding thread in the broad transition to "citizen nations" in western Europe, which fertilised, and gave meaning to, much artistic endeavour of this period. What we find, in the course of our survey of "historicist" paintings and sculptures in the late eighteenth century, is not only a variety of styles, themes and approaches, but also a deepening and extending

of the meanings of national sentiment and patriotism; so that while such sentiments antedate the "historical revival" in the arts, the latter exercise considerable emotional and cognitive influence over the shape and depth of a rising national consciousness in the broad direction of, not only a civic patriotism, but also of an ethnic nationalism.

In tracing this connection between patriotism and the "historical revival" in the visual arts, I have concentrated primarily on the images presented by history paintings and sculptures, and only to a much less extent on the printed word, as exemplified by some leading academic theoreticians of the eighteenth century. Given the length of this pictorial survey, I could only hope to address the issue of theory and practice in an inevitably condensed last chapter, and the reader must turn to other works for further guidance, including the book on English academic theory of painting by John Barrell, which appeared during the last stages of writing this study. (1) Though his emphasis and method is different, and his concerns are largely theoretical and political, the general trend of his analysis is borne out by the findings presented here on the specific course of history painting and sculpture in England; and while it is true that figures like Gavin Hamilton, West and Mortimer assume a greater importance for the evolution of an English, or British, national consciousness than Barrell allows (as

well as for trends in British art), the general picture of a civic and public art offered in his pages is quite consistent with one important set of trends in British art of the late eighteenth century. (2)

At the same time, a preoccupation with the "inner world" of the artist and with artistic products themselves, both individual and categories of them, leads to some important differences in evaluation of that public art. While "class" plays an important role in the reception and dissemination of artistic images, the category of "nation" (and "ethnie") and its attendant cultural heritage possesses greater relevance and significance for the creation, or recreation, of that imagery; and this is borne out by one of the constant themes of this investigation, the very different routes within a common "moral historicism" travelled by artists in France and England. Here historical traditions and structures, notably the state, have been influential in bifurcating the common transition to the participant "citizen-nation" experienced by the French and English middle classes. Here, too, cultural heritage has shaped, and made sense of, that transition in a manner peculiar to the ethnic community that formed the core of the territorial state. This is why every temptation to "reduce" artistic developments either to economic processes of change, or political structures and processes, has been avoided; in both countries the visual arts were already sufficiently

autonomous and differentiated from other spheres, to shield their "inner worlds" from decisive intrusions from the economic or political sectors, whether through changes in patronage or publics, even though the exhibitions of the Salon and Royal Academy increasingly exposed the artist to powerful external forces.

This "public" face of the visual arts, which in France has been recently analysed by Tom Crow, and which certainly contributed to the "severe" neo-classicism of style and theme in France in the last three decades of the century, must, however, be balanced by consideration of a more "private" outlook, exemplified in some of the paintings and drawings which, in a Callet, Vincent or Doyen, reveal a wider, freer range of themes and styles, almost as experimental as that found in England at this period. (3) This makes the comparison of the grand goût in France and England so much more complex and illuminating, and the different role of the artists and their images, so revealing. In making these comparisons, I am all too conscious of my debt to many scholars from Loquin and Wind to Irwin, Leith and Rosenblum, whose researches in the field have contributed so much to our understanding of those differences and relationships.

Inevitably, such a focus on the works of art themselves, and on comparisons between French and English developments, incurs certain costs. Not only have I had

to restrict my period to the latter half of the eighteenth century, stopping short at Napoleon's accession to power; but also little could be said about parallel, and influential, developments in the arts and politics in America, Germany, Scandinavia and Italy, whose artists also partook of the "historical revival", making significant contributions, only a few of which could be noted. (American and Danish artists, in particular, contributed to the neo-classical movement). Similarly, lack of space has precluded longer analysis of primary sources of theoretical (and literary) interest, or of the observations of Salon critics like Diderot and Bachaumont. Again, these seemed to belong far more to the world of "the audience" than the inner world of the artist's imagery, however much it might be fed by external relationships. Similarly, I have not dealt with questions of the training and institutional framework of the arts, especially in France, since this is the subject of several works, notably that of Jean Loquin. (4)

My methods of investigation have been both quantitative and qualitative, since I am concerned with individual works as members of categories of art-work, and individual creators as members of loose circles and movements. In particular, interest here is focussed on types of work, and varieties of moral motif, to which individual works and artists contributed in different ways. In this way, it is hoped that a connection can be made between a more



traditional art history which focusses on individuals, whether works or artists, and the more novel kinds of sociology and social history of art, which seek to "locate" works (and artists) within broad political and economic contexts.

Part 1 of this study concentrates on officially exhibited art - painting and sculpture - in France and England, the countries where the "historical revival" was most advanced and variegated. This meant analysing the exhibits in Salons and Academies, the latter supplemented by the Society of Artists exhibitions which began in 1760. By exploring the number, types, themes and dates of "history" paintings and sculptures in Salons and Academies up to 1800, the importance of this and allied categories (mythology, literary, allegory, religious) can be assessed. Numerically in a clear minority compared to "non-public" genres like portraiture, landscape, still-life and low-life scenes, "public" works nevertheless display the talents of some of the most prestigious and distinguished artists of the period, and their cult of heroes in France and England demands special attention.

Part II is devoted to an analysis of the main subjects of "history" painting and sculpture in the late eighteenth century in France and England, with some attention to cognate themes in Germany, Scandinavia, Italy and America.

By examining the types of persons and virtues selected under headings like "The Suffering Hero", "Virtuous Women" and "Pro Patria Mori", the basic framework of moral historicism as well as the cognitive and stylistic differences of French and English artists, can be appreciated. Individual paintings are singled out as representatives of historical, moral and stylistic types, to show both the common moral framework and the range of artistic expression. At the same time, the individuality of particular works and their creators is recognised, though the emphasis falls upon the categorisation and depiction of the common moral types, and the combination of idealising universalism and civic and ethnic particularism characteristic of the period. What this analysis reveals is the breadth of historical imagination, especially in England, and the intense severity of late eighteenth century classical exempla virtutis, particularly in France, in the dual quest for self-sacrificing patriotism and archaic origins of the community.

Part III extends the discussion of two important aspects of this analysis. The first concerns stylistic trends, and here I claim that several artists were groping their way towards a comprehensive periodisation of human history, using different styles and manners to convey the atmosphere of different periods. Though a monumental and heroic neo-classical style predominated, other styles

began to emerge both for the more violent and mysterious kinds of classical theme and for the portrayal of medieval, as well as biblical and contemporary, episodes. At this juncture the contrasts between an English literary medievalism and a more historical and ethical classicism in France become apparent.

The second aspect of the discussion concerns values and ideology. Here it becomes necessary to examine, albeit briefly, the relationship between academic art theory and artistic practice. While French and English critics subscribed to the primacy of subject-matter (with a few exceptions) and the hierarchy of genres, French theorists harked back to an earlier era of national and artistic glory which they sought to revive, while the English, riding the crest of a wave of national glory, sought to enhance it by founding a native school of art, and especially of history-painting. In practice, as Part 1 demonstrated, most artists preferred the more sought-after lower genres, especially portraiture; but a significant minority pursued the ideal of moral historicism with varying degrees of commitment, and even without the backing of a theoretical historicism of the type propounded by Winckelmann and Mengs, sought to produce a morally uplifting art through the use of a wide range of historical exempla, with the encouragement of the State in France, and royalty and the Academy in England. It is this practical moral historicism which forms the matrix of

both the civic patriotism so fully developed in France and the ethnic-historical nationalism adumbrated by British artists, which in politically secure states help to reinforce each other and give birth to national communities of citizens.

PART 1: "HISTORY" PAINTING AND SCULPTURE IN LONDON AND PARIS

CHAPTER ONE

"HISTORY" PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURES AT THE PARIS SALONS.

1746 - 1800

Any quantitative assessment of artistic trends in late eighteenth century France and England finds its natural starting-point in the biennial or annual public exhibitions in Paris and London, that formed the most important focus of artistic activity in this period. In his recent analysis of the functions of the Salon, Tom Crow underlines the growing importance of these regular biennial exhibitions from the 1740s on, for painters and sculptors, critics and the educated public. (1) In France, the Salons were firmly embedded, through the Academie, in the official establishment inaugurated in 1654 by Colbert. The first exhibition had been organised as far back as 1673, but it was only after 1700 that such displays became a more frequent feature of Parisian life, and only after 1746 that they became a regular (more or less), biennial event. (2) In the period from 1746 to 1800, that is the year before the reforming de Tournehem became Surintendant des Bâtiments until the close of the Revolutionary decade, the main trends in French painting and sculpture in terms of iconography and style can be most clearly gauged through the Salons, and a thematic chart is a prerequisite for any

discussion of the nature and role of artistic activity in the cultural sources of patriotism and nationalism. (3)

### The Salon Livrets

Artistic trends can be measured in both quantitative and qualitative terms. Here I want to look at quantitative measures, and for this purpose the catalogues of the biennial Paris Salons, or Salon Livrets, which list the exhibited items of painting, drawing and sculpture, are indispensable. (4)

It is important, however, to realise the limitations of an analysis of artistic trends based on this quantitative source. To begin with, the Salon catalogues only list exhibited items, and mainly reflect art in the capital; a number of painters, however, worked in the provinces, notably Gamelin and Wicar and Fabre, and they did not always (or usually) choose to send their works for exhibition in Paris. Second, many works of art were rejected by the Salon juries which before the Revolution were controlled by a small elite of established artists, members and officials of the prestigious Academie. Greuze's career is only the best-known of many such rejections; and the outcome, private exhibition in the artist's own studio, was always a possibility, even if it did not rival the Salon as an avenue for recognition and advancement. (5)

There is also the problem of the information, or lack of it, in the Salon Livrets themselves. Sometimes, this information is imprecise or scanty, as when two or more paintings or drawings are listed under the same number, without any elucidation. (6) Some items are not numbered, while some numbers have two or more separate items listed under them. In other cases, the wording of a title is indeterminate or sketchy, with headings like "autres tableaux" or "bas-relief imitant le bronze", without further description. Even gross numbers of items must be regarded as tentative and rough, as in some cases more than one genre of painting or sculpture may be included under a single number. In these cases, the major study of Koch has multiplied by three each number with two or more items listed under that number; whereas I have given such numbers a value of one (the first listed, if it was described adequately), because this procedure seemed preferable to estimating the total number of often minor works which were part of a series (for example, the four seasons or periods of the day), or those whose titles were indeterminate. (7) "Miniatures" are also often left without further description, and this inevitably inflates the number of portraits or unclassifiable items. (8)

Finally, the very large Salons of 1791 and 1793, which Leith and others have analysed, were thrown open to a flood of works of art, and were consequently extremely disorganized. In these cases, arriving at even approximate

figures of overall numbers in each category has proved exceptionally difficult. (9)

For all these reasons, quantitative analyses of Salon exhibits can furnish only rough indications of some key trends and movements in the period's painting and sculpture. Precise statistical investigations are out of the question in this field, and any conclusions must therefore be very general and tentative.

"Public" and "non-public" genres

Any classification involves a measure of arbitrariness, but a useful starting-point is the traditional hierarchy of genres established in France since the time of Felibien and de Piles. This hierarchy placed religious, historical and allegorical works at the pinnacle of artistic achievement, with mythology and literary representations a little further down the hierarchy, but well above the "non-public" genres which were so popular with the public. These included portraiture and low-life scenes in the Dutch manner, with still lower down the scale, landscapes and animal and still-life scenes. (10)

These categories provide the basic classification of items listed in the Salon Livrets, but because of the special interest here in the "historical revival" in art, I have subdivided the "historical" category into its relevant



segments, and included, unlike Koch, "ancient history" (of Greece, Rome, Persia) within the "history" rubric, not the "mythology" one which he favours. (11)

Of course, any classification will throw up problems or borderline cases. For example, should we place Vien's Seller of Loves (1763) or his Greek Lady at her Bath (1767) under "Greek history" or "low life" (in antique costume)? Is a Cupid or Amor an example of Greek myth or allegory? Are St. Denis or St. Louis Christian saints or heroes of French medieval history? Shall we classify celebrated contemporaries as cases of "contemporary history" or of portraiture? What is the dividing line between mythology and history, and where does the Trojan tale fit in? Can we define a category of "serious" mythology, or establish criteria for "historical" Jewish or Christian subject-matter?

To all these questions, there is no easy answer. The artists themselves would often be at a loss for answers, since they often had multiple aims: to please, to recreate faithfully, to point a moral and to excite sensibilities. But because my typology aims to isolate, as far as is feasible, the "historical" kernel of different types of painting and sculpture, I have tended in all these cases to inflate the "public" categories at the expense of the often much larger "non-public" categories, assigning for example the Cupid theme to allegory or mythology according to the

title's wording. It is for this reason that I have also tried to distinguish "serious" and heroic mythologies, which were often thought to be quasi-historical, particularly those in the Iliad (and the more serious moments in the Odyssey) from the usual run of fanciful, erotic or picturesque myths favoured by Rococo artists. It might even be said that in some Salons, the Homeric mythologies favoured by critics like the Comte de Caylus appeared to "substitute" for Greek and Roman histories proper. (12)

Historical subjects were by no means only Greco-Roman, nor was the historicist revival exclusively classical. There was a small, but important, trend towards medieval and Renaissance subject-matter, even if French examples were much fewer than those produced across the Channel. But before 1800 few Nordic (i.e. Germanic, Eddic and Ossianic) themes were exhibited, so that this type has been omitted from the appended tables in the French case. On the other hand, "historicist" elements can be found in some of the Biblical and Christian themes and personages of the "Grand Siècle", Henri IV and Sully, Condé and Turenne, a trend not without interest, in view of their subsequent decline during the Revolution with its onslaught on all monarchy. (13)

For all these reasons, the "historical" category has had to be subdivided according to period and culture-area or

ethnic community, with the resulting classification:

Public

Non-Public

Religious	- Jewish, anecdotal	Portraiture
	Jewish, historical	Low-life Genre
	Christian, devotional	Landscape
	Christian, historical	Still-life
		(and animal)

Allegorical

Historical	- Greek
	Roman
	Medieval
	Baroque
	Contemporary
	Other
	Historical Landscape

Mythological	- Fanciful-erotic
	Serious

Literary

Unclassifiable

I have also appended figures for the estimated number of "history" artists exhibiting at each Salon. This figure

should be treated with even greater caution, as many artists who have here been termed "historical", actually painted or sculpted "serious" mythologies, and/or included one or more "history" paintings or sculptures among a batch of other works belonging to different categories (often a series of portraits). Yet these estimates do help to round out the picture of the volume of production of "history" works in late eighteenth century France, as exhibited in the Paris Salons. (14)

Total exhibits and participation, 1746-1800

As can be seen from the accompanying tables, the total number of works accepted by the Salons rose considerably in the period from 1746-89, then accelerated greatly in 1791 and 1793, before returning to near the 1789 level by 1800. In 1746, 118 paintings and 21 sculptures were exhibited; by 1789 there were 220 paintings and 108 sculptures. In 1791, some 615 paintings and 129 sculptures were exhibited, and in 1793 these figures rose to 687 and 196, respectively. By 1800, the totals had dropped back to 412 paintings and 54 sculptures.

If we leave aside the two atypical Salons of 1791 and 1793, the overall trends can be plotted by taking the last Salon in each decade, as follows:

	1748	1759	1769	1779	1789	1799
Paintings	108	124	205	198	220	384
Sculptures	15	21	31	58	108	43

This suggests that the number of paintings exhibited rose by the mid 1760s to a pre-Revolutionary plateau around the 200 mark; while sculptures only exceeded the 50 mark in 1771, remaining between 45 and 65 till 1787, then shooting up to over 100 in the Salons from 1789 to 1793, and finally sinking back to the 50 mark in the last Salons of the century.

As for the total number of "history" artists, it remained small until 1791. In the 1750s some 30-40 painters exhibited their work at the Salon, and of these only some 8-10 showed "history" paintings. The total number of painters exhibiting hardly rose above the 50 mark till 1791, when the Salon was thrown open to much larger numbers of artists, and reached the 175-200 mark (258 in 1793). Until 1777, the number of painters exhibiting works with an "historical" content fluctuated between 6 (usually 8) and 12, i.e. between a fifth and a quarter of all painters exhibiting. This figure rose to 15-20 in the 1780s, and between 20 and 30 in the 1790s (the exceptional Salons of 1791 and 1793 featured some 44 and 52 painters showing

"history" works, but out of a total of 172 and 258 painters in all). So that the proportion of painters exhibiting "history" works is highest in the 1780s at about two fifths or a third of the total number of painters; while in the 1790s, this figure sinks to about a sixth or less.

As for sculptors, the total number exhibiting never exceeded twelve until the 1780s, of which 0-3 exhibited "history" sculptures. In the 1780s and 1790s, some 15 to 33 sculptors exhibited their work (except for 53 in 1791 and 60 in 1793); of these, only 6-12 included works with some real "historical" content (but 16 in 1791 and 28 in 1793), but these figures yield higher proportions for "history" sculpture than for painting, i.e. between a quarter and nearly one half.(15)

#### "Non-public" genres

It is only to be expected that "non-public" categories of painting, and to a lesser extent sculpture, should greatly exceed the "public" categories. Quite apart from the demands of patrons for smaller, private works, most portraits, landscapes, low-life scenes and still-life, require less expenditure of time and effort. Even well-known "history painters" like Vien, Deshayes and Lagrenée tend to submit for exhibition a couple of major historical works, together with lesser, fanciful mythologies or a few portraits. The prolific output of

portraitists and landscape painters is reflected in the fact that the total numbers of all the "non-public" genres is usually three to four times as numerous as all the "public" categories combined at each Salon.

Thus in 1748, 77 out of 108 paintings belong to "non-public" genres. On the other hand, only 7 out of 15 sculptures for that year can be classified as "non-public": indeed if we include tombs of the noble and wealthy, the number of exhibited sculptures in the "public" categories exceeds those in "non-public" ones on a number of occasions (though they included also many allegories and "fanciful-erotic" mythologies). (16)

Of the "non-public" genres, portraits and landscapes are by far the most numerous. At first, portraits account for nearly one half of all the "non-public" works exhibited; but after 1760 they decline to about a third or less, while landscapes and later low-life scenes increase, with landscapes accounting for over a third of the total from the early 1780s, and even at the height of the Revolution. We may plot the contrast between "public" and "non-public" genres of painting and the relative importance of categories within the "non-public" rubric, as follows:

Distribution of "public" and "non-public" paintings, and of  
categories within the "non-public" rubric, at selected  
Salons, 1746-99

	1746	1751	1759	1761	1769	1771	1779	1781	1789	1791	1799
Public	56	25	34	42	56	67	89	83	77	172	72
Non-Public	62	66	84	66	143	151	103	141	138	409	300
Non-Public categories											
portrait	27	29	41	21	50	40	30	37	38	164	153
genre	11	6	16	13	40	36	35	24	27	68	53
landscape	18	11	11	14	34	62	24	68	60	150	80
still-life	6	20	16	18	19	13	14	12	13	27	14

source: Salon Livrets (1673-1800), ed. Guiffrey



Public Genres I: Religion and Literature

Religious works can be divided according to two criteria. The first is their source: in the Old Testament and Apocrypha, or in the New Testament and lives of Saints, i.e. a Jewish or Christian source. The second is their predominant character: whether devotional or anecdotal, or more strictly narrative and historical. Non-historical Jewish themes are usually anecdotal incidents like the tale of Potiphar's wife, Hagar, Tobit or the chaste Susanna. Non-historical Christian episodes tend to be more devotional and include the Madonna and Child motif, or icons of various saints. Jewish historical themes include the story of Creation and the Flood, Abel and Cain, Moses and the Exodus, Judges like Samson and Jephtha, the tale of David and Saul, Esther, the Babylonian Captivity and rarely, but significantly, the later Maccabean revolt. Christian historical works are drawn from the Gospel narrative, from the Acts of the Apostles and from often obscure incidents about the martyrdom of Saints at Roman and pagan hands, occurrences described at some length in the Salon Livrets.

Overall, religious works account for some 30-40 per cent of all "public" paintings from 1746 until the early 1770s (with exceptions in 1757 and 1769). They then sank to about 20-25 per cent of all "public" paintings, and still lower to 10-20 per cent in the 1780s and early 1790s. In

the later 1790s, religious paintings almost disappear. The same holds for sculpture, except that the figures are much lower (between 1 and 5 in all) and hardly ever rise above 15-20 per cent of the total. With one exception in 1789, they drop to under ten per cent of the total "public" sculptures after the mid-1770s.

These figures reveal a fairly rapid secularisation of "public" art works from 1746 to 1800, and especially in the 1780s and 1790s, particularly in painting. (17) On the other hand, within the religious category, "historical" Jewish and Christian motifs, though increasing, do not replace anecdotal or devotional themes, as the following table suggests:

Historical and devotional religious paintings  
at selected Salons, 1748-99

	1748	1750	1759	1761	1769	1771	1779	1781	1789	1791	1795
Devotional	8	17	8	14	9	14	11	17	10	17	-
Historical	5	6	9	7	4	9	13	14	10	19	-

source: Salon Livrets

The total number of literary works exhibited at the Salons was miniscule until the 1790s, and till 1785 the total never rose above three works per Salon. Literary subjects became slightly more popular in the 1780s, and more so in the 1790s, but they still remained well below 10 per cent of all "public" works exhibited. The themes, too, are severely restricted; Rinaldo and Armida, the Idylls of Gessner, and a few illustrations of works by Voltaire and Rousseau, provide the subject-matter. Until 1800, there were no illustrations of works by Dante, Shakespeare or Ossian. (18)

#### Public Genres II: Allegory and Mythology

Allegorical works also constituted a small category, but with some wide fluctuations. In 1751, for example, there were no allegorical paintings on view, whereas in 1753 there were 16 out of 45 "public" works. There were 8 in 1757, 3 in 1759, 4 in 1765, 14 in 1767, 1 in 1789, 12 in 1791, 22 in 1795 and 4 in 1798. It is impossible here to discern a trend or pattern, but in general, allegorical paintings account for less than 10 per cent of the total of "public" works and always less than 20 per cent.

In sculpture, on the other hand, allegorical works play a more important role. In the pre-Revolutionary years, they account for some 25-40 per cent of all "public" sculptures, and though this figure falls in 1789 and 1791 (12 out of 63

in 1789 and 8 out of 70 in 1791) it is maintained in the Revolutionary years (32 out of 107 in 1793, 19 out of 56 in 1795).

The allegorical subject-matter of these paintings and sculptures varies considerably in intent and seriousness, with themes like Amor Omnibus Idem rubbing shoulders with more serious allegories of Time or Monarchy and the State, and quite frivolous erotic scenes and complex moralities which defy classification, jostling each other.

Classical mythologies also fluctuate widely around a mid-point of about 30 per cent of total "public" works and 5-15 per cent of all exhibited works. Despite some small swings between Salons, this proportion remains fairly consistent to the end of our period, with no sudden decline in popularity during the Revolutionary years. In the 1740s and 1750s, classical mythologies are roughly equal in number to religious works and far more numerous than history works proper. In the 1760s, religious works take the lead, and history paintings become more numerous. Then in the 1770s, mythologies became more popular, and history paintings only become a serious contender at the end of the decade. In the 1780s, history paintings become the leading category of all "public" paintings, with mythologies in second place ahead of religious paintings, a pattern which remains in the 1790s when religious works dwindle and

mythologies increase once more. These changes can be illustrated as follows:

Distribution of some "public" genres of paintings at selected Salons, 1746-1799

	1746	1751	1759	1761	1769	1771	1779	1781	1789	1791	1799
Religious	22	10	17	21	13	23	34	31	20	36	-
Allegorical	6	-	3	4	6	5	4	8	1	12	1
Literary	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	1	3	3	1
Mythological	21	11	11	10	31	28	27	23	15	57	30
Historical	7	4	3	7	6	9	31	20	38	64	31
-----											
Total	56	25	34	42	56	67	89	83	77	172	71
-----											

source: Salon Livrets

Mythologies of the "fanciful-erotic" kind outnumber heroic and "serious" mythologies by anything from three to six times (and sometimes more), and only in the later 1770s do the latter types multiply. In the 1780s, "serious" mythologies begin to equal, and outstrip, fanciful themes, though they tend to fall back again in the 1790s. In

general, it is subjects like Cupid and Venus, Diana and Actaeon, Narcissus, Adonis, Psyche, Cephalus, Endymion, the Muses, Graces, satyrs, fauns and nymphs, and the many loves of Jupiter, so dear to Rococo artists, that continue to predominate among Salon mythologies until the 1780s. Only in the years leading up to the Revolution, do French artists turn to the more heroic myths of Hesiod's Theogony, Virgil's Aeneid and Homer's Iliad and the latter part of the Odyssey, in which Odysseus returns to slay the suitors, and depict the fate of heroes like Heracles, Prometheus, Jason, Theseus, Oedipus and Philoctetes, the Homeric saga of Troy, and exploits of Hector, Achilles, Diomedes and Aeneas, which critics like La Font de Saint-Yenne and the Comte de Caylus had recommended to artists in the late 1740s and 1750s. Yet even at the height of the Revolution, heroic myths never managed to displace the light-hearted and erotic tales beloved of an earlier age. (19)

This is well illustrated by the figures in the following table of mythological paintings. I have also included a separate set of figures for the Homeric sagas, while counting most of the Homeric themes among the "serious" subcategory of mythologies. Most but not all, because in the earlier part of our period, a number of scenes were taken from those sections of the Odyssey which are anecdotal and belong to fairy-tale rather than saga, episodes like Telemachus and Calypso, Circe, the Sirens and Polyphemus. Only later do the more serious episodes of the

Odyssey (in the later books) become the subject-matter for artistic depiction. I have therefore also listed the Iliad separate from the Odyssey, largely because of the widespread admiration for Hamilton's Iliadic series, itself owing much to the artist's reading of the Comte de Caylus' urgings. (20)

Distribution of "serious" and "erotic" mythologies, and of subjects from the Iliad and Odussey.

at selected Salons, 1748-1799

(paintings only)

	1748	1759	1761	1769	1771	1779	1781	1789	1791	1799
Erotic myth	12	8	8	25	27	22	13	4	32	21
Heroic myth	2	3	2	6	1	5	10	11	25	9
-----										
Iliad	-	2	1	1	-	4	6	4	6	3
Odyssey	3	-	1	1	1	1	3	1	5	-

source: Salon Livrets

Public Genres III: Historical Works

Historical paintings proper constitute only a small proportion of all "public" works during the earlier part of our period, except in 1765 and 1773. But from 1777, the proportion rises; before 1777, this proportion is 5 per cent of all "public" works and less than 3 per cent of all exhibits. After 1777, history paintings constitute a fifth to a quarter of all "public" works, and even 35-50 per cent (particularly in the years 1785-1791), and about 5-10 per cent of all exhibited paintings, sinking back again below five per cent after 1798. The same pattern holds for "history" sculptures. In the earlier years, there are hardly any "history" sculptures, with a maximum of two such sculptures at each Salon until 1777, even in 1773 which saw a sudden rise in medieval "history" painting. (21) In 1777, there is a sudden increase to 11 "history" sculptures (out of 24 "public" sculptures) and to 16 in 1779 (out of 34 "public" works). This parallels exactly the sharp increase in "history" paintings at these Salons (19 out of 69 "public" works in 1777 and 31 out of 89 in 1779). From this moment on, "history" sculpture forms 30-55 per cent of all "public" sculpture throughout the 1780s and early 1790s, before falling off to about 15-30 per cent thereafter. These figures confirm Benoit's early estimate of about 9 per cent for ancient histories as a proportion of all works exhibited in the period



1775-89, though for the earlier half of his second period (1791-1808), his figure of four per cent for ancient histories as a proportion of the total, is rather too low. But if we add other subcategories of history paintings and sculptures, not to mention heroic and "serious" myths and religious "histories" and allegories, these proportions are rather higher, reaching some 15-25 per cent of all exhibited works from 1777 to the later 1790s. (22)

Undoubtedly the most interesting and important element in the "historical" category is the antique or Greco-Roman genre and the return to an heroic classical antiquity. (23) This focusses on Sparta, Athens and especially republican Rome. Such works usually account for about 35-50 per cent of the "historical" category; and though there was a small upsurge of interest in Greco-Roman themes in painting (not sculpture) in the mid-1760s, the real wave of antique histories arrived in the later 1770s, though the sculptors participated only marginally, preferring Baroque and Contemporary histories, especially portrait busts of celebrated Frenchmen. (24)

At the core of the historicist movement in France lay the Roman revival. With few exceptions, in every year after 1777 Roman themes were treated almost twice as many times as Greek histories until the later 1790s. Most of these themes show historical figures in moral dilemmas. Roman heroes and heroines like Regulus, Brutus, Virginius,



Cornelia, Scipio, Marius, Cato, Agrippina and Belisarius (treated usually as a Roman general) are shown choosing the noble course of action or suffering nobly an unjust fate. Nobility here often entails a drastic remedy or bearing extreme adversity, and the episodes chosen reveal both dramatic and moral qualities, openly preaching the virtues of magnanimity, renunciation, endurance, self-sacrifice and patriotism, through the portrayal of striking incidents in the heroes' lives.

The Roman revival was supplemented by lesser Greek, medieval, Baroque and Contemporary cults. The Greek revival took two forms. On the one hand, there was the return to Homeric and Virgilian themes, treated as history, notably the saga of Achilles and Hector, and the fall of Troy, discussed above, which flourished in French painting mainly in the years 1779-83 and 1791-93, but had already been intimated by painters like Doyen, Deshayes and Lagrenée in the 1760s. On the other hand, there were the stoic and heroic episodes from Sparta and Athens, and the nobility of philosophers like Socrates and Diogenes or commanders like Alexander often culled from Plutarch's Lives. In all these episodes, it was the response of the noble heart and strong mind to harsh fate or temptation, rather than any feudal prowess in combat, that attracted the artists of the period. (25)

The medieval and Baroque revival, if such it may be termed in view of the small absolute numbers of works exhibited in these genres, centred mainly on similar noble and self-sacrificing figures - Du Guesclin, Bayard, St. Louis and Henri IV. It was certainly encouraged by the State, notably d'Angiviller's decorative schemes and the Ecole Militaire commission of 1773. (26) Apart from this commission, the medieval - Baroque revival starts in 1777 and peters out in 1793-5: But it never accounts for more than about 25-40 per cent of all "history" paintings, though very much more of such sculptures, because of the presence of Baroque portrait busts. (At the height of this revival, in 1781, medieval history paintings constituted less than a ninth of all "public" paintings; but over a third of all "public" sculptures were "history" works in 1783, but in the Baroque portrait bust genre). In general, the painters seem to have responded less enthusiastically to the Crown's desire to celebrate medieval and Baroque French history, than to the classical revival; but enough to show a reservoir of French national sentiment, based on alternative medieval and monarchist images, which might form the basis of a French identity in many ways opposed to the republican "Roman" identity then enjoying so much popularity. (27)

Finally, there is the sudden emergence of a genre of "Contemporary history", first in 1779, and then in the Revolutionary decade, among sculptors as well as painters.

Here portrait busts of celebrated contemporaries predominate, together with battle scenes and stirring events from the Revolution in Paris and of its leaders. At this point, much of the moral message and didactic style of classicism is transferred into contemporary life and immediate events.

The relative importance of the main "history" subcategories can now be gauged from the following extract from the Salon tables: (See table overleaf)

Distribution of main "history" subcategories of paintings  
and sculptures at selected Salons, 1746-99

\*

1746 1755 1759 1765 1769 1775 1777 1779 1781

PAINTING

Greek	2	2	-	2	-	2	4	6	2
Roman	3	1	3	5	3	3	10	13	8
Medieval	-	-	-	2	-	1	3	2	2
Baroque	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	7
Contemporary	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	5	1

SCULPTURE

Greek	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	-
Roman	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-
Medieval	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Baroque	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	6	-
Contemporary	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	5	4

1785 1789 1791 1799

PAINTING

Greek	6	6	23	3
Roman	12	12	18	10
Medieval	1	3	3	-
Baroque	2	5	2	-
Contemporary	1	5	13	14

SCULPTURE

Greek	4	4	3	1
Roman	2	5	5	3
Medieval	-	1	-	1
Baroque	6	6	2	1
Contemporary	4	6	29	2

Source: Salon Livrets

\*1777 is included as it saw the birth of the real historical revival in painting, and to a lesser extent in sculpture.

Finally, despite earlier caveats about the total numbers of artists exhibiting "history" works, the figures show a clear increase in the proportion of such artists to the total of exhibitors over the period. In the 1750s, only some 20 per cent of the total displayed paintings and sculptures with some historical content; by the 1780s this figure had risen to about 35 per cent of the total of painters exhibiting. (The figure for sculptors fluctuates greatly, but it is between 25 and 50 per cent after 1775). But in these figures, I have included painters of serious, especially Iliadic, mythologies. On the other hand, the numbers of exhibitors also rose greatly after 1791. So that overall, the proportion of pure "history painters", let alone "history sculptors", though significant, remains fairly small. (28)

Some conclusions

Certain tentative conclusions can be drawn from this analysis of Salon paintings and sculptures in the period 1746-1800.

1 Throughout the period, "non-public" categories of painting predominate by two to three times, and even more in the late 1790s, over "public" ones. But this does not hold for "public" sculpture, which in the early part of the period sometimes greatly exceeds the "non-public" genres, and again in 1773, 1779, and 1789-95, and at other times achieves rough parity with "non-public" genres. Here the obvious differences between the two media, and their uses for patrons, are revealed; but the predominance of "non-public" genres of painting also suggests that this period is one where a new bourgeoisie is seeking a share of patronage, and that its tastes and means favour portraiture and landscapes, which were smaller, cheaper and more easily accessible and sensually gratifying; a point underlined by the growing popularity of low-life everyday scenes on a small scale and with a "Flemish" finish. (29)

2 There is an undoubted process of secularisation of artistic subject-matter. Although slightly more subjects are chosen from the more historical Old Testament, from

the mid-1770s there is a steady decline in the number of religious works, devotional or historical, exhibited, and this is even more marked for sculpture. It is possible to infer from this that "serious" and moralistic art now gradually turns to classical antiquity for inspiration in place of the Bible and Christianity, and that this process accelerates after 1789.

3 At the same time, erotic and "fanciful" mythologies retain their popularity throughout the period, even in the late 1770s and 1780s, and through the Revolutionary years, much to the displeasure of the more puritannical radical moralists. Artists have never relinquished their desire to please and amuse, and the public appeared to enjoy often cloying and sensuous tales of Venus, Diana and Jupiter, even at the height of the Revolution. Yet, when the more permissive Directory arrived, the number of erotic-fanciful mythologies did not increase, only maintained itself. (30)

Does all this imply that the "historical revival" was of little moment in the history of French painting, and even less in that of French sculpture? Has the traditional reading of that progression which starts from a Rococo hedonism, proceeds to a heroic Neo-Classicism, and thence to a mysterious, dramatic and exuberant Romanticism, misled us through a retrospective need for discerning moral significance and artistic order in the chaos of



trends, movements and activities that make up late eighteenth century French and European art?

As I hope to show, so radical a scepticism is unfounded. While it is undoubtedly true that much art of the period did not fit into any neat stylistic or moral order, and that it is easy to exaggerate the significance of any one trend in art (or social life), the "historical revival" in French painting (and to a lesser extent, in sculpture) was intrinsically important and ethically and artistically seminal. This should become clearer at a later stage in our discussion. For the moment, it is enough to stress that if the historical revival was an elite and minority movement, it nevertheless attracted much notice and talent, and exerted considerable influence, even outside the artistic field. The historicist movement of the late 1770s and 1780s represents a new and dynamic element in French art, and we can therefore list a few considerations which must modify the "negative" conclusions above.

4 As we indicated, there was a clearcut "Roman revival" from 1777 on. From 1785 to 1796, at least twelve works using Roman themes were exhibited at each Salon, and in the Revolutionary years (1791-5) at least eighteen. This should be compared with an average of only three "Roman" works per Salon prior to 1777. (31) The trend is not merely numerical; there is an extension of the range of "Roman" themes, an increase in the austere and stoic

components and episodes of such themes, much greater dramatic and moral significance attached to them, and a quest for a new, spare and heroic style to convey that meaning, from the late 1770s on.

5 The "Roman revival" was accompanied by other historicist revivals: Homeric and Greek, Jewish, medieval and Baroque. Though lesser in extent and numbers of works, and less adventurous in its range of themes and stylistic innovations in this period, these revivals, and notably the Homeric one, together add up to a definite attempt by a small segment of French artists to rediscover and reinterpret lost ages and their heroic exemplars. If we add all these revivals together (i.e. all "history" and "serious" mythology paintings), they account for about 12-20 per cent of all paintings exhibited at each Salon from 1777 to 1796.

6 Allied to this is the marked increase in obscure and rarely treated themes from classical or medieval history, such as Caracalla and Severus, Furius Cressinus, Telemachus and Termosiris, Dentatus, Eleazar, Tell, Ossian, Coligny, President Mole and the death of Leonardo. No French artist rivalled West's "historical mobility", but visitors to any of the Salons of the period could find subjects drawn from most Western histories and mythologies, including several with which he would be ill acquainted. (32)

7 All these revivals enjoyed official backing and State patronage. From the reforms of de Tournehem in the late 1740s, and of Marigny in the 1750s, a new academic, classical and didactic ethos was imparted to the rising generation of artists; and this was reinforced by the reform of the Academie de France in Rome under Hallé and Uien from 1775. (33) There were clear attempts to broaden the cultural basis of artistic life, including a literary education for artists, mainly in classical authors like Homer, Plutarch, Livy and Valerius Maximus, especially at the Ecole Royale des Elèves Protégés from 1749-1775, under Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié, the Professor of History till 1755, and then Michel-Francois Dandré-Bardon, Professor till 1775. These reforms, however, only bore fruit in the late 1760s and 1770s, when some of the artists became, in the words of La Font de Saint-Yenne, "peintres de l'âme" who sought to capture the spirit of the heroic past in order to distil its moral message for modern generations. (34) Indeed, so successfully did they imbibe the classical education provided by the State and the artistic establishment, that they actually outran the critics' expectations of a return to Poussinism and the Grand Siècle, and introduced a disturbing republican and patriotic vision into some of their compositions.

8 It is important also to remember that "history" paintings, especially, enjoyed not only State patronage,

but also the favour of the Salons and their juries. Thus they were often listed first in the Livrets, and occupied a prominent position in the Salon galleries, partly in view of their large size, but also because the hierarchy of genres of art laid down by Le Brun and codified by Felibien in the 1670s accorded "history" paintings a privileged position.(35) This hierarchy will be discussed more fully in the last chapter.

9 Given this traditional prestige of "history" painting, it is not surprising if some of the best, and best-known, painters specialised or attempted this genre. In our period, Hallé, Vien, Doyen, Deshayes, and later Brenet, Durameau, Menageot, Suvée, Regnault, Vincent, Lagrenée, Berthelemy, as well as Peyron, Drouais, David, Girodet and Gros, made their names in this field, and Greuze unsuccessfully aspired to do so. Many of these artists went to Rome, where their direct contact with classical statuary, the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii, and with Raphael and the Bolognese, not to mention the influence of British, German and Scandinavian artists then pioneering new styles, helped to fuel their zeal for classical antiquity and inspire their quest for a new severe style capable of expressing their vision.(36)

10 It was this band of prestigious and influential artists who set much of the tone for art criticism and appreciation, and whose studios (notably those of Regnault

and David) helped to train the next generations. In other words one should not exaggerate the "negative" quantitative dimensions and its gross trends at the expense of the more "positive" qualitative dimensions and movements ("positive" from the standpoint of an "historical revival"): most of the artists who shaped the future course of French art, were committed to the vision of classical antiquity and its message of heroic patriotism, and saw little conflict between that vision and the pursuit of artistic technique and expression.

This suggests that, although it was an elite and minority movement, the "historical revival" in French art of the 1770s and 1780s constituted an important and influential trend, and that its quest for historical truth and moral drama responded to deeply-felt needs in late eighteenth-century France.

CHAPTER TWO

"HISTORY" PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURES AT THE ROYAL  
ACADEMY EXHIBITIONS IN LONDON, 1769-1800

The first Royal Academy exhibition was held in 1769, at the very moment when the new "neo-classical" themes had just become fashionable in England. In the Salons, there had already surfaced a first brief upsurge of antique themes around 1765, though the full revival had to wait another ten years. We cannot, therefore, use the Royal Academy exhibitions to chart parallel classical or medieval revivals, as the first British exhibition falls over a third of the way, temporally, along the French trajectory of historicist revivals. Even if we extend the period backward in England, by using the Society of Artists' exhibitions, which began in 1760, to help fill the gap, the picture remains incomplete. Since the latter exhibitions never achieved the status of the Royal Academy exhibitions, and since the purpose is to compare officially recognised art in the respective capitals and by the dominant artistic institutions as the most reliable indicator of the introduction of historicism and the "historical revival" into traditional art and culture in the two countries, I shall concentrate on the exhibitions held at the Royal Academy, which had royal and upper class backing. To correct that bias, however, and help fill the gap in the earlier part of our period, I shall also

indicate some trends in the Society of Artists' exhibitions of the 1760s; given the far less centralised and bureaucratic state of the arts in England, these exhibitions may help to convey some idea of other trends at the time.

#### Method and Classification

To a large extent, the classification employed in the previous discussion of the Salons can be usefully applied to the Royal Academy exhibits. But, once again, similar caveats must be made. The Royal Academy exhibitions give a reasonable (but incomplete) picture of artistic activity in London, and indeed were more accessible to artists than their French counterparts, although there was a predilection for a classicising taste such as Reynolds and West, the first presidents, recommended; but this omitted important segments of English artistic activity, notably of the provincial schools of watercolourists, who were later to form their own societies. (1)

Second, a number of items in the Royal Academy Catalogues are not listed in sufficient detail to allow us to assign them to any of the categories, so that gross totals must often remain approximate in any one year. (2) On the other hand, there are fewer "unclassifiable" works than in the Salons, and far fewer numbers show more than one item listed thereunder. Third, most miniatures are

sufficiently well described to permit classification, usually under the portraiture rubric, though one should add that they greatly inflate the "portraiture" totals, and are sometimes listed separately in the Royal Academy catalogues. It is necessary to bear this in mind, when assessing the relative proportions of different categories of paintings in the Royal Academy exhibitions. (3)

Nevertheless, for these reasons, a quantitative analysis of Royal Academy exhibits, though necessarily imprecise, does allow a greater measure of confidence about the main trends in officially sponsored art in London than in the case of the Paris Salons.

Moreover, the distinction between "public" and "non-public" categories fits easily the vast majority of Royal Academy exhibits, as do the sub-categories used for Salon exhibits. Only one small sub-category poses a problem, the group of works drawn from the sagas of Ossian. These could be classified under "mythology", "literature" or early medieval "history"; because Macpherson's poems were widely read in this period and taken for epic sagas recording more or less genuine Celtic history, I shall classify depictions of scenes from Ossian under the "Other History" rubric, which in France tends to be filled by tales of ancient Persia. (4) Otherwise, the Salon classification covers all the themes exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1769 to 1800.



"Non-public" genres

Throughout these years (1769-1800), the Royal Academy exhibitions were opened up to greater numbers of artists, and consequently the total number of works exhibited greatly increased, some sevenfold for paintings and fourfold (sometimes much more) for sculptures, over the period:

Increases in total exhibits at Royal Academy Exhibitions, 1769-1800

	1769	1771	1775	1779	1781	1785	1789	1791	1795	1799
Paintings	127	236	332	352	447	561	539	582	628	935
Sculptures	6	16	24	23	36	29	45	29	9	23

Source: Royal Academy Catalogues

The number of paintings remained around the 300 mark in the 1770s, and then increased to over 800. The sculpture figures increased rapidly to the 20 mark in the 1770s (38 in 1777), but then remained at the 20 to 30 mark, except for 1789 (45 sculptures) and 1795 (only 9). Compare these

figures with the corresponding Salons: In 1769, there were some 216 paintings and 58 sculptures, with 220 paintings and 108 sculptures in 1789 (384 and 43 in 1799). These figures show that the Salons had many more sculptures exhibited, but that after the 1770s, there were fewer paintings; with the exception of the Revolutionary years 1791 and 1793, the increase in Royal Academy exhibits of paintings almost doubled that of the Salons in the 1790s.

Turning to the relationship between "public" and "non-public" works, we find a generally higher proportion of "public" exhibits at the Salons: (See table over)

Proportion of "public" works at the Salons and  
Royal Academies, 1769-1799

I Paintings

<u>Salons</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1771</u>	<u>1779</u>	<u>1781</u>	<u>1789</u>	<u>1791</u>	<u>1793*1799</u>	
"public"	56	67	89	83	77	172	175	72
"non-public"	143	151	103	141	138	409	484	300

-----

Academies

"public"	22	36	47	58	68	90	90	88
"non-public"	101	197	295	378	462	488	606	842

II Sculptures

<u>Salons</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1771</u>	<u>1779</u>	<u>1781</u>	<u>1789</u>	<u>1791</u>	<u>1793</u>	<u>1799</u>
"public"	19	27	34	22	63	70	107	23
"non-public"	11	24	18	30	43	48	73	19

-----

Academies

"public"	1	9	11	18	27	12	5	6
"non-public"	6	6	7	16	12	16	17	11

Sources: Salon Livrets and Royal Academy Catalogues

\* 1793 is included in the previous table as it marked the height of the Revolution, which encouraged "public" category works, and it is interesting to contrast this commitment with its relative absence in England in the 1790s, despite a clear minority concern with such works.

Thus, at the Salons, the number of "public" paintings account for between one fifth and nearly one half of all the exhibits, the 50 per cent mark being almost attained in 1779. (5) At the Royal Academy exhibitions, the proportion is between one tenth and one sixth, with the higher percentages of "public" paintings in the earlier exhibitions. Both in the Salons and Academies, we find a similar decline in "public" art in the late 1790s. As for sculpture, there are more "public" works in both the London and Paris exhibitions and again a small decline in such works in the late 1790s, which is more marked in the Salons. (6) Generally speaking, we find that "public" sculptures account for nearly three quarters of the total in some years at the Salons, and over one half at the Royal Academy exhibitions (over two thirds in 1789).

As we should expect, portraiture and landscape are by far the most popular genres within the "non-public" rubric. Thus in 1769, out of a total of 101 "non-public" paintings, there were 37 portraits and 54 landscapes, and portraits increased in popularity in the following decades, overtaking landscapes in the early 1770s; by 1799, there were 398 portraits and 348 landscapes out of a total of 842 "non-public" paintings. (7) Taking selected years we may illustrate "non-public" trends as follows:

"Non-public" genres of paintings exhibited at the Royal  
Academy, 1769-1799

"Non-public"	1769	1771	1779	1781	1789	1791	1799
-----							
Portraits	37	90	154	187	237	274	398
Genre	5	4	31	21	29	39	46
Landscape	54	87	88	124	175	160	348
Still-life*	5	16	22	46	21	15	50
-----							
[(Portrait miniatures)** -	-	-	-	(72)	(58)	(80)	(141)
-----							
Total	101	197	295	378	462	488	842

Source: Royal Academy Exhibition Catalogues

\*Includes animal pictures

\*\*Included within portrait totals, see note (7)

We see that portraits alone increased tenfold over the period, and landscapes sevenfold; genre low-life scenes and still-life (notably animal) pictures show corresponding increases, but from a much lower base. Compared with the Salons, portraits accounted for nearly half of the "non-public" paintings at the Royal Academy exhibitions; this figure was much lower in Paris, usually between one quarter and one third. In both Salons and Academy exhibitions, landscapes fluctuated in number and

ratio of "non-public" paintings, but during the 1780s and 1790s often reached a level of one third of all "non-public" works.

### Religious works

Turning to the first of the "public" genres at the Royal Academy exhibitions, we find that religious works account for only a small fraction of "public" works. In painting, they fluctuate from a quarter to a tenth of all "public" works, with the lower proportions predominating in the 1780s and a slight increase in religious paintings in the 1790s. (9) The figures for religious sculptures are much lower; often none were exhibited.

Generally speaking, devotional themes predominated. Many of these were anecdotes drawn from Old Testament tales, such as Joseph and his brethren, Hagar and Ishmael, and Daniel. In the late 1780s, Benjamin West painted a series of cartoons for the windows of Windsor Chapel, on Old and New Testament themes. (10) More strictly historical religious works appear in the 1780s, with a considerable number in 1791 (10) and 1794 (7), together with a resurgence of anecdotal and devotional themes in the 1790s, which makes an interesting contrast with the situation in Paris.(11)

Literary works

These deserve a section to themselves, because of their intrinsic interest and importance. At first religious works equal or outstrip the literary paintings exhibited, but after 1780 literary depictions take the lead, often reaching some 25 in number, as follows:

Religious, literary and allegorical works exhibited at the  
Roual Academy from 1769 to 1799

	1769	1771	1775	1779	1781	1785	1789	1791	1795	1799
Religious	2	11	12	8	4	17	5	17	8	18
Literary	3	4	12	6	17	28	24	34	26	28
Allegorical	2	1	1	4	5	6	6	2	10	2

source: Royal Academy exhibition Catalogues

As the above figures suggest, literary themes in England appear to take the place, not only of religious works but also of allegories, which rarely rise above 10 in any one year and usually well below. (12) In Paris, allegories were usually more numerous than literary scenes, except in a couple of Salons in the 1790s. But the contrast is not

as firm as one might suppose, as the "literary" category itself is hard to define. In several instances, the episode represented is semi-historical, but mediated by a play or epic or ballad. Fuseli's representations of Shakespearian themes is a case in point: his historical dramas include undoubted historical episodes, whereas other scenes represent the poet's reconstructions. In general I have assigned such borderline cases to the "literary" category, as the emphasis of the works tends to be theatrical and literary in tone or content, as with Fuseli's representations of Lady Macbeth walking in her Sleep (1783) or Lady Constance, Arthur and Salisbury (1784), or John Runciman's fine portrayal of Lear in the Storm (1767). (13)

The range of texts chosen for their literary inspiration is much greater in England than in France. In the Salons, literary works are often absent and never rise above 10 per cent of all "public" works. In France, the chief subjects are the tales of Rinaldo and Armida, and the Idylls of Gessner, with occasional subjects drawn from Shakespeare and Dante. In England, subjects were taken from writers as various as Ariosto, Spenser, Thompson, Voltaire, Sterne, Shakespeare, Goldsmith, Ossian, Cervantes, Pope, Tasso, Milton, Gray, Marmontel, Young, Sheridan and Gessner, with more romantic-Gothic sources in the 1790s, including The Bard and Night Thoughts .



Within this catholic taste, the preferred authors were Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, Thompson, Sterne, Sheridan and Goldsmith, as well as Tasso; it was the English poetic and dramatic tradition which furnished so many of the subjects of "public" art during this period, whether of the more prosaic scenes from contemporary theatrical productions illustrated by Gravelot, Wheatley, Hayman and Dance, or the more atmospheric, fantastic subjects chosen by Fuseli, Westall and William Hamilton. Perhaps this was among the reasons why "fantastic" painters like Fuseli and de Louthembourg found the English cultural scene, with its revival of Shakespeare by Garrick and his company, and of Milton and the romantic poets, so appealing. Certainly, the English taste for the picturesque and atmospheric from the 1760s on, found little echo in France till well after the Revolution. (14)

#### Mythology and History

Compared to the Salons, the number of "history" works is much lower, and it is therefore sensible to treat them in relation to "mythological" works. This will also facilitate comparison with Salon exhibits.

Until 1780, mythologies constituted between one quarter and one half of all "public" paintings at the Royal Academy exhibitions. Thereafter, the proportion drops to between one third and fifteen per cent. The proportion of

"serious" mythologies, that is, those with dramatic or tragic and heroic themes, is even lower; apart from the first two exhibitions, only the years 1779-82 and 1796, show anything like parity in numbers between "serious" and "fanciful-erotic" mythologies.

As for "history" paintings, they rarely rise above a figure of 25 per exhibition (30 is attained in 1790 and 1799), accounting for between one sixth and one third of all "public" paintings. This proportion, like the overall numbers, certainly increased in the years 1779-80, and 1783-4, with a more sustained rise after 1790, but the proportion after 1790 remains between one fifth and one third of all "public" paintings.

In sculpture, the overall figures are much smaller, but until the mid-1790s, "mythologies" often account for well over half the "public" sculptures, though (except for 1770) they are usually of the "fanciful-erotic" kind. The numbers of "history" sculptures are miniscule, 5 being the highest number attained (in 1789 and 1798): the proportions also are low, varying between one fifteenth and one half (in 1795, there were two "history" sculptures out of four "public" ones!), as the following table illustrates:

Numbers of "historu" and "muthologu" paintings in relation  
to all "public" paintings at the Roual Academu  
exhibitions from 1769 to 1799

I PAINTINGS

	1769	1771	1775	1779	1781	1785	1789	1791	1795	1799
Mythology	11	10	13	12	17	18	17	13	15	10
serious	5	2	3	6	8	3	4	3	1	-
erotic	6	8	10	6	9	15	11	10	14	10
History	4	10	11	17	15	12	16	24	22	30
"Public"*	22	36	49	47	58	81	68	90	81	88

II SCULPTURES

Mythology	1	8	8	9	10	4	15	7	-	2
serious	-	3	2	8	9	2	4	3	-	-
erotic	1	5	6	1	1	2	11	4	-	2
History	-	1	1	1	3	2	5	2	2	2
"Public"*	1	9	10	11	18	9	27	12	4	6

\*Includes Religious, Allegorical and Literary works.

source: Royal Academy exhibition catalogues

Perhaps the most interesting feature of British "history" painting in the last thirty years of the eighteenth century is what one could term the "medieval revival". Again, overall figures are small. If we include under the "medieval" rubric the Renaissance and seventeenth century, the number never exceeds 5 before 1779, and only rises above 10 in 1778, 1790, 1791, and 1793. (15) Before the early 1780s, medieval-baroque depictions trail behind themes drawn from classical antiquity, although the average number of the latter is 3 per Academy exhibition, and never rises above 7 (in the years 1773 and 1789). But from 1786, there is a definite clustering of medieval-baroque themes: 6 in 1786, 8 in 1787, 10 in 1788, 10 in 1790, 15 in 1791, 8 in 1792, 11 in 1793, 7 in 1794, 7 in 1797 and 6 in 1799. It seems that, despite Reynolds' advice, when the Academicians did respond to the challenge of the "grand goût", they preferred medieval to classical themes. (16)

For, whereas we can talk of a small "medieval revival" in England, there is little evidence of any Greek or Roman revival. True, the years 1773-5 witnessed a small peak, with 6-7 antique histories, and 3-5 serious mythological paintings (hardly anything in sculpture); and again in 1789-90, with 7 and 6 antique "history paintings" (again, hardly anything in sculpture), and 3 "serious" mythologies (4 and 2 in sculpture). This is minimal compared with the Salon classical entries, rising to no more than the first

smaller Salon classical revival of the mid-1760s. There is nothing in England to parallel the major classical revival in Paris from 1777 onwards and throughout the 1780s up to the mid-1790s. Even the Homeric revival, which at first seemed to flourish, faltered in the late 1770s, with a brief return in the mid-1790s (17)

Nor should we be misled by an apparent English preference for "contemporary" histories, which loom large in the early 1780s and later 1790s (from 7 to 14 paintings in the years 1780-6, but hardly anything in sculpture and from 7 to 14 paintings in the years 1795-1800, but much less in sculpture). (18) Several of these pictures are large naval battle set-pieces, carefully described and dated in the Academy catalogues, and they mirror the frequent wars against France, especially during the American War of Independence, and the Revolutionary wars leading into the Napoleonic wars. On the other hand, domestic conflicts and politics are rarely depicted, unlike in Revolutionary France.

On the other hand, England is undoubtedly the home of the Ossianic cult till the 1790s which, as mentioned previously, I have placed in the "other history" subcategory. Twenty-four Ossianic works were exhibited at the Royal Academy exhibitions during this period (some of them sketches, and none of them sculptures). There was a very small peak of such themes in the early 1770s, a few

scattered through the 1780s (never more than 2 per Academy exhibition), and a slightly larger burst in the late 1790s. (19)

"Mythology" and "History" paintings at Salons and Academies

The peculiar nature of British artistic developments, as registered in the capital's official exhibitions, can be further illuminated by some direct comparisons of "mythology" and "history" paintings with the Salon entries. From the tables below, even though they extract selected years from the full Tables (see Appendices A and B), we can see that in France from 1781 more serious mythologies predominated, when compared with the British case, and second, that in France classical histories outstripped medieval ones, and vice-versa in England, especially in the 1790s. Finally, in France, total numbers of "history" paintings after 1779 are much higher than in England in most years (the 1783 Salon being in this respect rather atypical). Indeed, during the 1780s and early 1790s, the period of the classical revival in France, the total numbers of such "histories" at the Salons generally greatly exceed those exhibited at the Royal Academy, often by as much as between two and four times, as indicated below:

Comparisons of numbers of "mythology" and "history"  
paintings at the Salons and Royal Academy exhibitions.  
1769-1799

A SALONS

	1769	1771	1775	1779	1781	1785	1789	1791	1795	1799
Mythology	31	28	19	27	23	21	15	57	38	30
serious	6	1	4	5	10	12	11	25	8	9
erotic	25	27	15	22	13	9	4	32	30	21
History	6	9	7	31	20	22	38	64	60	31
Total*	12	10	11	36	33	36	49	89	68	40

B ROYAL ACADEMY EXHIBITIONS

Mythology	11	10	13	12	17	18	17	13	15	10
serious	5	2	3	6	8	3	4	3	1	-
erotic	6	8	10	6	9	15	11	10	14	10
History	4	10	11	17	15	12	16	24	22	30
Total*	9	12	14	23	23	15	20	27	23	30

\*Total of "history" and "serious mythology" only

Sources: Salon Livrets and Royal Academy exhibition catalogues

It is also instructive to compare Salon and Academy exhibitions of classical and medieval-baroque paintings, particularly in the 1780s. This reveals that in France classical histories outstrip the medieval-baroque ones by more than two to one, while in England the two are either roughly equal, or medieval histories surpass classical ones in the same proportion.

"Classical" and "medieval" history paintings at the Salons and Royal Academy exhibitions, 1769-99\*

SALONS	1769	1771	1779	1781	1783	1785	1787	1789	1791	1795	1798
-----											
Classical	3	3	19	10	10	18	24	18	41	31	11
Medieval	-	4	5	9	5	3	9	8	5	2	1
-----											
Total	3	7	24	19	15	21	33	26	46	33	12
-----											
ACADEMIES											
-----											
Classical	1	4	2	3	1	3	2	7	4	2	
Medieval	1	2	6	2	4	2	9	5	15	5	1
-----											
Total	2	6	8	5	5	5	11	12	19	7	1
-----											

\*concentrating particularly on the crucial 1780s

fincludes a few Ossianic items

Sources: Salon Livrets and Royal Academy exhibition catalogues



The trend in favour of medieval histories at the Royal Academy continued throughout the 1790s, while in Paris classical histories remained predominant, despite a drop from the peak of the Revolutionary years. Except for 1800 when three were exhibited, there were hardly any medieval histories at the Salons in the 1790s. The same is true for "serious" mythologies; they continue in strength at the Salon (usually 10 per Salon) whereas in London during the 1790s they hardly ever rise over six per Academy exhibition (there were eight, exceptionally, in 1794). Finally, it is only in the late 1790s that the total of "history" paintings in Paris falls within range of the English figures. (20)

#### The Society of Artists' Exhibitions

While these comparisons provide useful indicators for trends in officially sponsored art in London and Paris in the last thirty years of the eighteenth century, they do not permit assessment of trends earlier in the century. This can be to some extent corrected for the 1760s by considering the annual exhibitions held by the Society of Artists in London from 1760 onwards, tables for which are appended (Appendix C). (21)

Broadly speaking, the Society of Artists exhibition figures confirm the general picture gained from our survey of exhibits at the Royal Academy displays. This is

certainly true of the 1760s. Apart from 1760, the founding year's display, which only featured 130 works, the number of exhibits remained approximately 200-300 each year, of which "public" paintings and drawings account for about 10 to 16 per cent of all paintings and drawings each year. (22) Once again, portraits tend to predominate in the "non-public" genres, especially in the later 1760s, but landscapes sometimes run them a close second, overtaking them in 1764. There is a slight increase in the number of low-life genres, and some fluctuations in the number of still-life and animal scenes, the latter becoming popular in the mid-1760s with several contributions by Stubbs. The figures in the following table should, however, be taken with considerable caution, as once again, descriptions of individual items are often vague, there are some unclassifiable items, and sometimes more than one item is included under a number.

(see table overleaf)

"Non-public" genres of paintings in relation to the  
"public" category at Society of Artists exhibitions in  
selected years, 1761-1769

	1761	1763	1765	1767	1769
-----					
Portraits	87	66	75	117	139
Landscapes	73	63	67	91	85
Genre	8	8	18	16	16
Still-life	12	22	24	11	18
-----					
"non-public"	180	159	184	235	258
-----					
"public"	19	29	26	27	18
-----					

Source: Society of Artists exhibition catalogues.

As expected, "public" sculptures fare much better, often constituting 50 to 75 per cent of all sculptures exhibited. On the other hand, the total number of sculptures on show ranged from 13 to 29 as against some 200 to 300 paintings. Portrait busts were, once again the main element in the "non-public" genres of sculpture, with the few still-life and genre scenes far behind, as see over:

"Non-public" genres of sculptures in relation to the  
"public" category at Society of Artists Exhibitions in  
selected years, 1761-69

	1761	1763	1765	1767	1769
-----					
Portraits	12	4	3	6	12
Landscapes	-	-	-	-	-
Genre	2	-	-	-	-
Still-life	1	1	2	-	2
-----					
"non-public"	15	5	5	6	14
-----					
"public"	13	8	14	10	12
-----					

Source: Society of Artists exhibition catalogues

Of the "public" genres of sculpture, while there are very few religious and literary works, mythologies predominate, followed by small groups (fluctuating from year to year), of histories and allegories, viz.:

"Public" subcategories of sculpture at Society of Artists  
exhibitions in selected years, 1761-69

	1761	1763	1765	1767	1769
Religious	2	-	-	1	-
History	5	2	-	3	3
Allegory	2	1	6	2	-
Mythology	4	5	8	4	9
Literary	-	-	-	-	-
"Public"	13	8	14	10	12

Source: Society of Artists exhibition Catalogues

In the "public" subcategories of painting, on the other hand, literary works tend to displace allegories and there are small groups of religious works, fluctuating like the history paintings that parallel them. There are also fluctuations in the small numbers of mythologies, which never exceed 10 per exhibition (much like the histories and literary works). (23) The following table reveals how "history paintings", except in 1760 (the opening exhibition), rarely exceed one third of all "public" paintings in the 1760s, and sometimes constitute only a sixth (or less):

"Public" subcategories of paintings at Society of Artists  
exhibitions, 1760-69

\*

	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1768	1769
Religious	3	3	1	4	4	4	5	8	7	7	2
History	8	6	4	11	3	3	5	8	4	10	5
Allegory	-	2	4	7	1	2	4	-	-	-	1
Mythology	-	1	5	3	3	9	4	5	10	9	7
Literary	2	7	9	4	6	8	12	6	2	4	3
"Public"	13	19	23	29	17	26	30	27	23	30	18

Source: Society of Artists exhibition Catalogues

\*Special extra exhibitions in that year

If these figures are compared with the opening years of the Royal Academy exhibitions, which followed on immediately, we find that after the first three years, the Academy figures of "public" art show a marked increase (40-50 per exhibition), but that "history" paintings themselves do not rise much till 1779-80. Figures for literary works also show little change; but there is a definite increase in religious works from 1771. Allegories remain at similar levels to those of the Society of Artists exhibitions, but mythological paintings show small increases in the early 1770s (though only a minority are of the "serious" kind). In short, with the exception of religious works, there is a clear continuity between the

subcategories of "public" painting at the Society of Artists and Royal Academy exhibitions in the 1760s and 1770s, and the same holds, by and large, for the "non-public" subcategories.

In sculpture, the overall figures of "public" works in the Royal Academy exhibitions of the 1770s are, if anything, lower than those of the Society of Artists figures in the 1760s, and so are the figures for "history" sculptures. As in the Society of Artists exhibitions, most of the "public" sculpture is mythological in character, usually of the "erotic-fanciful" kind (though there were a few attempts in these early years to depict sterner Homeric themes). Sculptural allegories, low enough in the Society of Artists exhibitions of the 1760s, are even lower in the Royal Academy exhibitions of the 1770s, and literary and religious sculptures make almost no appearance at the Royal Academy in the 1770s, but here again there is complete continuity with the Society of Artists exhibitions of the 1760s.

We can conclude that the Society of Artists' exhibitions of the 1760s show a remarkable continuity between the broad categories, and the individual subcategories, of painting and sculpture, with the Royal Academy exhibitions of the 1770s, except that the "public" category of paintings increases at the Royal Academy in the mid-1770s, as do religious paintings. In the crucial subcategories of

history and mythology, there is a basic continuity, with a small but muted "historical revival" in both painting and sculpture in the late 1760s and early 1770s, and another, smaller one in "history" paintings in the late 1760s and early 1770s, (to judge from the Society of Artists exhibitions alone). Such comparisons of different kinds of exhibition should, however, be treated with caution.

### Some Conclusions

It is clear from our analysis of exhibits in the Royal Academy and the early years of the Society of Artists exhibitions, that "history painting" or "sculpture" proper constituted a small drop in the ocean of items, when set against the tide of portraits and landscapes, and that "non-public" paintings vastly exceeded the "public" genres, despite the encouragement of the Academy itself and its first President, Sir Joshua Reynolds. It is true that an impressive list of artists - Gavin Hamilton, Mortimer, Wale, Barry, Fuseli, West, Kauffmann, Penny, Runciman, Hayman, Pine, Durno, Dance, Rysbrack, Wilton, Burgess, Banks, Flaxman, Metz, Singleton, Tresham, Stothard, Westall, Downman and Ryley - made singular contributions to the "historical revival", but this conceals the fact that they usually contributed at intervals (except for West, and later Westall) and mostly one work per exhibition. Even literary works tended to outstrip the much-trumpeted, but so limited, return to



classical antiquity, and we must conclude that in London, at least, the latter found little response in the artistic community.

But is this conclusion wholly justified? It too conceals the fact that much of the "return to antiquity" and to history in general was of a more private and experimental character. One has only to examine the work done by many British artists in Rome in the 1770s to appreciate how much they owed to classical antiquity specifically, and to an historical vision in general. If we judge artistic activity by the nature and volume of exhibits at the official exhibition in the metropolis, then we shall have gained a one-sided, and necessarily misleading, picture of that activity in this period. Besides, it may be that patronage, despite its superficial hankering for the grand goût and classical antiquity gained in aristocratic progress on the Grand Tour, was decidedly half-hearted when it came to anything like a consistent and ideological commitment to classical antiquity, and perhaps for very good reason! After all, French patrons probably also preferred Vien's earlier Goût Grec, and only a few were prepared to patronise the later "Roman revival", despite official encouragement and a much greater ideological commitment by the Crown. On the other hand, it is not unreasonable to speak of a medieval-literary revival in England, with subjects drawn from Spenser, Dante and Shakespeare's medieval histories. This indicates a

further divergence from France. In England, it is not the romantic but faithful reconstruction of antiquity that holds sway, but a desire to render the mystery and aura of times and places remote from a corrupt but "civilised" eighteenth century England. Without doubt, England pioneered in art as well as literature the fascination with horror and love of the picturesque that was later to sweep through France and Germany; and in the visual arts it was in Rome that this strange and exotic taste was born. (24) As we shall see, this was in marked contrast to the impetus behind the classical revival in France.

But the contrast should not be overdrawn. In England, as in France, the most influential, and some of the best (by contemporary as well as later standards), artists embraced or imbibed the new historical vision, and attempted to portray events and personages from the national, as well as classical, pasts. The fact that most exhibits were portraits and landscapes, painted in the hope of immediate patronage, does not detract from the significance or influence, artistic and ideological, of this important minority of "historicist" artists or their products. Much of the liveliest artistic innovation - by Fuseli, Flaxman, Romney, Runciman, Challe, Doyen, Vien, David and Girodet - took shape through experiments in historical imagination, often in drawings and watercolours, few of which figure in the assessments of a quantitative analysis of Salon and Academy exhibitions.

In England, as in France, too, this minority of artists embraced similar concerns with virtue, magnanimity, heroism and patriotism. We meet at the Academy exhibitions all the familiar exemplars of classical heroism - Hector and Achilles, Orestes and Heracles, Oedipus, Socrates, Brutus, Antony, Agrippina, Belisarius and the like, along with native models like King Alfred, Caractacus, the Black Prince, Queen Margaret, Mary, Queen of Scots, and Ossian. In West, Fuseli and Westall, there is as wide a range of historical themes as in Brenet or Girodet, and just as much interest to teach moral lessons from history in England as in France.

That is why, in what follows, I shall attempt to treat England and France (and to a much lesser extent Scandinavian, American and German art), together, and look at the common motifs and personages that filled the emergent "historicist" vision of the past and present. Only later (in Part III) will it be necessary to revert to the differences between France and England, differences that manifest themselves within a common stock of themes and ideals and as part of a common framework. For there remain undoubted differences of mood and style. English heroes and heroines are less intense and austere, less rigid in their patriotism. But, though they may be depicted less often and less earnestly, the same classical and national motifs and models recur in England as in

France, and indeed throughout late eighteenth century  
Western Europe.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### HEROIC CULTS AND THE HISTORICAL REVIVAL

Although "history" works of art comprise only a minority of the total artistic output of the later 18th century, their significance and influence was considerable. As we shall see, they both mirror and reinforce the ethnic revival of that period, and through official State encouragement, endow that revival with a truly national flavour.

An important feature of this revival is the growth of "heroic" cults. Of course, the hero had been celebrated before in literature and the arts; the prowess of a David or Achilles had been eulogized in Renaissance sculpture or Flemish tapestries, just as the famous condottiere and princes of the day had received their memorials in stone or oils. The Baroque period had, if anything, intensified the cult of the Prince and the State. (1) Its apotheoses of monarchs like James I and Louis XIV sought to identify them with the virtues associated with public life in the State, virtues of good government, wisdom, munificence, fortitude and the like.

The romantic and neoclassical movements of the later 18th century inherited this cult of the hero, but they endowed it with a much more radical and even democratic content.

They also expanded the range of heroes and periods to be celebrated. Increasingly, too, it became important to set the hero in his or her context, and to portray, as accurately as possible the material and psychological circumstances of their heroic act. Hence, two considerations, two currents, ran side by side. On the one hand, there was the more traditional concern with virtue, though now a virtue made accessible to all educated men, and not only one reserved for princes and aristocrats. The neoclassical movement stressed this more universal aspect of the heroic cult. Yet by locating it mainly in Rome, usually Republican Rome, they could not avoid ambiguous undertones. For, while Rome could be seen as the fount of all civilised life, at least in Europe, and therefore of a virtue which was not peculiar to any particular ethnic community or state, it could also be utilised to repudiate a given regime and its legitimacy, and to justify and support a new national regime. In other words, Rome could provide reforming radicals with a new and different type of ethnic identity, especially where some sort of historical filiation could be claimed by the aspiring community with antique Rome. This was especially the case in France, but its influence penetrated to Switzerland, Italy and America. (2)

On the other hand, artists became increasingly preoccupied with depicting the scene and atmosphere surrounding the virtuous action of the hero. Here, the artists drew on

the tradition of the picturesque both in painting - the tradition of Salvator Rosa and Claude (3) - and in the new literary genres of the dramatic nature poem and the novel (4).

This trend was not confined to Romantic artists, in the conventional sense of the term. Neoclassical artists were just as interested in the accurate portrayal of furnishings, dress and architecture in Republican Rome or Sparta, as we can see in such paintings as West's Leonidas and Cleombrotus (1768) or David's Brutus (1789). But artists willing, like West, to be more eclectic and wide-ranging in their historical interests, tended to place greater emphasis as time proceeded on the actual drama and atmosphere of the event, at the expense of the didactic content of the moral action. The tendency for the visual arts to illustrate literary material also enhanced the trend towards depiction of the atmospheric and picturesque. Before 1800, however, the two currents, the didactic and the dramatic-evocative, remained in close association, and it is often difficult to disentangle their components in specific historical works of art.

#### Themes and heroes in Paris

If the period's Salons are anything to go by, the most popular themes and heroes in later 18th century French "history" art were drawn in the main from classical

antiquity, Greek as well as Roman, and historical as well as mythological. Nevertheless, even in the most serious and public genres, mythological personages and incidents were preferred to those featuring in Greek or Roman history proper; and of course, we should not forget that even "serious" characters like Achilles and Heracles are less frequently depicted than the fanciful and erotic scenes of Venus and Cupid, Diana or Bacchus. Medieval and Renaissance figures were not neglected, and there was an interest, as we saw, in national heroes like Du Guesclin and Louis IX. But they formed a definitely secondary corpus of inspirational themes for artists during this period. If we group the incidents and characters, admittedly somewhat arbitrarily, around certain key themes and persons, then for the Salons of this period (1746-1800), the most frequent "history" exhibits were:

<u>Mythological</u>		<u>Classical History</u>		<u>Medieval History</u>	
Achilles	28	Socrates	22	Louis IX	18
Aeneas		Early Romans*	22	Henri IV	10
(& Dido)	25	Antony/Cleop.	22	Du Guesclin	4
Heracles	24	Spartans	21	Bayard	3
Oedipus	24	Alexander	18	Calais	
Hector	19	Brutus		Burghers	2
Theseus	17	(Lucret)	18	Early Franks	6
Odysseus	15	Belisarius	13		
cont.		cont.			- 43



<u>Muthological</u>		<u>Classical Historu</u>		<u>Old Testament</u>	
Oresteia	10	Seneca/		Genesisf	12
Philoctetes	6	Paetus**	12	Moses	15
Argonauts	5	Cato/Portia**	10	Judges	7
Prometheus	4	Marius/Sulla	7	Esther	7
		Scipio/Regulus	7	David	5
	- 177	Pyrrhus	7	Maccabees	2
		Caesar"	5		
		Virginus	5		- 48
		Cyrus	5		
		Agrippina	4		
		Cornelia	4		
		Horatii	3		

- 214

" also Diogenes 5)

f Includes the stories of Creation, Abel and the Flood

\* Early Romans include all Roman Republican heroes (mainly early) apart from the Horatii (3), Virginus (5) and the consul Brutus (18, above). They include figures like Torquatus, Cincinnatus, Dentatus and Cressinus.

\*\*Included together, because of their similar deaths and morality, in the same period.

Although there is an inevitable element of convenience and arbitrariness in this table, especially in some of its groupings of events and persons, a clear pattern does emerge. The totals are important, insofar as they indicate, in a rough and ready way, that serious French artists of the period and official jury taste undoubtedly preferred the classical to the medieval genres, despite much official (royal) patronage for the latter. It is also clear that Old Testament themes of Jewish history, insofar again as their historical focus can be separated from their religious and devotional content, played a quite secondary role in the artistic and cultural consciousness of the period. (5) Their inclusion is justified, however, by the emphasis, albeit a minor one, on some novel historical themes, notably the Maccabees and Judges.

An interesting feature is that, although at an individual level mythological figures were preferred to strictly historical ones, at the overall or collective level, historical figures were more frequently selected. A greater range of persons and events from Greek and Roman history was included in the artistic canon, and of these more were drawn from Roman, especially Republican, history than from Greek, the respective figures from this table being: Roman - 142; Greek - 72; Persian - 5. Of the Roman works, 61 are Augustan or imperial (including the problematic theme of Antony and Cleopatra); while 81 are

pre-Augustan, with 48 being drawn from the early period of Roman history, 11 from the Carthaginian and 22 from the late Republican (post-Marian) period. As for Greek history three themes seem to have caught the artists' imagination: episodes from Spartan history, from the life of Alexander, and from the life and especially death of Socrates.

### Mythology Cults

In France, undoubtedly the dominant mythological cult was the Homeric, at least from the publication of the Comte de Caylus' "Tableaux". Of the 177 mythological works in the above table, at least 78 can be related directly to the Iliad or Odyssey (the stories of Achilles and Hector, Odysseus, Agammemnon and Orestes, Philoctetes), and most of the others, except the 25 drawn from the Aeneid, can be traced indirectly back to Homeric stories, either in the Iliad or Odyssey, or in the Homeric Hymns. Little use was made of the Attic tragedians, except for the Oedipus story as recounted by Sophocles. (6)

Of the particular themes, that of Achilles and Hector occupies pride of place. But, while those of Achilles are diffuse, ranging <sup>from</sup> Thetis' dipping of her son into the Styx and Cheiron's education to the story of Briseis and his meeting with a suppliant Priam, those of Hector are concentrated. Here the main story is his parting from Andromache; in other words, whereas in the case of

Achilles, it is the hero as such who provides inspiration, in the case of Hector, it is his fate and cause that evokes sympathy. Similarly with Oedipus and Philoctetes. As victims of fate and the gods, but possessed of strange powers, their stories focus on their sufferings in the grove of the Eumenides and on Lemnos, and hence the scenes depicted tend to be concentrated on specific moments and states of mind. On the other side, the figures of Heracles, Theseus and Odysseus are treated as heroic types (or wise, in the case of Odysseus). Many incidents from their lives tend, therefore, to be chosen.

In Heracles' case, his twelve labours provide sufficient material, but there is also the didactic story of his choice between virtue and pleasure, and the dramatic tale of his death at the hand of Nessus. The range in Theseus' case is smaller, attention being mainly focussed on his finding of his father's sword, and the tale of the Minotaur and Ariadne. As for Odysseus, it is not at all clear whether it is the tale of his wanderings or Telemachus' search for his father that evokes most interest. But in all these cases, it is clear that narrative, even picturesque aspects predominate over the more didactic-moral elements of their heroism, as is true also of the few depictions from the tale of the Golden Fleece. (7)

Of the didactic and psychological aspects of heroism,

therefore we are left with the examples of Hector, Oedipus and Philoctetes, supplemented to some extent by the story of Orestes (also a "suffering hero") and Prometheus, the fire-bringer. The story of Achilles himself, however, does possess some of the elements of tragic heroism which marks out the latter cases, even if not all the artists who treated his story chose to see it in this light. Achilles' story is so closely bound up with his friend Patroclus and enemy Hector, that his case requires special treatment. Similarly with Aeneas, whose story is so bound up with Dido.

When did the Homeric and Oedipus cults emerge? Apart from a brief flourish in the late 1750s and early 1760s, it is not until 1779 and 1781 that the classic Homeric heroes - Achilles, Hector, Odysseus, Agamemnon and Orestes, and Philoctetes - become frequent subjects. In the case of Oedipus, the cult does not really take root till 1789, as will be seen from the appended table 4, an excerpt from which is given here: (see table over)

Selected classical muthological heroes in certain Salons

	1747	51	59	61	65	69	71	79	81	89	91	99
Heracles	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	1	1
Theseus	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	1
Oedipus	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	2
Philoctetes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-
Achilles	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	3	4	4	-
Hector/Andr.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	4	1
Orestes/Agam.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1
Odysseus/Tel.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	4	-
Aeneid	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	1

Not too much can be deduced from such small numbers, yet the trend is clear enough: it is only in the later 1770s, 1780s and 1790s that the Homeric heroes and Oedipus come into their own. Whereas the Aeneid can also furnish incidents for the Rococo artists in the 1740s and 1750s, as well as the neoclassical ones of the 1780s and 1790s. As for Heracles, his story seems to have attracted artists throughout our period once in nearly every Salon, and never more than twice; while Theseus' tale clusters in the late 1780s and early 1790s.

History cults I: Greek and Roman

The themes chosen from Greek history are largely stoic in content. The most popular was that of Socrates, followed by incidents from Spartan history, and then by Alexander and his Seleucid successors, notably the tale of Antiochus' love for Stratonice. (If we include Diogenes in the Alexandrian corpus, then this becomes the most frequently depicted, with 23 works). The Spartan incidents are unambiguously stoic and moralistic, but those concerned with Socrates include his connection with Alcibiades with its ambivalent overtones.

The Roman themes, too, reflect the didactic intent and moral tone associated with neoclassicism. Early Republican themes and heroes predominate, especially the tale of Brutus' vengeance for the rape of Lucretia and her self-inflicted death. A whole series of themes involving the conflict between community and family demands - Brutus, Horatius, Virginius, Torquatus, and others - appeared from the late 1760s. Even later Republican and imperial themes were "heroic" and stoic in content, with such favourites as the suicides of Seneca and Paetus, and the late Byzantine story of Belisarius, Justinian's former general, reduced to begging in a blind old age, pointing up an anti-monarchist moral.

With certain important exceptions, the heroes selected by artists and Salon juries in this period tend to be "republican" and "democratic". Of course, the heroes were not "democrats", either in the philosophical or the social senses of the term. That is to say, they did not preach the principles of accountability of officials, regular mass secret balloting and majority decision-making through maximum participation of the citizens, principles that were the subject of vigorous debates during the Revolutionary decade (1789-99). Nor did they usually come from a lower social stratum; though Socrates was a stone-mason, most of the other "heroes" were well-born, including the consul Brutus, the Spartan kings, Seneca, Cornelia, Scipio and Antony and Cleopatra. Yet others were also powerful rulers - Alexander, Caesar, Augustus, Pyrrhus. Nevertheless, it is not usually in their guise of ruler and holder of imperial sway that they were depicted. Alexander is often shown with Diogenes or with his Macedonian doctor during his illness, when treachery was suspected. Antiochus is shown sick with love for Stratonice. Caesar's murder, Pyrrhus' childhood, Augustus' clemency (to Cleopatra or Cinna) - these are the motifs that excite artistic interest. In all these incidents, it is the weakness, or the human quality, or both, of the ruler that is stressed, not his power or majesty or wealth, the sort of attributes which had aroused the Baroque imagination.



Even more so with "republican" heroes, that is, those who held office according to the conventions of the Roman or Greek city-republics, or who like Diogenes, Socrates and Cornelia, hold no position at all. Virginius is shown killing his daughter rather than let her fall into the clutches of the decemvir Appius Claudius. (8) Horatius is depicted, not at the moment of victory, but killing his sister, Camilla, who mourned one of the Curatii, her fiancée. (9) Brutus, the first Roman consul, is also treated as an example of passion and virtue rather than as an official, or holder of power. Typically, the moments selected are those of his oath of vengeance for Lucretia's death, and his iron resolve to condemn his own sons for their treachery with Tarquin. (10) In the later Republic, Drouais shows us, not the triumphs of Marius, but the terrifying scene when the Gaul is sent to kill him, and his courage fails him. (11) Agrippina is shown lamenting the ashes of Germanicus, while Cornelia prefers to devote her life to the upbringing of her "jewels", her children, rather than accumulate wealth. (12) The extremes of enobling poverty and suffering are reached in the tales of Diogenes, Belisarius and Socrates, where the contrast is always with wealth, power and even life itself, if it bring with it spiritual corruption. The fact that Socrates' death was so frequently depicted, even being the subject of an Academy competition in 1762, proposed by Cochin, indicates a growing political awareness in certain art circles in France, which, though

at first encouraged officially, soon outran its patrons' intentions and conceptions. (13)

In short, those aspects of classical "heroism" seem to have been selected which combined stoicism, republicanism and democracy, in the looser sense of these terms. The emphasis fell upon those themes that would show fortitude amid suffering and constancy of principle; a clear preference for the commonwealth over individual or family interests, while spurning power or wealth; and the human and universally accessible quality for which all men could strive, the virtue that everyone could attain by effort, and which was no longer the preserve of kings or nobles.

Perhaps this last aspect tended to become more important in relation to the others, as the period progressed. It was, after all, closely allied to the dramatic event itself, the unique act of selflessness or noble death. Dramatic events, moreover, tend to demand extraordinary persons to act them out, and that in turn will remove them from the world of ordinary things or the "common man". We cannot therefore speak yet of a democratic art, in the social sense, only of a movement in that direction, in which extraordinary but non-noble figures "represent" the ideals and aspirations of educated commoners. In fact, what we get is an elitist art of a new professional and intellectual stratum, the classicizing educators of wider non-noble urban strata - of officers, traders and bankers,

officials and others.

The key cults of true republican heroes - Socrates, Spartans, early Republicans including Brutus and Virginius, and of Cato, Portia and Belisarius - did not emerge till the later 1770s and 1780s. They become popular themes only in the 1780s and early 1790s, with the high period from 1787 to 1796, thus:

Selected classical-historical heroes in certain Salons

	1748	51	59	61	69	71	79	81	89	91	93	99
Socrates	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	3	4	1	-
Sparta	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	2	4	1
Alexander	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	3	1
Brutus/Virg.	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	2	3	5	2
Early Republic	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	2
Cato/Portia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Belisarius	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	1

Again, this excerpt misses out a good deal of the picture, and even the full table gives only a partial idea of the influence and popularity of republican heroes in the 1780s and 1790s, since the Salons only included a selection of works presented, and many more works were painted (and drawn, and engraved) which were not intended for

exhibition, especially in the provinces. Moreover, the previous caveat needs to be restated: a purely numerical analysis does not do justice to the influence of certain key works or artists, and their ideas and message; and not even to the size of particular works in relation to others in the Salon, or their hanging place. But once again, one is struck by the correlation with our previous findings. Apart from a brief preliminary flourish in the 1760s, the real "neoclassical" cult of republican heroes arises rather suddenly in the later 1770s, and comes to quick fruition in the mid-1780s, just before the Revolution. In other words, the politically conscious and classically-minded circles among the artistic intelligentsia were depicting themes and personages who would become popular during the Revolution, a few years before the radical phase of the Revolution, which started in August 1792.

One should not make too much of this, since we are dealing with only a short time-span; yet it does point to the fact that artists, or some of them, were not just "reflecting" or "expressing" political events and processes, but may also have anticipated, perhaps even influenced, them by giving them concrete form and memorable images. (14)

#### History Cults II: Biblical and medieval

A fairly wide range of themes from both Old and New

Testaments were chosen for exhibition in the period's Salons, but most of the New Testament themes were devotional or about particular, often rather obscure, saints. Only some of these had historical connotations, as I have indicated previously. Similarly with Old Testament themes; it is difficult to disentangle historical dimensions from devotional ones. There are, however, a few Biblical themes and figures where the focus of interest might reasonably be held to be more historical than devotional; such are the stories of Abel and the Flood, perhaps Creation as well; those of Moses and the Judges of Israel; king David; the story of Esther; and that of the Maccabees and Eleazar. (15) In these cases, an interest in the historical facts and atmosphere is coupled with a didactic intent not unlike that found in Greek or Roman moralities.

The total number of Biblical "histories" is very small, and hence we should be wary of inferences. A few points do, however, stand out. The first is the more or less even popularity of the Moses story throughout our period, with little clustering in the late 1780s (if anything in the early 1780s). Second, the David story is underrepresented, with only five exhibits in the whole period. Third, the stories of Abel and the Flood are clustered in the late 1780s and early 1790s, and attempts have been made to attach some political meaning to the artists' choice of theme. (16)

Fourth, and curiously, the Esther story is depicted six times in the early part of the period (thrice in 1763, the last occasion) and then no more till 1795. It seems to have appealed to Rococo sensibilities more than neoclassical; as though asking a king's favour was an act no longer in tune with the radical spirit of the 1780s. And then there is the peculiar case of the Maccabees, admittedly depicted only twice, but in these cases with pretty clear patriotic-didactic intent. (17) Moreover, as the zeal of Mattathias and martyrdom of Eleazar were both subjects of Prix de Rome competitions in 1754 and 1792 respectively, the Salon entries represent only a fraction of the period's knowledge and depiction of the Maccabean drama. (18)

If no general trends can be discerned in the case of a return to Judaic origins from the rather meagre evidence of the Salons, only a slight overall increase in the late 1770s and early 1780s, rather more can be gleaned from the study of medieval themes. The particular episodes chosen most frequently are from French history, with only two examples each of foreign medieval heroes, William Tell and Arminius, both in the mid-1790s. All the themes congregate in the latter half of our period with the exception of those which I have grouped together under the rubric of "the Franks", which include the story of St. Denis' conversion of the inhabitants of what was to become

"France". Even the other semi-religious personage, St. Louis, tends to become popular later (here we should discount the series of 10 large paintings commissioned by the Church in 1773). Bayard, du Guesclin, Louis IX and Henri IV, all become subjects for artistic treatment in the later 1770s and 1780s:

Selected Biblical and medieval themes in certain Salons

	1747	53	59	63	69	73	79	83	89	91	93	99
Abel/Flood	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	-
Moses	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	1	1	-
Esther	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maccabees	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Franks	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Louis IX	-	-	-	1	-	10	-	-	1	3	-	-
Du Guesclin	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Bayard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Henri IV	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	2	-	-	-

While there is a clear increase in medieval themes in the 1770s and 1780s, their intent and content is more ambiguous than with the classical moralities. While du Guesclin and Bayard are depicted in the moment of performing a virtuous act (noble self-sacrifice, noble generosity), Henri IV and Louis IX, while equally noble,

are not simply pegs for ethical lessons. Or, if they are, it is a Christian and Catholic virtue that is depicted, in line with royal policies. The cult of Henri IV, in particular, during the 1780s, shows that at least some artists, and by extension a section of the jury and public, were ready to follow the official line and defer to royal patronage in matters of thematic choice, a readiness that ceased abruptly in 1789.

But, even in the case of the didactic medieval personages, a new factor creeps in: an interest in atmosphere, a fuller, more detailed and flamboyant treatment, as in Brenet's Death of du Guesclin (1777), or even a return to a more delicate Rococo treatment, as in Durameau's Continence of Bauard (1777). And a similar, but more sweeping, even grandiose, effect is sought in such medieval and early/modern history paintings as Berthelemy's Entry of the French into Paris (1787) or President Molé and the Fronde (1779) by Vincent. Here it is the drama itself, and the possibilities for picturesque detail in periods that can evoke a sense of glory or conflict, that became as important for the artist as the moral of the tale. From this point to the Romantic sense of mystery and the archaic is but a short step. (19)

#### Themes and heroes at the Royal Academy

If we want to grasp the very different situation obtaining



on the English artistic scene of the period, we need to remind ourselves of the relatively greater importance of medieval themes for English artists. This is immediately revealed by listing the four categories of "history" works in order of thematic frequency:

<u>Biblical</u>		<u>Mythological</u>		<u>Classical</u>		<u>Medieval</u>	
-46		-80		<u>History</u>	-76	<u>History</u>	-110
Moses	20	Achilles	18	Ant/Cleop	11	Ossian	21+
Creation		Aeneas/		Scipio/		Mary Queen	
Abel/Flood	16	Dido	16	Regulus*	9	of Scots	17
David	10	Odysseus	15	Agrippina	7	Wars of	
		Heracles	8	Sparta	7	Roses	17++
		Hector	9	Early Repub	6	Ed. III/	
		Orestes	6	Caesar	6	Black Prince	12
		Theseus	5	Belisarius	5	Elfrida	5
		Oedipus	3	Cornelia	5	Caract/Boad	5
		Philoctetes	-	Horatii/		St. Thomas	5
				Virg**	4	Vortigern	4
				Seneca/		Alfred	4
		<u>Classical Cont.</u>		Paetus	4	Eleonor	4
		Marius/Sulla	-	Brutus/		The Bard	4
		Augustus	-	Lucret.	4	Philip Sydney	3
				Alexander	4	Cromwell/	
				Socrates	2	Rest'n	3
				Diogenes	2	Wolfe	4
				Cato/Portia	-	Jane Shore	2

Key to table on preceding page:

- \* includes also Hannibal
- \*\* Virginius included here with the Horatii
- + Ossianic themes were regarded as largely historical
- ++ includes stories of Edward IV, Queen Margaret, the Princes in the Tower and Lady Elisabeth Grey, some culled from literary sources.
- " includes Restoration scenes (General Monk, return of Charles II).

With the important proviso that the overall totals merely reflect the numbers taken from the most frequently recurring themes, the significance of the high figure for medieval is immediately apparent. Compare it, too, with the corresponding figure for France: 43, during as many Salons, if not the same period. This is even more obvious when we compare the corresponding Salon and Academy figures for classical history, 219 at the Salons, and 76 at the Academy, of which only 15 are from Greek history (compared to 72 at the Salons). (The Biblical are about the same, 46 in London, 48 in Paris). Granted that these are extrapolations, the difference cannot be merely one of degree.

Basically, the British were much more interested in their own medieval history, and at an earlier date, than in classical themes. And this impression is reinforced by

their many depictions of stories drawn from British literature, from Milton, Spenser, Chaucer and others. Even in the field of mythology, the classical revival pioneered by such non-English artists as Angelica Kauffmann, Benjamin West and Gavin Hamilton (himself mostly residing in Rome) was, after a brief spurt in the early 1770s, a very pale reflection of that which was taking place across the Channel. It is true that the Homeric saga evoked some response (and would continue to do so later, as in Flaxman's illustrations): Achilles, Hector and Andromache, and Odysseus were painted several times in the 1770s and early 1780s; Hector then drops out for a time, his place being taken by Orestes. But by the 1790s, even Achilles and Odysseus are only depicted thrice each. Heracles appears from time to time, Theseus more rarely, Oedipus hardly at all, and Philoctetes and Prometheus never. Only Aeneas and Dido remain fairly constant, like Achilles, and appear five times in the 1790s.

If we look at the key themes from classical history, we find that the list is headed by the love of Antony and Cleopatra, always a difficult theme to interpret and classify. Does the artist intend a moral tale of self-sacrifice, a pure love drama, or even an erotic evocation? Next come tales of the Punic wars, of Regulus, Scipio and Hannibal, depicted nine times in all; then the truly heroic stories of Spartan personages, and of Agrippina, followed by some scenes from the Early Roman

Republic. But contrast this last with the Salons. In London, such scenes appear but six times in 32 Academy exhibitions; while in Paris, they appear 22 times in 31 Salons. Indeed, of all early Republican subjects, only 14 were exhibited in the Academy, while 48 were hung in the Salons.

As for themes from Greek history, with the exception of Sparta, they are minimal, the key figure of Socrates being depicted only twice, compared to 22 times in Paris. This is revealing. The suffering or martyred hero is largely absent, at least in his classical garb, from the halls of the Academy. Instead of Oedipus, Philoctetes and Socrates, we have Mary, Queen of Scots, Queen Margaret and Ossian, ethnic and local symbols of noble endeavour and suffering. (20)

Moreover, British artists of the period explored their respective histories much more assiduously, and found much more material for artistic treatment than their French counterparts. Figures like Vortigern and Rowena, Caractacus and Boadicea, Edgar and Elfrida, Queen Emma and King Alfred, tales of Mercia, all testify to an awakening interest in Briton, and especially Anglo-Saxon, origins. Although each of these figures, taken separately, is depicted only a few times, together they constitute a significant segment of all British "history" works exhibited at the Academy in its first thirty years. The

segment becomes even larger if we include Ossianic themes, and the tale of the Bard; even though these works were derived from MacPherson and Gray, i.e. from literary sources, they were seen through an historical lens, as having a strong basis in fact. (21)

Norman Britain also evoked much interest. The Edwards, and especially Edward III and the Black Prince, and the Wars of the Roses, notably Edward IV and Queen Margaret, were frequently depicted. Though the sources for these and the Saxon episodes are often omitted from the Academy catalogues, a few entries reveal a dependance on Rapin's History of England, and an acquaintance with the Histories of Hume, Cambden and Eccerdt (and Buchanan's and Stewart's Histories of Scotland). The episodes that attracted the artists were largely picturesque, and some times heroic, acts of kings or nobles and their virtuous wives. A few titles, taken at random, will give their flavour:

Samuel Wale (1769)	St. Austin preaching Christ-
(no. 117)	ianity to king Ethelbert and
	Queen Bertha in the Isle of
	Thanet, a sketch.

Angelica Kauffmann (1771)	Interview of King Edgar with
(no. 113)	Elfrida, after her marriage to
	Athelwold.

- Angelica Kauffmann (1776) Lady Elisabeth imploring Edward  
(no. 156) IV the restitution of her deceased husband's lands, forfeited in the dispute between the houses of York and Lancaster, Rapin's "History", Volume V, p.26.
- William Burgess (1778) William the Conqueror dismounted  
(no. 29) by his eldest son.
- Benjamin West (1784) Alexander II of Scotland saved  
(No. 402) from the fury of a stag by Colin Fitzgerald.
- Samuel Howes (1788) The news of the defeat and death  
(no. 399) of the Earl of Warwick, brought to Margaret of Anjou. Vide Rapin's "History of England".
- C. Benazech, RA (1790) The death of Thomas a Becket -  
(no. 615) The battle of Cressy (sic).

From this small sample, which is fairly representative of the sort of medieval theme depicted, it becomes clear that British artists did not share the reluctance of many of their French counterparts to the monarch and nobility as such, or to any period of their national histories specially associated with these institutions. On the

contrary, they seem to have revelled in the glamour and grandiose effects which such scenes demanded. As we have seen, so did a few of the French artists, those particularly near to the court, perhaps, men like Brenet, or artists with a strong flair for theatrical effects like Vincent. But, generally, French artists preferred a sparer style and the themes of self-denial and frugality for which that style seemed appropriate.

As for the dating of this medieval revival, it seems broadly to correspond with the equivalent classical revival in France. Saxon themes appear in the first few Academy exhibitions, and then tend to fall away (apart from the associated "Celtic" scenes from Ossian). In their place come Norman episodes from c.1776-9, then a gap until 1785, and then a second wave till 1793, and then continuing at a fairly even, though reduced, flow throughout the 1790s. Strongly associated with this second, stronger medieval Norman wave, is the cult of Mary, Queen of Scots, which lasts till 1793. (22) It is as if, in Britain, the Revolutionary period was for the artist a voyage back into the days of royal, medieval grandeur.

The following table gives an idea of the popularity of key themes and persons at selected exhibitions during this period:

	1769	71	75	79	81	85	89	91	93	95	98	1800
Achilles	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Odysseus	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sparta	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Early Reps	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agrippina	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ossian	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	1
Elfrida	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Edward III	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-
Wars of												
Roses	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	2	1
Mary, Q. of												
Scots	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	-	-	-

It reveals the supplanting of classical by medieval themes, although it underrepresents the "Saxon revival" of the mid-1770s, as well as the continuity of Ossianic scenes. Along with a great increase in literary themes, this medievalism testifies to the early growth of a romantic sensibility.

### Conclusions

A comparison of frequency of themes and characters exhibited at the Salons and Academy exhibitions during the period before 1800 presents a twofold picture, with one set of



trends in common, while another point towards a growing divergence.

The common set of trends comprise a definite return to "history painting" and sculpture among an influential minority of artists, together with a search for poetic and historical sources for these themes. In addition, certain persons and themes evoke a common interest in England and France. I refer to the general popularity of Achilles, the epitome of the Homeric revival and of the tragic hero, victorious yet doomed, glorious yet profoundly unhappy, invincible yet mortal; of Antony and Cleopatra, again a doomed pair in which love, self-sacrifice and unhappy death are intermingled; of Odysseus, another Homeric hero, the exemplum of the wandering family man; and of another doomed pair of lovers, Aeneas and Dido whose love is sacrificed to fate's demands. In all this, we may discern the unifying interest of the era, its concern with the conflict between private needs and public morality, between individual interests and the demands of the State and community.

Common, too, to both countries is the twin return to classical antiquity and medievalism. Yet here the divergences begin to appear. In France, the return to antiquity predominates. So does the didactic-heroic current within the common concern for the individual versus the community. In France, if anything, the community will win out for the time being, though not without a struggle. In

France, too, the suffering hero, the community's countertheme, will reappear in his "proper" classical garb, suitably transposed, suitably allegorical. (23) In England, on the other hand, it is the medieval-picturesque element that will triumph over Spartan or Roman antiquity, symbolised in Benjamin West's growing adoption of medieval themes for his pictures of historical scenes. In England, too, romantic atmosphere and dramatic incident will increasingly dictate choice of subject-matter, as well as treatment; Fuseli will forsake his Roman manner, and Westall will bring his flowing line to his Scottish stories. And, as we saw, the typical British "suffering hero" will be British, and as much woman as man. In short, "proto-Romanticism" was much more advanced in England, and especially Scotland, and there was no real identity-conflict as in France.

PART TWO. IMAGES AND HEROES OF MORAL HISTORICISM

Compared to the seventeenth century, European culture in the eighteenth century wears a secular face. But an age of enlighteners presupposes "unenlightened masses" sunk in ignorance and superstition; and religion remains for the philosophes, as for the Deists, a major force in society. The hold of Catholicism in France right up to the Revolution (and beyond) and religious revivals such as Methodism in eighteenth century England, suggest something of the gulf between the tiny cultured elites in London and Paris, and the vast majority of Frenchmen and Englishmen throughout the eighteenth century and beyond, for whom the old religious creeds still possessed fire and meaning.

Yet, the secular face of the eighteenth century, even if confined to an elite, was significant in a number of respects. First, and obviously, because it provided an atmosphere conducive to the growth of science and scientific enquiry, again within very small coteries, but capable, through technological application, of drawing in much wider strata. Second, because the rising class of the bourgeoisie was fast acquiring secular values and ideals, which were to have profound repercussions on

political structures and (later) mass education and culture. And third, because the state itself, and its leading officials, was becoming "emancipated", differentiated and autonomous of the ecclesiastical and religious nexus in which it had been so long enmeshed in medieval and early modern Europe.

This last aspect is particularly important for the status and role of the arts, at least on the Continent. In the seventeenth century, most artistic products were placed in the service of religious and dynastic authorities; and though at first sight, the self-glorifying kings of the Baroque era decked their attributes with classical, secular allusions, the classicism they encouraged remained firmly anchored within a Christian tradition and committed to the enforcement of the ruler's religion in his territory as an instrument of social cohesion and political loyalty. There was no real conflict between the depiction of Saints and gods, because both were understood as different aspects of the glorification of God through the power and glory of the monarch and the state.

Eighteenth century monarchs undoubtedly held to this view of their social role; but the considerable increase in their powers of social intervention, the growth of the apparatus of state and the need for trained "experts" educated in state-sponsored colleges, brought new strata to the fore as well as new institutions, which were

utilitarian, rationalist and secular in outlook and goals.

Something at least of this spirit also entered into the self-images of eighteenth century rulers. Perhaps it was more marked among landed but increasingly commercial aristocracies in England and Holland, but it was also to be found in Prussia and France. Since it was the state and the cultured aristocracy that tended to commission portraits, landscapes and (sometimes) history paintings, artists too could not remain unaffected by the change of spirit.

But changes in patronage cannot furnish an adequate explanation of the apparent changes in artistic imagery. I say "apparent", because there is as much continuity as change in the themes and images of even late eighteenth century art; quite apart from portraiture and other "non-public" genres, the period has its fill of allegories and mythologies glorifying the state or the monarchy or the aristocratic family. Yet, the change is not only apparent. We saw how religious works declined during the period of our enquiry. True, there are some striking religious works: Doyen's Miracle des Ardents and Vien's St. Denis preaching la foi en France (both 1767), or the Depositions of Regnault and Girodet (both 1789), deeply felt, if personal, religious works, and in England, a series of Old and New Testament scenes of the late 1780s commissioned from Benjamin West by George III for Windsor

Chapel, much as French artists had been commissioned to paint scenes from the life of St. Louis in 1773 for the chapel of the Ecole Militaire. But these are exceptions, even among "public" works. The Church (or churches) may not have commissioned so many religious works; but even if it (they) had, one suspects that fewer and fewer artists would have responded to the call.

The fact is, that artists were beginning to look elsewhere for the "religious" element in artistic motivation. Though lip-service was paid to "Scripture" and "religion" by artists and critics (and by no means all of them), the centre of serious, elevated figurative art was shifting elsewhere. When the reaction to Rococo hedonism and erotic mythologies set in, it prompted no return to Christian myths or ecclesiastical subjects. Here, the influence of a moralising bourgeoisie of "sentiment" was evident; but that is less important for "grand art" than for low-life narrative à la Greuze. It is the citadel of State power that prompts the turn to an historical subject-matter and classical heroism; and behind the State the rising idea of the Nation of citizens sharing an historic culture and seeking, in competition with other nations, national prestige through a common cultural pedigree.

That is why the heroes of late eighteenth century art are less and less the Saviour and saints of a Christian

mythology, and more and more the gods and heroes of a classical, and later medieval, history. For it is essentially a period of transition, from an absolutist order underpinned by a Christian myth and ethic backed by powerful ecclesiastical institutions to an order of citizen nation-states founded on heroic secular myths supported by emergent capitalist and bureaucratic institutions and classes.

In this period of transition, there is a good deal of continuity and overlap between older and novel beliefs and practices. Though declining among the upper and educated classes, the religious element continues to exercise a hold over the outlooks of lower classes; at the same time, it becomes gradually transmuted, reappearing in new guises as the "religion of the heart" or the "religion of virtue", especially with the rise of a civic and historicist patriotism.

It is here that the visual arts played a vital role. For the new secular ideals of heroism, virtue and patriotism were swiftly crystallised in paintings and sculptures, which through engravings were able to reach a wider audience with an immediacy absent from the printed word and a permanence lacking in the theatre. But this immediacy and permanence depended on the ability of artists to translate into appropriate imagery the new ideals and conceptions, and find themes able to excite to

emulation the imagination of the spectator; and so like Elisha draw upon themselves the mantle of the saints of the old religious dispensation in order to transfer the ancient religious fervour to the new exemplars of the rising national communities of citizens.

In the chapters that follow, I attempt to outline some of the main themes and motifs selected by artists to exemplify a civic and public ideal, and show how the visual arts could inspire the emergent middle class civic communities to public, even heroic, action, as aristocrats like Shaftesbury had recommended for public-minded "gentlemen". In the latter half of the eighteenth century, as Barrel argues, this sense of public action had waned, as a mercantile class gained prominence in England; part of the impetus to artistic concerns with an heroic antiquity lay in the desire to inspire the emergent bourgeoisie to take the place of leisured aristocrats who had monopolised the civic virtues. It is for this reason that I have found it useful to organise the artistic return to "history" painting and sculpture in terms of common moral themes and exemplars like the "suffering hero" or "virtuous woman"; and to arrange them in an ascending series of fundamental concerns of the period, culminating in the dual ideal of self-sacrificing patriotism and return to pure origins underlying the triumph of the citizen nation.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE SUFFERING HERO

Within a Christian tradition and ethic, the theme of human suffering and the moral agony of the martyr had always been prominent and called forth a celebrated pedigree of artistic representations. Subjects like the Crucifixion, Pieta and Martyrdom of St. Sebastian had always been among the most enduring and popular. Such Christian themes had been supplemented, particularly from the late fifteenth century on, by examples of heroic suffering on the part of classical figures like Achilles, Odysseus and Heracles. But what marks out the later eighteenth century conception of suffering is the interest in suffering per se, and in the heroic but human qualities needed to surmount it. From being an icon of superhuman tragedy and suffering, the "suffering hero" now becomes an all too human, and so morally exemplary, type of humanity.

#### Philoctetes on Lemnos

Something of this change can be seen by comparing the small sculptural relief of The Wounded Philoctetes (c.1514) by Antonio Lombardo with Barry's painting, and drawing, of Philoctetes on the island of Lemnos of 1770.

The Lombardo relief suggests little of the actual events of the story; Philoctetes's suffering is restrained, even serene, the tall columns of the Greek temple behind, and the patterned curls of the tree's branches behind (on which hangs the hero's quiver and arrows), give to the scene a harmonious, classicising air, which is accentuated by the nude hero's noble proportions, as he holds a dead bird and perches on a tree trunk. (1)

Barry's painting is also ennobled and restrained. The hero sits on a stone slab, clad in rough garments knotted at his chest, with a white fillet in his dark, grizzled hair, bearded and with his full quiver at his back. At his feet is the dead bird he has shot, with his bow and an arrow. With his right hand he supports himself on the slab, with the left hand he gently unties the bandage on his swollen foot. Behind him looms the sheer face of a cliff, and beyond on the right the sea beneath a lowering sky. (2) [Pl.1.]

While comparisons between painting and sculpture are particularly problematic, the point I wish to make is clear even from these examples. It is simply that while Lombardo is only in passing interested in the pain of human suffering, and the reality of Philoctetes' predicament, Barry is primarily concerned with both. True, Lombardo's Philoctetes shows in the turn of his hero's head and his grizzled hair, something of that pain

and impotence which Philoctetes must have endured. But the impact of Barry's conception of that suffering, the reality of that pain, is far more insistent.

Despite the heroic idealisation, and the debt to sixteenth and seventeenth century (Bolognese) classicism in the proportions and pose of the suffering hero, Barry's conception is far more realistic in its imagining of Philoctetes' long isolation and endurance on this barren island.

Barry's painting was closely tied to its historical context and sources. It was painted for the Academia Clementina in Bologna in 1770, when Barry was made a member, and was inspired by Glaucus' epigram on a lost picture of the same subject by Parrhasius, and by Sophocles' play. According to these sources, Philoctetes had been the friend and companion of Heracles, and when the latter was taken up to Olympus, he gave Philoctetes his renowned bow and arrows. Later, Philoctetes was persuaded to sail with the Argive host to Troy, because an oracle had foretold that Troy could not be taken without the aid of Philoctetes' arrows. But, as the hero was worshipping at a sanctuary on the island of Chryse on the way to Troy, he was bitten by a snake, and the pain and rotting caused by the poisonous wound compelled the Argive leaders to commission Odysseus to convey the hapless warrior secretly to the uninhabited island of

Lemnos. There he remained alone for ten years, while the Argives encamped before Troy, unable to take the city. During this time, Philoctetes managed to eke out a living by using his deadly bow and arrows, but always in great pain and bitterness of spirit. Only after Achilles' death did the Argives remember the oracle and send Odysseus with Achilles' son, Neoptolemos, to fetch Philoctetes and his fatal bow to Troy. (3)

We cannot be sure what prompted Barry to take up this lugubrious tale, but the attractions of suffering heroes for an artist with such an exalted conception of his role in society as Barry's, and his predilection for other celebrated sufferers (Jesus, Meleager, St. Sebastian, Job among them), suggest a very personal motivation. At the same time, the sense of heroic suffering as a moral and artistic motif, was obtaining a wider currency, as Lessing's contemporary discussion of Sophocles' play, and the Sturm und Drang of the early Goethe and Herder, suggest. There was also the widespread admiration for the Laocoon as a supreme expression of the depiction of human agony; and, more pertinently, the influence of Burke's ideas about the portrayal of the "sublime". The latter is clearly evidenced by the inscription at the lower right of the preliminary horizontal drawing for this subject: "There will appear more Agony & ye disordered leg will be more distinctly mark'd by having it stretched out in air & without any support from ye

rock he sits on". This suggests a preoccupation with pain and anguish per se following the precepts of his friend and patron, Burke, whom Barry had already got to know in Ireland. (4)

The moment that Barry has chosen to depict Philoctetes is just before he is found and taken back to Troy, at the end of the ten long years of enforced isolation and suffering. He has just killed the bird and sits alone on his stone slab with its Greek relief, untying the bandage on his foot. In the preliminary drawing, Philoctetes looks down and inward, reacting with bitterness to the pain in his wounded foot; in the idealising painting, the broken lines have been replaced by noble, plastic forms and voluminous proportions. A sense of monumentality emphasizes Philoctetes' heroic dignity and the justice of his reproaches to heaven for his betrayal. The influence of such prototypes as the Belvedere Torso, so admired by Winckelmann, and the Farnese Hercules, is evident; but the twist of the hero's body also betrays a mannerist influence, perhaps from Tibaldi, and there is a "romantic" sensibility of atmosphere in the rocky background and the dark sea with its far-off lone ship. It is a romanticism and drama that the later aquatint and etching will accentuate. (5) [Pl.2]

Though a Dane, Abildgaard was very much part of Fuseli's circle in Rome, and his very different dramatic version

of the wounded Philoctetes (1774-5) was influential. A large-scale work, it emphasizes the sensation and source of physical pain. Philoctetes is depicted nude and curled up, quiver and tiger skin thrown aside, and clutching his foot in a spasm of convoluted agony. The barely discernible rock with its Greek inscription provides a sombre background to the hero's anguished stare. The muscular body, tensed in pain, has been squeezed into the picture frame, so that the viewer is given a sudden close-up of the hero's physical and psychological anguish. The moment chosen seems to be immediately after Philoctetes has received the snake-bite, and so before the ten long years of isolation and betrayal. This may be why Abildgaard, like his fellow-Scandinavian Sergel, has shown Philoctetes in a cramped pose, derived probably from the crouching figures of Carracci in the Farnese Gallery, which he had been copying in 1773; the other main influence being Michelangelo, both for the terrifying expression and for the huge muscular body, like one of the master's ignudi. (6)

Yet, this too is not a straightforward clinical analysis of physical pain; Michelangelesque too is the hero's sense of unmerited suffering and his efforts to surmount the pain. Though certainly far from Winckelmann's calm nobility and sedate grandeur (even in suffering), Abildgaard's image retains a classical element (in the influence of the Belvedere Torso) while suggesting a

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much greater psychological realism about the secular suffering hero. (7) [Pl.3]

The subject of Philoctetes was depicted several times in England and France; though never displayed at the Royal Academy exhibitions in this period (it was depicted by Blake in 1812), the subject was painted and exhibited several times (six in all) in Paris, - by Drouais, Fabre, and Lethière, as well as Gros. (8) Lethière's Philoctète dans l'île déserte de Lemnos, gravissant les rochers pour avoir un oiseau qu'il a tué (1798) was exhibited at the Salon, and shows the hero in a vast, barren landscape clambering over some rocks to fetch the bird he has just shot down. Lethière's painting externalises the hero's inner struggle; his exertions are directed outward against an inhospitable and menacing nature. His sole ally in his lonely struggle for existence is his magical bow and unerring arrows. His body is draped in classical tatters; but the atmosphere has become dominant, romanticised and yet naturalistic. The man begins to be dwarfed by his environment, though he does not lose his dignity. (9)

#### Meleager and Orestes

It is interesting that Barry, as we saw, drew the subject of Meleager (c1767-70), another classical hero with a touch of doom on his life. The drawing, in fact, only

hints at his eventual demise at the hand of his mother, Althea's brand. Barry's conception is that of the victorious classical hero, boar's head in hand, at the moment of his triumph, and modelled closely on Winckelmann's notion of the Antinous as being really a Meleager but with what Barry saw as its faults (which he thought the result of restoration) "corrected". There is not much in the way of a realistic setting here; but the downcast mien of the hero evokes that sad presentiment of death, which Barry may have found attractive. (10)

Meleager was celebrated not only for slaying the Calydonian boar that had ravaged his land, but also for killing his uncles and being consumed when his mother, to avenge her brothers, cast the brand of his life into the flames. However, in Homer's version of the tale, Meleager is enraged by his mother, Althea's curses, and sulks at home, while the rival tribe of the Curetes attack his homeland, Calydon, and his people, the Aetolians. (11) His family finally implore him to defend their city, and his wife prevails on him to save his people. This is the moment chosen by Fuseli in a drawing of 1776-8. Here we see the muscular body of the hero thrown into his wife's arms, as the other members of his family weep, cry out or cling to his feet. Meleager turns head and body away from his desperate, kneeling family, while his spear is buried under an overturned bench and a pile of bodies. Everything is violent, contorted and exaggerated, notably



the proportions of Fuseli's figures. Diagonals cross each other in impetuous conflict, suggesting the clash of passions and extremity of needs within a confined, horizontal and shallow space. (12) [P1.4]

Menageot also followed Homer's account in a painting of Meleagre supplie par sa famille of 1789 (13). But whereas the spirit of the Fuseli drawing is turbulent, exaggerated and desperate, here the atmosphere is more restrained and introspective. The emphasis falls on Meleager's dilemma, his inner torment and nobility of spirit, as he turns his head gently away from his wife's entreaties in a pensive gaze which looks inward to a suffering self. Around, in the dark courtyard enclosed by a wall with tall fluted pilasters, stand or kneel the various members of his family and friends begging or exhorting him to take up arms in defence of family and country. A sharp light picks out the protagonists from the surrounding gloom, but the drama is muted. There is more of sorrow than of anger in the hero's face, and this sad mood pervades the scene to lend an air of grandeur and a sense of collective destiny to a family drama. Otherwise, Menageot has sought to balance and control the movements and gestures of each figure, so as to produce a relatively centralised composition (despite the diverting secondary motif of the tall exhorting soldiers on the right) in which the conflict of emotions within the hero is expressed through the careful proportions of figures

and the balance between different groups in the manner of Poussin and Le Sueur. The stone floor and the heavy rounded arch on the right, through which we glimpse the besieged city, lends an elevating, but stark realism to the drama.

A rather better-known victim of fate was Orestes, scion of the accursed house of Atreus. Scenes from the legend of Agamemnon and Orestes were exhibited ten times at the Salon, and six times at the Royal Academy exhibitions during our period. One of the earliest English examples (but shown at the Society of Artists' exhibition of 1766), was Benjamin West's Pylades and Orestes brought as victims before Iphigenia. (14). For his painting, West has gone back to Euripides' play, Iphigenia in Tauris, to the moment when the luckless friends, Orestes and Pylades, sent to steal the statue of Artemis from the savage Tauri, are captured and brought before the high priestess in Artemis' temple, bound and ready to be sacrificed to the goddess. As it turns out, the high priestess is none other than Orestes' elder sister, Iphigenia, who had been sacrificed many years ago by her reluctant but ambitious father, Agamemnon, to placate Artemis and ensure a favourable wind for his expedition to Troy; at the last moment, Artemis had snatched Iphigenia from the altar, and spirited her away to the land of the Tauri to serve her there. West has chosen the moment when Iphigenia begins to realise that one of the victims is her brother, and

resolves to save them from their cruel fate.

The subject was not new. It was, in fact, painted in seventeenth century Holland, and may recall antique precedents. In many ways, West's portrayal harks back consciously to the antique, notably in modelling the figures of the two friends on a Roman group of Castor and Pollux which Winckelmann had reidentified recently as Pylades and Orestes at the tomb of Agamemnon (and copies of which were in England), and of Iphigenia's costume on the Farnese Flora (also with plaster casts and copies in England). (15) More importantly, West's conception is derived from Roman reliefs, often on sarcophagi, more than Raphael's Cartoons, and he has arranged the scene as some hieratic ritual in a processional frieze. West has conceived the episode as a theatrical drama, of the type with which London audiences would have been familiar (with examples like Lewis Theobald's opera, Orestes (1731) in their minds), but retaining the purity and gravity of Euripides' original. In going back to the original "authentic" source, West was allying himself with those who, like Winckelmann, were advocating the superiority of classical, especially Greek, moral and artistic values. Whether West, as an American Quaker who retained some at least of his colonial ties, was also presenting an allegory of America's deliverance from oppressive taxation, and the reunification of "fraternal" America and Britain, in the Britannia-like figure of Iphigenia

reunited with her long-lost brother, is now difficult to gauge. Despite the reported interest of contemporaries (though Fuseli thought his figures tame and expressionless marionettes), West's painting was purchased later for a low price; Walpole considered four of the five pictures West exhibited that year at the Society of Artists to be "hard & gaudy, & little expression". Yet, in many ways, this painting inaugurated a new phase in the British assimilation of the ethos and monumental style of early neo-classicism; despite its awkward poses and lack of expressiveness, probably deliberate in this instance, it propounds an ideal of Grecian purity and nobility in a crowded scene backed by imposing pillars framing a view to mountains and distant sea. (16) [Pl.6]

In the 1770s a more dramatic and romantic interest developed with the translation of Aeschylus' plays in 1777, including the Oresteia. Romney had undoubtedly read this translation, and shortly afterwards produced a finished drawing of The Ghost of Clytaemnestra rousing the sleeping Furies to avenge her (1777-80). It is an expressive, even violent scene. Clytaemnestra's ghost sweeps in from the right in a swirling cloud with a hideous expression and rouses the three monstrous goddesses sleeping on the floor of Apollo's temple in Delphi. To the left, the handsome nude figure of Apollo stretches out an arm to fend off the Furies and Clytaemnestra, while at the extreme left a terrified

Orestes cowers beside him. The play of light and shadow on the bare walls and pilasters of the temple accentuates the contrast between the god's serenity and the turbulence of the accusing Chthonian monsters; so does the bare "stage-like" setting with its two steps up to the podium on which lie the hateful Erinnyes. In fact, Romney has conflated two successive scenes from the opening of the Eumenides, the third play of the cycle, in order to accentuate and encompass within a single scene the successive actions of the drama, and so present a more forceful, terse image. This is just what Richardson and others recommended, in order to give the scene that "unity of action" which academic precept required for history-paintings. (17) [Pl.7]

In Romney's drawing, we already see the influence of that revival of interest in the supernatural, in fate beyond human control, that characterised English culture in the late eighteenth century. Compared to West's statuesque but very human frieze, Romney's agitated drama shows man as victim of supernatural forces in a way that West's Orestes, though bound, is not. Flaxman's later drawing, The Furies: "Awake, arise, rouse her as I rouse thee" eliminates the human element altogether. The hero's suffering has been lost to view, and we are left with the vision of an unavenged ghost rousing the hag-like, snake-haired chthonian deities in all their hideous horror. (18)

The Oedipus saga

The very type of a hero who is a victim of an incomprehensible fate, yet expiates his sufferings, is found in the myth of Oedipus. Much more popular as an heroic sufferer in France than England, he was the subject of only three Royal Academy exhibits, but twenty-four Salon displays (between 1746 and 1800). Perhaps the most compelling aspect of his drama was his mysterious end. This is the subject of an early portrayal by Fuseli, The Death of Oedipus, taken from the Oedipus at Colonus of Sophocles. (19) For Fuseli, Oedipus' fate, and especially his mysterious disappearance into the bowels of the earth, was an instance of the sublime, the category that according to Burke, inspired men with feelings of awe and terror, and took us out of our everyday existence. As Antigone and Ismene cling to their father's worn-out body, holding onto his knees and waist, the old hero makes a strange gesture with the pointed fingers of both hands and stares beyond them at us, the spectators, as though inviting us into the mystery of his passing. Around and behind, the cavernous gloom of the cave opening in the sacred grove of the Eumenides begins to envelop him; his hair stands on end, his brow is furrowed; as he is caught up and swept away, he looks within and beyond an earthly fate. [Pl.8]

Fuseli also depicted other aspects of the Oedipus saga, including Oedipus answering the sphinx's riddle, and another scene from Oedipus at Colonus, Oedipus cursing his son Polynices, (25) Again, Fuseli's hero is an expression of the "sublime", this time the over-whelming anger of a wronged man. As Oedipus curses his ungrateful son, he seems to impersonate the passion of vengeance; and as Fuseli remarked:

"The being seized by an enormous passion, be it joy or grief, hope or despair, loses the character of its own individual expression and is absorbed by the power of the feature that attracts it; Niobe and her family are assimilated by extreme anguish; Ugolino is petrified by the fate that sweeps his sons..."

(20)

and, in truth, Oedipus here becomes the very embodiment of the passion that surges up through his body and into his cursing outstretched arm. This is an almost superhuman hero, whose suffering and anger will determine the fate of his children, and his cringing son knows it. Fuseli's generalising method of portrayal fastens on the element of stern, supernatural justice, unrelenting and destructive of family life. Though his heroes retain a classical poise and the composition with its counterpoint of gestures remains within the heroic neo-classical canon, the violence of the cross-cutting diagonals in a shallow

space, accentuated by sharp shadows, strains that canon to breaking-point and suggests the tensions that tear Oedipus' family apart. (21) [P1.9]

The contrast with a French portrayal of Oedipus' sad farewell to his family in Colonus could not be greater. In 1784 Benigne Gagneraux painted an Oedipe aveugle recommandant sa famille aux dieux in which the blinded hero sends for his children who weep and cling to the seated old man in a clearly lit central group set slightly back, while on either side stand solemn, astonished men and women, including an older woman, a helmeted soldier and a tall man in profile holding up his arm in horror, and on the left a pensive family. Presumably the tall man is Creon, Oedipus' brother-in-law and uncle, though in Sophocles' Oedipus at Colonus he does not appear together with all of Oedipus' children. (22)

What is remarkable, stylistically and iconographically, is the determined classicism of the scene. It is not a vehicle for the expression of anger or vengeance, as in the Fuseli; though the individual figures are expressive of varying emotions, their passions are strictly limited and controlled as on a stage, where the actors must interact carefully to achieve the necessary dramatic impact. Fuseli's Oedipus is overwhelming and "sublime" in his rage; Gagneraux' hero is declamatory, but restrained and human in scale. In fact, he and the other



participants in the drama are dwarfed in scale by the huge stone wall and fluted columns behind, with an arch to the left allowing us to see a temple and round building. The fact that we only see the lowest part of the Doric columns heightens this sense of puny humanity as victim of a blind, hard fate. Gagneraux has carefully followed the spirit of the injunction to a unified composition; but this unite d'action, though theatrical, allows sufficient interest to the subordinate groups, through whom we may elucidate the story of the tragedy. He has also combined some "Baroque" elements in the swirling movements of the central group with the stark, spare neo-classical background, and the columnar framing groups at right and left. [Pl.10]

I have dwelt on the stylistic and thematic significance of Gagneraux's painting because it typifies an important strand in the French response to the new spirit of moral historicism and the new forms of monumental neo-classicism. This is to look to the theatre as a repertoire of history rather than of poetic fantasy, as in England; in this case Gagneraux had a number of French adaptations of Sophocles' Theban saga, notably Corneille's Oedipe (1659), Voltaire's Oedipe (1718), and act three of Ducis' Oedipe chez Admète (1778); and the later opera by Guillard, Oedipe à Colone (1785). Rubin has shown how the last two were particularly praised and performed in the late eighteenth century, and that though translated into

French, Sophocles' plays were generally unfamiliar to French artists of the period. There were hardly any portrayals of the Oedipus saga before 1780, but in the 1790s the theme became very popular in France, with works by Leroy, Harriet, Thévenin, Lambert and Bouillon; the Ducis version in which Oedipus forgives his son, Polynices, and Antigone acts as chief conciliator, had an especial appeal. Rubin connects this with the political situation of the Directoire, and the new concern with the individual and social plight of the emigre; the Ducis Oedipus seemed to symbolise reconciliation after the terrors of the Revolution, just as Oedipus' near-madness in the grove of the Erinyes symbolised the Terror itself. Like that other hapless refugee, Marcus Sextus, of Guerin's celebrated picture, the lonely exile and beggar, Oedipus, with his unkempt, windswept appearance, caught the public mood. (23)

It is a plausible explanation, but the fact that the Oedipus theme had evoked interest before 1795 in France, and also in England to some extent, suggests that other wider factors were at work. Even a work like Fulchran-Jean Harriet's Oedipe à Colone (1797-8) which owes much to Ducis' version of Sophocles' drama (though with some interesting changes drawn from the middle section of Ducis' play, Oedipe à Colone of 1797, where an exhausted Antigone is shown asleep on her father's knees though such a motif is nowhere attested in the play)

remains within the literary-artistic tradition going back to Voltaire and Challes. (24) Oedipus is portrayed, as in Sophocles' drama, as a mystical figure, old, blind, ragged, unkempt, in a darkened, stormy landscape, the very type of a "romantic" hero who is also a specially selected victim of fate, and through whose agonies we too may find, in pity and terror, some purification and forgiveness. This is an essentially religious concept, marking out the suffering hero as a sacred figure, beyond purely political and everyday meanings, but from whose realm politics may derive some of its values and ideals.

### Belisarius

Equally popular in France was another tale of unmerited and heroic suffering. This was the apocryphal tale of Justinian's great general, Belisarius, as retailed by the late Byzantine writer, Izetges. The historical Belisarius had indeed conquered large parts of Italy and Africa for his master, Justinian, in the mid-sixth century, and had then fallen out of favour. But in Izetges' elaboration, Belisarius was not only disgraced for allegedly taking part in a conspiracy, but also blinded and reduced to begging for a living. The subject became popular in France with the accusation for treason of Lally-Tolendal, the hero of Fontenoy, in 1766, and the publication of Marmontel's Belisaire in 1767. A tale of unmerited hardship, pathos and ingratitude, it combined a number of

moral ideas attractive to the neo-classical movement, and was the subject of thirteen paintings and sculptures exhibited at the Salons from 1767 to 1800. (25)

Though there were earlier examples, the works of Durameau (1775, lost) and Vincent (1776-7) are interesting, because they coincide with the great wave of "history painting" and neo-classicism in the Salon. Vincent's Belisaire shows the large and rugged figure of the blind, old former general receiving alms at the hands of one of his erstwhile officers, while three men look on sadly and reflectively and Belisarius' guide-boy holds the upturned helmet for the alms. Interestingly, the rough, dour quality of this early example of mature neo-classicism was disliked; it was admired for its correct rendering of contours, but its austerity seemed cold, and L'Année litteraire complained that "The story of the general of the Emperor's armies losing his sight and being reduced to begging for his life after a long prison term is so extraordinary, so moving that I am surprised that it did not at all warm the spirit of the young artist." (26) As Jean-Pierre Cuzin points out, it was exactly this cold austerity that was so novel in 1777. Drawing its formal inspiration from the Bolognese masters, the painting aimed to "freeze" the dynamic tension of the five figures into a monumental nobility which would capture the powerful pathos of mutual recognition and temporal inconstancy. The heavily draped muscular

figures possess a force and volume that lends credence and verisimilitude to the tragedy, with a minimum of rhetoric, yet without that spare, dry starkness that was to characterise later French neo-classical works. Vincent nevertheless manages to suggest, beneath a tight-lipped silence, the intensity of emotions and energies. (27)

Even earlier, Mortimer had completed a painting of Belisarius for the Society of Artists (1772), and in 1775 his friend, Wright of Derby, produced a highly finished drawing, done in Rome just before his return to England. Belisarius, blind and ragged, is seated on a step at the foot of a wall of giant slabs on one of which we read Date Obolum Belisario; to his left his little boy crouches. He is recognised by three former officers, two of whom give alms, while the third bends down to kiss his general's hand. The shallow space, the controlled poses and careful disposition of figures, and gentle shading, show Wright at his most classical and bring him closest to French conventions, though the touch is lighter, and the horses and tree on the left give the scene a slightly melancholy grace. (28) Nevertheless, the sense of transience of worldly fortunes, which Wright had already depicted in his drawings of Democritus and Miravan in the early 1770s, was widely shared by artists. It is brought out with unusual harshness in a drawing of Angelica Kauffmann's; Belisarius, seated at the foot of a fluted column, turns away as his boy holds out the helmet in which a Roman

matron places her coin, while one of Belisarius' former soldiers looks back to the scene with unconcealed grief. The rough, strident lines of the drawing suggest that intensity of bitter passion which the tightly-knit composition and silent gestures freeze and curb. It is undoubtedly one of Angelica Kauffmann's most dramatic and tragic scenes, all inessential elements being removed to concentrate the pathos of the tale. (29) [Pl.11]

Benjamin West's versions of the story are quite different in character. The first appears to be a replica of a drawing that has disappeared, dated to 1784, and related to other drawings showing the hero brought low at the end of his life, Cato giving his daughter in marriage and Marius on the ruins of Carthage. West's drawing of Belisarius brought to his family shows the general striding along and led by his boy. He is unkempt and in rags, and holds a staff; to the left is the outline of a square pillar on a wall, while behind we discern faint outlines of Constantinople's battlemented walls. It is a much freer rendering than Wright's and close to Mortimer's more "romantic" and atmospheric treatment. (30) [Pl.12]

The paintings of 1802 and 1805 are again different in composition and character. Belisarius, old, blind and unkempt, is shown seated on a block of stone beside a wall, staff in hand, and his boy standing beside him, holding the helmet. There is no action here, only a memento fortunae; in the 1805 painting, the boy stares

out at us and points to the blind old general, while the latter places a weary arm on the boy's shoulder. It hardly mattered to West and his audience that Marmontel's and Tzetzes' tale was fictional; it pointed the desired moral, eloquently. The sight of Belisarius' shock of white hair, and the inscription *Date Obolum Belisario* above his head, sufficed; morality was the real history and all the painter had to do was give that poetic moral expressive verisimilitude. By creating an expressive image, he helped to create history in people's imaginations. (31) [Pl.13]

Again, as one might expect, the French images follow a different tradition. (32) For the French artist it is a dramatic scene, the moment of recognition or hospitality that excites his imagination. Peyron has chosen a different moment in the life of the unhappy general in his Bélisaire recevant l'hospitalité d'un paysan qui avait servi sous lui, painted in Rome in 1779. Here, one of his former soldiers, now a peasant, has recognised his former general and invites him home to his family. Again this is like a scene from a theatrical performance; on a shallow stage, the blind old general sits at the right near a table, his young guide behind him, and takes the infant son of his former soldier in his arms, while the soldier motions his wife and other children towards the old man. At the extreme left, a tall man lit through the open arch behind, his back to the spectator, turns reflectively towards the scene. Such a figure, in the scene but

outside the drama, is a common device of the period, to induce a sense of moral gravity and pensiveness on the part of the spectator. But here he also forms the left pole of the carefully interrelated line of actors placed rhythmically on this horizontal stage. It is an austere drama, played out by draped figures against bare walls of stone slabs with Roman arches, uniformly lit from the left and culminating in the raised group around the old hero, who suffers in silence. (33) [Pl.14]

Peyron's painting is a veritable icon of neo-classical stoicism. It preaches, with quiet grandeur, the virtues of resignation, poverty and humility in the face of fortune and man's ingratitude. True nobility is to be found only in the frugal, simple life of philosophical contemplation and acceptance. This is definitely not the message of David's celebrated Bélisaire, reconnu par un soldat qui avait servi sous lui au moment qu'une femme lui fait l'aumône. (34) The theme had interested David for some years; he had already made a more vertical drawing of Belisarius and his guide-boy in 1779 and painted a small picture of them in half-length. The final version has only four main figures: Belisarius seated at the foot of a fluted column, clasping his guide-boy to him with his left hand, while stretching out his right hand to the heavily draped woman who puts her coin in the helmet held by his boy, while behind and left a former officer recognises his leader and holds up his arms in shock and horror. (At the



extreme left behind him two draped figures, much reduced in scale, converse; some tiny figures can also be seen on the city wall behind, in front of the temples and distant mountains). Again, it is the huge fluted columns and bases that dominate the actors; their grandeur overwhelms mankind, echoing the Date Obolum Belisario inscription on the stone block where the hero has rested his staff. David has benefited from both Vincent's and Peyron's conceptions, taking from the first the simplification to a few figures given more prominence and from the latter the idea of a drama enacted before our eyes on a shallow stage. [Pl.15]

But, of course, his real inspiration as the landscape behind tells us, has been Poussin; in many ways, this is the culmination of that whole neo-Poussinist wave which formed in France the first vehicle of the new current of moral historicism and stoicism. The Poussinism of David's Belisarius is twofold: moral, in that like Poussin, David has gone back to antiquity for the choice of exempla virtutis in order to impart an ethical lesson for contemporaries. But David goes a stage further. Poussin's antique morality was largely stoic; it preached resignation and philosophical contemplation of fortune's mutability. Rarely did it go on to issue a summons to action; rarely was its aim regenerative, the revival and recreation of the past through moral and collective action. It did not demand any mobilisation of individual

or collective resources to achieve some moral value or goal. This is just what David's painting begins to do. Where in the Phocion paintings or the Seven Sacraments Poussin depicted the noble grandeur of acceptance or the stark solemnity of participation, David adds an element of social accusation and an implicit suggestion of the need for action to put right a sad plight. It is, of course, a muted suggestion, and somewhat sentimentalised; but the attack on the inconstancy of the powerful is clear. The suffering and endurance of the hero, too, is idealised and romanticised, but there is also a dramatic naturalism which goes beyond Poussin, except perhaps in his Testament of Eudamidas. This is where, stylistically, David's Poussinism begins to take on that dynamic, theatrical quality which we associate with his later work; here, however, the drama remains within that convention of mode and unité d'action which Poussin felt enabled the spectator to grasp emotionally and then understand intellectually the meaning of the story chosen by the painter. (35)

By contrast, a sculpture like Chaudet's Belisarius (1791) returns to the quietist, stoical conception of Peyron. The aged hero is shown seated, staff between his legs, and his right hand on the shoulder of his guide-boy who sits at his side on the ground, asleep with weariness. The proud griffin on Belisarius' helmet at his feet reminds us of his former glories, and we are led to meditate on the

transience of fame and power; even the grace of the hero reminds us of his former state. (36) The theme was dear to French sculptors; Houdon, Moitte, Stouf, Deseine and Beauvallet all treated it. But Chaudet's is in many ways typical of a neo-classical spirit and design. It is serious, calm, compact and slightly remote, notable especially for a refined simplicity in which suffering has apparently ennobled the hero to the point where he has attained inner peace and serenity. [Pl.16]

### Job and Lear

The Belisarius theme was more popular in France than England, perhaps because of the literary treatments there; there were five exhibits of the theme at the Royal Academy displays against thirteen at the Salons over a comparable period (1767-1800). By contrast, two themes, Job and King Lear, were almost exclusively English in artistic treatment.

This is to be expected with a theme like King Lear, though Shakespeare's dramas were well known in France. The theme of Job is more puzzling. But, in fact, before 1800 it was not often represented in either country. Barry did an etching of Job reproved by his friends in 1777, in which a seated Job, covered in garments is reproved by his three "comforters" on the left, while his standing wife touches his shoulder and points to heaven accusingly. Behind, the

body of one of his children is carried away in an open landscape threatened by lowering dark clouds. Barry may have chosen the theme to illustrate the conception of the sublime, awful power of God, as a tribute to Burke's theories, for Burke had often cited the Book of Job in support of his ideas of the sublime. It is also possible that there is a political allegory here. Job's wife has features similar to those of Pitt the Elder, while one of the seated friends may be Burke himself counselling a suffering Nation afflicted by the king's unrighteous war against America; Barry's prints often contained such political messages. (37)

More obviously related to English interests was the suffering of King Lear, which became a prime example from the Shakespearian revival. One of the earliest representations was by John Runciman, Alexander's brother, whose painting of King Lear in the Storm (1767) is especially notable. It represents a very early example of that literary medievalism that will mark out the English path of artistic development, in which fantasy and poetry become the objects and characteristics of English painting of the past. Standing before the hovel near the roaring sea, Lear and his drenched companions pause, and in a single moment encompass the several scenes of Shakespeare's drama and Lear's reflections on his fate among the engulfing elements. The drama here is inward; the storm outside, the darkened sky, accentuate this inner

resolve. (38)

Perhaps more obvious and typical is West's portrayal of a Lear thundering at the elements in his King Lear on the Heath. (39) This is a dramatic, active and expressive Lear, full of bravura and rhetoric, as Gloucester on the left holding high his torch urges the defiant, unhinged king to flee the elements and enter the nearby hovel. Beneath him cowers a terrified Fool, while to the right Kent begs Lear to listen and Poor Tom (Edgar) in rags and weeds reflects glumly on the misery of "unaccommodated man". The colours are rich and fiery reds, oranges, gold and grey-blue for the stormy skies; they echo the tempestuous nature of the elements and Lear's curses, and West breaks with earlier eighteenth century dramatic convention, by Garrick and others, of portraying Lear as a feeble old man, attracting considerable praise for his vigorous treatment. [Pl.17]

West's painting was commissioned for the Boydell Gallery in 1788, and was one of three paintings of King Lear for the Gallery, the other two being Fuseli's Lear cursing Cordelia (c1786) (from the opening scene of the play) and Lear weeping over the dead body of Cordelia (c1786) (from the last scene) by Barry. Fuseli's portrayal is in some ways more conventional than West's; Kent pleads before Lear on his throne in the centre, while Cordelia is half turned away, but the whole scene has a symmetrical

arrangement around the angry old king, who is barely individualised. (40) Barry's king, in contrast, is more sharply delineated. There is grief and horror on his face as he bends over the dead Cordelia. Though the impact is perhaps not as great as in his earlier "close-up" view of the two protagonists alone, the focus remains firmly on the suffering hero stretched to the limit on the "rack of this tough world", his white hair blown about by the winds, his arm stretched out in despair. The other characters, Albany, Kent and Edgar, stand as chorus to some Greek tragedy, half begging him to die, as the corpses of the perpetrators of the tragedy lie about or are taken away. In the distance, the primeval British landscape echoes the rude savagery of the primitive passions unleashed. (41)

The ideal of the "suffering hero" was, as we see, largely mythical and symbolic, highlighting the struggle against cruel fate, and the ennobling quality of suffering. Yet, for most people, it was beyond them. Virtue had to take other forms.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### VIRTUOUS WOMEN

An important motif in late eighteenth century art was the contrast between male self-discipline and female self-abandonment. In this conventional stereotype, the female was generally seen as incapable of true nobility and self-sacrifice, though like Ariadne or Lucretia, she might inspire men to great achievements. Judging by the frequency of themes like Venus and Cupid, Paris and Helen, Orpheus and Eurydice, or Perseus rescuing Andromeda, women were depicted by eighteenth century artists either as objects of sexual desire or as helpless victims of evil. (1) Even a figure like the faithful Penelope was seen as passive and her role secondary and supportive of the male. (2)

In many ways, eighteenth century artists were taking over a specifically Grecian view of the role of women in society as secluded supporters of males or objects of desire. (3) Woman's passions and charms were clearly in evidence in such scenes as the death of Dido, or the suicide of Cleopatra. Aeneas' wanderings were a popular motif of the period; 16 examples were exhibited at the Royal Academy, 25 at the Salon, and several dealt with Aeneas and Dido. Fuseli and Reynolds both depicted Dido's death, but appeared to view the episode as a display of

abandoned and tragic passion, accepting the Vergilian ideal of male duty and heroism. (4)

Equally popular was the theme of the love and deaths of Antony and Cleopatra; between 1746 and 1800, it was depicted 22 times at the Salon and 11 times at the Royal Academy between 1769 and 1800, and there were other examples in Germany and Italy, notably by J. H. Tischbein and Mengs. (5) Many preserve the tradition of Baroque and Rococo charm and grace while paying tribute to Cleopatra's courage and adding a sterner neo-classical setting. But then this was one of the frequently depicted antique subjects, and popular with artists of the Rococo period. (6)

#### Virtuous wives: Alcestis and Andromache

It is, nevertheless, in the later eighteenth century that not only do more female artists appear and make their mark, but that we also find the beginnings of a change in the conventional stereotype of woman in the eighteenth century. This had something to do with the new vein of sentiment (and sentimentality) that emerged in literature and painting, but also to changes in the structure of the family in eighteenth century France in particular, which allowed new conceptions of female "virtue". (7)

Ancient Greek myths, while generally treating women as



objects of passion or temptresses, did sometimes show women in a more assertive and self-sacrificing role. We have already seen how Antigone sacrificed many years to support her blind, old father in his wanderings. Similarly, a goddess, Thetis, can be shown sacrificing her happiness for her mortal son. But these are still secondary roles.

A more central, and assertive, female character and role is found in the tale of Niobe and her children. Unfortunately, Niobe's actions were, in the myth, marred by hubris; though painted by Romney and Taillasson, Niobe's end was hardly the kind of inspiring moral sought by neo-classical artists. (8)

Alcestis, on the other hand, possessed the required virtues. She had, after all, without a murmur sacrificed herself for her husband, Admetus, when Death summoned him; and the tale had a happy end when Admetus' guest, Heracles, learning of the situation, compelled Death to return his victim. The subject, nevertheless, was only depicted a few times; by Tischbein and Fuger in Germany, and by Angelica Kauffmann and Peyron, the first being exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1791, and the second at the Salon in 1785, where it was acclaimed as Peyron's masterpiece. (9) In all these examples, Alcestis is mute, as Euripides' play requires. Her supreme act is a personal sacrifice, on behalf of a man, her husband, not the public

self-sacrifice desired by critics and artists of the time. Since Admetus did not have to die for a cause or country, his wife's act was private, silent and familial. (10) [Pl.18]

This was decidedly not the case with the other great mythological exemplar of female and wifely virtue, Andromache. Hector, after all, was an all too public figure, his country's chief defender, his death its greatest loss. Andromache's grief over her husband, therefore, is a public act, in which all can and must share. The scene had been recommended by the Comte de Caylus in 1757, and it was depicted about 10 times in the Salon and 9 times at the Royal Academy. (11) Actually, there were two variants of the theme: the more common one shows Andromache bewailing Hector when his corpse is brought back by Priam to Troy, the other shows her mourning his ashes after his funeral, a motif depicted by Angelica Kauffmann, Gamelin and Taillasson. (12)

The more common variant of Andromache bewailing the corpse of Hector was the subject of Hamilton's picture painted in the early 1760s, and engraved by Cunego in 1764. (13) It seems to have been the first of his Homeric series to be completed, and marks perhaps the opening of a neo-classical movement, along with Doyen's Virginia (1759) and Dance's Virginia (1761). (14) The picture is built up around a strong horizontal axis, the deathbed on which Hector lies surrounded by his family and companions

variously seated and standing, and displaying all manner of poses and gestures. The grief, however, is fairly restrained; as Irwin points out, "Andromache sheds no visible tear". (15) True, the swirling rhythms of the great curtain which, in classical manner divides the scene off from its background, suggest inner turbulence, as does the sweep of Andromache's body as she clasps her dead husband's body. But, in fact, there is more pathos in Hamilton's possible model, Poussin's Extreme Unction, with its similar curtain and disposition of a group of mourners. In fact, Hamilton has turned Andromache into a heroine of calm nobility, on a par with her husband, an exemplum virtutis in her own right. Whatever his compositional debts, Hamilton operates in a different moral and thematic context to Poussin, laying the emphasis upon the noble deeds and example of a hero and heroine, who together have sacrificed private happiness for the good of the community. (16) [Pl.19]

A more private moment, in the second variant of the theme, was chosen by Angelica Kauffmann for her second painting of 1772. Andromache here is accompanied by Hecuba and Astyanax in mourning Hector beside the great urn which holds his remains. The scene is bare and dark, except for a tall burning lamp behind Hecuba's bending figure, and plain column behind. As with the Hamilton painting, everything has been pushed forward to the picture plane, and the women are heavily draped, Hecuba being almost

invisible in her hood. The scene is pensive and Andromache's expression somewhat sentimentalised, as she leans on the great urn in quiet contemplation and resigned sadness, an example of devotion and acceptance of fate. (17) [P1.20]

As one might expect, David's Andromache mourning Hector (1783) is a public, and dramatic, statement, by comparison. Martial self-discipline in the form of the perfect stillness of death is contrasted with feminine passion and distress, as Andromache gestures rhetorically with her right arm and looks accusingly to the unjust heavens. The child's fear and incomprehension add a touch of poignancy to an otherwise public, even republican, declaration. It appears that David used an antique sarcophagus as model, but was also influenced by paintings by Poussin, Batoni, Greuze and the Hamilton discussed above; he drew various parts of the present work to clarify the figures and details of the setting. Retaining the classical curtain below heavy fluted columns, David added a grandiose incense burner on an inscribed plinth, and bestowed great care on the details of Hector's sword and helmet, the frieze of his bier and of Andromache's chair, as well as the patterns on the marble floor. (18)[P1.2

But all this archaeological exactitude was merely a means to conveying the immediacy and tangibility of Andromache's situation and passion. Her sorrow, like the Hamilton

version, is fairly restrained: but David's heroine is not as resigned, and we are invited to admire, not only Hector's heroism and self-sacrifice, but Andromache's also. After all, eighteenth century visitors to the Salon were expected to be familiar with the Homeric tale, and realise that, in letting Hector go to meet his foe in defence of Troy, Andromache had acquiesced in her fate to her great personal cost, placing the interests of the community and city above her private happiness and even life itself. That, surely, is the moral David expected his viewers to draw from a composition so simple and direct, and so steeped in public meanings. It is really the first statement of David's republican ethic. While the Belisarius had recounted the sad tale of human ingratitude and inconstancy contrasted with nobly borne suffering, a certain sentimentalism had detracted from its moral pathos and communal significance. In the Andromache mourning Hector there was nothing to distract attention from the lesson that patriotic duty, even self-sacrifice, must take precedence over every private tie and family affection; and that women, as much as men, are capable of setting a noble example to the community.

### Cornelia

But it was to Rome, and its stern republican ethos, that neo-classical artists increasingly turned for exempla virtutis in female heroism and self-sacrifice. This may

well have had something to do with the greater role accorded to Roman matrons and noblewomen under the Republic and early Empire, embodied in a long line of heroines whose example was used to impart morality to subsequent generations of Romans, and early modern Europeans.

One of the most popular of these heroines with eighteenth century artists was Cornelia; pictures on this subject were exhibited four times at the Salon and five times at the Academy. The subject, taken from Valerius Maximus, lent itself to both more Rococo and more neo-classical treatments, for it told of a rich lady from Campania who visited Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio, and displayed her necklaces and jewellery; to which Cornelia is said to have replied by bringing out her children, saying: "These are my jewels". (19)

This tale, popular since the sixteenth century and painted, among others, by Titian and Padovanino, was depicted by several late eighteenth century artists in Germany as well. (20) Benjamin West used it for the design of a fan in 1780; an engraving of Reynold's portrait of Lady Cockburn and her children was entitled Cornelia and Her Children in 1791. (21) Angelica Kauffmann's version is interesting for its combination of middle-class domesticity and severe setting. The background is plain with its wall, parapet and Tuscan

column, but the figures of the two women and Cornelia's children are prettified and charming. The child playing with the Campanian lady's jewels merely underlines the absence of any public statement about competing sets of values, or of any Roman stateliness. All we are shown is a cossetted, graceful woman showing off her spoiled offspring. (22) [P1.22]

This is also very much the spirit in which one of the earliest French examples, that of Noel Halle in 1779, was portrayed. (23) Halle makes much of the contrast between the ornate and bejewelled Campanian lady, and Cornelia's simple dress. But, as several critics noted, Halle seemed to be more interested in the charms of the children in a Greuzian scene of domestic tranquillity than in the moral of the story. True, one of the children holds an unrolled scroll containing the opening verses of the Iliad; but that is the only concession to the rising taste for didactic heroism. The spirit is still hedonistic, the style and colours a subdued Rococo; as one critic put it, "The Roman lady appears to be saying: 'Come forward children, pay your respects to Madame'...It would not have been ill-advised, on this occasion to have included some more serious people who could have witnessed the scene with that quiet and profound admiration that is inspired by a virtuous deed, which draws and penetrates the soul..." (24) [P1.23]

Two years later, Peyron painted a much more austere version in his Cornellie, mère des Gracques (25). To the right, the Campanian lady stretches out her arm to draw down some luxurious drapes from the tray carried by her slave, while another servant displays a casket of her jewels. On the left of a central table sits a heavily draped Cornelia with her two boys, brought in by two attendants behind her. The scene is dark and bare, except for a niche with the statue of a Roman senator, possibly her father, above and behind the table. The attendants and servants constitute, with the spectator, the privileged audience of this ennobling morality. All is carefully grouped and controlled; a truly Roman gravitas pervades the scene, whose theme and setting are in perfect accord, a striking example of that moral historicism which French and English artists were pioneering in the 1770s and 1780s. [Pl.24]

A third example, by Joseph-Benoît Suvée, commissioned by the Comte d'Artois in 1790 but not finished till 1792 and exhibited only in 1795, was equally elevated in tone and, if anything, more severe in treatment. (26) In a tall, bare hall with stone walls and marble floor and three fluted Doric columns at the entrance on the right, a chaste and grave Cornelia presents her two boys and daughter, returned from school with their teachers, to the elegant lady from Campania. Behind are two niches with



statues of robed elders, and between (and above) them hang a shield and spear. In the far left corner a group of the rich lady's servants watch the encounter. In his rendering of the drapery, sandals, coiffure and accessories, Suvéé has sought a primitive faithfulness to a late eighteenth century picture of Republican Rome; but it is above all in the main action and especially the figure of Cornelia at the centre, and the stoic mien and heads of the Romans, that Suvéé carries to its zenith the idealisation of ennobling female virtue on behalf of the republic. (27) [Pl.25]

#### Agrippina

If the tale of Cornelia's children permitted private and public statements, that of Agrippina, widow of the imperial general, Germanicus, had no place for domesticity and charm. Germanicus' career, and the manner of his death, were all too public. Much loved for his courage and virtue, and popular for his military success, he posed a threat to Livia and Tiberius, which caused a cloud of suspicion to hang over his sudden demise. (28)

Two incidents attracted artists in this story. The first was the Death of Germanicus, the subject of a celebrated early painting by Poussin of 1627, which was extremely influential in the design of heroic deathbed scenes in the following century. (29) There were also paintings by

Le Brun, Baudouin, Gerard de Lairesse and Fuger (1789), the latter drawing on Poussin's heroic composition. (30) But perhaps the finest representation is a sculptured relief of 1774 by Thomas Banks, one of the earliest English neo-classical sculptures to have survived. (31) It owes much to Poussin, too, but perhaps even more to Hamilton's Andromache bewailing Hector (c.1761), whose frieze-like deployment of the figures and strong horizontal format it repeats, while the grieving Agrippina echoes the figure of Hamilton's Hecuba, and the soldier on the far right, a pensive figure whose pose is found in many antique reliefs, parallels the figure of Helen at the far left in Hamilton's composition. There is also a hint of a Pieta in the tight nexus of simplified figures around the nude general, but Banks' debt to the antique is shown by his echoing of the Meleager Sarcophagus and the Achilles and Patroclus relief, both of which were in Winckelmann's Monumenta antichae inediti of 1767, and by his carving of the elegant klismos chair on which Germanicus' body rests. (32) More generally, the restrained beauty and controlled grief of the relief epitomise the subordination of private emotion to public service and heroic nobility in which neo-classical artists were increasingly interested. [Pl.26]

The second incident depicted the Landing of Agrippina at Brundisium, with the ashes of Germanicus. The subject seems to have been more popular in England; there are only

four depictions of the Germanicus-Agrippina tale at the Salon, but seven at the Royal Academy exhibitions. (33) The English versions are also rather earlier. Perhaps the earliest begun (though probably not completed) was Gavin Hamilton's Agrippina with the Ashes of Germanicus (c.1767-71); it shows Agrippina holding the urn with her husband's remains, dominating a stage-like platform with its surrounding soldiers and attendants. To the right below, the boat that brought her to Italy, is moored to the quay; to the left two women and a child look on, while behind to the left we see the pediment and columns of an Ionic temple, and to the right a great pillar. In the centre, a soldier carrying an eagle looks up at Agrippina, behind whom press a jumbled throng. It is a curious mixture of "Baroque" movement and clustering, and Roman gravitas and antique costume typical of early neo-classicism, with elements drawn from antique sarcophagi, Raphael and Poussin. (34)

In 1772 James Durno exhibited a picture of Agrippina and her two children mourning over the ashes of Germanicus, but only a related drawing has survived, which owes much to Le Sueur's Nero with the Ashes of Germanicus at Hampton Court, but also to West's painting of this theme. It is in a spare, severe style, and combines the moment after Agrippina has delivered her husband's ashes with the more intimate scene of her mourning with her children. This theme of "virtuous widow", which we find in Greuze's

modern bourgeois rendering, was repeated through the Agrippina story by Nevay (1773), West (1773), Rigaud (1776) and Flaxman (1777). (35)

But it was most memorably captured by Alexander Runciman and Benjamin West. Runciman had made an etching of Agrippina mourning over the ashes of Germanicus in 1772, but this was a private, restrained image. In 1781 he exhibited Agrippina with the ashes of Germanicus, a light and colourful composition which shows the moment when Agrippina lands at Brundisium. The composition has an overall "Y" format: an open space (the landing stage) leads the eye to the central group headed by Agrippina with the urn leading her companions forward. On either side, but separated off, are two groups of bystanders, in one of which an elderly priest raises his arms rhetorically. It is very much an academic composition in the manner of Poussin; indeed the huge prow of the ship above the central group reinforces the unite d'action which academic theory prized, and the symmetry which history-painters from Poussin on sought. There is, however, an emotional quality which Hamilton's painting lacks and a more classically Roman "feel", many of the draped figures being modelled on antique prototypes. (36)[Pl.2

West's celebrated version of the Agrippina theme is even more carefully staged and constructed. Almost as early as Hamilton's, West's paintings of 1768 go furthest in

creating a pure, neo-classical style of "calm nobility and sedate grandeur". (37) The scene is the same quay at Brundisium, and as in the Hamilton version, Agrippina and her attendants move horizontally to the picture plane across a "stage" or landing. As in Runciman's painting, West conceives of the central group as a funeral procession. But the grouping, and the setting, is far more calculated, and more archaeologically "Roman". Three groups are clearly distinguished; to the right, soldiers and boatmen at the prow, in the centre middle ground Agrippina and her attendants moving to the left, and on the left a semi-circle of watching and pensive spectators, whose effect is to induce in the viewer deeper understanding and meditation on the passing of the republic and the immortality of patriotic heroes. Towering over this semi-circle of spectators is the portico of a grandiose temple with fine Corinthian columns, and behind the procession of Agrippina and her attendants a long arcade, taken from Robert Adam's accurate drawings of the palace of Diocletian published in 1764. (38) In the background, we see basilicas and other buildings climbing up the hill, and more spectators on the rampart of the long arcade, all of which convey, through a Poussinesque recession of planes and solid, if imaginary, buildings the "feel" and sense of ancient republican Rome at the moment when the republic was being transformed into the early Empire. [Pl.28]

For his central procession, West increased the Roman "feel" by taking as his model a first century AD relief of grave senators and their wives from the Augustan Ara Pacis in Rome. Accompanied by her small children and her attendants, Agrippina holding the urn close to her leads the mourning and attracts every eye through her ritual involvement and through the lighting which picks out her procession. In contrast to the movement and cries of the surrounding crowds, she and her procession are almost immobile, frozen in time, as if pausing in a moment of mourning for the passing of that republican spirit which her husband had in his life epitomised. It is this "frozen silence", which Diderot found so compelling and so apt for antique grandeur, that neo-classical artists sought to capture as the encapsulation of past and future events, the better to impress the viewer with the story's moral, and induce emulation and regeneration through it. (39)

West's early series of neo-classical paintings - his Orestes and Pylades, Paetia and Arria, Leonidas and Cleombrotus, Agrippina, and Departure of Regulus - constitute, in fact, not only one of the earliest statements of stylistic neo-classicism, after Hamilton's Iliadic series, but also one of the first examples of "moral historicism", the practical recreation of an historical period and atmosphere in order to convey an elevating and regenerating moral message. (40) In his

"historical realism", West was precocious, anticipating Brenet, David and Peyron by a decade; but in his "moral historicism", West was only one of several British-American pioneers, including Barry, Runciman and Mortimer, and a few years behind French counterparts like Doyen and Deshayes. But the Agrippina is unique in that the heroine becomes a symbol of republican and patriotic innocence rather than a grieving individual; the small scale of Agrippina and her procession suggests that it is their ritual and moral role which is crucial rather than any personal sentiments and self-sacrifice. In a sense, therefore, West's sermon fails as a regenerative model; its stoicism is too impersonal and iconic to move his contemporaries.

Where West has succeeded is in his ability to give palpable expression to these stoic and republican virtues. By insisting on the contemporary (Roman) reality of the event, by depicting the people in appropriate clothes and a definite, Roman ambience, with archaeologically correct buildings, he is able to mount an impressive drama of the triumph of public and patriotic virtue over personal weakness and selfish emotions, and to suggest that Roman women were able to overcome their weaknesses for the good of the republic. Though Agrippina is only an emblem of this stern morality, she represents by her action and presence an inspiration and hope within an elegiac performance.

Roman and Spartan Women

The contemporaneity of this morality was driven home by depictions of the self-sacrifice and bravery of Roman and Spartan women, designed to inspire emulation. A favourite subject was the Generositu of the Roman Ladies painted by Angelica Kauffmann and Gamelin (c.1789), the latter being the year in which eleven wives and artists, headed by Mme. Moitte, dressed themselves in white, placed the tricolor in their hair and proceeded to donate their jewellery to the French state. (41) The subject, taken from Rollin's popular Histoire Romaine, recounts how the women of Rome gave away their jewels to fashion a gold cup as an offering to Apollo, after the capture of Veii by Camillus in 396 B.C. (42) This was the event recorded in Brenet's great painting, Piété et Générosité des femmes romaines (1785), with its diagonal procession of the Roman women coming to the scribes' table to record their donations, beneath a tall colonnade supported by two massive Doric columns. Praised for its vigour and majesty, Brenet's painting was re-exhibited at the 1791 Salon, and its warm colour and massed groups were contrasted favourably with Gauffier's version. (43)

Compared, indeed, to Gauffier's Générosité des dames romaines, Brenet's composition possesses a grandeur that is almost Baroque in its power. Nevertheless, the style



of Gauffier's picture is more attuned to the spare, flat, horizontal style and format of Davidian neo-classicism. Here the procession of Roman ladies mounts to a stage-like platform to the carefully carved marble table where senators and scribes record their gifts. The wall behind the senators bears a Latin inscription, while the bare colonnade behind the procession to the right has stern rounded arches, whose effect is to push the procession towards the picture plane. Again, we have an emblematic image; it is the overall scene that counts, the collectivity of Rome, rather than any individuals. So setting, accessories and garments become more important than expressions, and the action, as in West, is frozen and stylised, conveying the impression of a classical frieze. No wonder that one critic complained of its affectation, by contrast with Brenet's "majesty":

"Celui-là (Brenet) est dans sa majesté toute romaine, tout y est vigoureux et dans le style du pays. Celui-ci (Gauffier), pourrait mieux s'adapter à nos héroïnes modernes. Il est plus mignard et quoi que les dames aient le costume romain, il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'elles ont le visage français". (44) [Pl.29]

Gauffier also combined this theme with that of Cornelia in his Cornelie, mère des Gracques, sollicitée par les dames romaines de donner des bijoux à la patrie (1792), showing a cavalier disregard for historic events separated by over

two centuries. (45) But the kind of "moral historicism" which he and his contemporaries pursued, though it sought an "authentic" realism of costume and setting, was not really concerned with objective historical enquiry as such, only with the ability of the past to furnish required moralities which could inspire posterity and create a sense of continuity and destiny. We see this most vividly in another of Gauffier's creations, with the revealing title of Mère instruisant son fils des vertus de ses ancêtres (1794). The ancestors in question were actually Russian, as were the sitters, apparently Princess Anna Golitzina and her eldest son, André; this can be inferred from the surrounding busts and statues, one of which represents Catherine the Great as a "Mother-Goddess" (in the rear), the other probably Peter the Great (to the left), in whose reign the ancestors lived. The mother sits in her "Roman" drapery on a finely carved day-bed, and holding her standing son with her right arm, points with her left to two busts on plinths of Alexander Menshikov and Michael Golitzine, who lived in the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century, and whose descendants had in 1790 been united in marriage. Her gesture is admonitory and exhortatory; at the height of the French Revolution, she bids her son follow in the virtues of her ancestors. It is the clearest example of the use of history for moral emulation and regeneration, applied this time to an individual in the name of family honour. (46) [Pl.30]

This kind of exemplary moral heroism also finds expression in portrayals of the Spartan women, especially Plutarch's well-known story of a Spartan woman's injunction to her son going into battle for his city-state. In 1771, Lagrenée the Elder exhibited his La Lacedemonienne, with the stern title "Rapporte ce bouclier ou que ce bouclier te rapporte". discours d'une lacedemonienne à son fils. Plutarque. Vie de Lucurque (47). Though in many ways Rococo in style with its curiously insipid and diminutive son, and Van Loo hangings, the theme and its rigorous design (and stern Doric column) exemplify the transition to neo-classicism, and illustrate the new ideas about motherhood and the greater role for women in eighteenth century France. The mother's noble and uncompromising mien contrasts sharply with the son's affected and posed reply, giving her the dominant role, as in the tale; but Lagrenée has been unable to integrate the new conception with the older ideas and petite maniere he has inherited. (48) [Pl.31]

There remained a curious ambivalence about the role and qualities of women in this period, and it is vividly brought out by the dual role of that ever-popular subject, Cleopatra's love and fall. In most of these portrayals Cleopatra's role is subordinate to those of Antony or Octavian; but Mengs' well-known painting gives her at least a moral stature almost equal to Octavian's, as she kneels in her lofty Ptolemaic palace with its huge Doric

columns in the background. Once again, it is the setting that raises the scene to a theatre of historical morality; yet there remains in Cleopatra's bared shoulder and her slaves behind more than a hint of that other dominant conception of women of the period, as an object of sexual desire and as temptress. (49)

It would seem, then, that except in Revolutionary France, the dominant conception of women as portrayed by late eighteenth century artists was erotic or traditional. Portrayals of heroic Roman or Spartan women were a mere drop in the ocean of contemporary depictions of woman as subordinate wife and mother or, more usually, as temptress or desired object. It is interesting how even a relatively severe subject by Le Barbier, The Bravery of the Spartan Women (1787), who drove off some neighbouring Messenians who had attacked them, was treated as a design for a Gobelins tapestry. Full of confused strife, the scene allowed an ample display of colours in the setting of an Ionic temple in the mountainous countryside. But, on the other side, the fact that such an unusual and elevated theme could become the subject of a decorative tapestry suggests how far taste in the late 1780s in France had begun to accommodate neo-classical ideas and motifs. (50) [Pl.32]

## CHAPTER SIX

### FAME AND MORTALITY: FROM MYTH TO HISTORY

OF all the heroes of Greek myth, three stand out as models of glory and valour: Heracles, Hector and Achilles. Not surprisingly, these three were immensely attractive to neo-classical artists in many countries, and especially in France and England. At the Salons, Achilles was the subject of 28 works from 1746 to 1800; Heracles was portrayed 24 times, and Hector 19 times. At the Royal Academy from 1769 to 1800, 18 works took Achilles as their subject, 9 works Hector and 8 Heracles. (1) Only the myths of Aeneas and Odysseus, wanderers both, could compete for the artists' attention with these heroes. (2) For, despite their superhuman qualities, they remained pre-eminently tragic heroes, at once submitting to the limitations of this world but able to rise above it through their noble achievements and inspiring valour.

#### Heracles

OF the three, Heracles was perhaps the most remote. Half-god, half-man, he was essentially a transitional figure, a link with the gods. His origins were clearly mythological. Reynolds depicts that first sign of his superhuman strength in The infant Hercules strangling the serpents sent by a jealous Hera to destroy him at birth.

As a commission for Catherine the Great, Reynolds probably sought to symbolise the youthful vigour of the nascent Russian empire, in a dramatic, rather baroque composition.

(3) Similarly, Heracles' apotheosis was that of a god: he, in fact, married Hebe, the Olympians' fair cupbearer, and was received into the ranks of the immortals. This is how he was sculpted by Flaxman in his calm Mercurius and Hebe .

(4) God-like strength is here married to immortal beauty, and, as in many previous representations, Heracles becomes a static personification of ideal qualities beyond man's reach. In this respect, Heracles symbolises strength, as Venus embodies beauty or Apollo serenity and light. This sort of allegory can be found in a sculpture like that of Guillaume Boichot which shows Mercurius Personifying Force and clearly follows in the footsteps of the Farnese Mercurius. (5)

In between birth and death, however, Heracles' life was that of a mortal, a hero of superhuman strength, perhaps, but still subject to human vicissitudes. Though even here myth was interwoven with human reality; his celebrated Labours were, after all, imposed on him by a jealous Hera. But, whether he is shown slaying the Hydra, as in Mortimer's picture, or killing Diomedes' horses, in a drawing by Fuseli, he is always subject to human hardships and dangers, which he must overcome if he is to help a weak mankind. (6) He must suffer pain; indeed a pain so all-consuming that it overcomes him and causes his death.

For the poison in the shirt that Nessus gave his wife, Deianira, (a subject illustrated by Lagrenée in 1755 (7)), consumes his body and produces so great an anguish and rage that he seizes the hapless servant, Lichas, and hurls him into the sea. It was this moment that Canova captured in the tense, taut group of one of his best-known works, and it typifies that hallmark of pure neo-classicism in its maturity, the freezing of pent-up energy, suggestive of the conflict between terrible emotion and an iron will and control. (8) Only here, Heracles will break that frozen tension in an explosion of wrath and agony; and will command his servants to build a pyre, on which he may be released from his mortal rack.

While no political meaning can be read into any of these works, Heracles did possess immense symbolic moral significance for the educated in the late 18th century. (9) For, although the Labours were imposed on him by jealous deities, they were also chosen by him; early in his career, he had been faced with a choice between pleasure and virtue, and had freely pursued virtue. The theme of Heracles at the Crossroads was, not unexpectedly, very popular with artists, since it combined the opportunity for the representation of classical figure-types with high drama and moral didacticism. Runciman drew a Hercules between Virtue and Vice and so did Johann Gottfried Schadow. There is also a painting of Hercules at the Crossroads by Fuger. (10) But perhaps the best-known

example, and a first-fruit of early English neo-classicism is West's The Judgement of Hercules, drawn from Xenophon and Proclus. (11) It was a theme which Lord Shaftesbury had chosen to illustrate the grand style of history painting in his treatise of that title, and West's painting was based on a picture by Poussin of the same subject; the landscape shows clear Baroque influence, but the figures are purer and more static, with pleasure seated and Hercules leaning against a tree. Moreover, his Hercules and the figure of Virtue attempt to capture something of the purity and nobility of classical figures and poses, as West must have seen them on his recent sojourn in Rome. (12) Already, too, the horizontal frieze-like format is hinted at, one of the modes through which successive neo-classical artists will attempt to convey the simplicity and stoicism of their moral subject-matter. West was not the first neo-classical artist to take up this theme; in fact, he followed in the footsteps of Batoni, who had painted a Hercules at the Crossroads in 1742 in a more restrained version of the current Baroque manner. (13) [Pl.33]

### The Achilles Saga

If Heracles is a god who submitted himself to the pain of a terrestrial mortality, Achilles is a hero with intimations of divinity. Born of the union of a hero, Peleus, with a sea-goddess, Thetis, dipped in the waters



of the Styx to make him invulnerable, educated by Cheiron, he was so renowned that he had to be tricked by Odysseus into fighting for Agamemnon and Menelaus at Troy. At the opening of the Iliad, he quarrels with Agamemnon over the captive, Briseis, and refuses to fight with the Argives. Only when imminent danger of defeat threatens them, does he consent to let his great friend, Patroclus, come to their aid. But Patroclus is slain by Hector, and Achilles must avenge his death. After fighting with gods and men, he slays Hector beneath Ilium's walls and drags the corpse round them. Then he buries Patroclus, but is visited at night by Priam who begs him to return his son's body, and Achilles reluctantly consents. Finally, after several further exploits not recounted by Homer, he is mortally wounded in his vulnerable heel by Paris' arrow, and his shade goes down to the Elysian fields in Hades. There Odysseus visits him, and recognises the bravest and swiftest of all the heroes.

It was this saga that several artists, following the advice of Caylus and the artistic theories of Winckelmann and Mengs, chose to illustrate. (14) Each of the above episodes served as material for different artists, and the Scottish painter, Alexander Runciman, even planned an Iliadic series on the Achilles saga for the house of Sir James Clerk at Penicuik, in 1770. (15) Although by 1772 this scheme had been replaced by an Ossianic one, several preliminary drawings remain. In the first,

chronologically, we are shown The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis, the celebrated occasion on which the uninvited Eris threw down the divisive apple at the table of the assembled gods. The composition is rather crowded and confused, but there are several classical allusions and Runciman is clearly indebted to Caracci's Farnese Ceiling and to Poussin. (16) Another drawing shows Thetis dipping the infant Achilles in the Styx and has a fine sweep in the washes, as the draped women watch Thetis dipping her child into the waters; the figure with the antique torch well conveys the classical feel of the scene. (17) This particular scene was also sculpted by Thomas Banks in 1789, in which the sea-goddess holds her son by his heel to dip him, beyond the outer rim of the oval composition. (18) As for Achilles' education, this was the subject of Regnault's morceau de reception, in 1782, a well-known painting popularised by the engraving. (19) Sergel, too, who was especially interested in Achilles themes, did a group of Achilles and Cheiron in 1772, and a painting of the same theme, showing the Centaur instructing the young hero. (20) The final episode in the charmed, almost magical youth of the hero was chosen by Angelica Kauffmann in her Ulysses discovering Achilles of 1769. (21)

The succeeding Homeric episodes in the Achilles saga received much more attention. Dora Weibensohn has counted 23 examples of the scene of Achilles' Wrath and the departure of Briseis, 7 of Achilles dragging Hector's

corpse around Troy's walls, and 14 of Priam in Achilles' tent. (22) The most complete cycle is that of Gavin Hamilton in the early 1760s: these include the Anger of Achilles for the loss of Briseis, Achilles bewailing the death of Patroclus, Achilles dragging Hector's corpse around the walls of Troy, Priam pleading with Achilles for the body of Hector, and Andromache bewailing Hector (with a sixth painting in the later 1760s of Hector's Farewell to Andromache). (23) The Briseis scene had been the subject of a tapestry cartoon by Rubens in 1625, and one of a series by Coypel in 1708; it was also rendered, rather literally, by Tiepolo in his Villa Valmarana fresco series. (24) Hamilton, in fact, combined two episodes in Homer, the wrath of Achilles, and the departure of Briseis from Achilles' tent, and he was followed in this by Canova. Generally, the two episodes were treated separately, as by Vien, for example, or by Tischbein and Sergel in the 1760s and 1770s. (25) Flaxman, too, kept the episodes apart; his frieze-like line drawings dispense with any setting, and he even treats the group of Athene restraining Achilles separately. (26)

Another episode often treated by artists was that of Achilles mourning for his friend, Patroclus. In 1747, Pompeo Batoni produced an Achilles comforted by Thetis, a simple, forceful scene. (27) The same episode from Homer was the subject of a beautiful oval relief by Thomas Banks of Thetis and her Nymphs rising from the sea to

console Achilles, a work which Flaxman, in his address on the sculptor's death, considered "beautiful and pathetic, the composition is so unlike any work ancient or modern, that the composition may be considered as the artist's own". (28) Although the nude figure of Achilles is classical (with a romantic expressiveness, though) and some of the details are classically inspired, the chain of rising bodies in a surging movement is unclassical and unusual, and may be linked to a drawing by Fuseli of the Carruing off the body of Sarpedon (an ally of the Trojans), also dated to 1778, and to another of Achilles Grasps at the shade of Patroclus of 1803. (29)

More usually, Achilles is depicted wailing for Patroclus on the sea-shore, as in the etching and terracotta sketch of c.1775 by Sergel, a sculptor who, like Banks, was especially fond of Achilles subjects. (30) Achilles was also shown mourning over the body of Patroclus, after it had been saved by Ajax from the Trojans; thus he is depicted in Runciman's Penicuik drawing of 1770. Runciman based his drawing on one of Hamilton's Iliadic series, in which the distraught figure of Achilles clasps the corpse of his beloved friend, with sorrowing elders on the right and women on the left, as in some classical Pieta, the scene being not unlike that of his Andromache. (31) [Pl.34]

Another powerful evocation of this moment comes in a bister wash drawing by Antoine Francois Callet, which he

may have made for the painting of Achilles dragging Hector's corpse at St. Omer. (32) In the drawing, a grim helmeted Achilles holds a staff as he surveys the battlescene and comes upon Patroclus' upturned corpse; with his right arm he commands the surging throng to stand apart. It is a dark, realistic, evocative drawing, and very free; its classical subject is combined with a very modern naturalism. Another drawing by Gamelin shows Achilles with Patroclus' body; while a lost painting by Gerard depicted Achilles demanding vengeance for Patroclus' death. (33)

The next episode shows Achilles Arming for battle, the subject of a fine sculpture by Thomas Banks, probably executed during his stay in Rome and which he took from the 19th book of the Iliad, perhaps under the influence of Sergel. (34) It has a taut, heroic quality fitting to its subject. Subsequently Achilles fought with the river-god, Scamander, an episode drawn by Carstens and Runciman, and later by Flaxman; the subject had also figured earlier in a surging, agitated painting by Jean Baptiste Deshayes de Colville (Le Romain): Achilles saved from drowning by Juno and Vulcan, exhibited in the Salon of 1765, and taken from book 21 of the Iliad. (35) [Pl.35]

The climax of the Achilles saga, told in book 22 of the Iliad, was depicted by Gavin Hamilton, who appears to have taken a 17th century engraving of Achilles dragging

Hector's corpse around Troy's walls by Pietro Testa as his model. (36) It has none of the horizontal stillness of Hamilton's other paintings in this series; instead it shows an angry and triumphant Achilles on his chariot, spear in hand and shield raised high, defying men and gods as his charioteer prepares to drag Hector's body beneath the walls of a grief-stricken and horrified Troy. The landscape setting and strong diagonal, the Italianate gesticulations of the participants and the overall air of turbulent drama, sharpened in Cunego's engraving, links this work with early Baroque conceptions. Hamilton has chosen here to impress us with the ferocity and cruelty of the episode, contrasting the energy of Achilles with the fresh calm of Hector's body. [Pl.36] Runciman followed with a drawing of Achilles dragging Hector's body around Patroclus' tomb of c.1770 from the Penicuik series; while both Gamelin and Callet painted the scene in the 1780s. Flaxman's version is in his purest outline style, without a hint of drama. (37) [Pl.37]

Achilles' subsequent burial of Patroclus, told in Iliad book 23, also attracted the artists. Gamelin did a drawing of the subject; and so did Fuseli, in a watercolour of Achilles Sacrifices his hair on the funeral Pyre of Patroclus, in which the hero is shown much larger than life in a vigorous contrapposto movement against a dark sky and above a row of helmeted warriors. (38) An early work by David also took this subject, Les Funerailles de

Patrocle as its theme. A huge sketch, it depicts Achilles mourning Patroclus in front of a huge log pyre, with Hector's corpse attached to the chariot on the right, and on the left twelve Trojan Princes about to be sacrificed. On the horizon at the left, the sun illuminates the ships of the Argives. The theme, and its deep perspective and Rococo style, look backward (to the Prix de Rome subject of 1769, in fact); but already the forms are clearer and more firmly grouped, in line with a frieze-like drawing of the antique Funeral of a Warrior that David made around the same time. (39) In many ways, the latter is a transitional work, although still very far from David's pure neo-classicism. [Pl.38]

The last episode in the Homeric saga was also illustrated by Gavin Hamilton in his Priam pleading with Achilles for the body of Hector. It was painted in the early 1760s, and was influenced by Poussin's second series of Sacraments and by a relief in the Villa Borghese published by Winckelmann. (40) Achilles leans back on his divan at the left, with female attendants to his left, while in the centre the aged Priam kneels and clasps his left hand, reminding Achilles of his own father, Peleus, far away, as Homer poignantly records in the final book of the Iliad. Above and to the right, Priam's attendants and Achilles' Myrmidons look on with amazement and pity; in the centre, a tall soldier hides his face in his tunic. The light falls sharply on Priam, Achilles and the tall soldier's

tunic, picking out the contrasting colours reminiscent of the Bolognese school. But here, as in most of the other paintings of Hamilton's first cycle, the mood is restrained, even lugubrious, in keeping with the gravity and tenderness of this climactic encounter of fathers and sons. In the large final picture, the frieze-like composition and brooding stillness of the figures with their restrained gestures must have endowed the scene with a calm monumentality. [Pl.39]

Following Caylus and Hamilton, a number of neo-classical artists took up the subject. In the 1760s, Abildgaard painted a version in the manner of Hamilton, to be followed in the next decade by a spare, but passionate drawing by Fuseli. (41) [Pl.40] Vien did a painting of the subject in 1783, for which there is a fine drawing; so did the French painter, Louis Masreliez (1748-1810) who settled in Sweden. (42) The subject was even popular in America; in 1785, it was painted by the recorder of the War of Independence, John Trumbull. (43) Perhaps the most touching is Flaxman's drawing for his Iliad series of 1793; with the utmost economy and restraint, and with the simplest of gestures, Flaxman suggests the deep conflict of passions. Two attendants look on as Priam kneels and clasps Achilles' legs in supplication; Achilles buries his head in his right hand in agitated reflection, while his left hand rests resignedly on his knee. The stooped arches of the bodies, the lack of any background, the few



accessories, create the right balance of intense meditation and emotion, which underlies Homer's epic narrative. (44) [Pl.41]

The episodes of Achilles' exploits which succeeded the close of the Iliad, revealingly, did not attract much attention. The sole exception was the Death of Achilles which Hamilton painted in his second "Paris and Helen" cycle for the Stanza d'Elena in the Villa Borghese. But none of these paintings approach the calm monumentality of the early Iliadic series. Even the death of Achilles is decorative and lively rather than epic or tragic in conception; and it remained for Fuseli to produce a wash drawing of the required epic power. (45) Interestingly enough, it is not the moment of death that Fuseli chooses, but the later episode of Thetis mourning the body of Achilles recorded in book 24 of the Odyssey. The vast corpse of the slain hero lies outstretched on his shield beside his huge spear, while Thetis rises from the ocean to lament her dead son with outstretched arms, on the rocky shore. The waves and sky are almost black with grief and terror, and in the sky floats a strange bird-like creature. Fuseli quotes, inter alia, from the Iliad the lines: "as a huge sprawling bulk he lay stretched this way and that...", summing up the ultimate mortality of even the mightiest of heroes. (46) [Pl.42]

The Achilles saga was probably the most popular serious

antique subject in the later 18th century, both in terms of the frequency with which it was written about and depicted, and of its international diffusion. Not only French and English, but German, Swiss, Scandinavian, American and Italian artists were inspired by the Achilles saga, and it continued to hold their imagination well into the 19th century; Giani, Guerin and Ingres all made drawings or paintings of episodes from the saga; and Thorvaldsen and Francois Rude produced reliefs of the life of the hero. (47) With the possible exception of Brutus, the consul, no other classical figure inspired such excitement and devotion in the age of revolution. The reasons are not far to seek: Achilles is the central character in the Iliad, and his presence is felt even in the Odyssey. Homer at this period achieved an almost canonical status among art historians and critics, along with the Bible and Ossian; his poetry and epic narrative seemed to breathe the spirit of an uncorrupted, original and "natural" society and to embody the elemental human passions which Rococo society had stifled or distorted. Moreover, the Iliad, especially, was a manual of moral instruction through example. Its heroes embodied many of the desirable qualities of generosity, loyalty, honour, justice, bravery, energy and self-sacrifice, and displayed them in situations of high drama and heroic conflict. In Achilles, especially, these qualities were combined with the tragedy of a man who might have been a god, but who, for all his glorious deeds, had to submit to the destiny

which the fates had decreed for him, along with all mortals. Hence Achilles became, not a cruel and barbarian warrior-chief, but a symbol of the conflict between fame and mortality.

### Hector and Troy

The same paradox afflicted the third hero even more acutely. For Hector was not as strong or swift as Achilles, and he was the loser in their single combat which forms the climax of the Iliad. Yet, in some ways, his excellence, though more human, was the greater; perhaps because it was more human and more accessible. Moreover, his cause was nobler: Achilles fought for glory and to avenge his friend, Patroclus. It was a matter of personal honour and personal loyalty. But Hector fought and died for his family and his city; and he did so, even though he knew he, and Troy, must lose the struggle. So, though it had none of the mystery and glamour attaching to Achilles' exploits, his struggle was an act of true self-sacrifice which foreshadowed that of the real heroes of antiquity and their modern emulators. Hence, his story marks the transition from the world of legendary heroes to that of heroic men and women.

No legends attach to Hector's birth. He is simply the eldest and bravest of Priam's many sons, and the natural leader of the Trojans in their ten-year war with the Greek

forces. There are also few episodes in his life which could inspire a sense of drama or the picturesque. In Flaxman's series, he is shown chiding Paris and fighting Ajax in single combat and over the body of Patroclus. (48) But there are only two episodes which appear to have caught the artists' imagination: Hector's farewell to Andromache, and his death and burial.

The first of these was depicted 27 times after 1750, according to Weibensohn; but, unlike some Iliadic scenes, this one had been often portrayed in the 17th and 18th centuries, and even as far back as a Burgundian tapestry of 1475. Both Coypel and Restout painted the scene; but once again it was Caylus' description, with its emphasis upon the inner feelings of the protagonists, that inspired the earliest stylistically neo-classical renderings. (49) This is how Gavin Hamilton depicted the scene; in a road stretching away into the centre distance and lined with classical buildings, notably a Greek temple with Doric columns, an armed Hector takes a swift and spirited leave of his entreating wife, while the nurse holds up his infant son, Astyanax, who looks up at his father's helmet. Around stand soldiers and a chariot, but their movements are restrained, and the horizontal axis of the main figures cuts across the receding vertical perspective in the centre. Perhaps this scene is more theatrical than Hamilton's earlier Homeric paintings, but it is in the same spirit. (50)

Hamilton was quickly followed by two paintings by Angelica Kauffmann which are characterised by a tender sweetness. The later version shows Hector in prayer; but the earlier (1769) is a meditative frieze-like composition, set against huge bare column bases, in which an almost boyish Hector, spear in hand, leans towards his sorrowing wife, while the nurse at her left hand holds the infant Astyanax. (61) This version has the utter simplicity of later neo-classical works, but it lacks a characteristic element, the presence of a participant witness, who reacts to the event and forces the spectator not just to empathise, but also to reflect on the didactic content of the action. In the present picture, the nurse is a participant, albeit very secondary, but not a witness; hence the moral impact is reduced, the gravity of the scene is lost on us, and it becomes at best touching, at worst merely charming. [Pl.43]

Hector's farewell was the subject of several drawings and paintings in Europe. In 1779, Romney painted a version rather in the style of Hamilton, with a swinging vigorous Hector marching barefoot down a street in Troy, while Andromache sentimentally touches his outstretched left arm to impede his advance, and the nurse looks on with a rather abstracted air. (52) The buildings are reminiscent of Roman palazzi, and the somewhat diagonal placing of the main figures is increased by the strong perspective recession of the street. [Pl.44] The scene was also the

subject of drawings by Sergel and Vien, the latter a preparatory drawing for his canvas of 1787, in which Hector is shown mounting his chariot. There is also an expressive drawing by Fabre, in which a rugged Hector is shown praying to the gods while he holds his infant son, and Andromache almost swoons on his shoulder. The nurse, too, is moved to tears. Hector's armour lies on the stone pavement, and his shield is propped up against the giant plinth of a building constructed of cyclopean stones, while behind them a stone stair leads up to Troy's walls.

(53) [Pl.45]

It is interesting to compare this dramatic and realistic treatment with Flaxman's almost serene outline relief of the same moment. Here an armed and helmeted Hector turns sadly but almost impassively to a quietly sorrowing Andromache, who holds his hand and places her head and the other hand on her husband's shoulder, while the nurse gazes at them without any emotion. In the background, a temple front and wall are barely suggested in straight lines. In the Piroli engraving, indeed, the scene is so linear and stripped of tangible substance as to border on the purely decorative, in the manner of a Greek vase; all tension between the claims of country and family have been dissipated. A similar dry, almost formalistic abstraction pervades another representation, by Ferdinand Hartmann; for, although we are given three-dimensional figures enacting rather theatrical roles with rhetorical gestures,

the emotions they display are heavily stylised, and the atmosphere which Hartmann attempts to evoke is that of an archaic, even primitive, world of cobblestones and bare stone walls. Rosenblum has remarked on this curious mixture of "late eighteenth century sentiment and would-be archaeology", and on Hartmann's pictorial style, which,

"in its simple, dry modeling and austere, airless ambiance, attempts to evoke the archaic purity of a long-lost Homeric world." (54)

In all these scenes, and in later ones by Tischbein, David, Thorvaldsen and Cornelius, the artists were attracted by the mixture of private emotions and public duty, by the conflict of family ties with the call of the commonwealth. Hector, as a hero, does not shrink from that call: but Hector, as a man, is momentarily swayed by the ties of his love and the knowledge of the probable consequences of his death for his wife and child. Unlike Achilles or Heracles, Hector is a martyr for his city's cause; he lays down his life selflessly, because his country demands it, and irrespective of the validity of that cause. Of course, each artist emphasized different aspects of this conflict, and depicted it with varying intensities; and it might be said that few were able to match the calm eloquence, or suggest the inner conflict, found in the original. But the very fact that this particular scene was so often chosen suggests that it

posed a challenge, both artistic and psychological, and that the event stirred a highly responsive chord in the social consciousness of the late eighteenth century. Hector's disinterested self-sacrifice became a model for every patriot-martyr, all the more potent because Hector was an ordinary man who, by his own efforts, became a hero, in the teeth of his own deeply felt private sentiments.

His death, therefore, was viewed in a special light. Had not the gods themselves preserved his body in all its lifelike beauty, even after death and degradation in the dust? That is what struck Deshayes de Colville when he depicted Venus strewing flowers on Hector's corpse, even if the result is more beautiful and decorative than moving. (55) Similarly, it is the death of a hero-martyr whom Flaxman celebrates in The Funeral of Hector to the lines from Pope's translation (Iliad 24, 1.996):

"Forth to the pile was born the man divine,  
And plac'd aloft."

In a highly stylised portrayal, his companions place Hector on the pyre, as his aged father prays at one end, and his brothers and sisters at the other, while in front are set his trophies and armour. (56) In total contrast to this almost ritual scene in spare outline, Garnier's The Consternation of Priam's family at the death of Hector



is full of bravura and drama, a theatrical large-scale composition cleverly arranged on different levels. (57) It shows the grief and anger of Priam's family as they watch Hector's death and degradation from Troy's walls; in the centre, a furious Priam wants to reclaim his son's body and is being restrained by Panthous and Antenor, while behind Andromache has fainted, and on the left Hecuba sits in grief surrounded by her daughters. Each group is cohesive, and related to the others by complex gestures and elevations of Troy's battlements, and it caused the critics to complain of a lack of unity despite its grandeur.

In Garnier's picture, we have a unique view of the community's intimate links with, and dependence upon, its leaders. For, though it is Priam's family which expresses a private grief, it is also true that with them all Troy shared a public defeat and civic sorrow. Hector, indeed, is the first civic hero in antiquity; and since, in the late eighteenth century, the dividing line between Homeric myth and Trojan reality was not firm, Hector could be viewed as a purely human prototype. For despite Pope's line, Hector was in no way divine, and in that sense much nearer to everyman than Achilles. And as Achilles excited admiration, almost veneration (as he had in Alexander the Great), so Hector inspired a profound respect and a desire to emulate his sacrifice on behalf of the public good. It was no accident that Rome claimed its lineage from Troy;

Trojan courage and patriotism were the lifeblood of early Republican Rome, and Hector the greatest exemplar of the later Roman virtues, which were now to inspire the minds and pens of the intelligentsia throughout Europe to a pitch of revolutionary fervour. In this civic fervour, the neo-classical artists were active participants and disseminators; taking their original cue from the Iliad, they moved swiftly on to extol the virtues of the historical heroes of Rome and Sparta, the successors of the mythical Greek and Trojan warrior-heroes.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### FAMILY HONOUR AND REPUBLICAN DUTY

Central to the neo-classical revival was the conception of collective honour and self-sacrifice. But since men are involved in many groups, the question naturally arose: whose honour ought I to preserve, and to which group do I owe primary allegiance? The two collectivities that vied for men's loyalties in the late 18th century, as exemplified in literature and the arts, were the family and the commonwealth. The clash of loyalties and the apportioning of duties as between these two institutions - a conflict that was exemplified in many incidents in classical antiquity - provided a rich vein of themes for the artists in this period, the tracing of which indicates a gradual shift, at any rate in France, towards the claims of the republican state.

#### Heroic respect for the family

We have already seen in chapter 5 how family virtue was prized by later 18th century artists in their portrayal of noble women. A similar sense of the need to preserve family honour and family bonds can be found in a wide range of themes - genre, religious and especially classical. Most of these themes were already widespread

and typical throughout the century. Greuze, to some extent, added a new dimension to genre scenes by his pointed moralising, though his didacticism had precursors, going back to Flemish scenes of the previous century. But Greuze also wanted to be a peintre d'histoire, and for this purpose painted his Septimius Severus and Caracalla of 1769, for which he paid so dearly. In this scene of filial inconstancy and paternal reproach, Greuze transposed his genre moralities (like the later Fils puni of 1778) onto a classical plane. (1) Not only are we given a dramatic contrast between a noble, forbearing father and his unworthy, over-ambitious son, but even more a sternly moralising cautionary tale about the need to preserve family bonds, as told by Dio Cassius. (2) Was its theme "premature"? The unfavourable reception given to Greuze's excursion into Poussinesque classicism did not prevent later examples of this theme appearing in the Revolutionary decade, by Chaise in 1793 and Lafitte in 1795. (3) [Pl.46]

More popular were themes of generosity and piety by kings and generals, especially acts which underscored the sacred ties of family. The virtue of kings in relation to commoners is shown in a series of paintings of the generosity of Roman monarchs like Augustus, Titus, Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, which were commissioned by Charles Cochin to decorate the Château de Choisy in 1764. They are done in a variety of styles, as we might suppose in this

essentially "transitional" decade. Only later does an "appropriate" neo-classical style of restrained dignity emerge to match the serious intent of such themes. (4)

An extremely popular theme, exemplifying heroic generosity and respect for family bonds, is the well-known story of the Continence of Scipio, told by Valerius Maximus. There are many versions of this theme throughout the century, and earlier; but it was very fashionable in the Salons, with examples by Restout (1750), Lemoine (1769) and Renaud (1800). (5) Particularly well-known is the version of Brenet of 1789. Here Scipio, the victorious general, returns one of his prisoners, a beautiful, noble Cathaginian young woman, to her fiancé and parents; he even returns her ransom of golden treasure as part of her dowry. We see the action as on a stage, backed by the lower part of massive Doric pillars; the shallow space is only relieved at the right by a partial and limited view of people and buildings beyond. Three steps run across the lefthand side of the picture, almost parallel to the picture plane, to reach a long but shallow platform on which the main action takes place; Scipio leads out the young woman, flanked by another older woman (her mother?) to her fiancé, who salutes Scipio and clasps his arm with his other hand. The actors are all clad in Roman chitons, togas and tunics; the lictors nearby carry the fasces; and Roman arms are piled at the foot of the steps. It is an austere, yet harmonious and balanced composition, and the

faces and gestures have an air of restrained dignity and nobility such as we associate with the movements of classical theatre. Brenet has surely found a style appropriate to his theme of modesty in heroes and piety towards family ties. (6) [Pl.47]

A similar lesson could be drawn from Scipio's late medieval counterpart, the Chevalier Bayard, Pierre Terrail, Seigneur de Bayard (1473-1524). He too refused to take advantage of a defenceless, chaste girl; presented at Grenoble with such a girl for his pleasure by his valet, he pities her tears and gives her a separate bedroom, and returns her with a doubled dowry to her mother. (7) Only in Durameau's well-known depiction of 1777 we have a Rococo counterpart of Brenet's version; even the gothic panelling of the interior has a delicate picturesque air, as do the costumes and atmosphere, which lack the Roman gravitas, let alone any "medieval" mystery in its chivalric act. (8) If anything, West's earlier version of the same story was more classical, as was Beaufort's later picture. (9) [Pl.48]

The continuing popularity of themes like the continence of Scipio or the generosity of Chevalier Bayard (both Vien in 1768 and Appiani in c.1810 used the Scipio motif) testify to the sentimental strand in the art and literature of the whole period. (10) Themes that evoked a similar vein of pious, lachrymose sentiment were those of Coriolanus'

Farewell, when his family successfully dissuaded him from destroying his city, a motif which inspired paintings by Hamilton, Sherwin, Fuger and Appiani; (11) Roman Charity, in which a faithful daughter feeds her wrongly imprisoned father, (paintings by Lagrenée, Fabre (1798) and Schick (1802)); the Alcestis and Andromache motifs, and the ever-popular Antony and Cleopatra theme, discussed in chapter 5. In all these examples, it is family devotion or heroic love that triumphs over stern duty or the demands of the state or personal ambition, or, as in the Coriolanus theme, is supportive of (one kind of) patriotism.

#### Republican incorruptibility

But it was not always so. As the century wore on, writers and artists began to seek out those pages of Plutarch, Livy, Pliny the Elder and Valerius Maximus (of which French translations in particular abounded in the eighteenth century) which exhibited the sterner virtues of state and country. In particular, they sought out three types of motif: republican self-sacrifice; liberation from tyranny; and the patriotic death. In this chapter I shall examine some facets of the first set of themes.

One subgroup revolves around the refusal of temptation and the sacrifice of personal gain in order to safeguard the community. Typical is the case of Curius Dentatus.

Valerius Maximus tells us how a group of Samnites tried to get the retired Roman general and former consul to take up his activities, but he preferred the simple life in the peace of his country, with its crude earthenware pots, to the wealth of gold vases which they offered him. (12) This was actually the subject proposed by the Dijon Academy for its 1776 Prix de Rome competition; and Peyron offered this subject for the Salon of 1787. Again, the neo-classical "stage" formula is used to great effect. Though we are able to look over the low wall which divides the picture horizontally, to find our view almost blocked out by another higher wall, the action of the six figures is thrust forward towards us on the shallow "stage" of bare slabs and the hearth at which Dentatus is seated, cooking with his simple pots. The "action" is a simple gesture of refusal: the Samnite chief offers a golden plate and vase, and Dentatus, turning momentarily aside from his cooking, thrusts him away with a dignified but firm gesture of refusal. The figures are clad in heavy togas, even the women; the walls are bare stone slabs; the accessories reduced to a minimum. For this lesson of frugal self-sacrifice, the bare, rough style is admirably suited. (13) [Pl.49] Nor was this tale a French preserve. An early drawing by Fuseli of just this story, perhaps from his Roman period, shows a seated Dentatus simply disdaining, without even a gesture, the Samnite gifts; even his bulldog seated next to him echoes his scorn. The stark, spare outlines contrast Dentatus' "Roman" solidity and



roughness with the supple, rhetorical movements of the Samnites on the lefthand side of a clearly divided composition, one which again utilises the concept of a shallow space and an almost frieze-like arrangement of figures. (14) [Pl.50]

Other ancient figures exemplified the same theme of frugality and patriotic self-sacrifice. Another Roman noble, Fabricius Luscinus, was offered a great sum of money, gold vases and statues by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and he firmly rejected the offer; in the painting by Lagrenée l'ainé for the Salon of 1777, we see Fabricius, at the top of a short flight of rough steps, surrounded by his family, stretching out his arm in a proud gesture of refusal, while below two muscular servants are taking a large gold vase out of a wooden box. (15) The composition is calm and balanced; the style has not yet that severity and drama found in Peyron and David, and retains a Bolognese influence, and, according to Sandoz, something of Venetian colouring. (16) By contrast, a similar motif, Hippocrates' refusal to help the Persians who had sent ambassadors with great gifts to persuade him to put his medical talents at their service and heal their sick at a time of plague, was treated in 1791-2 by Girodet in a much more dramatic and starker manner. In his Hippocrates refusing the gifts of Artaxerxes, the lefthand side contrasts Greek severity and patriotism with the Persian luxury shown in the centre and right, where the crowded

figures and animated movements provide a foil to Hippocrates' sweeping gestures of arm and leg, a contrast even more rationally and severely realised in the preliminary drawing at Bayonne. (17) [Pl.51]

Family honour versus State decree

The seriousness with which republican ideals began to be regarded, especially in France, is well illustrated by the choice of rather obscure incidents from Roman republican or Athenian history. On the one side are stories which preach the virtue of family honour against the claims of the State or its corrupt rulers, in the manner of Antigone's defiance of Creon; on the other side are those more numerous portrayals of submission to State imperatives, even at the cost of family ties.

A good example of the first type of theme is Peyron's Cimon and Miltiades of 1782. Here Valerius Maximus recounts how the ungrateful Athenians had left their great general Miltiades to rot in prison, after turning against him; Cimon, his son, offers to replace him in his cell so as to allow his father to be buried. Peyron shows this grim scene of failed heroism with a sharp neo-Caravaggesque chiaroscuro illuminating the usual shallow space of the prison in a dramatic "open" composition which combines horror with a lesson in stark virtue. (18) Happier is the tale of Metellus saved by his

son, depicted by Brenet in 1779; Caesar indeed spares the life of Metellus, his fierce enemy, when Metellus' son, one of Caesar's own judges, pleads for his father. As in his painting of Scipio, Brenet adopts the "stage" formula of three long steps leading up to a platform on which Caesar and his lieutenants are seated or standing, while below the son pleads for Metellus, his father. Though the composition is still crowded, Brenet is clearly moving towards the more monumental style of his later work, already in evidence here in the shape of the two great Doric pillars. (19)

Undoubtedly the most popular of these tales of family honour was Livy's account of the death of Virginia. In it he tells how the decemvir, Appius Claudius, tried to take Virginia as a slave, but her father kills her with a butcher's knife, rather than see her dishonoured. (20) There are several paintings of this story: one of the earliest in the eighteenth century is by Gravelot in 1739, for an engraving for the frontispiece of Rollin's Histoire Romaine. This was followed by a painting by Doyen for the 1759 Salon, by Brenet for the 1783 Salon, and by Lethiere for the 1795 Salon; there were also portrayals by Le Barbier for the 1795 Salon and by Fuger in 1800, with drawings by Callet, Mengs and Girodet. (22) Perhaps the most interesting, stylistically, is the early painting by Nathaniel Dance, exhibited in 1761; its large figures and planar composition are appropriately severe,

being set out on a rectilinear grid, dominated by the almost frenzied figure of the father clutching his knife after killing his daughter, who has fallen to the ground. The buildings and stone floor are suitably classical, but there is still a Baroque fullness of movement and crowded figures, and a sense of diagonal sweep across the picture plane and of recession along the street. (23) [Pl.52] Dance did not, in fact, continue to develop this spare classical style; nor had Doyen begun to approach it at this early period. It was left to Lethière to develop the potentialities of Dance's early attempt, though he, too, preferred to keep the crowd scene even while subordinating his mass of smaller figures to the huge vistas of Roman temples and basilicas, which form the backdrop to the stage drama. [Pl.53] Only in Callet's undated drawing do the central characters become larger than life, challenging the two great pillars that frame their drama. (24) [Pl.54]

Even more popular were the themes of subordination of family ties and affections to republican needs and commands. A less familiar example is Berthelemy's picture of Manlius Torquatus condemning his son to death for the 1785 Salon. Torquatus had sentenced his son for disobeying his order not to engage in combat the Latins, Rome's enemy; it is another of the stories taken from Livy and Valerius Maximus by Rollin in his Histoire Romaine of 1738-48. (25) A rhetorical exercise, the painting

maintains a balance between public duty, here triumphant, and personal affections; Torquatus, high on his podium, stretches out his right hand in a gesture of legal condemnation, while clutching at his anguished heart with his left hand. This contrast of the public and private domains was one of the most appealing and compelling motifs in late eighteenth century painting, especially in France. In France, it served later a practical lesson in republican and Revolutionary ideals; Berthelemy's painting was, in fact, re-exhibited at the Salon of 1791, under the title: "Exemple de discipline militaire". (26) [Pl.55]

It was not only in France that these ideas took root, nor was Rome the only antique setting. As early as 1768, Benjamin West, who had left his native Pennsylvania for Rome, and then London, chose to illustrate an episode from Plutarch's Lives in which Leonidas II king of Sparta, banishes his own son-in-law, Cleombrotus, for treason. It was a theme that French artists later took up, notably Lemonnier and Fortin (in the Salons of 1787 and 1788). (27) West's portrayal is precocious both in choice of theme and stylistically; he uses a similar frieze-like composition as in his contemporary Agrippina, set against two fluted pilasters of giant scale, the figures grave and still in their tunics and togas, with a slight contrast between the two sides - the lefthand symbolising the authority of the state in the stern gesture of Leonidas, the righthand the grief of Cleombrotus and his

family - a contrast that anticipates the purpose and tension of David's later antique dramas. (28) But it was not till the 1780s that French artists, like St. Ours in his The tribunal of newborn babes at Sparta (1785), took up themes of such Spartan rigour. (29)

Yet it was in early Republican Rome that French artists, in particular, found the most fertile field for themes illustrative of state authority, even over the most sacred family ties. Typical is the case of Cincinnatus, whose devotion to his rural family life which he nevertheless subordinated to the requirements of the Roman republic and its call of limited duty, inspired paintings by such diverse artists as Richard Wilson, Brenet, Demarne and St. Ours. (30) A more extreme case of such submission was furnished by the aftermath of the combat of the Horatii and Curatii. Taken from Rollin's retelling of Livy's tale, it recounts how, before the Porta Capena, the last surviving brother of the three Horatii kills his own sister, Camilla, because she mourned the death of her fiancé, one of the enemy Curatii whom Horatius had himself killed. In 1785, this was the Prix de Rome subject, in other words, a State-approved motif, for which Louis XVI's minister of public works, the Comte d'Angiviller, was ultimately responsible. (31) Girodet and Callet both produced works on this terrible theme in 1785; Girodet's early work is turbulent, but classical and monumental. The huge arch before which the angry Horatius murders his

sister, who falls to the ground onto the knee of another female member of their family, and the triumphant standards and helmets at the right, give the scene an air of wrath and menace which its underlying message, the triumph of state needs over personal affections, so emphatically and urgently demands. (32) [Pl.56]

The story goes on to tell how the Romans, horrified at this deed, handed Horatius over to the lictors for summary execution, but his ancient father reminded them of his son's recent services to the state and moved them to pity. David, already in 1781, conceived of painting the moment when "he was led away to his death by the lictors, he is pardoned by the people. They had been moved to pity by the sight and recognised the great service which he had just rendered his country." A drawing in the Albertina (Vienna) shows the earlier moment when in a fit of patriotic excess he has just killed his sister to his father's horror, and returns with his soldiers in triumph. (33) [Pl.57] Another unfinished drawing by David in the Louvre shows the moment when Horatius' aged father pleads with the people and shows them his son to remind them of his services, while the body of Camilla lies at the foot of the steps. (34) [Pl.58]

Several artists during our period, and earlier, were attracted by the story of Horatius and Camilla. Gamelin, Pierre and Fuger all depicted this part of the Horatii saga, which had inspired artists since the Renaissance.

But even more popular was the tale of Rome's first consul, Lucius Junius Brutus, who expelled the arrogant Tarquins from their throne in 510 BC. Brutus' popularity was twofold; as liberator of his people (see the next chapter), and as the republican statesman who exemplified in his life the ideals of the new type of community-state. For, after the expulsion, Brutus was made first consul in 508 B.C.; and during his office, he discovered a royalist plot fostered by his wife's family, and supported by his own sons, Titus and Tiberius. Despite his strong paternal feelings, Brutus the consul condemned his sons to execution, to the admiration and horror of the people. (35) This terrible episode was treated by Fuger in Germany; in France, it became increasingly popular at the time of the Revolution. It was treated early on by Cochin film in 1741, and then by Lethière and Wicar in 1788, and again by Vignaly in 1791. (36) Lethière's version is impressive: it shows a Brutus seated impassively on a stone throne high on a platform, being entreated by members of the family, while the lictors look on sternly. But the claims of family are clearly subordinated to those of the State; in the outdoor scene, the family is dwarfed by the crowd standing in groups across a horizontal composition and overshadowed by the rough grandeur of temples and basilicas. There is no agony in this consul-father; the clash of loyalties is suggested by the composition, the right side calm and impersonal in its legality and condemnation, the left side seething with



popular passion and family emotion, their arms raised aloft in appeal. (37) [Pl.59]

Only in David's great painting of 1789 does the conflict of loyalties between family and republic become internalised in Brutus' soul. One can, of course, interpret the conflict as evidence of the ambivalent feelings of 18th century Frenchmen to the father-figure and the institution of patriarchy, which was then subject to considerable strains. Indeed, Carol Duncan has argued that the appearance of themes of the weak or suffering father and rebellious son - of Oedipus and Polynices, Severus and Caracalla, Torquatus and his son - is a symptom of strains caused by social and demographic change, which weakened the family and the father's authority, and finally that of the monarch. (38) On another level, it is clear that the Crown encouraged history painting to bolster its own legitimacy and show itself enlightened and progressive - and therefore worthy of the allegiance of Frenchmen in its struggle with the "reactionary" parlements. By encouraging a taste for civic virtue and patriotism, however, it undermined itself. For civic virtue, patriotism and enlightened liberty could easily be severed from their monarchical patronage, and attach themselves to the representatives of the "nation", the Third Estate. That, in effect, was how some Frenchmen were interpreting David's paintings even before Siéyès' pamphlet equating the nation with the Third

Estate. (34) With the Revolution, the meaning of David's pre-Revolutionary classical works was fully "realised".

(40)

In his Lictors returning to Brutus the bodies of his sons, first conceived in 1787 and painted in the first half of 1789, David takes, not the usual scene of condemnation and execution, but the moment when a tense, seated Brutus is roused by the sound of the lictors bringing the bodies of his executed sons into his house.

(41) Drawing on a variety of sources that included the bronze Capitoline Brutus, the Niobid Sarcophagus in the Lateran, Poussin's Testament of Eudamidas and the head of Michelangelo's Isaiah on the Sistine ceiling, David concentrates on the drama of a) Brutus' inner tension, and b) the conflict between State dictates and family emotions. (42) Hence the oft-remarked separation of the two parts of the painting; indeed, several critics at the 1789 Salon discussed the intimate connection of the two scenes and the "reproach that I heard of seeing two paintings in the subject" (which) "is the very cause of my admiration". (43) Hence, too, the equally contested placing of Brutus "in shadow", which "helps render the figure sinister". One of the longest analyses, that of Grimm, finds that Brutus' "whole attitude and expression bear at the same time marks of a profound affliction and of an inflexible severity." (44) Another critic contrasts the position of Agamemnon after sacrificing Iphigenia with

that of Brutus, and defends Brutus by saying that

"the sons of Brutus had conspired against the liberty their father had just given his fatherland by expelling the Tarquins. Also, when one tells Junius Brutus that his sons have died by his order, Voltaire has him proudly say, "Rome est libre, il suffit; rendons graces aux Dieux!" (45) [Pl.60]

All the critics agreed on the severity, energy and masculinity of David's painting, even when they objected to the lighting, the separation and the pure invention of the scene. Not all, however, agreed with the verdict of Pithou:

"Brutus, your virtue cost you dearly, but you owe this terrifying example to your fellow citizens.... Rome pities you but Rome will inscribe these words in marble: "To Brutus, who sacrificed his children to his grateful Fatherland"" (46)

More than one critic, indeed, remarked on Brutus' "severity", and as a result they are critical of what one calls "the republican morgue". Brutus himself is seen as an ambivalent figure, at once grandiose and ambitious, suffering internally yet "aware of a bad action". The critics differed, also, over the degree to which David had expressed the spirit and customs of early republican Rome

correctly. Thus the Comte de Mende Maupas argued that to grasp the merits of M. David's painting and the "sublime beauties of this composition",

"one must go back to the time when Rome built its liberty on the coarseness of its customs, when would-be citizens only dethroned kings in order to reign themselves, when natural feelings gave way to ardent ambition, when a republican phantom consoled the people for the tyranny of its consuls." (47)

Whereas the anonymous author of the Lettres critiques sur les tableaux du Salon de 1791, admittedly rather biased against David, attacks the whole conception, both for its inherent improbability, and for its lack of knowledge of "antique customs",

"because all the historians back to the poets say expressly that burials did not take place in cities... Thus it was unlikely that the sons of Brutus would have been brought into the house and through the room only later to have them borne out of the city. If a play were filled with so much disjointedness it would not be bearable, but anything goes in painting because one does not have the habit of searching beyond the picture." (48)

In fact, David readily admitted, in his letter to Wicar of

14 June, 1789, that he was "doing a painting of my own invention". He describes the moment he has chosen:

"It is Brutus, man and father, who has deprived himself of his children and who has returned to his home, where are brought to him the bodies of his two sons for burial. He is interrupted in his distress, at the foot of the statue of Rome, by the cries of his wife, the fear and the fainting of his eldest daughter." (49)

From this brief description, it is clear that for David, it was the drama of a divided family, divided admittedly by political dictates, rather than the conflict between republican ideals and family ties, that preoccupied him in selecting this motif and inventing this moment. Hence, as Herbert remarks, David's invention is "perfectly in keeping with the appeal to sentiment we associate with the art of the 18th century. The heart of the picture is a family torn asunder by the private misery brought on by the public act." (50) The contemporary critics, too, show as little concern for possible political parallels between Brutus' Rome and Paris during the dramatic summer of 1789, as did the painter himself, who was much more interested in questions of composition and style, and how to get back to Italy and its art as quickly as he could. (51)

But, equally, David, by nature rebellious and associated with the reformist movement of 1789, chose a subject in keeping with that other late-eighteenth century preoccupation, civic virtue. Moreover, David had abandoned the agreed Coriolanus theme, a more "monarchist" subject, since Coriolanus had sided with the Roman aristocrats against the people, had been banished and had gone over to the Volsci, Rome's enemies; only the pleading of his family had stopped him from taking Rome itself in revenge. So that, while both themes involve a conflict between political motives and family ties, in the case of Coriolanus, the women of Coriolanus' family are the real patriots and the hero is flawed, since he gives in to family and female appeals, whereas Brutus does not allow himself to be swayed, and he sides with the people against Tarquin and some of Rome's aristocrats; he is both republican and patriot, and he is prepared to sacrifice his natural feelings for the sake of the new-found liberty of his patria. Whether David, already in 1787, actually intended such a "republican" statement as subsequent events endowed his Brutus, is a moot point. What is clear is his commitment to the growing tide of sentiment that identified patriotism with civic virtue against an effeminate and hedonistic lifestyle both in social life and in the arts, a lifestyle that was thought to put selfish privileges of individuals or estates above the common weal. The logical culmination of such a tide was the sacrifice of family and, finally, of oneself in the

:  
struggle against tyranny. It is to these acts of  
self-sacrifice that I turn.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### PRO PATRIA MORI

If civic virtue was the ideal of many in late eighteenth century Western Europe, patriotic self-sacrifice became its supreme expression. Increasingly, as the century wore on, artists searched for historical examples from every civilisation of this drama of self-sacrifice for the collective good. They were thereby led to choose motifs and scenes which stood at the opposite pole to those idyllic and mythological allegories beloved of Rococo artists. In some cases, the State itself encouraged the trend; in others, it stemmed from an artistic renewal spurred by contact with Italy and Roman art, some of it recently excavated; in yet others, literary inspiration provided a driving force. Whatever the source, artists in France and England, and in several other Western countries, began to identify virtue with patriotism, and patriotism with the love of liberty; and to draw their models from antiquity or their medieval national histories, thereby putting history at the service of collective morality, and looking to the past and to their origins for the patriotic virtue they prized.

#### National Resistance

History afforded plenty of examples of resistance to



tyranny, and attempts at national liberation. Ancient Jewish history furnished a ready-made model in the Maccabean uprising of 167 BC. In his The Zeal of Mattathias of 1783, Lepicie showed the old priest Mattathias, the father of the five Maccabees, throwing down the pagan idols which Antiochus Epiphanes had ordered to be set up in every town of Judea, and slaying both the king's officer and the Jew who is ready to bring offerings to the idol. (1) The setting of Lepicie's picture has grandiose Poussinesque temples and the toga-clad figures possess a similar rugged force, but not yet the icy clarity and tension of a Drouais or David; the patriotic element, too, bound up as it was with religious zeal, is rather muted beneath those Baroque gestures and movements. [Pl.61] (2) Similarly, the pendant to this theme, also recounted in the history of the Maccabees, Antiochus and Eleazar, was painted by Gros in 1792 with even greater vehemence and drama. (3) The king, Antiochus, vainly commands the 90-year-old Eleazar to eat pork and break the dietary laws of Kashrut, and thereby deny his monotheistic Judaism, while Eleazar defiantly gestures towards heaven and prepares for death on behalf of his community and his faith. (4) Again, a division of the composition marks the drama of opposition between two wills; but Gros preserves a Baroque diagonal, as well as linking devices that detract from the purity of strict neo-classicism. [Pl.62] There is also a painting, and a drawing, of Eleazar choosing death rather than break the Law by Berthelemy,

done in 1789; the drawing shows the scene in highly classical garb and setting, with portico and temple, and a similar Baroque spirit of movement and gesture, inviting the participation of the spectator. (5) [Pl.63]

Stirring accounts of heroic resistance to foreign tyranny were not confined to the ancient Jews. Celtic and Germanic tribes also offered examples of stoical resistance to Roman invasion. Thus in 1770 Benjamin West depicted Arminius' wife captive before Germanicus (6), a story that recalled the martial traditions of the Teutones. Britain, too, offered in the stirring tale of Caractacus and his daughter a worthy parallel: Fuseli painted The Daughter of Caractacus before Claudia's tribunal in Rome in 1792; while Thomas Banks' expressive marble bas-relief shows Caractacus before Claudius (1777), a defiant and noble prisoner in Rome clad in primitive and coarse hides, his hair dishevelled and feet chained, making an impassioned and courageous appeal to Claudius in his armour seated pensively high on a throne and surrounded by soldiers and matrons in flowing classical drapery. Like an ancient sarcophagus, the figures are carefully arranged, frieze-like, in classical poses, but there is a lyrical, even sensuous quality about individual figures suggestive of the contrasts between the manly virtues of war and bravery and the feminine attributes of grace and pity. Interestingly, too, Banks has taken care with the correct archaeological rendering

of Roman costume and armour, as portrayed in Roman bas-reliefs; he is perhaps the first British sculptor to aim for historical verisimilitude. (7) [Pl.64]

Yet another example of heroic resistance in the face of tyrants was the tale of William Tell and Gessler. Not surprisingly, we find Fuseli showing an early interest in this episode from the patriotic sagas of his homeland; his friend and mentor, J. J. Bodmer, had been a professor at the Collegium Carolinum in Zürich, where Fuseli took his MA, and he was well read in medieval German literature. Fuseli did a drawing of Tell's leap from the Ship c.1758-60, when Tell, the captive of the Habsburg governor of Altdorf, Gessler, leapt to freedom during a storm on the Vierwaldstättersee. (8) It was one of a series of drawings of medieval Swiss events, including the Kappeler Schlacht (1751?) and the Schlacht bei Ehrlibach (c.1774). (9)

Two other representations of incidents from Tell's story were painted in France during the Revolutionary decade. In 1793 Jean-Frederic Schall, who came from Strasbourg, painted L'Héroïsme de Guillaume Tell; he chose the moment when Tell shoots Gessler with bow and arrow near Küssnacht. (10) It was engraved in 1797 by Romain Girard, and the inscription on the engraving retells the story of Tell, and makes it clear that Schall's choice of episode was intentionally political and Jacobin, following the

elevation of the Swiss hero to the Revolutionary pantheon and the repeated performances of Marin Lemierre's play of 1766, Guillaume Tell, and Grétry's opera of the same title, of 1791. (11) But Schall's little picture's style is hardly suited to its theme; despite the attempt to create a mysterious rocky atmosphere and his choice of medieval historical subject-matter, Schall's style remains Rococo, as in the majority of his mythologies, allegories and fêtes galantes. The diminutive figures in their troubadour costumes, set in a rough landscape, remind one of some English "picturesque" scenes of William Hamilton, Westall or Stothard; they are far removed from the stern classicism of a Peyron or David.

The other portrayal matches style more closely to subject-matter. Vincent's Guillaume Tell renversant la barque sur laquelle le gouverneur Gessler traversait le lac de Lucerne was commissioned in 1791 as an ouvrage d'encouragement and shown in the Salon of 1795. (11) This is a fiery romantic work, evocative of the fury of the elements and of violent human conflict. A vehement, muscular Tell, crossbow in hand, has leapt onto the rocky shore and with his assistant, pushes Gessler's boat back from the shore. Under the impact of Tell's kick, a horrified and frantic Gessler reels back and another man falls into the lake. Again, the style is far removed from Roman classicism; the troubadour costumes point forward to early 19th century Romantic histories, and so does the

interest in diagonal movement and in the swirling background of rocks, lake and darkened sky. One could well claim that the political motif, while clearly present, was subordinated to the emotional content, mirrored in both the human action and in nature. Vincent has created an image of violence and fused it with a medieval history, suggesting the elemental and historic roots of the struggle for man's liberty. The same concern appears in his well-known President Mole et les factieux of 1779, in which Vincent shows a concern with an important event in French national history, as did his two previous scenes on the acquisition of Lorraine by France in 1733. (13) [P1.65]

In both France and England during the last three decades of the eighteenth century, the ideal of national resistance became more openly espoused and resonant. In England, there was a renewed artistic interest in the medieval Anglo-French wars, notably the Hundred Years' War. Mortimer painted the Battle of Agincourt, and West did two paintings on the subject, one of The Black Prince receiving King John of France as captive after the battle of Poitiers, the other of Edward III receiving the Black Prince after the battle of Crecy, both done in 1788. (14) The last two were, in fact, part of a commission by George III for a series of the life of Edward III, to be hung in the Audience Chamber at Windsor, and West's access to armour and seals in the royal collections enabled him to

give the accessories in these large paintings more historical accuracy than normal. (15) He also did a large painting of Queen Philippa interceding for the lives of the Burguers of Calais in 1788, which reverts somewhat to his earlier frieze-like compositions (inspired perhaps by the heroic-patriotic counter-theme?); yet, in its emphasis on Edward III and his queen and on their costumes, it evokes a "picturesque" medievalism spiritually far removed from his early Roman austerity. (16) [Pl.66]

On the other side of the Channel, the Hundred Years' War also offered inspiring examples. For Berthelemy, West's selfsame theme had distinctly patriotic overtones. His Burguers of Calais was painted in 1782; as Loquin first pointed out, Berthelemy owed much to an earlier English example by R.E. Pine of 1760, when he represented another episode in the protracted Anglo-French wars, that of the Siege of Calais in his L'Action courageuse d'Eustache de Saint-Pierre au siége de Calais, of 1779. (17) A few years later, in 1787, Berthelemy agreed another subject from French national history with the Crown, La reprise de Paris sur les Anglais: Entrée de l'armée française le 13 Avril 1436. (18) The manuscript citation found by J. Guiffrey in a copy of the original catalogue belonging to G. Duplessis ran: "The Connetable de Richemont joyfully receives Michel Le Tellier (or Lallier or Lailier) and the loyal citizens who had helped his troops enter the city. Marshal De l'Isle-Adam shows them the letters of amnesty

and confirmation of privileges." (19) This episode in 1436 marked the beginning of the expulsion of the English from French soil, and Berthelemy has combined attention to "medieval" detail in costumes and armour with a grandiose, even theatrical, style which captures something of the mood of heroism and national victory. This is largely achieved by focussing on the central figure in his armour to give a sense of swift movement across a rather congested stage in front of Notre-Dame Cathedral. [Pl.67]

### The Patriotic Oath

If the ideal of national self-sacrifice took hold during the last few decades of the eighteenth century, so did fascination with acts which bound individuals to place the interests of the collective good above those of self or family. Pre-eminent among these was the patriotic oath; like Heracles' choice, it represented a moment of inward moral turning, a point of self-awakening through self-sacrifice. This aspect of national historicism has been carefully studied by Robert Rosenblum, especially in relation to the oath of Brutus; and it only remains to draw out some of the implications for the rising tide of patriotism in western Europe and America.

Given the individual nature of the oath as an initiating rite, it is hardly surprising to find the earliest examples focus upon a figure who stands, as we have seen,

midway between the private and public realms, the early Roman consul, Brutus. The subject of Lucretia's rape by Tarquin, and her subsequent noble suicide, had been a popular theme during the Renaissance, painted by Titian and Lotto among others. (20) It was only after 1750 that a private tragedy with erotic overtones was transformed into a public moral declaration. For this purpose, other aspects of Brutus' story had to be emphasised; indeed, Brutus took the place of Lucretia in the artistic consciousness. Since Brutus' importance as a symbol of patriotism and liberty only emerges at the point where he swears to avenge Lucretia with her dagger and drive out Tarquin and his family and never allow him "nor any other to be king in Rome", as Livy tells us, Brutus' oath was seen as the moment of self-awakening and self-dedication to a noble cause that transcended even family honour, though it derived from it. (21)

It was in this spirit that two late-Rococo representations of the Death of Lucretia by Charles Michel-Ange Challe in 1759, and Gabriel de Saint-Aubin in 1761, were conceived. Challe's version began the shift from Lucretia's suicide to Brutus' vengeance, by showing her giving Brutus the dagger to avenge her honour, as shown by the Salon title: "Lucrece présentant à Brutus le poignard dont elle vient de se frapper, et lui demandant vengeance de l'affront, dont elle s'est punie". (22) Saint-Aubin's version goes further, by depicting Brutus holding up a



bloody dagger and swearing vengeance. On the other hand, their diminutive Rococo style, with small gestures and "crackly draperies" and "tumbling light" suggests, as Rosenblum says, a glimpse of an erotic boudoir rather than some grand Roman statement. (23)

It was Gavin Hamilton who, in 1763-4, turned to a Roman theme, after his Homeric series, and depicted The Oath of Brutus in a "manière toute nouvelle", in the words of the Italian correspondent of the Gazette litteraire de l'Europe of 28 March, 1764. (24) To begin with, Hamilton's figures are life-size and fill the canvas. Second, the idealised figures are thrust forward towards the spectator, the scene being enacted in a shallow space or "stage", the participants being arranged in two groups spanning the entire length of the stage. Everything else is reduced to a minimum: bare stone floor, back wall and two Tuscan columns seen only partially, a dark curtain on the left side, and simple tunics, chitons and togas, and weapons, a sword and a dagger on which Brutus swears vengeance. Third, though the theme of private tragedy remains on the left, attention is now centred on the right side of the painting, showing Brutus, Valerius and Lucretia's father, Lucretius, taking the oath of vengeance and liberty, while Lucretia's husband, Collatinus, covers his eyes and supports the dying Lucretia. Fourth, the movements are rhetorical but tense and clear (and, on the

left, slow and descending); though the two groups are connected by Lucretia's holding Brutus' toga above his knee, it is the "masculine" activism of the all-male group in the centre and right that dominates the scene. Finally, there is the firm tone of moral severity, enunciated for perhaps the first time. Grief and horror have turned to purposeful action, and it will be action that will ennoble the participants and benefit everyone. In other words, Brutus' oath is no longer simply a private undertaking and part of a family feud, but also a public call to arms, a political declaration stemming from moral principles as well as personal passions. Even the chill, metallic colours, so different from the usual delicate Rococo shades, echo Brutus' austere self-sacrifice born of self-awakening to the truth of his own position and that of his city. (25) [P1.68]

By 1771, when Jacques Antoine Beaufort exhibited his Brutus, Lucretius père de Lucrece, et Collatinus son mari, jurent sur le Poignard, dont elle s'est tuée, de venger sa mort et de chasser les Tarquins de Rome at the Salon, the public act of oath-taking has pushed Lucretia's private tragedy (and the dead Lucretia herself) to the far left side of the stage. (26) Rosenblum has convincingly argued for the identification of this scene with the unsigned, undated picture of such a scene at Nevers Municipal Museum, on grounds of both subject-matter and style, supported by the notices of the Salon critics,

Bachaumont, Fréron and possibly Diderot. (27) It would also fit with what we know of Beaufort's oeuvre, which included several scenes from French history, and with a sketch for Brutus of 1771. (28) In fact, the Beaufort-Nevers picture would provide a clear link between Hamilton's Brutus and the Oath of the Horatii; it is full of moral idealism and has that neo-classical sparseness of detail, that sense of theatrical enactment of a rite, and that compositional clarity, which despite some lingering Rococo details, presages the heroic patriotism and revolutionary fervour of the 1780s. In particular, the idea of a meeting of arms pointed towards a focal point, which generates so much energy and tension, makes its appearance; it marks the onset of the "martial ideal" which will sweep so much of Europe after the Revolution. [Pl 67]

Not all oath scenes possessed this sense of dynamic drive. West's contemporary Hannibal taking the Oath is neo-classical in its grandiose temple setting, its stage-effects and its Roman (or Carthaginian) draperies; but the figures are rather small and numerous, the horizontal axis is broken by a receding diagonal movement, and the focal point, Hamilcar making his young son, Hannibal, swear eternal hatred for Rome over an offering in the temple, tends to be somewhat lost in this august setting. (29) The idea is, nevertheless, potent; here, a decade or more before David, the enactment of an historic and patriotic oath by a father to his son, provides a

clear symbol of national sentiment, and it is hardly surprising that the precocious West, an expatriate American, should be its author. (30) Nor is there any cause for wonder that another self-exiled artist, Fuseli, should eagerly respond to a call from his native Zürich for a portrayal of the oath that marked the beginning of the Swiss Confederation, the Oath of the Rütli, in 1291. (31) Ordered for the Zürich Rathaus in 1778 and completed in 1781 (it still hangs there), The Oath of the Rütli shows the meeting of the representatives of the three cantons, Schwyz, Uri and Unterwalden, on the shores of the Vierwaldstättersee, to enact an oath to free their cantons of Austrian tyranny. Fuseli places his three huge figures against a low-lying mountainous landscape, their right arms held high towards the sword carried by the central figure, their left hands clasped in the vow they take beneath the uplifted sword. Both Antal and Rosenblum comment on the neo-Mannerist figures, their muscular contrapposto poses and the sharp, cold colours (yellow and mauves); perhaps Fuseli translated Hamilton's Roman trio into his own expressive language. (32) But, whatever the origins, Fuseli's oath generates once again that sense of collective urgency and purpose which informed the Sturm und Drang phase of literature and contributed to the rising tide of patriotic sentiment, through an exciting image of energy and self-dedication. [Pl.70]

In America, too, the image of the patriotic oath inspired a rather awkward Brutus and his friends, at the death of Lucretia painted by John Trumbull in 1777. (33) Part original, part copy after a print of Hamilton's Brutus, Trumbull's provincial attempt shows how widely diffused was the ideal of self-dedication and, in the year after the Declaration of Independence, the patriotic sentiments that inspired such sacrifice. In similar political circumstances, Armand Caraffe also resorted to the symbol of the oath; this time it was David's theme, the Oath of the Horatii, exhibited in 1791 at the rue de Clery by Lebrun. (34) A pupil of Lagrenée, Caraffe was in Rome at the French Academy in the late 1780s and travelled around the Mediterranean before returning to Paris in 1790, where he exhibited regularly at the Salon histories and allegories in brilliant colours; he was a Jacobin and imprisoned for a time after Robespierre's fall. His version of the Oath of the Horatii is utterly unlike David's: his figures are one-dimensional and there is no separation of men and women. The bright colours contrast with a bare, dark stage setting; but here David's tension is lost by the seating of the father and the downward movement of the Horatii brothers' arms as they are held above their father's level sword. In other respects, however, the scene has a Roman and republican austerity, even if by comparison the figures have a genre quality reminiscent of Bolyly. (35)

Mythology, as well as history, could be made to yield up images of patriotism. Thus in 1795 Flaxman did a fine drawing of the The Oath of the Seven against Thebes showing Polynices and his collaborators swearing with upstretched arms and shields to avenge his expulsion from his native city by his brother, Eteocles, and his uncle, Creon. (36) A similar motif was also attempted by Girodet; it was to be followed by other oath motifs from the Iliad. (37) And it soon found contemporary parallels in the work of David, Anton Koch and Pietro Benvenuti, all of whom drew on recent revolutionary events to record the emotions of patriotic self-dedication. (38) [P1.71]

Artistically, and in a sense politically, this passion for collective oath-taking imagery found its most complete expression in David's Oath of the Horatii of 1784. Nationalism involves, among other things, an assertion of will and energy; indeed, some political historians and scientists trace it to the Kantian doctrine of the autonomous will, as amended by Fichte and his followers. (39) For this school of thought, the swearing of oaths fits perfectly the ethos of nationalism, in placing man's subjective will above his objective and oppressive conditions. This suggests that David has arrived at the same conclusion as the philosophers at roughly the same time, albeit in a different culture and by another route. Similarly, the Herderian stress upon Kraft as the mysterious source of cultural development and diverse

life-forms, finds its austere political parallel in the electric energy of the Koratii brothers' outstretched arms. (40) In this way, the late eighteenth century artistic interest in oath-taking ceremonies becomes another expression of the new belief in man's ability to mould his circumstances through acts of volition, Jacobin-style. (41) [P1.72]

But nationalism involves something more than an assertion of human will or an expression of collective energy. For such an assertion only derives its meaning from the quest for cohesion and fraternity of an historic political community, be it ancient Rome and Alba Longa, or the new nations of France and England. In each of these cases, despite vast differences, there existed a unique community with its peculiar laws and liberties which its citizens must defend, at the cost of their personal interests and even their lives. Through the oath-taking ceremony, the citizen-members of the community reaffirm the social compact and hence the social nature of their group; in Durkheim's words,

"..before all, rites are means by which the social group reaffirms itself periodically." (42)

And, more generally, Durkheim argues that

"There can be no society which does not feel the

need of upholding and reaffirming at regular intervals the collective sentiments and the collective ideas which make up its unity and personality." (43)

This is clearly the tradition of Rousseau. It was Rousseau who had, after all, preached the need for a civic religion to replace outworn traditional faiths, Rousseau who had praised Moses for loading the Jews with dogmas and rituals, laws and customs, which distinguished them from nations that were unbelieving, foreign and barbarian. (44) And it was Rousseau who also claimed that,

"Ce sont les institutions nationales qui forment le génie, le caractère, les goûts et les moeurs d'un peuple... qui lui inspirent cet ardent amour de la patrie". (45)

If David's icon of patriotic faith strikes us, most obviously, as one more image of the collective will, the most vivid and convincing in a long line of such vindications, it is no less a compelling symbol of the reaffirmation of social cohesion in a threatened community, and of a commitment to uphold a particular social bond and historic culture. Through the rite, Roman (or French) society is reaffirmed and thereby regenerated. Hence, political will and collective energy are not random, nor purely subjective; they are instruments of



faith, a secular faith in the value of the community itself, and in its mores and traditions. And that faith, like all others, demanded its sacrifices, and created in its members that sense of dependance which Durkheim regarded as the very foundation of community. Indeed, writing of this transformation of religion into a secular faith in the community, he cites the French Revolution as an instance of the way in which "society" itself becomes quite visibly, a "god" to its members, and is able to create symbolic "gods" in its name. And he goes on:

"At this time, in fact, under the influence of the general enthusiasm, things purely laical by nature were transformed by public opinion into sacred things: these were the Fatherland, Liberty, Reason. A religion tended to become established which had its dogmas, symbols, altars and feasts." (46)

So that, rather than seeing in David's Horatii simply the exemplar of political will symbolised by the oath, we should regard it as a statement of the nature of, need for and costs of, any community. Above all, an oath expresses that communal nature. The arms of the brothers have the same impulse, the same goal; they express what Durkheim would call a "mechanical solidarity", a similarity of individual consciousnesses, a pattern of shared beliefs and identical sentiments. Community stands against individualism; it demands the submission of personal to

collective goals. The father in David's picture, guardian of tradition, link between past and future, epitomises the sense of a need for community; he is, if you like, its inner conscience, which demands submission of individual wills to collective needs. Of course, war, above all, articulates, as Simmel noted, that sense of inner unity in a community, just as it brings out the need for cohesion (though it may not assure it). War also helps to clarify to the citizen-members their cultural identity and social bond, the raison d'être of the struggle in which they are engaged. (47) But war also brings home to us, along with the need for community, its bitter costs, symbolised here so poignantly by David's women, who are cut off (as so many contemporary critics noted, with some anguish) from their brothers and husbands. Community's needs can divide, and destroy, whole families. No wonder the critics were perturbed. (48)

None of this gainsays the "revolutionary" nature of both the content and style of the Oath of the Horatii. To begin with, David substituted this episode for his earlier choice of the old Horatius defending his surviving son to the Roman populace, after the latter had killed Camilla, his sister; as we saw, David had done some drawings of this scene in 1782-3. (49) Second, the incident David chose is really his own invention; it is to be found neither in Corneille's Horaces nor in the ancient sources, Livy, Valerius Maximus or Dionysus of

Halicarnassus. The idea of expressing a social compact through an image of oath-taking is, therefore, David's, but it is one that owed much to Hamilton and his successors. The degree to which we regard his statement of 1784 as "proto-Revolutionary" must depend on our assessment of the nature of his patriotism, and whether it had already severed its links with a monarchy that, in its own struggle with the Parlements which were also claiming "national" legitimacy, was increasingly relying on its historical-patriotic foundations. (50) For each of the main strata and institutions in France from the 1760s onwards was staking out its claim to "represent" the historic body of "France" and therefore "Frenchmen" everywhere; and the Tiers Etat to which David belonged by background and temperament, was a latecomer in this competition.

What is beyond doubt is the way in which David has, as Rosenblum puts it, synthesized "the most rigorous potentialities of both Neoclassic form and Roman Republican virtue." (51) But "virtue" here is public virtue, more precisely, self-sacrifice unto death for the political community. In other words, for David, patriotism becomes the supreme virtue; activism, idealism and political will must be subordinated to, and exercised on behalf of, the community as a whole against both internal sectional or family interests and foreign foes.

Hence, just as much as the later Brutus, the Horatii records an act of submission to the ideals of the community - to its autonomy, identity and unity - ideals which are precisely those enshrined in the doctrine of nationalism, which Siéyès, Barère, Robespierre and their German "Jacobin" followers, notably Fichte, were shortly to announce. (52) No wonder that, in 1794, at the height of the "general enthusiasm" of the Jacobin Revolution, David and Robespierre organised a great Republican demonstration or Fête, at which old men and young re-enacted the very poses and gestures of the Horatii. (53)

Of the three main ideals of nationalism, it is clearly those of "autonomy" and "unity" or fraternity that are paramount in the Horatii. Identity, indeed, the sense of the community's peculiar historical character and culture, is almost taken for granted. But not completely. The "identity" of this community, David appears to be saying, is an ideal one, in which simplicity, moral austerity and martial heroism define its "essence"; and, if they did so in early Republican Rome, why not in late eighteenth century France? David's is certainly a "martial" patriotism, one in which men alone determine their destiny, while women abandon themselves to grief and hysteria, unable to discipline their emotions and submit positively to the needs and will of the community. So David pushes the sunken, swooning group of the sister-wives to the right, and expresses thereby the costs of self-sacrifice

which can never be wholly submerged. That allows him to concentrate upon the other two ideals of nationalism. On the one hand, the ideal of unity or fraternity, here expressed literally, in which the community becomes an extension of the family, or rather of its masculine half. The joining together of the three brothers, the placing of the taut legs and arms, their armed readiness of will, suggest not only moral energy but also a concept of brotherhood that expresses itself in the teamwork of combat; the collective strength and drive thus gained exceeds the sum of its parts. On the other hand, the ideal of autonomy or unhindered moral choice on behalf of the community requires the determination by the collective self of its own fate, its embrace of freedom as the condition of its identity. But that requires stern moral resolve which matches the harshness of the oath ("vaincre ou mourir") itself, a sternness reflected in the grid-like rectilinear space and severe Doric order of the arches and columns of the enclosed setting. Indeed, the style is almost geometric in its abstraction and exactly plotted relationships, recalling experiments in mathematical perspective by Uccello or Piero della Francesca. The colours, too, which one critic claimed were "aussi Romain", are cold and metallic, and the light has a Caravaggesque sharpness which helps to model the figures with maximum plasticity. (54)

Finally, there is the "historicist" quality of the

Horatii. David, for all his "invention", took great pains to evoke an heroic age, by his attention to the spear and helmets of the brothers, by his careful rendering of the father's and sister's clothes, and above all by choosing a "rudimentary" Doric order, without base, to suggest not only an "authentic" early Roman setting, but also a "primitive", simple and archaic environment, suitable for the clarion call of patriotic self-determination. As the critic of the 1785 Salon put it,

"La simplicité et l'énergie de l'ordonnance sont dignes des temps simples et héroïques dont on nous donne ici le vrai portrait". (55)

In fact, this desire for historic origins and archaic eras led David back from early Rome to Greece, its fount of inspiration and form. Here, David worked not merely from Seicento Bolognese and Roman masters like the Caracci, Domenichino and Guercino, but from Perugino and some of his predecessors, and directly from Roman sculpture and descriptions of paintings by Polygnotus. This study, together with the theories of David's teacher, Dandré-Bardon in his Traité de Peinture of 1765, which preached the need to contrast groups of figures, each with its own type of expression, gave to David's painting its hard-edged clarity, empty areas and sudden changes, i.e. that isolation of the parts, which some contemporary critics

found difficult to accept, but which bring to life what might otherwise have been a dry record of an obscure incident in an archaic era. (56) In fact, David has managed to convey the sense of rudimentary simplicity of such a pristine epoch and thereby enhance, and make convincing, the moral directness and stoic emotion of this solemn primitive rite.

As a symbol of the growing need for social solidarity, oath-taking ceremonies began to catch the imagination of groups of alienated people in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Western Europe; one thinks of the growing popularity of the Freemasons and later of revolutionary sects like Babeuf's and of secret societies like the Carbonari. The rise of these groups marks a turning away from the earlier "societies" for the study of history, language and literature which embody the first stirrings of a purely cultural nationalism. (57) The new sects which tend to be more activist, either in a philanthropic or a political sense, are more concerned with moral endeavour than scholarly speculation; they provide a microcosm, and vehicle, of the new forms of "society" and social solidarity which are sought in place of the anonymous city and impersonal, rational state. Artists expressed this new impulse at its earliest stage; in some cases, their images foreshadowed its social realisation. By focussing on the moment of regeneration of the social compact, in which men express their renewed sense of

community and of dependence on society and its ideals, the artists to some extent anticipated, along with writers like Rousseau and Alfieri, the new cult of the "nation" and its sovereignty. (58)

### Pro Patria Mori

In the nationalist drama, there are two moments of glory and heroism: the oath-taking, which represents self-realisation and which looks forward to the act of liberation, and the moment of death, in which the hero expires conscious of his achievement and the imminent fulfilment of his purpose.

As has often been pointed out, death-bed scenes abound in eighteenth-century painting, and they undoubtedly owe much to the long tradition of Pietas and Depositions of religious art. (59) Here we are concerned not with those of bourgeois fathers or Homeric heroes but only with the paragons of patriotic self-sacrifice. As we saw in chapter 5, Germanicus, the Roman imperial general who was allegedly poisoned, soon became an emblem of selfless, patriotic devotion; (60) and Poussin was drawn to the example of his honourable death. (61) Small wonder, too, that the French Academy chose the subject as part of its educational reform programme, for its sculpture competition of 1761, a competition won by Boizot; or that Heinrich Fuger, the popular Viennese master, took up Poussin's tradition and



produced a not dissimilar death-bed scene of Germanicus in 1789, but one in which Baroque draperies and diagonals and lighting smooth over the horizontals and verticals of Poussin's classical treatment. (62)

But perhaps the most interesting treatment of the Death of Germanicus (it was also painted in France, by Guerin) was a marble relief, done in 1774 by Thomas Banks, while staying in Rome as part of that circle of Transalpine, Northern artists whose neoclassical style was formed during the 1760s and 1770s in Rome. Like a sarcophagus panel, Banks' Germanicus shows meticulous regard for Roman armour and draperies (influenced perhaps by the Ara Pacis Augustae) and an exquisite flowing line. There is none of David's later, almost "brutal" metallic harshness in this contemplative elegiac composition; the treatment is almost abstract, stripped to essentials, the figures bending in a flowing counterpoint of rhythmical grace. Nor has Banks forgotten to endow his scene with the heroic grandeur associated with imperial Rome. We find it in the almost "god-like" nude figure of the dying hero, in the bending soldier pointing upwards and in the symbols of Roman power (eagle, fasces, coins) above the group. Here, already, is the germ of that didactic image of selfless virtue and devotion to the community, achieved by the supreme sacrifice, that so captured the imagination of the late eighteenth century intelligentsia. (63) [Pl.73]

Another Roman example of patriotic self-abnegation was provided by Regulus' self-imposed exile and death at the hands of his Carthaginian enemies. In his Departure of Regulus of 1771, Benjamin West depicts the moment of truth, when Regulus counsels his fellow-citizens to reject Carthage's terms, and thereby to send him back to his enemies to a grim death, despite his family's entreaties. West shows Regulus in the centre spurning his family amid a great concourse of senators. The great crowd of Romans in their togas is dwarfed by the vast hall and portico, its Doric columns surmounted by an entablature showing triglyphs and metopes, and with a bas-relief above a tall doorway on the left. It is the majesty of the scene, rather than its psychological anguish or political purpose that West commemorates; it is Rome's grandeur, its gravitas and nobility, which overwhelms all personal considerations.[Pl.74]

But it was the later moment of fulfilment through ennobled death that most attracted late eighteenth century artists. Fuseli, for example, drew a powerful portrait of the Death of Gaius Gracchus, the Roman tribune, in 121 B.C., his prone figure laid on his toga, sword at his side, his head raised on some stones, and beside him the bent, seated figure of a mourning elder man (?his father), with his head in his hands, brooding in despair, and both set in a barren, darkened shadowy landscape with riders above. It was one of Fuseli's Roman scenes, done in Rome in about 1776. (65) About a year later, David did a drawing after a

Roman conclamatio , a copy of a Roman funeral scene; it furnished the compositional basis of several later death-bed themes, like the Hector and Andromache and the Marat .(66) The hero is laid out on a Roman couch, his weapons on the floor and his family and friends in various attitudes of grief bending over him. Slightly later, David drew a frieze-like representation of the Death of a Roman Warrior, in which the nude but helmeted warrior is borne along by his fellows and a procession of robed men and garlanded women bringing offerings to a priest standing at his tripod with his acolytes. It is a grisaille drawing, like a bas-relief, celebrating not just individual heroism and death, but the rites of mourning of a bereaved but stoical community in its hour of loss and pride. (67)[see Pl.38:

While Rome obviously provided the major source of inspiration for the motif of pro patria mori , the theme itself was universal and exemplars were not lacking in other cultures. We saw how Hector's farewell and funeral, recounted in books VI and XXIV of the Iliad, attracted the interest of artists in France, England, Germany, Denmark and Sweden; and similarly with the funeral rites of Patroclus. Greek history furnished fewer examples; but the Theban hero, Epaminondas, who died in 371 B.C. fighting for his native city against the Spartan enemy at Leuctra, did inspire at least one artist, the historically ubiquitous Benjamin West. His Death of Epiminondas of 1773, however, forsakes the severe neo-classicism of his early

phase for a more relaxed, harmonious display of nobility through self-sacrifice. Indeed, had they not known the circumstances, his Epaminondas could have struck only a mild patriotic chord in the hearts of West's audience. (68)

Quite different was David's hero, Leonidas at Thermopylae; though exhibited in 1814, it was conceived in 1799 as a pendant to his Sabines. Taken from Herodotus' description in Book VII of his History, the painting and the drawings that precede it, demonstrate David's desire to "caractériser ce sentiment grand, profond et religieux qu'inspire l'amour de la patrie." (69) Again, David has tried to record the topography of Thermopylae, as described by Herodotus; but even more, in the calm but defiant central figure of Leonidas, taken partly from the Ajax published by Winckelmann as the prototype of the Greek hero, David conveys the grandeur and serenity of the patriot who with full self-knowledge gives his life to save his country, however hopeless his cause in the short term. (70) In other words, Leonidas tells us that true patriotism is always exemplary; it works over long periods, against hopeless odds, and it cannot be refuted by short-run failures, for it acts as an inspiration to others both now and in future generations. It was an idea soon to inspire nationalist passions in much of Europe, until it became almost canonical.

Even earlier, the ideal of a noble death for one's country had found potent embodiments in national histories. Both Bayard and du Guesclin provided fitting examples in medieval France; West's Death of Bauard of 1772, a pendant to his Epaminondas, translates into the terms of French history the modern heroism of General Wolfe. (71)

A more serious attempt to locate and venerate a great national hero was made by Nicolas Brenet in his Hommages rendus à Du Guesclin of 1778. (72) The very title suggests a meditation upon the meaning of heroic patriotism. In fact, the French constable, Bertrand Du Guesclin, died in 1380 during the siege of Châteauneuf-de-Randon; he was mourned by eminent figures like Olivier Clisson and the Marechal de Sancerre, his successor as constable; and the English were moved by his heroism to keep to their promise of surrender and return the keys to the city. Hence the kneeling figure of the English commander at the foot of the bed in Brenet's icon. All this is told us in the Salon Livret's description, itself in turn based upon the multi-volume History of France by Villaret and others, started in 1755 by the Abbé Uelly. (73) Brenet's portrayal of this episode does justice to its epic quality. Du Guesclin's body, still in armour, lies on his draped bed, the canopy of his tent opened to reveal his corpse, his standard and his mourning entourage of warriors; his page is seated in meditative sorrow on a platform at the foot of his bed, holding his shield; while to the left our eye wanders down, first to the English

commander kneeling and surrendering the keys, then to serried ranks of warriors with a forest of spears, and finally in the distance to the crenellated towers and walls of Châteauneuf-de-Randon. Not only has Brenet aimed to convey accurate factual detail, in the armour, weapons, costume and fortress; but he has done so in order to evoke a more heroic era, when the forgotten virtues of patriotism, nobility and generosity were able to flourish, and to tell us that, even today, in less noble, less extraordinary times, these same virtues may light our way like shining beacons. No doubt that is what d'Angiviller had wanted his commission to evoke; and Brenet's spacious, unhurried, expansive and grandiose composition, with its distinct flavour of a Pieta, undoubtedly satisfied his requirements. (74) [Pl.75]

Heroic and patriotic deaths were celebrated in other cultures. There were several representations of the Death of Oscar, one of the heroes of the Ossianic epics, then treated as quasi-historical, among them a drawing by Runciman ca. 1770-72 of the Death of Oscar and a painting by Abildgaard of Malvina mourning the dead Oscar (75); of St. Louis' Death by Beaufort, one of the series commissioned by the King in 1773 (76), and of the death of Siegfried, one of Fuseli's series of the Nibelunglied of 1800-7. (77)

Yet Rome remained the greatest quarry of examples of such

heroic patriotism. Two such examples must suffice; the first, Mucius Scaevola before Porsenna of Clusium, a victorious patriot, the second, Cato of Utica, a failed republican. Mucius Scaevola was a popular hero during the Renaissance and Baroque eras. Jacques Dumont "Le Romain" had painted a fine Mucius Scaevola before Porsenna (78). He was the subject of a sculpture by Desseine, a drawing by Fabre, and one by Appiani of ca. 1810. (79) Clearly, his bravery in the face of tyranny, his readiness to die for his country, impressed itself on the consciousness of a number of artists exposed to classical education. Similarly, the noble but ultimately futile suicide of Cato of Utica drawn by Gamelin in 1792 and painted by Guerin in 1797, evoked feelings of admiration and pity among sympathisers. (80) Perhaps, the ultimate failure of Cato's cause, despite Robespierre's advocacy, made his example less popular and more perplexing. (81)

#### Towards a higher Republic

Cato's tragedy, of course, was not simply that he fought Caesar, but that for him, the time was "out of joint" and the Republic dead. The "republic" in question, a self-governing commune of free men bound by distinct traditions and an historical culture, was always really an ideal in the mind of the philosopher-patriot. As with Cato, so it was with Seneca. Commanded, in the end, to take his life by a man for whom republicanism was

something to be acted upon a stage but never lived, the philosopher submitted to Nero and opened his veins. Such Stoic resignation had a particular appeal in late eighteenth century France; already around 1750, we find Noel Halle painting a stark Death of Seneca. [Pl.76] In 1773, the Death of Seneca was the subject of the Prix de Rome; David and Peyron both entered the competition which was won by Peyron. (82) As a subject, it was a favourite of the 17th and 18th centuries, being painted by Rubens and others up to Challe; and David, in particular, followed tradition in copying the antique figure of the so-called Seneca, which represents the philosopher with his feet in a basin. (83) David's composition is more traditional than Peyron's; it has a theatrical setting with large columns and an agitated curtain, and a diagonal Baroque thrust and swirling movements in the convoluted and rhetorically posed figures. There is, as yet, little sense of stoic resignation and triumph over present ills, which the subject so clearly demanded. At the same time, we discern the beginnings of that archaeological interest in details that presaged the recreation of the ideal "Roman Republic". (84) [Pl.77]

Nowhere is philosophic resolve in the face of death for an ideal of higher virtue more evident than in the death of Socrates, a subject which had a particular attraction for artists of the late 18th century. Socrates' attraction rested on several facets of his character. There was,



first, his anti-hedonism; he was depicted as saving Alcibiades, as in Peyron's (lost) Socrates freeing Alcibiades from the arms of Voluptuousness, a theme perfectly in keeping with the State's desire to enhance a sense of public morality over private interests and needs. (85) Allied to this was Socrates' sense of private morality, his faith in others, his steadfastness towards friends, depicted by Canova in a fine sculptural bas-relief of Socrates at Potidaea defending Alcibiades. (86) Here Canova has perfected his neo-classical style, but made it capable of expressing extreme peril and energetic resolve through the unification of the two halves of the relief by the devices of Socrates' shield and the arm of Alcibiades' attacker trying to pull his cloak away. This creates a sense of thrusting tension, of attack and defense, that is enhanced by the sinuous rhythms of arms and legs and backs, all carefully related to each other in a complex pattern against a bare ground.

Socrates' fighting spirit was also displayed at his trial, as recorded in the Apology. Canova did a series of Socrates' trial and death in a less finished set of models (bozzetti). (87) In the first, the arraigned philosopher protests his innocence before the hostile Athenian judges in 399 B.C. The setting is very simple; a platform with two steps on top of which sit the judges in front of a curtain, and at either end, informants (left) and disciples (right). Socrates is almost dwarfed by the

youthful soldier behind him, yet his raised arm points towards a higher ideal of the republic than his judges can comprehend, and so becomes the focus of the scene. In the second scene, Socrates sends away his family; he stands, calm and resolved in the doorway, seeing out his weeping wife and children, while outside the prison on the right sit his bearded disciples. This is to be an all-male world, replete with manly virtues, the triumph of a public but also a philosophic morality over family ties. Finally we are shown Socrates drinking the hemlock. He holds the cup in his left hand, while pointing away and above to the ideal world of the soul's immortality, demonstrated in the Phaedo, where man is truly free and really himself; while all around his disciples are shown in various poses of grief and resignation. All these reliefs have the quality of antique funereal stelae, and there is only a hint of place and time. We are placed into a universal arena, in which the struggle for the possession of a man's soul has been won in the face of all worldly or inner temptations. Here, then, was the secret of Socrates' appeal: through an act of apparent public submission, he actually triumphed, because he had mastered himself. [Pl.78]

In fact, the Socrates theme embodied a number of different dimensions dear to the eighteenth century. There was, first, the straightforward interest in heroic death and manly courage in the face of personal hardship. Then there was Socrates' explicit teaching, recorded in the

Crito , that individuals, having been nurtured by their patria , must submit to its laws, even when the state's representatives are less than impartial and lacking in philosophic understanding; the collective interest still takes precedence over the individual's. (88) Then there was the aspect we mentioned, of the public male world of martial morality triumphing over a private female world of effeminate emotion. Thus Schick shows Socrates in prison bereft of all family support, but able to endure his ordeal alone. And finally there was the specific philosophic interest of Socrates, who, as a seeker after the truth, was able to discern a higher morality and a true republic, in which freedom is reached through a combination of good will with self-discipline, illustrating the Kantian categorical imperative and the Kantian doctrine of the free, i.e. autonomous will - the aspect which some have linked with nationalism. (89)

As a theme, Socrates' death had been popular since the Renaissance. (90) In the later eighteenth century, it became even more attractive, and new philosophic and moralistic elements came to the fore. The two main aspects - that of pity for individual courage and heroism in the face of unjust sentence, and of the triumph of public, but philosophic morality over both the unjust state and the weak self - ran side by side. An early statement of the latter theme is found in Benjamin West's extraordinary Death of Socrates of 1756, whose crudely drawn figures -

in a scene that with Roman architecture and a great concourse of soldiers and disciples, lacks verisimilitude - cannot conceal the austere sense of triumph in the seated bearded philosopher taking the cup of hemlock. (91) The sense of political martyrdom is evident in Sané's more private scene of the Death of Socrates, the winning entry in the Academy competition of 1762. In this example, the lighting and movement of the heavily clad but soft figures is still Baroque. So too are the figures, the great curtain and diagonal movement of Gamelin's version, which also focusses on the disciples' private grief after their master's death. A grandiose yet curiously backward composition, Gamelin's picture concentrates on the element of pity of a private man in a gloomy dungeon, overwhelmed by the mighty but unjust force of the State. (92) Indeed, Gamelin's Death of Socrates is an exercise in pity and horror, since he focusses on the agony and physical torment of Socrates' body becoming rigidified as the poison crept upward, in the manner described by Plato. An interest in the details of rigor mortis, marked by the angularity and zig-zag line of the corpse, sharply lit in the dark dungeon, would fit in well with Gamelin's anatomical preoccupations in Toulouse. [Pl.79]

The "cult" of Socrates' death spread to Denmark, where about 1784, Abildgaard represented the philosopher; similarly, as we saw, Schick depicted him in prison in a drawing. (94) Yet it was in France that his death had the

greatest relevance. Fabre painted a version in 1801; so did Peyron in 1787, the former entitled Socrate buvant la ciguë, the latter Mort de Socrate. (95) Unfortunately, for Peyron, 1787 was also the year of David's Socrate au moment de prendre la ciguë; while Peyron's work, which had been commissioned already in 1780 by d'Angiviller, reduced the number of disciples present below Plato's fifteen, David retained only eight, including Plato himself (who was not present at the scene and was only 25, whereas here he is shown as an old man; the vaulted corridor, too, is an anachronism, being Roman). (96) In other respects, however, David took pains to produce an "authentic" historical setting and atmosphere; hence the bare stone walls, the parchment scroll, incense burner, owl, Greek letters and lyre on the bed. As for the heads of Socrates and Plato, these are taken from antique models; while for details of the disciples, including Plato, Crito seated with hand on Socrates' knee, and Apollodorus on the right raising his hand in a loud wail (as described in the Phaedo), David consulted both Plato's text and an Oratorian scholar, father Jean-Felicissime Adry, by letter. (97) The aim of all this concern for historical verisimilitude was to create an "authentic" spirit which would reflect the stern, stoical and moral self-discipline of the philosopher whose submission to an unjust State and its laws contains a message of ultimate triumph. His cause will be understood

only in the "higher republic" which men must strive to create on earth, as it exists in the mind of the philosopher-guardians of Plato's Republic. In such a commonwealth, men will not be put to death "for asking questions", as Socrates said at his trial. (98) Perhaps already David intended an oblique criticism of the monarchy and the ancien regime; it is more likely that he wanted to preach the ideal republic to his countrymen and suggest its eventual triumph. Hence Socrates' triumphant pose, which was given to David by André Chenier; Socrates is too absorbed in his thoughts about immortality and the ideal state to take the cup of hemlock proffered by the shrinking prison warder. The very harmony and gravity of the grid-like compositional plan and poses emphasizes this "message" of philosophic triumph. The two groups of disciples on either side, and Socrates' departing family seen through the tunnel-vault in the distance, are anguished and in disarray, while only Socrates is firm, foursquare and erect, his left arm raised aloft to the ideal state of justice and virtue to which all can and must aspire. (99) [Pl.80]

From the standpoint of an evolving civic patriotism, David's portrayal of Socrates' death possesses a twofold importance. In the first place, it carries to an extreme the growing passion for "authenticity", a quality at this very moment being given novel prominence by Herder, Moser, and the followers of Rousseau. (100) Here it is evident

in the archaeological realism of flesh, clothes, stone, wood, hair, bronze and other substances that bring alive the antique drama, so that we feel it being enacted today, before our very eyes, and are drawn into it, in the manner of Caravaggio's realism, but fully secularised. (101). Yet it is a self-consciously stylised realism, a realism evocative of a particular historical epoch, in which simpler, perhaps more archaic virtues and mores were practised (in fact, David puts aside the known corruptions of late 5th century Athenian society, so well depicted by Aristophanes, Thucydides and later Plato himself, and suggested by the injustice of the sentence itself), exactly those qualities of patriotism, justice, stoicism and the like that David admired and wanted to recreate in his own time. (102) Among these admired attributes was "authenticity" itself, and its sister, "autonomy", sprung from the same root and the same need, the realisation and determination of and by the "self" which must be discovered and released. This is where the second aspect of Socrates' death links up with David's concern for "authenticity". For autonomy must be achieved by an exercise of resolve, of the heroic, free will, which is also the "good will". The discovery of that "good will", i.e. the real self (not selfish partisan self-interest), is the aim of philosophical enquiry; for the true self has its own inner laws (autonomia) which, like the Socratic daimōn, must be obeyed. (103) For those laws mirror, in each one of us, the ideal laws of the Republic, the higher

community and social compact to which our souls truly belong, and of which present communities in the material world are very imperfect copies or oppressive caricatures. But the real, inner world waits to be realised and released. Like our selves, and our communities, it needs to be liberated and regenerated through the new secular gospel of national redemption. Nationalism, too, contains a myth of reawakening and redemption, such as Plato created in his parable of the Cave. Only the philosopher-king is now replaced by the philosopher-patriot, the cultural nationalist who discerns the "real" movement of history and its world of nations, and who seeks the emancipation and regeneration of "his" nation. (104)

This same zeal for authenticity and regeneration in the name of an ideal republic of the soul, can be found in a painting by Jean-Joseph Taillasson for the Salon of 1796, entitled Timoleon à qui les Siracusains amènent les étrangers. (105) Taken from Plutarch, it told the story of a Greek democrat and republican, Timoleon, from Corinth, who had had his own brother, Timophanes, murdered in Corinth, because he feared he would become a despot, and had then left for Syracuse, where he succeeded in expelling the younger Dionysius from Syracuse, the very city where Plato had failed to establish his ideal Republic through a philosopher-king. (106) In the end, Timoleon establishes a benevolent democracy and lives into



old age in peace. Taillasson here shows him old and blind, lovingly looked after by the Syracusans who bring strangers to pay him homage. "Authenticity" is to be seen in the view of a smoking Etna in the distance and the unfluted, baseless Doric order (from the Temple of Segesta) of the little temple before which Timoleon has been seated on a plinth. "Regeneration" and the attainment of the ideal republic are suggested by the peace, harmony and tranquillity of this Sicilian idyll, whose serene fraternity has only been achieved through bitter strife, such as was lately seen in the Terror in France. Indeed, Rosenblum argues that the picture was inspired by Chenier's tragedy, Timoleon, with music by Méhul, and Talma acting the title role, produced in 1794 and quickly banned; similarly, Alfieri had written a Timoleon, published in 1785, which also used classical allusions to modern events. (107)

Whatever may be the links with events in Revolutionary France, the patriotic implications of both the Socrates and the Timoleon exempla were clear. The desire for autonomy and for a new type of democratic republic, subject to "real" inner laws and free of arbitrary interference by external authority, was plainly evident and shared by many artists and writers among the growing western intelligentsia. (108)

## CHAPTER NINE

### RUDE ORIGINS, NOBLE DESCENT

#### The dark gods

In his drawing of The creation of the heavens Flaxman has straightened and simplified Michelangelo's Creator and endowed Him with a rude force suggestive of the primal power which generated the world and mankind. (1) We see the figure of God from behind, as He plunges into the dark starry sky, bearing along in His headlong flight a posse of angels whose outstretched arms counterbalance, yet also accentuate, the driving rhythm of God's creative quest. (2) The sense of thrust is accompanied and heightened by a suggestion of primitive energy traversing the vastness of galactic space. Compared to Michelangelo's God, Flaxman's deity is depersonalised; He possesses a similar volume and mass, but thereby symbolises and expresses the act of Creation rather than entering into a relationship with created objects.

Though remarkable, this drawing is not an isolated example of rude simplicity, either in Flaxman's oeuvre or that of his contemporaries. The same sense of mysterious, inscrutable origins pervades some of his illustrations for Hesiod's Theogony, particularly those of Saturn and the Titans. (3) Here, too, the deity is shrouded in darkness;

the origins of the world, struggling to free itself from chaos, are remote and impenetrable. There is this shadowy, brooding mystery in Rhea consulting her parents Uranus and Terra, about her husband's (Saturn's) jealousy; some deep secret is being imparted by the pliant Rhea to the vast, impassive countenances of the star-crowned primeval progenitors of all creation. (4) Their huge, billowing limbs are suggested beneath a canopy of floating clouds, an effect Flaxman achieves as much by delicate shading as by the abstract linearism for which he is renowned. Others in this series include Rhea delivering the infant Jupiter to Terra and The Brethren of Saturn delivered, all in pencil and grey wash; and they evoke that feeling of archaic simplicity of a dimly-remembered epoch. (5)

For the early Romantics, the Bible, Hesiod and Dante distilled the identical message of rude beginnings and archaic heroism. They therefore found many parallels in the tales of Lucifer, the Flood and the Titans. Barry, for example, depicted the Fall of the rebel angels, Satan flees before Ithuriel's spear and Neptune with Titans, not to mention the Pandora tale. (6) Flaxman also drew the Fall of the Rebel Angels, a composition of interlinked figures, a Lucifer shooting down like a thunderbolt (from Dante's Purgatorio) and Giant and Titans and Gods and Titans, a scene of the celebrated battle. (7) Among Fuseli's paintings we find, similarly,

a Satan bursts from Chaos (from Milton) and a Vision of the Deluge ;(8) Fuseli also made several illustrations of Aeschylus' Prometheus Vinctus , but does not seem to have been interested in the fate of the other Titans. Other artists took up several aspects of the chthonian deities: Carstens did a fine pen drawing of the Battle of the Titans and Gods , taken from Hesiod's Theogony , and another of Chronos (Saturn). (9) There is, in addition, his Michelangelesque Night with her children Sleep and Death (1795), also based on the Theogony ;(10) behind her stand those other bulwarks of the pre-Olympian order, Nemesis and the Fates, in which the artist's brooding melancholy seems to have taken refuge (he also sculpted a figure of Atropos , another powerful, but dramatic, figure). (10) Again, as with Flaxman, it is through a sombre shading that Carstens achieves a sense of primeval weight, of gloom and oppressive density. Yet all this is distilled through a very classical sense of equilibrium and control, which only makes the sense of tragic grandeur and sublimity more profound and suggests the monumental quality of the dark gods who inhabited the very origins of time.

An English parallel to Carstens' Atropos , both in its subject and its dynamism, can be found in Thomas Banks' Falling Titan of 1786. Again a single figure conveys the muscular energy presumed to animate primeval offspring of the Earth-mother and the Chthonians. Even

the rocks in which his fall is encased, as happened when Athens buried Enceladus beneath a piece of Sicily, dramatise the sense of primal matter at the very origins of life and the world. And yet proto-romantic violence is mitigated by the almost classical beauty of the Titan's curving body and carefully positioned arms, and his canonical proportions. Wildness is restrained by rhythmic harmony. (11)

Interestingly, the works considered so far were created by English or Scandinavian artists; the French, so drawn to Homeric (Iliadic) and Roman themes, do not seem to have been so interested in Hesiod, Dante or Milton, or the early Biblical stories. There is something in this difference; but we cannot press it too far, for both the Flood and the Chthonians appear later as subjects in France. Prud'hon, for example, did a fine drawing of Nemesis and Themis (c.1805), which was intended for a painting of Themis, but eventually was turned into his celebrated Justice and Divine Vengeance pursuing Crime of 1808. (12) In this drawing, a winged Nemesis drags the murderer towards the throne on which Themis, sword in hand, is seated surrounded by Force, Prudence and Moderation. (13) Prud'hon, judging from the letter which sets out his intentions, is more concerned with allegory, as befits a commission from the Criminal Court of the Palais de Justice in Paris. Yet his choice of these primeval "chthonian" deities from the Homeric Hymns is in

tune with the preoccupations of early Romantic artists, with their representations of the Furies, who pursued matricides like Orestes or Alcmaeon (as in the painting by Fuseli of 1821), (14) of underworld deities like Hecate and Thanatos, depicted by Blake and Fuseli, and of scenes in Hades illustrated by Girodet in the 1810s for the Aeneid (Book VI). (15)

Nor was this macabre interest in death and the underworld confined to Greek mythology. We meet it again in representations by English and Scandinavian artists of scenes from the Edda, the Icelandic sagas then becoming better known through translations and poems. One might expect such an interest in Denmark; Abildgaard certainly drew scenes representing episodes like Baldur and Nanna and Ymir og Ædhumbla. (16) In England, Romney took up the theme of Odin's Descent into the underworld in search of the dead Baldur; Fuseli appears to have suggested the subject in Rome, during their stay in the mid-1770s, but the source was Gray's poem, The Descent of Odin, rather than any translation of the Eddic sagas. (17) Later, Romney did a painted version, along with another "ghostly" pair, of Atossa's Dream and The Ghost of Darius appearing to Atossa, drawn from the scene in Aeschylus' Persae, and a series of the Orpheus and Eurudice tale, which also features the realm of the underworld and its deities. (18)

Such juxtapositions illustrate the artists' relatively

undeveloped sense of historicism and historical time, compared with the developed sense of atmospheric archaism. What really interested Romney and Fuseli was the poetry of mystery: the conviction of an unknown world beyond our everyday one, of which the primeval myths suggested such powerful intimations. Here, again, lay the attraction of the vivid cantos of Dante's Inferno which Flaxman and Fuseli illustrated, and of the passages in Milton's Paradise Lost which depicted the fall of the rebel angels and the realm of Satan and death.

In all these cases, the myths spoke of a world before or beyond our time, or both. Though few artists took up the challenge of the Edda, even when mediated by Gray, the fact that Fuseli's Diploma work for the Royal Academy (which was accepted) was Thor battering the serpent Midgard in the boat of Humer the Giant in 1792, suggests that such apparently esoteric interests had a wider audience and struck a more general chord. (19) True, his style has an heroic mannerism, the contrapposto figures of Thor and cowering Hymer, resembling those of the three confederates in the earlier Oath of the Rütli. (20) [Pl.81] But the huge bulk of the serpent and the menacing darkness transport us to a mythical and primeval time. A similarly eerie and menacing atmosphere marks the early drawing of Odin receiving the prophecy of Baldur's death, based on Gray's poem, in which the Prophetess of the Underworld ascends with the body of Odin's son. (21) The

economical lines and tense drama of Odin and his horse, turning towards the pale, bleak apparition, and the shading of the rocky chasm where they stand on a ledge, excite this sense of otherworldly mystery and heroic time, beyond that of mortals. Yet, even this most northern and anti-classical of conceptions (and subject-matter) remain firmly tied to a classical framework, and nowhere more than in the figure of Odin, which Fuseli based on the antique Roman group of The Horsetamers of Monte Cavallo which he greatly admired. Perhaps Fuseli, whose love of medievalism began in his youth in Zürich, found in Thomas Gray that alliance of the Gothic with classicism which in his art he tried to distil, though he himself remarked that "We are more impressed by Gothic than Greek mythology, because the bands are not yet rent, which tie us to its magic". (22) Magic, mystery, myth; these provide the inspiration for Fuseli's often violent and elemental drama, and sum up the grounds for the contemporary taste for the dark gods. [Pl.82]

Was that taste mainly a Northern and Celtic-Saxon one? Their artists certainly appear to have monopolised the most primeval, non-human reaches of myth and magic; their French and Italian counterparts enter the picture only with the advent of mankind and its early history. Thus the Flood is the subject of paintings by de Louthembourg, Regnault, St.Ours and Girodet, and the Death of Abel was depicted by Fuger and Fabre, and sculpted by Canova. Of



the former Girodet's is typical in its Michelangelesque terror and violence. (23) The figures are classical enough, but they are contorted with fear; their draperies are clean and untouched, the landscape bare and rocky, the sky flashing with lightning amid the heavy clouds, and a stripped branch on a tree trunk serves as sole and uncertain support for the fleeing and mounting family. Its vast scale and theme look forward to Gericault's Medusa, but compared to the latter's powerful realism, Girodet's effort is mannered, if not contrived, notably in the impossible position of the wife and children. Equally classical and "posed" is Fabre's Death of Abel. (24) Here the body of a beautiful youth lies recumbent, rather than dead, across a low altar in a rocky glade. There is no sign of the wound, let alone of murder, only a suggestion in the slight contrapposto and curiously placed outstretched arms. What seems to interest Fabre, and to a lesser extent Girodet, is the human physique under emotional stress or in extremis and for this reason, atmospherics are relegated and the sense of mystery is hardly present. And that, in turn, may have something to do with the greater hold of classical ideals in France over several centuries, and the classical training of artists by a propagandist state. [Pl.83]

### Archaic ages

The human counterpart of the dark mystery of creation and

the early deities was the myth of the golden age. It appears, most obviously, in Hesiod's first or golden age of men, and in the garden of Eden. But elements are also found in the cult of nature and agriculture, and in the "rude genius" of the ancient bards - Homer and Ossian, above all. Finally, we meet it again in the story of Dibutade, which tells of the origin of painting itself.

There were several ways of representing the golden age itself, starting with the traditional accounts, religious and mythological. In the first, Adam and Eve inhabit a perfect, serene nature, as in Barry's painting of The Temptation of Adam, or Blake's watercolours of Adam and Eve Asleep, the Creation of Eve and Raphael warns Adam and Eve, all illustrations of Paradise Lost done in 1808.

(25) Similar suggestions of warmth and serenity pervade a small drawing by Flaxman of The Creation of Eve, after a sculpture at Wells Cathedral.(26)

The mythological account looks to Hesiod, and again Flaxman gives the fullest representation, showing both the Five ages of man and the tale of Pandora; in the former, he contrasts the calm of the golden and silver ages with the violence of the bronze and iron ages, while in the latter Pandora is a graceful beauty, and the linear technique is soft. "Beauty, nature, pathos and classical perfection", the qualities Flaxman found in Musaeus' Herq and Leander, were also characteristics of his drawings for

Hesiod's Theogony and especially in the Pandora series; the picture of a pure and elegant age before the mischief which Pandora unwittingly wrought, is what his gentle, spare scenes evoke. (27)

Other evocations of the golden age before or beyond history were allegorical. Thus Benjamin West, in a charming idyll, shows us the three generations of a family from the Old Testament in a simple bedroom in his The Golden Age. The aged grandparents are resting in the sunlight of the open door of the bedroom, which shows onto a green and sunny landscape. In the centre a white-robed mother sits on the bed, next to her blissfully sleeping child protected by drapes and cushions. Glowing colours - red, mauve, white, orange, light blue - add to this image of familial serenity. West also painted other allegories; a Husbandry aided by the Arts and Commerce and A Genius calling forth the Fine Arts to adorn Manufacture and Commerce (two ovals of 1789, like the earlier Golden Age), an Etruria, a Graces unveiling Nature and other mythological decorations for Burlington House in 1779-80. (28)

Similar, if more high-minded and thoughtful, idylls can be found in some of Barry's paintings for the Society for the encouragement of the Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (founded 1754, established in their Adam building at the Adelphi in 1774, and becoming the Royal Society of Arts in

1908). As his Birth of Pandora showed, Barry was already contemplating the Hesiodic ideal of the golden age, along with the role of the arts and the hero-artist in its establishment and rediscovery. (29) This theme also played a major part in his series of paintings for the Royal Society of Arts, executed between 1777 and 1783. Yet, Barry's conception is more optimistic and evolutionist than Hesiod's. Rather than an inevitable decline, such as Hesiod or St. Paul postulated for man, Barry suggests a gradual improvement, with relapses, in the condition of mankind. True, in earlier stages, the "state of happiness, simplicity and fecundity ... is much better attended to in this, than in any other stage of our progress", states Barry in his account of the series. Yet The Progress of Human Knowledge (for such is the overall title of the series) is cumulative and unending; therefore this early stage ( A Grecial Harvest-Home ) is one "at which we cannot stop ...". Barry's overall theme, Human Culture, illustrates "one great maxim or moral truth, that the obtaining of happiness, as well individual as public, depends on cultivating the human faculties." Hence, Barry continues, "We begin with man in a savage state, full of inconvenience, imperfection and misery; and we follow him through several gradations of culture and happiness, which after our probationary state here, are finally attended with beatitude or misery". (30)

The first picture in the series, Orpheus, shows "the

founder of Grecian theology, uniting in the same character the legislator, the divine, the philosopher and the poet, as well as the musician" in a "wild and savage country, surrounded by people as savage as their soil", i.e. in the state of nature, which for Barry is not to be confused with "the golden age some have unwisely imagined". Even the animals around Orpheus' rude audience - the lion, two horses, one run down by a tiger - show that "the want of human culture is an evil which extends even beyond our own species". It is in the second picture, The Grecian Harvest-Home, that we are shown the religious rites established by the doctrinal songs of Orpheus, as young men and women dance round the double terminal figure of Pan and Sylvanus, as Ceres, Bacchus, Pan and other gods look down on the "innocent festivity" of their happy votaries. Here is the nearest approximation to a primitive golden age of harmony with, and thanksgiving to, the gods, a scene reminiscent of such Poussinesque allegories as his Dance to the Music of Time or the Bacchanalian Dance (National Gallery), as well as processions and scenes of rustics Barry had himself witnessed in Rome and Naples.

The third picture, Crowning the Victors at Olympia, shows the procession of the victors before the Hellenodikai or judges at Olympia in the sports that gave rise "to those wise and admirable national institutions, the Olympian, Isthmian and Nemean games of the Grecians". When we

remember that, for Barry, Greece, Rome and England (later America) were the great nations of liberty and virtue, then the central role of this picture, emphasised by its placing in the Great Room above the President's chair, where the whole audience could see it in front of them, becomes apparent. To further emphasise his point, Barry has introduced a throne with medallions of Solon and Lycurgus, trophies of the victories of Salamis, Marathon and Thermopylae, Herodotus with his history of Greece, Pythagoras, Democritus, Hippocrates, Pindar leading the chorus, and other "celebrated characters of Greece" of roughly the same period - Cimon, Socrates, Anaxagoras, Euripides and Aristophanes, Pericles (given the likeness of Chatham who had just died, "and there being a striking resemblance in the character and fortunes of those two great men"), and Timanthes the painter with Barry's own visage. Clearly, the frieze-like composition bears the marks of classical sculptural influence, notably the Parthenon frieze which he got to know through his friend, "Athenian" Stuart. It is also indebted to Gilbert West's "Dissertation on the Olympic Games". Barry in no way idealised the Greeks. But he felt, as his later Letter to the Society of Arts points out, that religious influence helped the Greeks to overcome their political hostilities every four years during the Olympic games, implying the contemporary benefits of such an institution. (31)

The fourth, fifth and sixth pictures are less interesting

compositionally, and relate to more contemporary concerns (and will be touched on in the next chapter). The fourth, Commerce, or the Triumph of the Thames, identifies an ancient practise of personifying rivers with a modern patriotic theme, the way in which Father Thames, carried along by "our great navigators Drake, Raleigh, Sebastian Cabot and the late Captain Cook in the character of Tritons", is served by the produce of the four continents, while Nereids carry "several articles of our manufacture and commerce" and Mercury above summons the nations together. The Distribution of Premiums in the Society of Arts, dedicated to "raising up and perfecting useful and ingenious arts", was for Barry both relevant to his overall theme and "an idea picturesque and ethical in itself". Here the members shown like peers in their Parliamentary robes recall Copley's robed peers in his lately-finished Death of Chatham. While the final picture, Elusium, or the State of Final Retribution, gathers together a bewildering array of "great and good men of all ages and nations", in a manner both dramatic and epic, the figures ranging from Solon and Homer to Raphael, More and Louis XIV (as one of the patrons of genius). Here Barry tends to abandon the clear lighting which illuminates flowing lines and smooth objects, especially in the section of the painting showing Tartarus. Instead of Burke's "beautiful" style, there is an attempt to suggest the sublime by means of gigantic figures and jagged lighting, contrasting with the even

lighting and smaller figures of the part showing Elysium itself. (32)

In many ways this is one of the most elaborate "historicist" conceptions of the period. Barry treats his theme of Human Culture with a broad evolutionary outlook. Despite the manifest absurdities of the later paintings, notably Dr. Burney swimming fully clothed in the Thames, Barry tries hard to marry the universal and the patriotic which is one of the hall-marks of neo-classicism. It is in keeping with his belief in the close relationship between true religion, liberty and heroic art. Like other national historicist myths, this one incorporates both an ideal of the golden age in the (classical) past, and a belief in inevitable progress of (contemporary) civilisation and the artist's own culture. For Barry felt that modern Englishmen were the worthy successors of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and had inherited the mantle of liberty and grand art from classical civilisation. Hence the nationalistic sentiments were inextricably fused with universalist ideals of general human progress. (33)

In France, too, allegories of the golden age were not unknown. Characteristically, however, they took on a Rousseauan and Roman hue. In 1777 Nicolas Brenet painted L'Aggriculture Romaine, taken from Pliny's Historia Naturalis; and in 1796 Francois-André Vincent depicted a



more homely version with his L'Agriculture, which owes much to Rousseau's educational ideals in Emile. (34) In the background of Vincent's painting a wealthy merchant from Bordeaux, with his wife and daughter, watches his son taking a hand at an oxen-drawn plough and being instructed in the art of tilling by a rough farmer. The Salon Livret of 1798 tells us that the family wants to complete their son's education, since "L'Agriculture est la base de la prosperité des Etats". Similar themes made their appearance under the Directoire, in the Salon of 1796, and later, in 1801; and they clearly translate into a more contemporary idiom the classical models of Cincinnatus at his plough, and of Timoleon of Syracuse, both heroes associated with an agrarian golden age. (35)

#### Ossian and rude genius

Another aspect of the myth of the golden age was the celebration of rude genius in an archaic setting, especially artistic genius. The prototype, of course, is the legend of Orpheus. Scenes from this tale retained their earlier attraction, especially in England, where apart from Barry, Mortimer and Romney depicted episodes, as did Fuger in Germany. Equally interesting is the figure of The Bard in Wales, the tale of the last Welsh bard who sang and died in the mountain crags, the sole survivor of

his circle and tradition, as the armies of the conquering Edward I marched into the valleys below. That, at any rate, was the dramatic scene bequeathed by Thomas Gray's poem of 1757, and that is how Benjamin West and Fuseli, and much later Ingres, envisaged it; de Louthembourg, too, saw its dramatic possibilities and did a drawing and later a painting in the early 1780s. (36)[Pl.84] Even more popular was the figure of Homer, who combined towering genius with a genuine mystery of identity, shrouded in the Greek "dark ages", seemingly so primeval and archaic; the combination excited artists in England, France and Denmark. Romney and Mortimer both drew Homer reciting his verses to the Greeks in the 1770s. (37) They were followed later by Carstens, who seems to have done more than one drawing, and by Thorvaldsen, who copied one of these drawings fairly closely; and after 1800 French artists like David, Lethière and ultimately Ingres celebrated the legendary genius. (38)

But perhaps the most extraordinary of these cults was that of the Gaelic bard, Ossian, which swept Europe after the publication in 1761-5 of Macpherson's largely forged poems, which nevertheless retained a core of Highlands oral traditions. Macpherson actually transferred a semi-mythical Irish poet of the 3rd century to Scotland, and his poems tell of the endless battles and unhappy loves of Fingal, Ossian, Oscar and Malvina, in a world of grey mists and phantoms, noble yet nostalgic. (39) Not

surprisingly, perhaps, the first to turn to this source for artistic inspiration was Alexander Runciman. In 1766 Sir James Clerk of Penicuik commissioned the Runciman brothers to decorate his mansions but John Runciman died in Naples in late 1768, and it was left to Alexander to conceive a classical narrative design in 1769, which owed much to Barry. (40) That series, based on the life of Achilles, survives only in drawings; (41) so does the subsequent Ossianic scheme, which Sir James adopted in 1771 - Runciman's Ossianic ceiling of 1772 was destroyed by fire in 1899. (42) Sir James and Runciman seem to have been influenced by a patriotic circle of antiquarians like James Cumming, a tradesman painter, David Herd, a clerk in a writer's office and George Paton, a clerk in the Customs office, who corresponded with Percy and Gough. All were members of the Cape Club in Edinburgh and later helped found the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and they promoted John of Fordun's medieval Latin Scoti Chronicon with its tales of the eleventh century Saint and Scottish Queen, Margaret, scenes from whose life Runciman painted on the staircase of Penicuik House. (43) Encouraged by these men and the older nationalist and Jacobite, James Wilson, Sir James and Runciman turned to Ossian and the Scottish countryside, following the advice of Hugh Blair, whose Critical Dissertation on the Poetru of Ossian of 1765 declared that:

"Every country has a scenery peculiar to itself; and the imagery of a good poet will exhibit it... The introduction of foreign images betrays a poet, copying not from nature, but from other writers" (Vo.II, 408)

a truly Herderian sentiment, before Herder. (44)

To this end, Runciman painted not only the Scottish rivers in the Spandrels - the Tay, Spey, Tweed and Clyde - but also Ossian singing in a Scottish landscape, the centre panel of Ossian's Hall, and Oscar singing to Malvina in the centre of the coved ceiling, with other scenes, eleven in all. (45) Two descriptions, one of them contemporary, show quite clearly the patriotic intention behind the series and the Michelangelesque inspiration. Like Fuseli, Runciman aimed for a monumental, dramatic effect, using stylisation of huge figures, elongations and distortions, the figures grouped relief-like as on a stage, and the clothes drawn from antique sources and Roman sarcophagi. Something of this style can be seen in two etchings and some sketches in Edinburgh, such as the Finding of Carbon Carglass and a Subject from Ossian (the etchings) and the Death of Oscar, a drawing of 1772, in which a gathering of elderly followers and kinsmen stand and kneel round the mortally wounded Oscar, recumbent on his shield,

gesturing in wild grief under a lowering sky. (46) There is an interesting interpenetration here of classical forms and proto-romantic "Northern" spirit; the drapery is antique with figures clad in heavy togas, even the heads are classical if dishevelled and distorted, as are the weapons, yet the baying dog, the monk (in this pre-Christian era?), the brooding shadows and stormy sky and oppressive gloom enveloping the semi-circle of mourners foreshadow the emotional and expressive imagery of Romanticism. [Pl.85]

Several other artists were attracted to the Ossianic cult, among them Angelica Kauffmann, who exhibited a painting of Irenmor and Imbaca at the Royal Academy of 1773, an almost Rococo interpretation of gallantry in medieval armour mixed with some classical attire and set in a romantic northern, rocky glade above the sea. (47) Flaxman also did Ossianic drawings, including one of Fingal, and Barry included Ossian in his Elusium at the Adelphi, but with an Irish harp, a subject on which his patriotism waxed lyrical and to which he gave some space in his writings. (48) Fuseli was interested in Ossianic subjects, as was Abildgaard. In the latter's Ossian Singing of 1785, the bard has a strenuous, unkempt

Northern appearance; he raises his hand like an actor, and the tree nearby and log on which he sits resemble those in the original title-page by Wale of Ossian's works of 1761. (49) [Pl.86] Another Northern artist, Carstens, drew Ossian and Alpin in 1788 with a biblical monumentality and northern harps, and later painted Fingal and the Spirit of Loda set in a quiet, but taut landscape. (50)

In Germany, too, Koch painted another Fingal and the Spirit of Loda in 1796-7, and a (lost) Death of Oscar (1805); the figures resembled those of his friend, Carstens, but the landscape, though turbulent, was less tense. Koch also did two sets of illustrations to Ossian, one of 54 drawings in Copenhagen of about 1800, mainly heavy figures set in generalised landscapes, and another of 36 drawings in Vienna of c.1803-5, with bulky, more detailed figures and more highly finished, which were engraved for a luxury edition for Napoleon in a more Gothicising vein. (51) Runge went even further, interpreting the Ossian cycle in terms of sun, earth and moon, light, space and fame. But he only completed 12 of the 100 projected scenes by 1804, including three character studies of Fingal, Ossian and Oscar, and the large Comhal's death and Fingal's birth, all done in a deliberately "Northern" manner, to create a new mythology to meet the needs of northern countries, one more natural to them than Greek myths, and full of pantheistic sentiments and spiritual experiences amid a panoply of

northern mists, trees and crags. (52)

Even America was touched by the cult. John Trumbull, the recorder of American revolutionary patriotism, depicted an incident from Book V of "Fingal", Lamderg and Gelchossa (1792), in the manner of Angelica Kauffmann, with very solid hero and heroine and a rather disembodied and nonmedieval landscape. (53) English landscape painters, too, sometimes alluded to the Ossianic spirit: Cotman's Hall of Kings (1803), a free adaptation of an Ossianic passage drawn by members of the Girtin Sketching Club, was followed by a (lost) Ossianic landscape by George Augustus Wallis and another by Turner, Ben Lomond Mountains, Scotland. The Traveller and, much later, his Staffa, Fingal's Cave. (54) And Henry Singleton exhibited a few Ossianic scenes: The Spirit of Cathmor appearing at Clonmal's Cave (1794), and Oichoma's Dream and Evicallin, the daughter of Branno (both 1806). (55)

For a long time, France and Italy appear to have been immune to Ossian, at least in the visual arts. True, one of the poems, Cathmor, had been translated into French as early as 1762, but the full corpus had to wait until 1777 for a French version. Diderot loved the poems and Voltaire parodied them; but as one might expect, it was only a later generation that enthused over them, including Mme. de Stael, Chateaubriand, Lamartine, de Vigny, de Musset, Victor Hugo and Napoleon. During the "Roman"

republican revival in the arts, Ossianic themes hardly appeared. It was only under the Directoire, when the intense revolutionary fervour had abated, that several artists under the influence of the Primitifs (c.1797-1804) around Maurice Quai and of Napoleon's passion for Ossian, turned to the poems for inspiration. In 1798, Gros drew Malvina crying on Ossian's harp the death of her husband, an apparently imaginary scene of ceremonial mourning of heroic nudes, northern warriors, a gowned maiden, all set in a grotto; and for the 1800 Salon Paul Duqueylar (1771-1845) contributed an Ossian singing the funeral hymn of a maiden, a primitivist, relief-like portrayal which owed much to the Barbus (Primitifs) sect. (56)

Much more influential was Gerard's Ossian evoking ghosts on the edge of the Lova, exhibited at the Salon of 1801, part of his attempt to incarnate four great mythologies and geniuses, the last being the romantic with Ossian as its guiding spirit. Gerard's painting is an attempt to synthesize the poems as a whole and shows the old bard by a river invoking the phantoms of his land and his songs. Around him throng Flaxmanesque maidens with harps, ghostly warriors, lost lovers, beneath a ruined castle near a stream under a gloomy sky, echoing the spirit and detail of the poems. As the Journal des Arts of 1801 put it:

"Ce n'est pas une action, un mouvement, un caractère d'Ossian que le peintre a saisi, c'est le système



essentiel de la mythologie, de la poésie du barde calédonien." (57) [Pl.87]

What seems to have attracted Gerard and the circle of Ossian admirers was the nostalgia and sense of loss for a vanished primitive world of heroic nobility.

We find the same spirit, this time combined with an undoubted French nationalism, in Girodet's remarkable painting, entitled Les Ombres des Héros Français morts pour la patrie, conduite par la Victoire, viennent habiter l'Élysée aérien, où les Ombres d'Ossian et de ses valeureux guerriers s'empressent de leur donner, dans ce séjour d'immortalité et de gloire, la fête de la Paix et de l'Amitié (1802). [Pl.88] At the right we see Napoleon's generals being welcomed on the left by Ossian and the warriors of Morven, while behind and below Starvo and the warriors of Lochlin (Morven's enemies) look on. All round "swim" crystalline maidens welcoming the French soldiers with flowers, wine and music. Intended to celebrate the signing of the Treaty of Lunéville on 9 February, 1801, with the realistically portrayed and victorious French being welcomed by the proudly defeated Austrians with their eagle, while England (Starvo) is set to interfere, it was not exhibited till the summer of 1802, by which time peace had been concluded with England in the Treaty of Amiens. (58) Its combination of realism and lack of perspective and sense of distances, with transparent

people floating in a space alternately misty and lit up by meteoric shafts of light, was rejected by most of the artistic community as irrational and lacking common sense. David later told Delecluze: "Either Girodet is mad or I no longer know anything of the art of painting. Those are figures of crystal ("personnages de cristal") he has made for us. With his fine gifts he will never produce any thing but stupidities ("sottises"); he has no common sense". (59) Yet this strange fantasy, so much at variance with stylistic "Roman" neo-classicism of the kind practised in France, so Baroque in its painterly qualities and unified in composition, is much more fitted to the evocation of that supernatural, primitive and mysterious world of the archaic era for which many in the late 18th and early 19th centuries so ardently yearned. Perhaps Girodet's allegory captures this spirit even better than Ingres' version of 1809, Ossian's Dream, whose ghostly visions are comparatively well-ordered and limpid, their forms pure and calm in the moonlit night. (60) Again, in his painting of Fingal mourning Malvina and the drawing of Dream of Ossian, Girodet's vision has a freedom from restraint and a romantic mystery in the night scene amid the crags that foreshadows the later Romantics. (61) [Pls.89,90]

#### Muths of heroic descent

The cult of Ossian served not only as a general paradigm

of rude genius in an archaic age, it also embodied a myth of noble and heroic descent. In that aspect, Fingal, Ossian, Oscar and Malvina represented the noble ancestors of latterday Celts; and undoubtedly, by coupling his Ossianic ceiling with scenes from the life of St. Margaret at Penicuik, Runciman intended to evoke some sort of national genealogy. Given the relatively undeveloped state of "nationalism" and national sentiment in Europe during the late 18th century, such genealogies, while they had a special meaning for those who claimed direct descent, could nevertheless inspire other peoples - Germans, French, even Italians - with their implicit ideals of nobility and heroism, and in the process direct them towards unearthing their own myths of heroic ancestry.

In this respect, certain artists and themes become prominent. We have already noted that James Barry, himself Irish, transferred Ossian back to his Irish forbears, giving him an Irish harp in his Elysium. Already in 1763, Barry chose St. Patrick baptising a King of Cashel as his subject for an exhibition held by the Dublin Society of Arts, a heroic theme from early Irish history. (62) Early British and Anglo-Saxon history also drew the interest of various artists. We saw how both Banks and Fuseli turned to the story of the British chieftain, Caractacus; in the same period, Runciman drew a Druidic subject in a Scottish landscape, while in 1783

Flaxman did a drawing of The Massacre of the Britons by Hengist's Party at Stonehenge, a frieze-like classical depiction of fighting naked men in a shallow space, rather like similar scenes from Roman sarcophagi, carefully spaced but full of contrapposto movement and mannered poses. (63) Another Flaxman drawing in this series on early English history was the remarkable one of St. Ethelburga with her chaplain, St. Paulinus of Rochester, bringing Christianity to Northumbria (also c.1783). Once again, the figures walk in a frieze-like procession, but this time through a glade of trees which, together with their elongated Gothic figures and pious expressions, gives the scene an air of remote mystery suitable to such archaic times. (64)

To this circle of interest in early English history belong some of Blake's early drawings, among them the engraving of 1773, entitled Joseph of Arimathea (much later re-engraved and retitled Joseph of Arimathea among the Rocks of Albion), a brooding Ossianic figure, said by legend to have been sent by St. Paul to England to convert the barbarous and superstitious inhabitants to Christianity. (65) A later series of small watercolours of the history of England, probably conceived around 1780, owes much to Blake's apprenticeship in the workshop of the antiquarian engraver, James Basire, and his ensuing knowledge and love of medieval monuments, which he copied for the Society of Antiquaries' publications of James

Gough's Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain, and Vetusta Monumenta .(66) About ten of these early watercolours have been identified, and they show that Blake refused to accept the findings of the critical historians like Rapin and Hume, from whom, along with Leland's Itineraria (of the 16th c.), he drew most of the moral and didactic anecdotes he chose to illustrate. For one thing, Blake accepted the genealogical myth put about by Geoffrey of Monmouth, that Brutus, great-grandson of the Trojan hero, Aeneas, had come to Britain, defeated the giants who were the original inhabitants, and given his name to the islands; hence the watercolour of the Landing of Brutus precedes one of the Landing of Caesar , demonstrating Blake's preference for poetic, historicised myth over "rational" historical enquiry. (67)

Another in the series, The Death of Earl Godwin, was also an extraordinary event drawn from Rapin's History (translated into English between 1725-31), which Rapin himself had discounted as both miraculous and "probably invented to blacken the memory of the Earl and his family". (68) Again Blake prefers myth to "scientific" history: the story of an Earl who suddenly chokes to death after swearing a false oath, has all the elements of sensationalism, the miraculous and the didactic, which appealed to Blake, coupled with a radical biting edge which distinguished Blake, Mortimer, Stothard, George Cumberland and William Sharp, as well as Thomas Banks,

from the more established and conservative artists associated with Reynolds and the Royal Academy. The composition of this scene owes much to Fuseli's horrifying image of the Death of Cardinal Beaufort (1772), especially in its asymmetry and the mannerist figure of the boy on the right looking over his shoulder at Godwin's fallen corpse. To this series, too, belong the first version of the Penance of Jane Shore, The Making of Magna Carta and Edward and Eleanor with the "Roman" severity of its verticals and draperies and its centralised action carried out on a shallow stage. (69) Among the later, larger watercolours are ones of Jane Shore, the gothicising The Ordeal of Queen Emma, Edward III and the Black Prince which is more Roman than medieval, and Gregory the Great and the British Captives, in which Banks' Caractacus is recalled, in that the innocence and nobility of native Britons melts the heart of Roman tyrants. (70) Here, too, primitivism combines with a native radicalism. [Pl.91]

Blake's example illustrates two important points. The first is the way in which an original artist of this period, though soon to develop his own very personal religious myth, began by immersing himself in national, historical myths in reaction to prevailing social and stylistic trends embodied in the political conservatism of the Royal Academy with its emphasis on drawing from life and on portraiture, (whatever Reynold's theory taught). Second, Blake was in this respect in good company: he was

part of a whole trend, fed by the colony of British artists in Rome, which emphasized the grand style appropriate to literary and historical subjects, and whose imaginations were fed by the mythology of past heroic ages. Blake, in this respect, did not differ from Runciman, Fuseli, Hamilton, Barry, Stothard, Flaxman and Mortimer, all the leading artists of the proto-Romantic trend.

Most of these artists took up themes from early English history. Mortimer, for example, drew St. Paul preaching to the Britons for the Society of Artists in 1777, as "St. Paul converting the antient (sic) Britons: a drawing", and later listed as "St. Paul preaching to the Druids"; a small drawing of c.1775-8 exists for the completed composition (itself lost) which was etched by Joseph Haynes in 1780, and shows a bearded elderly apostle preaching to rough-clad country folk in a glade. Mortimer also did an early St. Paul which he exhibited at the Free Society in 1764, and for which he received the first premium for history painting for that year, from the Society of Arts. (71) Medieval English history also attracted Mortimer's interest: he did two canvases in 1776, the first, King John delivering Magna Carta to the Barons, being exhibited at the Society of Artists in that year; (72) the second, the Battle of Agincourt, a crowded battle scene with Henry V in the centre driving back his French adversary, being exhibited at the Royal Academy in

1779. (73) Another late medieval painting by Mortimer took up the popular theme of the Death of Sir Philip Sidney at Zutphen in 1586, which was also exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1779. (74) And, in more directly political vein, Mortimer painted an Edward the Confessor despoiling his Mother at a time when eighteenth-century historians were trying to uncover his violent character, and when George III was reasserting the principle of the Divine Right of Kings. (75)

One theme from early Anglo-Saxon history seems to have struck a particularly responsive chord. It was the tale of Vortigern and Rowena, the earliest known example in art being a drawing by Fuseli of 1769; (76) it was soon followed by Angelica Kauffmann's Vortigern, King of Britain, enamoured of Rowena at the banquet of Hengist (1770) and A Sacrifice to Vortigern (1774). (77) Both pictures represent their early medieval (mid-5th century) subject in classical garb and antique accessories in the round base, the Athene statue and the temple front behind. [Pl.92] Perhaps this is only to be expected; their early date coincided with the high tide of the classical revival in English painting. In any case, by the time Mortimer exhibited his Vortigern and Rowena in 1779, the classical tide in English painting had begun to ebb, and there was a greater interest in things medieval and literary. Mortimer's depiction is less formal and hierarchical; the costumes are simpler and plainer, and a picturesque



element, thought to express medievalism more aptly, creeps in. (78) By the 1790s, when William Hamilton treated the theme in more Gothic vein, its medieval aspect was well established. (79) [P1.93]

The story of Rowena and Vortigern combined sentiment with history, a noble morality of selfless love with the recreation of a primitive tribal past of original simplicity. So did such tales as West's Alfred the Great dividing his loaf with a Pilgrim (1779) and the Saxon, but classical William D'Albanac presents his daughters to Alfred III of Mercia (1778), an obscure theme also drawn by Fuseli a little later. (80) For Bowyer's Historic Gallery, for which over a hundred paintings of English history were commissioned, to be engraved and published in an edition of Hume's History of England in 1806, West produced two works, William I receiving the Crown of England and Prince John's submission to Richard I with a suitably "medieval" flavour to them typical of the early 1790s. (81) Kauffmann, too, sought morally appropriate histories from various incidents in the past of her adopted country. One was the Interview of Edgar and Elfrida, after her marriage to Athelwold (1771), another the classically composed Eleanor sucking Edward's wound (1775), a subject also drawn and sculpted by John Deare in 1786). [P1.94] (82) Fuseli took up the theme of the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, showing Wat Tyler strikes the taxgatherer in 1799, a picture of which he was

particularly proud; while William Hamilton turned to the Becket drama, depicting Becket in Henry II's court and Henry II entertaining his Son after the Prince's coronation in 1170, (83) He even portrayed the Death of Arthur, a subject hitherto neglected.

Similarly, themes from the Nibelungenlied edited by Bodmer in 1757 and published in 1782, began to attract some attention, but only after 1800 and only among German-speaking artists, like Fuseli and Schnorr von Carolsfeld. (84) Fuseli's series of drawings of the tale of the royal Burgundian house date from c.1802-7, with some later drawings; they illustrate some of the more horrifying and dramatic episodes like Brunhild watching Gunther suspended from the ceiling (1807) from the tenth Book, or Kriemhild sees Siegfried dead in a dream (1805) from the sixteenth Book, or the terrifying Kriemhild shows Hagen Gunther's head (1805) from the thirty-ninth book.

Fuseli supplemented the German cycle with the songs in the Edda about the Nibelungen, who in the Icelandic cycle are a dwarf race of demons living, not on the Rhine but in the subterranean mists and cold of Nibelheim; the Edda served to inspire his interpolated scene of Kriemhild, accompanied by two Hun servants, shows the imprisoned Hagen the Ring of the Nibelungen (1807), the ring "Andwaranaut" having in the songs of the Edda the power to increase the Nibelungen gold infinitely (the version also

adopted later by Wagner). (85) The scenes are in Fuseli's typical "mannerist" style, with Michelangelesque nudes, strong contrapposto, stylised gestures and sharp contours, the men heroic and sturdy, the women equally powerfully built and with erotic coiffures, all set in a highly charged atmosphere of supernatural tension and family conflict with only a few minor concessions to Gothic medievalism in the accessories and decor. (86)

If the Germanic revival, as evinced in the visual arts, had to await the Napoleonic wars (the special case of Fuseli aside), what of the French myth of descent? Broadly speaking, French artists showed considerable interest, with State encouragement, in later periods of national and royal history, especially, as we saw, the Anglo-French medieval wars, but rather scant interest in pre-Capetian dynasties and the Frankish era. There are, of course, notable exceptions. An early example is that of Natoire, who was commissioned by Philibert Orry, then Directeur des Bâtiments (1737-45) to paint some decorative mythologies and histories for his family home, the Château de la Chapelle-Godefroy. The six histories are unusual in treating the period of Clovis at the end of the fifth century, and perhaps Orry intended an allusion to the achievements of Louis XV in the War of Polish Succession concluded by the Peace of Vienna in 1735. In any case, Natoire depicted Clovis' various campaigns, including The Siege of Bordeaux (1737), in a manner that

owes much to monumental Italian Baroque art, as in Cortona's Battle of Arbela, but is more academic in its clarity of disposition of light and shade and of the episodes. (87) Thereafter, we have to turn to two scenes of religious art for any comparable interest in earlier French history: Doyen's St. Geneviève interceding for the victims of the plague (1767), which ravaged Paris in 1129, and Vien's St. Denis preaching to the Gauls (1767), both in the church of St. Roch, Paris. (88) Both are vast altarpieces, showing the two saints most favoured by the Gallican church and most closely linked to the fortunes of Frenchmen. In all other respects, they offer a vivid contrast. Doyen's scene is full of dramatic movement, built up around a stark diagonal, and relying on strong chiaroscuro and colouring in the tradition of Rubens, to convey its visionary message. There is also a marked realism in the abundant corpses littering the scene, coupled with a Caravaggesque rhetoric of dramatic gesture. (89) By contrast, Vien aims to convey a rational, calm assurance in the persuasive patriarchal figure of St. Denis, as though the saint's powers of conversion rested on reason and argument rather than passion. This moral and didactic theme, and treatment, owes much to the rival Baroque tradition of Andrea Sacchi, Le Sueur and ultimately Raphael, a classicising art represented by the imposing classical buildings behind the saint, and the clear division of space and careful arrangement of figures - the saint and his followers, the listening crowd around

and the Virgin and angels above - found in Vien's other "neo-classical" paintings of this decade. (90)

Once or twice, in the Livrets, we meet classical or religious scenes which bear on an episode of early French history. For his morceau de reception for the Academie, Greuze explored classical history and drew Eponine et Sabinus (c.1768), before discarding the idea for his Septimius Severus and Caracalla the following year. The earlier theme told of Vespasian's order to seize a rebellious Gaul, Sabinus, with his wife, Eponine, and their children, who had hidden for over nine years in a cave. (91) But the story, taken from Tacitus, shows little evidence, in the context of Greuze's overall work, for thinking that his initial choice of theme had any nationalist implications. Greuze is certainly interested in the antique and in dramatic gesture, which the tale encouraged, but there is little to suggest any political message, or even a sense of French, as opposed to classical Roman, history and ethnic descent. Despite official encouragement from 1773 onwards (the year of the St. Louis commission), French artists responded only to a limited extent to the call for a medieval patriotism, and that in the immediate political context of the struggle against England then in progress. Prior to 1800 there is little parallel in France to the Celtic, Saxon or (later) German and Scandinavian search for roots in an authentic and unique ethnic history. It is as if the Roman myth had

preempted the sense of specifically French, or Gallic, descent. Even Girodet's later interest in the Trojans and Aeneas, whom the Franks claimed as their ancestors, has a classical Roman, rather than a (Frankish) ethnic, motivation.

#### Ideology and genealogy

There may well be another reason why the "Roman cult" had pre-empted early ethnic themes in France. In late eighteenth century France there were few obvious ancient French heroes in the mould of Caractacus, Oscar, Arminius, or William Tell, who epitomised collective resistance or sacrifice for a primitive, tribal order threatened by tyrants and conquerors. Such French heroes as there were, could not fulfil this role. Either they were royalty, like Clovis or St. Louis or Henry IV, and as such Frankish conquerors or historically late embodiments of suspect dynasties; or they were religious figures like St. Denis or St. Geneviève; or they were members of the patriotic nobility, like Bayard and du Guesclin, again historically late and tainted by association. The "pre-history" of France offered no known golden era of ethnic heroism. (92)

Besides, France was by now bitterly divided, and its social cleavage was mirrored in current ethnic or "racial" theories, which pitted the nobility against the rising

Tiers Etat . Already, early in the century, the Comte de Boulainvilliers had argued that the nobles were descended from the Frankish conqueror, and that the latter, noble by blood, and free and equal, were alone recognised as the legitimate masters of Gaul. (93) Toward the end of the century, on the eve of the Revolution, the Abbé Siéyès transposed the terms of the argument: as conquerors, the Frankish nobility were aliens, and the Third Estate, as true descendants of the original Gallic inhabitants, alone possessed the right to rule. (94) Curiously, this did not entail any immediate cult of Vercingetorix; rather an identification with Roman Gaul, and with the Romans themselves. It was the cult of Brutus, rather than Vercingetorix, that attracted radicals among writers and artists before 1800.

Whereas, therefore, other European intellectuals and artists were at this period groping their way towards a particularistic and specifically ethnic formulation of their roots, the French remained for the most part tied to a universalistic myth of descent, in which Frenchmen claimed a spiritual and ideological affinity with antique republican Romans and their stoic virtues. And whereas medieval cults in England, Germany and Scandinavia expressed the sense of genealogical descent and origins of those communities, in France medievalism was a propagandist element in the royal armoury in its struggle with the nobility and the Tiers Etat . In France medieval

genealogies were exclusive; they related the descent of royalty and nobility alone. Other Frenchmen had no share in them. They could only appropriate a Roman and republican heritage which, paradoxically, the monarchy had done its best to promote, so as to recoup lost influence and regain the glory of its dynastic forbears in the Grand Siècle. In looking back to Louis XIV and Le Brun, royal advisers attempted to use the arts to rebuild an effete monarchy; but the content of their moral and classicising reform had strong republican, civic and patriotic overtones. In this way, royal policies encouraged an "ideological" myth of descent and a sense of spiritual affinity between modern Frenchmen and ancient republican Romans. The effect was to intensify underlying social and cultural divisions among educated Frenchmen, between the nobles' "genealogical" myth of medieval descent and the middle classes' more "ideological" mythology of civic and popular Greco-Roman republicanism. (95)

The conflict between these two modes of myth-making is quite common, and it is often found in societies undergoing rapid change and class conflict. In general, as one might expect, upper classes tend to subscribe to a more "genealogical" mode of descent myth-making, to defend their inherited privileges; while aspirant middle or lower classes tend to opt for more "ideological" modes of myth-making, thereby linking themselves to the virtues of a prestigious older civilisation or heroic era. In our



period, the "genealogical" mode predominated in England, and helped to check radical, subversive tendencies by stressing the continuity of Englishmen with an established order's outlook and mythology. In America and France, by contrast, more "ideological" myths surfaced, linking the aspirant strata with more radical outlooks of heroic ancestors (Puritan or Gallic) or a more general, prestigious, continental ancestor-civilisation like that of ancient Rome. Of course, in later eras, even "ideological" myths may become the vehicle and outlook of privileged groups; just as "genealogical" mythologies can turn populist and become the vehicle for lower class aspirations, as occurred in late 19th century Germany and Russia. But, in the late eighteenth century, "ideological" Greco-Roman mythologies appeared everywhere as the cultural vision of aspirant strata, supported in France by the Crown in its struggle against aristocratic privileges. (96)

Beyond this social and cultural division, however, the cult of heroes and the quest for appropriate mythologies of descent helped to push all strata towards a new "historicist" vision of the world, one in which growing patriotic urges were extended and deepened by the quest for collective roots and archaic origins. Initially, at any rate, but also in the long run, the cults of the dark gods and rude origins, reinforced and broadened that vision of history which would come to underpin the rising

tide of nationalism throughout Europe.

This quest for primitive origins even invaded the sphere of art itself. Not only did Laugier, Ledoux and others seek to reduce architecture to its simplest "modules". (97) Within drawing and painting, there was an analagous quest for a linear abstraction that would take one back to the very origins of art. Perhaps this accounts for the popularity in the late eighteenth century of Pliny's legend of Dibutade or The Origins of Painting. For Pliny recounted how a certain Dibutade of Corinth, a potter's daughter, drew her lover's outline from his shadow on the wall, and her father cut the plaster section away, took an impression from the wall with clay and baked it with the rest of his pottery. This tied in with the fashion for "Etruscan" vases, thought to be early Greek, which were being collected in Italy at the time; but also with a professional interest in the fundamental principles (hence origins) of painting itself. In any case, from the 1700s the theme became increasingly popular. One of the early representations was by Natoire, but his painting was largely decorative. (98) In 1770, Mortimer produced a drawing whose purity of line for the three figures, bed and chest, foreshadows the romantic, historicist qualities sought by late eighteenth century artists. Despite its classicism the bold use of silhouette shows clearly the new mode of portraying antique themes in simple outlines. So, too, does Runciman's contemporary painting. But here

the hand of Dibutade is guided by the youth, perhaps the artistic muse. (99) He is absent again from David Allan's painting of 1773 with its soft chiaroscuro cast by the oil lamp in an almost bare room, and from the equally bare room in the sharply etched version by Wright of Derby (1782-4). Wright, like Allan, exploits the mystery of nocturnal light, but his sleeping lover recalls a Roman relief of Endymion, popular at the time in British neo-classical circles. (100) The Dibutade theme even crossed the Channel; Suvée painted the tale in 1791, and two years later exhibited a smaller version similar to that of Allan. (101)

This example encapsulates one of the dominant trends of the epoch, its restless quest for rude origins and the simple life which urban luxury and social complexity had long banished. Art itself became part of the terrain occupied by the rising tide of historicism, even before Winckelmann and his followers popularised historicist theories of art. Though it spawned a variety of cults and myths of descent, within and between communities, the historicist vision of life was to become the almost universal mode of cognition in the arts and social sciences in the nineteenth century. It was also soon to become the motor of moral reform and political action. For within the myths of descent, and the scheme of origins and growth they unfolded, lay the dynamic of moral regeneration, so that the images of the history-painters

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and sculptors were not mere antiquarianism, but powerful calls to collective action to restore lost eras of heroic glory.

## CHAPTER TEN

### THE TRIUMPH OF THE NATION

If the artists of the late eighteenth century were celebrating the noble birth and rude origins of their nations, the educated classes were about to celebrate their political rebirth. For, before their eyes, the "nation" was being created and constructed by the leading citizens of the most advanced states in Europe, England and France. The new classes, above all the intelligentsia and bourgeoisie, were moulding their states in their own image, a "national" image, embodying their hopes and ideals. In this process, the artist was called on to play a special role: that of witness and celebrant. In the rituals of national wars, citizenship and revolutionary patriotism, the arts idealised heroes and commemorated events which signalled the national revival and the start of a new era in the life of the community. But, as I hope to show, artists were sometimes able to anticipate the currents of the epoch and suggest the costs of national rebirth; so that, at their best, the works assume the status of icons of sacrifice and memorials of solidarity.

#### The "national enemy"

The rise of nationalism in late eighteenth century Europe unfolded within the crucible of the inter-state system

which had come into existence after the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. This marked the beginning of a regulated diplomatic balance between the great powers of Europe - France, Spain, Sweden and the Habsburg and Ottoman empires. In the next century, France and England resumed an ancient rivalry, but this time through overseas colonial ventures in India, Canada and the Caribbean. It was this rivalry, in particular, that fuelled the "national revival" in those states and farther afield.

During the eighteenth century warfare was partial and limited. It was usually a gentlemanly affair, fought according to certain rules for limited objectives and involving only a small elite of specialised personnel, professional soldiers acting as the military arm of oligarchic or absolutist states. (1) There was no threat to the population as a whole, or any attempt to alter the inter-state system itself or eradicate any of its component states from the map of Europe until 1772. As a result, commercial competition between mercantilist states and their merchant capital became the main avenue of influence and trade wars the chief instrument for inter-state rivalries, notably between the western seaboard states. (2)

By the mid-eighteenth century, England and France were the pre-eminent trading states whose rivalry was beginning to draw in "peripheral" economic areas in Asia, Africa and America; and it was the quest for "informal empire" that embroiled the two powers in the first major test, the Seven

Years' War (1756-63).

In itself, there was nothing to mark this war out from others of its period. Like those others, it was fought by professionals on behalf of their respective state machines and governments, not for the "nation". It was one of a long line of Anglo-French wars, of "wars between kingdoms" or empires, such as could be observed all over Europe. Thus, when Deshayes de Colville (dit Le Romain) was asked to commemorate the Treaty of Paris (1763) in the following year, a commission from the City of Paris, which owing to Deshayes' death in 1765, was given to Noel Hallé, both his grisaille sketch and Hallé's subsequent canvas remained strictly within the orbit of commemorative public works with their allegories of Minerva presenting Peace to the City of Paris. (3) Here is no celebration of France or the French, no paean to patriotism, only a stylised classical allegory centred on the city that played host to the peace-makers.

In England, a more realistic and immediate note is struck. In 1772 Edward Penney exhibited an "Indian" scene: Lord Clive explaining to the Nabob the situation of the Invalids in India, at the same time showing him a deed wherebu he relinquishes Meer Jaffier's legacy, five lacke of rupees, to the Honourable East India Company, for the support of a military fund, as the Royal Academy exhibition title ran. (4) Indeed, "Indian" scenes were shortly to create a

vogue, particularly with the work of Hodges and Daniell. But, again, they tended to satisfy a taste for exotic lands rather than any display of patriotic endeavour.

The next major step in the movement from the "wars of kingdoms" to "wars between nations" occurred in America. Within the seceding colonies, artists were drawn by the proximity of the events into the painting of "war pictures" to commemorate the battles and the mobilisation of communities they involved. Typical is the painting by James Peale of Washington and his generals at Yorktown (1781), which shows Lafayette, Washington, Rochambeau and Tench Tilghman standing on the shore of the York river, with British ships sunk in the water and horses lying dead on the beach. (5) Peale's commemorative scene retains several Rococo features, notably in the horses and the slight build of the generals. But it also provides a fairly realistic record of a heroic recent event; and the confident poses of the generals suggests a concern to ennoble the victory.

By far the most comprehensive and detailed pictorial record of the American War of Independence was furnished by Trumbull, the son of a fervently Patriot family and with strong Patriot convictions. Trumbull began his series of the War in 1785 and completed it in 1797, apart from the later Resignation of General Washington at Annapolis, Maryland 3 December 1783, which was painted between 1816



and 1822. Realistic detail distinguishes the first battle scenes, The Battle of Bunker's Hill June 17, 1775, and The Death of General Montgomery in the Attack on Quebec, Canada, 31 December 1775, yet both are scenes of heroic self-sacrifice and magnanimity for defeated adversaries. (6) The classical parallels are evident, such being the standard attributes of antique heroes. The effect, therefore, despite the realism learnt from his fellow-Americans in London, Copley and West, is didactic, even aristocratic. Trumbull's scenes are full of movement, his compositions are asymmetrical, unlike those of West or Copley; but his idealism and Patriot fervour give his realism an almost epic quality. Nowhere is this better realised than in his best known scene, The Declaration of Independence, 4 July 1776. (7) Like The Surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga, New York, 17 October 1777 or The Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, the scene of the Declaration ceremony suppresses all action and expresses its high moral and ritual aims through a broad, frontal and symmetrical composition. What makes the composition so memorable, however, is the combination of these preeminently classical attributes with a series of strikingly realistic portraits of the celebrated founding fathers who signed the Declaration, including Jefferson, Franklin and Adams. We know that Trumbull was concerned to make his scene as authentic as possible: to include all who had been in the Hall at the time, whether they actually signed or not. That very concern is a hallmark of the era,

and not only in painting. Equally, he strove to ennoble the event and underline its heroic aspect, an aspect all too easily forgotten later, when victory was secure; at the time of signing, it clearly risked a war the Americans were uncertain of being able to win. So, here at least, Trumbull broke new ground in lending a contemporary event a ritual, symbolic character like that of classical events placed in mythopoeic time. (8)

American success in the War of Independence was partly due to vigorous French military and political support from 1778. Indeed, for the French this turn of events presented an opportunity to avenge their defeats and recoup some of their losses in the Seven Years' war. Echoes of French involvement can be found in a large watercolour of 1776, and a Greuzian-type painting of 1781, entitled La Double recompense du mérite by Pierre-Alexandre Wille. The watercolour dates from the time of the first departures of French volunteers for America, and shows a young officer taking leave of his family; the later painting depicts the return of a young officer of the dragoons who receives from a general officer the cross of Saint-Louis and the hand of his daughter. (9) In fact, there is little of the grand style of history painting, which had already emerged in France at this period, in either work. Yet the painter's desire to raise himself from his more usual landscape and genre productions to the level of history painter is revealing, even if, as the Salon review commented, Wille is

really more interested in the girl's blue silk dress than the nobility or heroism of the scene. Wille, later to become a staunch patriot and revolutionary, was already immersing himself in the ideological currents of the times, even if his artistic talent and instincts were quite unsuited to these aims.

The American War of Independence marked a turning-point: the regular "wars of states" were becoming increasingly "wars of nations". For the first time, ideological positions began to crystallise around abstract secular ideas like freedom and the identities and rights of distinct political communities. This transitional situation is well summed up in Copley's The Death of the Earl of Chatham (1781), which depicts the moment in the House of Lords on April 7, 1778, when William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, suffered a stroke while participating in a debate on the American war. The Earl is shown at the right in the pose of a martyr or suffering hero, modelled on a pieta or entombment group, as one of the initial studies reveals. (10) To his right and left stand his supporters crowding to see or support his falling body. On the other side are his critics and opponents of his American policies; all stand except Lord Mansfield, his life-long political enemy, who remained seated, an act of indifference which contemporary newspaper accounts of the painting pointedly noted. (11) Copley spared no effort to secure authentic life portraits of the many participants in the debate, and

to inject a degree of realism into contemporary history painting that only his fellow-American, Benjamin West, had achieved. Thus the study for Lord Mansfield, for example, is taken from life and scaled for transfer onto the canvas. (12) As in his earlier Watson and the Shark (1778), Copley emphasized the everyday reality alongside the unusual event: there are fifty-six figures in the Chatham scene, many of them portraits of the participants, and the setting, an august local and well-known milieu, is underlined as part of this specific reality. Copley, like West, in fact preferred to paint contemporary "histories" rather than antique ones: in his own words,

"Being fully persuaded that modern subjects are the properest for the exercise of the pencil and far more interesting to the present Age than those taken from Ancient History, I have as much as possible employed myself in Events that have happened in my own time and intend pursuing the same Idea..." (13)

In 1782-4, he was occupied in producing a vast canvas of The Death of Major Pierson, January 5, 1781, a piece of heroic reportage that underscores the confusion of battle above the careful composition defining a square through the buildings framing the various groups. In fact, Copley's rendering of the square at La Roque with its statue of George II is perfectly accurate; he may have visited it, or sent an emissary. Similarly, he took great pains with the

brilliant colours of ensigns and uniforms, as with the portraits of officers of the 95th Regiment of the Jersey Militia and of the black servant. (The women and children were members of his own family, apparently to bring the impact of the event closer to the viewer). For all these actual details, Copley relied on verbal accounts, reports, on-the-spot sketches or etchings like that published by Colley and Hedges in April 1781. Yet another in this series on the Franco-British war was his The Siege of Gibraltar (1785-91) which took place on 14th September 1782, the day when Spanish and French batteries were turned against the Rock. Copley relied for his details on the Annual Register for 1782, and on John Drinkwater's account of 1785. Like Dominic Serres, he showed the moment when the British blew up the batteries and the Spanish ships before the siege was lifted by Admiral Howe in October 1782. Again, Copley was intent on realism: the right hand group are all portraits, and they do not altogether fuse with the more romantic rescue scene on the left side. In his later historical paintings (like Monmouth before James II. Refusing to give the names of his Accomplices, painted in 1795) Copley's sense of the factual and the literal, so important in his early Boston portraits, becomes overpowering and drives out any sensual quality. Such scholasticism is kept at bay in the contemporary scenes where the immediacy of the event ensures a unified and sensuous drama. (14)

Nor was Copley the only American artist to depict the dramatic sortie at Gibraltar. Trumbull, too, took up the theme, if from a different standpoint and in competition with Copley - in fact the commission for a memorial to Major Pierson by the States of the Isle of Jersey went to a sculptor, John Bacon. (15) What Trumbull so readily imbibed from his fellow-Americans was their combination of realistic setting and portraits of the actors with important contemporary events. While earlier generations of English artists like Thornhill and Hogarth had produced genre pictures of common criminals or of committee meetings, even of the House of Commons, all of which were pieces of pictorial reportage, it took three Americans to treat contemporary political or military events as "news-worthy" scenes and to find the heroic in the contemporary event treated as realistic genre, and conversely the genre and the everyday in the contemporary drama. For Edgar Wind, this revolutionary quality in their artistic conception - a conception which saw contemporary wars as struggles between peoples rather than merely states - was inherent in their position as colonial Americans favouring the American cause, yet necessarily finding their professional niche in England, at a time when many Englishmen favoured the American cause and glamourised American artists. (16) Copley and West came from materialistic, pragmatic environments deeply influenced by democratic forms of Christianity, West from Quaker Philadelphia and Copley from Puritan Boston. Free from the inhibiting influence of the

European artistic tradition and the conservative English establishment, for whom they nevertheless worked in London, Copley and West, and later Trumbull, were able to endow their depictions of political events with a new and thorough-going realism that even a genre-oriented painter like Zoffany, also an emigré, could never quite attain. The American artists were thereby able to bring a revolutionary fervour to the traditional battle-scene, and make the viewer participate in the conflict of nations and the martyrdom of national heroes.

Yet it was in France that the concept of a truly "national" war, a war of revolutionary liberation from alien tyranny, and of the self-sacrifice of citizens in the patriotic cause, took firmest root. It was in France, notably, that three aspects of the peculiarly national conception of the public-spirited "citizen" found clearest expression, even though all were foreshadowed in England or America: the citizen-volunteer, the citizen-martyr and the citizen-hero.

Even before the Revolution, artists had begun to celebrate the ideologically-minded citizen who volunteered his life in a national cause. We mentioned the large watercolour by Wille of 1776 showing a young officer taking leave of his family. In 1785 Wille whose Revolutionary sympathies were later to make him a battalion chief in the National Guard, provided a pendant to his La Double récompense du mérite, namely a painting of a father presenting a sword to his son

in front of a bust of the king, and entitled Le Patriotisme français . Though there is no mention of it in the Salon reviews of 1785, the subject appears to hark back to the earlier watercolour, and therefore alludes to French volunteer participation in the American Revolutionary War. (17) Despite his Greuzian style and interests, Wille here is driven by his ideological involvement to attempt loftier, national themes. The same applied to Francoise Watteau de Lille. His charming Départ du Volontaire was probably painted in 1792, the year of the Austrian siege of Lille, when the monarchical forces of Europe invaded France to suppress the Convention and free Louis XVI. Rosenblum sees in this gallant scene a prose translation of the classical theme of Hector taking leave of Andromache and Astyanax, so popular in late eighteenth century France for its tragic conflict of family sentiment and civic duty, of the claims of private emotion and national self-sacrifice in war. In this instance, our modern Hector is wearing contemporary clothing - the red, white and blue uniform of a French Republican soldier with his cockade - and is momentarily torn between the Greuzian sentiment of family ties and the waiting encampments seen through the open door. It was left to another Lille artist, Jean-Baptiste Wicar, to replace the classical guise in his Le Depart du Guerrier , also of 1792. (18)



## The Fallen Patriot

Much more influential was the theme of the fallen patriot-hero. In this respect, as in others, England led the way, embodying its burgeoning national sentiment, fed by long wars with France, in the figure of the expiring hero. Here the Seven Years' War, and above all the epic story of the capture of Quebec Heights by the English in 1759, marked a turning-point. It was not merely that it achieved immense popularity, and that several artists depicted the scene of General Wolfe's last moments; it was, in many ways, the first contemporary national event that artists strove to immortalise without transposing it into an antique setting. Wolfe's earliest biographer had likened him to the ancient heroes, calling him the "British Achilles" who had died victorious in battle like Epaminondas of Thebes. The first to paint Wolfe's death was George Romney in 1763, followed by two versions by Edward Penny, in 1764. (19) The official monument to the General by Wilton was set up in Westminster Abbey in 1772, and in 1776 Barry produced another version, which was unfavourably compared with West's. Barry, in fact, sought to dispense with West's retinue of spectators of the uplifting event, partly because few of them were actually present at the battle, and partly because their presence threatened to turn the scene into a group portrait. Barry confines his personages to Lt. Browne (on the right) pointing to the English troops advancing across the Plains of Abraham as he

brings news of the English victory to the dying Wolfe who is supported by two Louisbourg Grenadiers and grieved for (on the left) by a naval officer and a midshipman. Behind the latter one can just see sailors pulling up cannons over the cliffs of the St. Lawrence river, while at the lower left are the bodies of two of the defeated, a French officer and his Indian ally, cropped by the picture frame. Barry's picture does not escape the ennobling rhetoric of West's, even though it is rather more accurate in its details; but the artificial poses and pathetic gestures lack the vigour and drama of West's portrayal. But, then, perhaps Barry's motives were more mixed. Painted in 1776, when Barry was fully committed to the American colonists' cause, the painting may also have contained an allusion to a hoped-for-victory by the American General Montgomery, who was then leading an army against the English in Quebec (unsuccessfully, as it turned out). (20) Whatever the case, Barry, like his contemporaries, sought to render the scene as accurately as possible, even interviewing one of the surgeons who took part in the campaign and finding out about the site of the battle. (21)

Barry's painting appeared in the year of Woollett's engraving of Benjamin West's portrayal of the Death of Wolfe . Like Barry and Wilton, West undoubtedly idealises the general, even if there are no fluttering angels crowning his naked semi-recumbent body. (22) Unlike Penny,

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West bases his portrayal on traditional Lamentation types of Dürer and Rembrandt, or Van Dyck's Deposition. Even more important, the facial expressions are probably derived from Lebrun, whose aim was thereby to involve the spectator. West's recommended companion-pieces, the Death of Epaminondas and of Bayard, emphasizes its traditional and noble pedigree. Not only is the composition harmonious, even symmetrical with its three main groups, but the personages represented (West was paid for including certain figures) are placed there for their ennobling effect, even at the cost of historical truth; while the strange, even exotic, figure of the contemplating Indian gives the scene a remote ambiance and a symbolic significance beyond the immediate action. A sense of distance helps to convey the wonder of the extraordinary and heroic world beyond our own, inviting us to marvel at the unfamiliar and the noble in character and passions; what is above and beyond being suggested by the spatially remote, even in our contemporary, all-too-known world. (23)

[P1.95]

It is well known that Reynolds and Fuseli, among others, disapproved of West's innovation in painting contemporary history in modern dress, and that Reynolds even tried to dissuade him. According to Galt who recorded West's reminiscences some thirty years after the event, West is alleged to have replied to Reynold's objection:

"The event intended to be commemorated took place on the 13th of September, 1758, in a region of the world unknown to the Greeks and Romans, and at a period of time when no such nation, nor heroes in their costume, any longer existed...The same truth that guides the pen of the historian should govern the pencil of the artist. I consider myself as undertaking to tell this great event to the eye of the world; but if, instead of the facts of the transaction, I represent classical fictions, how shall I be understood by posterity?"(24)

Historical reportage, then, was to be the standard and goal of the modern history-painter. Yet, behind this goal, lay the fundamental belief that the moderns could equal the ancients in valour, nobility and patriotism, and that, in Richardson's words,

"No nation under heaven so nearly resembles the ancient Greeks and Romans as we".

In fact, West's appeal here lay to the growing English pride which was fed by the wars with France, and by the historical revival of the eighteenth century fostered by scholarship, the theatre and the arts. We have only to think of the revival of Shakespearian Histories, or Francis Hayman's prints of 1751-2 of English history, including heroes like Caractacus, or his 1760s paintings of the Seven Years War. Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori. The

classical ideal provided the spur, and standard, for modern deeds of heroic self-sacrifice. Wolfe became a latter-day secular martyr for the commonwealth of citizens. The Red Indian similarly was the purest expression of the "noble savage", a natural, uncorrupted man who alone comprehends the full meaning of Wolfe's sacrifice. In this icon of the fallen patriot, West fuses classical idealism with contemporary reportage to crystallise a vision of modern man's public achievements, and suggest the ideal of the new civic community then emerging in America and Europe. (25)

The list of fallen British patriots continues with Copley's Death of Chatham discussed above. Though Copley does not attempt to idealise his figures or inject an exotic element, the similarity with a Deposition and the noble mien of the lords standing round the central group of the martyr-Earl, suggests a modern appropriation of ancient patterns and symbols, with Chatham as a latter-day Caesar or Cato. Similarly, Major Pierson, like Hector or Epaminondas, is carried expiring from the din of battle in a pose reminiscent of engravings of Rubens' drawings of the Entombment of Christ and Massacre of the Innocents. In both paintings, the intent is plainly commemorative: to record for posterity the noble acts of self-sacrificing patriotism of public-minded citizens. (26) Similar sentiments are evoked, in more muted vein, by Zoffany in his Death of Captain Cook, beneath the genre convention. In fact, Zoffany followed closely the accounts of Cook's

murder in Karakooa Bay, Hawaii, in 1779, but he also modelled his figures on classical statues like the Quing Gaul and the Discobolos. Once again, antique forms are used to commemorate for posterity a contemporary event and lesson in noble patriotism. (27)

But it was particularly in France that the motif of the "fallen patriot" had greatest resonance. The "type" for this motif with its overtones of homage to the great, can be seen in an example from an earlier era, Menageot's acclaimed Leonard de Vinci, mourant dans les bras de Francois Premier. If we leave aside the obvious dynastic connotations supported by d'Angiviller, we are left with a reverential icon, a rhetorical lesson about the noble end of great men, much as we found in the deaths of Hector or Socrates. The antique pattern is even made explicit in the shape of a statue of the Borghese Gladiator in the (left) background; and the scene became the type for other commemorative icons to celebrated dead artists. (28)

There was an obvious reason for using antiquity to commemorate more recent noble patriots or great men: the political censorship of the ancien regime. The Calas affair, for example, the case of the Protestant martyr put to death on the wheel in 1762, after a false confession of the murder of his son (a convert to Catholicism) had been extracted from Calas, inspired an essay on tolerance from Voltaire in 1763 (and three plays during the Revolution).

But it was an artist from Berlin, Daniel Chodowiecki, who in 1767 painted Calas' sad farewell to his family, and it was through prints that it became familiar in France. (29) Otherwise, it was only classical and medieval heroes who till the Revolution were accorded the honour of didactic exempla of fallen patriotism.

All this changed dramatically after 1789. The Revolution nurtured its own heroes and martyrs. Already, two precursors were to hand, Rousseau and Voltaire. The latter's iconoclastic essays and play, Brutus, seemed to legitimate the patriot's goals, and when in 1791 Charles Villette, Voltaire's self-appointed heir, managed to persuade the Assembly to vote the triumphal return of the great man's remains, after he had secured the renaming of Soufflot's intended church of St. Geneviève as the "French Pantheon", a great cortege accompanied the rickety chariot with its baldaquin and sarcophagus to translate Voltaire's body from Sellières to the Pantheon. It was July 11, three weeks after the King's flight and capture at Varennes, and the procession set out from the demolished Bastille to the Opera, the Tuileries, the National Theatre and finally at nightfall to the Pantheon, where Voltaire's sarcophagus was placed on a granite altar base, the climax of a remarkable day, as the Chronique de Paris put it, devoted to "the triumph of reason, the defeat of fanaticism, the sacred love of the Fatherland, and the resolution to sacrifice

everything to Liberty." (30)

The final stage of this vast procession has been recorded for us by a watercolour by J.J. Lagrenée. It shows twelve white horses pulling a "chariot", a wheeled platform embellished with blue velvet draperies sprinkled with gold stars and bordered with the tricolor. On it stood the sarcophagus with four ornate candelabra burning incense at each corner. Above it rested an antique bed on the decorated lid of the coffin, with an image of the recumbent Voltaire on top, his upper chest exposed but otherwise draped, and at his head a figure of winged Immortality holding a crown of stars over his head. This was all the work of the architect, J. Celerier, and it was to have a great influence on the subsequent fêtes of the Revolution. In Lagrenée's Burial of Voltaire, the chariot (which features in contemporary prints) is faithfully reproduced with Roman and French flags and standards behind. But he has added a romantic nocturnal note, with stars, silhouettes and an exaggerated Pantheon in the manner of Boullée's tomb designs; all of which suggests a natural "fit" between Voltaire's genius and his monumental resting-place. (31) [Pl.96]

This idea, that Voltaire and other French great men stand in a long line of heroes stretching back to the antique Romans and fallen patriots, is more than a cultural veneer, of donning "Roman costume", as Marx noted. For it served



to confer on the Revolutionary patriots a noble ancestry and antique dignity, and so strengthen the sense of solidarity and faith in one's community. As Durkheim remarked of commemorative rites:

"The glorious souvenirs which are made to live again before their eyes and with which they feel they have a kinship, give them a feeling of strength and confidence; a man is surer of his faith when he sees to how distant a past it goes back and what great things it has inspired." (32)

This link between contemporary heroism and ancestral Roman exempla is nowhere better expressed than in the commemorative art of David. We already saw his penchant for such icons of sacrifice in his drawings of a Roman conclamatio (c.1777) and funeraille du Guerrier (1778) done in Rome, which features a dead helmeted warrior being borne along by a procession of priests, family, youths and maidens. Two years after Voltaire was re-buried in the Pantheon, the Revolutionary Wars began to produce their own crop of patriot-martyrs. Thus on 20 January, 1793, Louis-Michel le Peletier de Saint-Fargeau was assassinated by a member of the former royal guard for having voted for the death of the King. David was asked to arrange a public exhibition on 24 January of this first martyr to liberty on the pedestal of the destroyed statue of Louis XIV in the Place de Vendôme. He placed Le Peletier's body on an

antique bed, the upper half exposed to show the wound, with the assassin's sword hanging from the bed, and surrounded by candelabra and tripods sending up clouds of perfume. An anonymous contemporary print showed members of the Convention on the lateral steps leading up to the bier, and the President crowning the body with a wreath of immortality. David's own painting of Le Peletier offered to the Convention on 29 March 1793, was destroyed by the "martyr's" family and only a mutilated engraving and some drawings survive. They show Le Peletier with his upper half naked, head turned slightly towards us and bent arm uncovered. David, in his presentation made his intentions plain:

"...and I will have fulfilled my task if one day I make an old father, surrounded by his numerous family, say "Come, my Children, come see the representative who was the first to die in order to give you liberty..." (33)

Again, the didactic, commemorative note is sounded. David envisages a patriarchal, republican order in which posterity is taught to venerate liberty and patriotic self-sacrifice. Of course, Christian echoes of the Pieta remain, but they have been secularised. Similarly, the dying Joseph Bara shot by Royalist troops in the Vendée in 1793, clutches his tricolor cockade to his chest much as a Christian martyr would his crucifix, and perhaps Bara's

position can be traced to the Counter-Reformation image of Stefano Maderno's Santa Cecilia (1600). (34) Interestingly, David has represented this thirteen-year-old drummer boy, who apparently cried "Vive la Republique" to the demand of the Vendean Legitimists that he proclaim the King, as a languid youth lying on a hillside, like some Narcissus, tender and graceful; but the painting, designed for a funeral service organised by Robespierre, was left unfinished, with none of the antique heroism that could present republican ideals to posterity. (35)

The celebrated Death of Marat, on the other hand, distils just these attributes. An icon of revolutionary patriotism, it represents the ultimate sacrifice, but also the exalted peace promised by the religion of patriotic virtue. In a sense, David has given us a modern counterpart of his Andromache mourning Hector, since both died for the freedom of their communities. David's speech to the Convention, in fact, compared Marat to classical exemplars of heroic virtue:

"Caton, Aristide, Socrate, Timoleon, Fabricius et Phocion, dont j'admire la respectable vie, je n'ai pas vécu avec vous, mais j'ai connu Marat, je l'ai admiré comme vous; la posterité lui rendra justice." (36)

Marat, of course, was an ally of the Jacobins, and David, as a keen Jacobin deputy, had visited the dead man the day

before his murder at their behest. David wanted to exhibit Marat's body to the people in the manner of Le Peletier, but its condition required a quick burial, and so was only briefly displayed on a raised pallet with the upper chest exposed. So David decided to paint him as he had found him the preceding day, viz.:

"I found him in a striking pose. Next to him was a block of wood, on which were paper and ink. Out of the bath tub his hand wrote down his last thoughts for the good of the people... I thought it would be interesting to show him in the attitude in which I discovered him." (37)

The result is as much an evocation of the living Marat, as of his death (which is only indicated by Charlotte Corday's letter and the fallen knife). There are no distractions, only the minimum accessories, the inkwell and pen ("sa plume, la terreur des traitres, sa plume échappe de ses mains! O Desespoir! Notre infatigable ami est mort!"), the patched sheets, the bathtub three quarters concealed by a wooden board covered by a stone-green fringed cloth, and the wooden tombstone-like packing case, inscribed simply: A Marat, David; l'an - deux. The key-note is simplicity and tangibility. There is no rhetoric, only a personal and civic pathos. As far as we know, the portrait is a faithful likeness of the sick man. The face is both anguished and calm. It bears the marks of the death

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struggle, but half smiling suggests moral victory over death and enemies. [Pl.97]

For, beyond the personal element, David presents an image for posterity, which, though secular, carries obvious Christian overtones (in the wound on the right side, the body of Marat rising out of the tub like Lazarus, the "holy relics" of block, tub and bloody shirt). But it is not a Christian heaven or otherworldly immortality that the new rites of nationalism confer. Rather, in the words of Milizia, "...the life of the dead is in the memory of the living"; and for this reason a monument should "demonstrate in its simplicity the character of the person commemorated and bear no symbols that are not immediately intelligible". (38)

Perhaps this also explains the feature of the painting which has attracted so much comment, the immense void above the dead man. It is a darkness made more resonant by the Caravaggesque lighting that renders Marat's body so plastic and voluminous. Yet it envelops the scene in a quasi-religious silence which demands meditation and veneration. Many orators of the period, indeed, compared Marat's otherworldly nobility to that of Christ, and one cried "O coeur de Jesus! O coeur de Marat!" The real point, however, is that secular, republican patriotism has been sanctified by martyrdom and elevated into a sacred duty fed by heroic exempla like the death of Marat. (39)

No wonder that David's imagery could do more for a posterity-seeking ideal than all the Jacobin decrees, and all the articles of Marat in his L'Ami du Peuple .

The year 1793-4 saw a veritable flood of antique, mainly "Roman", cults and celebrations, as well as prints, statues and paintings of the main Revolutionary martyrs and leaders. But, after the fall of Robespierre and his Jacobins in July 1794, a new kind of hero emerges, dedicated to peace and reconciliation after the bloodletting. In 1795 Le Barbier exhibited a painting of Le Courage héroïque du jeune Desilles le 30 août à l'affaire de Nancy which showed the moment when Lieutenant Antoine-Joseph-Marc Desilles lost his life, vainly attempting to block the fire of his own cannon, crying: "Ne tirez pas! ce sont vos amis, nos frères, l'Assemblée Nationale les envoie" - in order to stop a fratricidal war between his own mutinous fellow-soldiers and the royalist forces sent to Nancy to suppress them. In the drawing, the young officer is seated and turns his cannon away as the two armies begin to grapple with each other beneath a great gateway. Here it is the action of a moderate seeking to prevent civil war, rather than the fallen patriot as such, which excites our (latterday?) sympathy. (40) It foreshadowed David's own political statement, in the Sabines of 1799, couched in his most spare Roman terms, where a hitherto passive woman becomes the protagonist of peace and reconciliation; taking Rubens' prototype, David

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makes Hersilia's intervention against the folly of war successful, causing Romans and Sabines to put up their swords. (41)

Some went even further. At the Salon of 1796, *Suvée* exhibited a plainly anti-Revolutionary theme: a father and son read Plato to prepare themselves for the death that awaited them at a Revolutionary Tribunal. Here philosophy and Athenian injustice are used to lament the abuse of state power under the Terror. (42) Another painting of that year, L'Affreuse nouvelle by Fanni Ferrey, explains: "C'est l'instant où une épouse, entourée de sa famille, apprend par une lettre, la mort cruelle de son mari, victime d'un jugement révolutionnaire à Nantes." (43) But the best-known of these counter-Revolutionary paintings is once again a Latin translation of current events. In Guerin's Return of Marcus Sextus of 1799, an imaginary Roman returns home after he had been banished by the dictator, Sulla, to find his wife dead and his daughter in despair. The painting was such a success that it was rewarded by a laurel wreath and crowds of visitors to the Salon. The fallen patriot has, in a few years, become the returned emigré who finds his home and family ruined. The old blind Oedipus has reemerged to replace the patriotic ardour of the youthful Horatii. (44)

## The triumph of the nation

But, despite these heavy costs, the martyrs had not died in vain, and the citizen-nations they sought to create were soon established in Western Europe and America, even if their social unification had to wait more than a century. In this process of creation and establishment, the imagery of writers and artists played an important role, helping to amplify and celebrate the triumph of the nation.

In one sense, England stood outside this revolutionary current. Its liberties and identity were, after all, secure. At the same time, educated Englishmen evinced a rising national sentiment, which emphasized British naval prowess and liberties in opposition to Continental absolutism and immortalised it in symbols like the anthem, Rule Britannia and the seated figure of Britannia, and in cults of heroes like Wolfe and Nelson. For Barry, indeed, British commerce, arts and naval supremacy were a source of pride. In his description of "Commerce or the Triumph of the Thames" (in the Society of Arts series) he tells us that

"The Thames is carried along by our great navigators, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sebastian Cabot, and the late Captain Cook of amiable memory."

(45)



In 1801, Barry added the huge tower in the painting's background "in tribute to the first naval power" after Britain's victories over the French. No doubt he was prompted in this by a competition in 1799 to erect a column to commemorate recent naval successes, in which architects and sculptors like Jeffry Wyatt, C.H. Tatham and Flaxman submitted plans. Lack of funds or suitable designs, however, kept Flaxman's colossal statue of Britannia for Greenwich Hill, and Triumphal Arch surmounted by Britannia, from realisation; they survive as models or sketches, and only Barry's tower remains as witness of this still-born patriotic project. (46)

Barry's own patriotism had a strongly radical edge. His commemorative print of the Earl of Chatham shows him as an incorruptible antique figure opposing George III, or later as Pericles in The Crowning of the Victors at Olympia. For Barry, Pitt represented the purity of British democracy, just as George IV, then Prince of Wales, represented for him the hope of reform against his conservative father. Of course, Barry was unusual in combining British with Irish patriotism. This was the impetus behind his drawing of The Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland (1801), in which Pitt lectures his colleagues on the benefits of the happy union he had engineered, represented by two women holding the Bible (their common Christian faith) while the angel holds an evenly balanced scale over the altar. (47)

For Barry, history painting and the founding of a national school of art, was itself an important element in his nationalism. These beliefs he shared with other artists of his generation, notably Mortimer and Romney, Flaxman and Blake. Not only did they share his radicalism, they also turned back to Shakespeare and English history for the expression of their patriotic ideals; Blake's series of English history watercolours is just one example, the response to Boydell's Gallery another. (48)

In France and America, the celebration of the reborn nation was much more forthright. In America, we can watch this through the metamorphosis of the English national emblem of Britannia into paeans to Libertas by American artists. For both English and American coins and engravings, the ultimate source of inspiration was Roman: Britannia, a seated goddess with spear and Roman liberty-cap, was already fused with Libertas by the 1760s. From 1776, American coins carry inscriptions like "Goddess Liberty" and "Liberty and Virtue", and The Columbian Magazine of 1789 bears the Libertas image of Britannia for the "Genius of Federate America". In 1790, Pealle designed a seated figure of America for the magazine, while Samuel Jennings painted Liberty displaying the Arts and Sciences for the Philadelphia Library Company in 1792. Yet it was only in 1804 that Samuel Harris used the Britannia-Libertas goddess image as the emblem of the United States of America, with flag, seal, olive-branch and shieldchain. (49)

Not that heroes and events were lacking in the new nation. Adulation of George Washington was particularly widespread. Houdon modelled a bust of the general in 1785, and also executed a statue; Hetsch painted an Allegory of Washington, and Wertmuller his portrait, and later Canova himself was commissioned by the North Carolina State House of Commons to execute a statue of Washington. (50) In America, Washington was equally popular with the artists. Trumbull did a life-size portrait in 1790, Edward Savage painted him with his family in 1789, and Charles Wilson Pealle did an official portrait of George Washington at the Battle of Princeton in 1781 for the Supreme Executive Council in Pennsylvania, in which Washington is shown in informal pose, "easy, erect and noble", yet in full uniform beside cannon and rumped Hessian standards taken at Trenton. (51) Here, perhaps, we have the first full statement of a specifically American patriotism, at once martial and simple, in its neo-classical idealisation of the "first citizen". It was followed by other images of Washington and Jefferson, notably Gilbert Stuart's half-length portraits of the general, and his full-length "Landsdowne" portrait in which the "first citizen" stands like a monarch, draped with Roman gravitas and classical accessories. (52)

Revolutionary France displayed even greater veneration for her patriot leaders, and the events they directed. Already, Pigalle's realistic treatment of the seventy-six

year old Voltaire seated with a parchment on his knee and draped only with a loincloth like some latterday Seneca, a naturalism that did not please everyone, set the pattern of linking contemporary reportage with a measure of classical idealism. (53) Similarly, Rousseau's memory and tomb at Ermenonville, on an island of poplars, became a magnet for many, even outside France; like Voltaire, this "genius of nature" had his remains translated to the Pantheon, after a Cenotaph was raised in his honour in the Tuileries. (54) The place that both precursors of the Revolution occupied can be seen in an anonymous print showing Voltaire and Rousseau honouring the Supreme Being and celebrating Robespierre's festival of that name on 8 June, 1794, organised by David. To the left stands Voltaire next to a bust of Brutus (whose pedestal is inscribed with Voltaire's verse: "Gods! give us death rather than slavery!"); to the right a seated Rousseau, with some children and a beehive, as a man of nature, points to the "beneficent star" with its rays above the bold inscriptions:

"Etre Supreme. Peuple Souverain. Republique Francais"

The glorification of such abstractions and their proponents confirms the role of neo-classical nationalism as a "religion-surrogate" in which the cult of the sovereign French people has taken the place of the deity. (55)

Space precludes a more detailed examination of the many portraits and portrait busts of the Revolutionary leaders, from Houdon's series of Dumouriez, Barnave and others to

Boze's grandiose painting of Mirabeau in 1790, in contemporary dress beneath two massive Doric columns with niches for statues of France and Liberty, (56) or Laneuville's simpler and less classicising frontal half-length portrait of the fanatical Jacobin, Barère de Vieuzac perhaps demanding the death of the King in January 1793. (57)

But something more needs to be said about the contemporary portrayal of some of the great events of the Revolution itself. The first, of course, was the fall of the Bastille. In the Salon of 1789, Hubert Robert exhibited a large painting of the Demolition of the Bastille, its huge and sombre walls dwarfing the figures beneath; Le Barbier displayed his Henri, called Dubos, soldier of the French Guard, who was the first to enter the Bastille, (58) and Antoine Vestier, his large portrait of The Bastille Escapee Henri Masers de Latude who points to the prison as it is being demolished while beside him are the ladders by which he made his frequent escapes (which were also exhibited during the Salon in the Louvre courtyard). (59) The covert anti-royalism of the Latude portrait is also found in Robin's portrait of The Marquis of Lally-Tollendal, unveiling the bust of his father, a painting excluded by the government from the 1787 Salon, but which Lally-Tollendal's son insisted be included in the 1789 Salon, despite government fears of fomenting dissension. The reason for this apprehension was the

political resentment such a subject might stir up in 1789, for Lally-Tolendal's father who had led the French forces to honourable defeat in India, had been charged with treason, imprisoned in the Bastille by Louis XV, and beheaded in 1766. His son was determined to vindicate his father's name, and in 1778 Louis XVI completely rehabilitated him, praising his son for his 'filial piety'. (The son was no republican, but as an Assembly delegate he favoured constitutional reforms).

The next event was the famous Oath of the Tennis Court (which had actually occurred a few weeks earlier), and at the instance of Mirabeau, David was commissioned by the Assembly to paint a large-scale representation of the Serment du Jeu de Paume, to be paid by public subscription. (61) It was to be a commemorative image of the rebirth of a nation, but owing to the great demand for David's services by the Convention, it was never completed. All that remains is a large drawing and sketch on canvas at Versailles, together with several studies in the Versailles sketch-book. David's drawing shows the moment when Bailly has just read out the oath "never to separate but to meet together whenever circumstances demand until the Constitution of the Kingdom has been established and confirmed on a solid basis". (62) In the foreground, Bailly standing on a table raises his arm to swear, with the Abbé Gregoire and two priests joining in, while to the right Barère takes the minutes and Robespierre puts his

hand on his heart. Behind Père Gerard comes forward between Mirabeau and Dubois-Crancé who stands on a chair. On the left, Siéyès is seated near the table, and at the extreme right we see a seated Martin d'Auch, the only deputy who refused the oath. The action has been concentrated towards the centre foreground, and the life-like figures have been arranged mainly in profile, their arms stretched out towards the table at the centre, as if declaiming on a stage. There is an echo of other oath-taking scenes, including the Horatii and the Oath of Brutus (of Hamilton), in the serried rows of outstretched arms, which suggest the (rather confused) pikes of a modern army, or perhaps the standards of a Roman one, a feeling heightened by similarities with bas-reliefs. These antique echoes are reinforced by the monumentality of the surroundings, the sheer height and volume of the Court itself, the bare silence of its stone walls witnessing the multitude and agitation below, and the billowing curtains of the windows above which repeat the flurry and passion below. (63) In the liberalised Salon of 1791, David's drawing of the Oath undoubtedly occupied a prominent place, along with his re-exhibited Horatii, Socrates and Brutus, in the words of the President of the Assembly, Dubois-Crancé:

"To immortalise our thoughts we have chosen the painter of the Brutus and the Horatii, the French patriot whose genius anticipated the Revolution." (64) [Pl. 99]

David's example inspired a series of oath-taking scenes in contemporary events. They include David's own Oath of the Army after the distribution of Eagles (1810), Joseph Anton Koch's Oath of 1500 Republicans at Montecassino (1797), Appiani's Oath of the Federation of the Cisalpine Republic (29 June, 1797) and Pietro Benvenuti's Oath of the Sailors to Napoleon (1812). Most interesting perhaps is Felice Giani's panel for a National Altar in the Piazza in front of St. Peter's (1797), inscribed on the verso:

"Feast of the Federation, given by the Roman Republic to the Vatican in the year 1797. Shrine of the French Nation, crowds of spectators and troops, and this on the great Piazza of St. Peter's, Rome".

This was the occasion when the consuls of the newly formed Roman Republic under the inspiration of the French Republic and her armies under Bonaparte in northern Italy, took a Civic Oath on the Campidoglio on 17 February, 1797. (65) In all these examples, the ceremonial symbolism of oath-taking, so vital in myths of collective rebirth and moral regeneration, has become a widespread contemporary reality; but it drew much of its content, and most of its form, from a modern reading of antique civic virtue, just as the modern ideal of national solidarity and liberty sought its legitimacy in the example of antiquity.

The next great event in the drama of the Revolution was the



Commune's assault on the Tuileries palace on August 10th, 1792. The scene was recorded by several artists. In 1793, Desfont's exhibited his Siège des Tuileries par les braves Sansculottes qui, conduits par la Liberté, renversent la Tyrannie, malgré les efforts du Fanatisme; the Livret title reveals the distance between Revolutionary myths and factional realities. Better known is Jacques Bertaux's Prise d'assaut des Tuileries (also 1793); it presents the grim carnage in heroic terms, with bodies of the Swiss Guards scattered in the courtyard of a massive palace, bands of soldiers with pikes and muskets, and cannon firing amid clouds of billowing smoke. (67) There is also an interesting drawing by Gerard, Le 10 Août 1792, done in that year, of the scene following the assault on the Tuileries, when the King and Queen, having taken refuge in the National Assembly, were deprived of their powers and new elections called, a scene which the Convention decided to record for posterity, as with the Jeu de Paume Oath. Gerard secured first prize in the competition of David's best pupils with this drawing, but again the painting was never completed. The drawing shows similarities with David's drawing, but it is even more agitated, with banners flying and arms wildly waving and gesticulating. The King and Queen are placed at the extreme right behind a window, and the surging movement in that direction, amid a strong chiaroscuro, contrasts with David's more harmonious composition and even lighting. Here contemporary reportage begins to free itself from its idealised classical shell..67

Apart from the murder of Marat, the next recorded event was the fall of Robespierre, shown in a scene by Harriet, The Arrest of Robespierre on 9 Thermidor, L'An II, the last and bloodiest moment of the Terror. (68) But it was the great fêtes of the Revolution that attracted the imagination of artists, starting with the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille when a great altar was set up in the Champs de Mars, with four incense burners and emblematic bas-reliefs of Romans taking the oath, the King joining the hundreds of thousands facing the altar and raising their hands to swear allegiance to "the nation, the law and to the King". (69)

In April 1792, David directed a public Festival of Liberty in honour of some Swiss Guards punished the previous year for refusing to obey an order now regarded as counter-revolutionary. He designed its main display, a Chariot of Liberty modelled on the antique, with reliefs showing William Tell aiming a javelin and Brutus condemning his sons to death (the public act of judgement rather than the earlier scene of mourning). (70) After the King's execution, there were fêtes at the Place du Carrousel in late January 1793 and again in August 1793 to commemorate the storming of the Tuileries the year before; it too was accompanied by rites, oaths, tricolor ribbons and republican fasces. Cults of Revolutionary martyrs flourished: Le Peletier, Marat, Chalier, Dampierre, furnished opportunities for festivals of commemoration and solidarity. Under the aegis of the cults of Brutus and

Scaevola, the Jacobin clubs promoted the symbols of the new religion of national regeneration - the Level (equality), Bonnet (Liberty), Cockade (the Nation), Pike (the free man's weapon), Club (instrument of the popular will), Fasces (revolutionary fraternity), Oak (rebirth and civic virtue), and the Eye (symbol of the Divine Being's watchfulness). (71)

It was under the sign of that Eye that Robespierre and David organised the last great fête of the Revolution in June 1794, to celebrate the new religion of the Supreme Being. At its height, David arranged to separate men and women, the latter to sing in honour of Nature or their sons who had conquered tyrants and enemies of the Republic. While the girls threw flowers to the beneficent star, the men drew their swords from the hands of elderly fathers with martial ardour, swearing to make liberty and equality triumph over oppression, to the accompaniment of a formidable discharge of artillery and the reply of "a virile and warlike song, prelude to victory". (72)

This atmosphere provided the setting for the spate of allegories of the Nation which the Revolution encouraged. Typical is the Tableau Révolutionnaire of Jeaurat, presented to the Convention in 1794. It shows the Revolution of 1789: a radiant Eye shines down on the Mountain in the centre and the Crown of Immortality given to their representatives by the people. A column on its

crest is dedicated to the regeneration of France, and at its foot lies a copy of the Republic's Constitution, with the ruins of the Bastille in the background. (73) This accorded with the role of art in the new "civil religion" preached by people like Boissy d'Anglas. Like Mirabeau before him, Boissy argued that it was not enough to appeal to reason, it was also necessary to capture the imagination and senses, and therefore art must be mobilised to inculcate the republican virtues of heroism, patriotism and self-sacrifice. (74)

Among the many allegories of patriotism in the 1790s we may mention Genillon's Tempête Allegorique which shows the vessel of despotism foundering on the rock of Liberty who holds high above the national standard in the colours of the rainbow; Mouchet's Le 9 Thermidor, ou le triomphe de la Justice, allegorie in which the genius of France, having precipitated the Terror, now restores the empire of Justice; Mallet's Sacrifice à la Patrie, ou le depart d'un Volontaire, and Lejeune's Le Père arme son Fils pour la défense de la Patrie, la Liberté et l'Égalité. (75) The sculptors, too, were active with allegories like Milot's Le Peuple Souverain, Morgan's Le 10 Août, or Chaudet's La Dévouement à la Patrie. (76)

Some of these allegories were more complex. Regnault's La Liberté ou la Mort shows the Genius of France with tricoloured wings soaring over the globe. To his left is

Death, to his right the Republic with its symbols of square (equality), fasces (fraternity) and Phrygian cap (liberty), to illustrate the motto of 1<sup>er</sup> An III: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, or Death. It is a forceful allegory of the patriot creed, and by 1795, when it was first exhibited, it was reproached for its stern republicanism. (77) A second allegory, Réattu's Le Triomphe de la Civilisation (c.1793-8), shows the Genius of France protecting the progress of Civilisation crossing the ocean, as the major French cities move towards her. Beneath, Victory with crowns in her hand, shields a soldier; and below her, the Matrone crowned with olive branches for peace, holds the emblem of harmony, two clasped hands representing the Union, protected by Hercules, symbol of material strength. To the right, Justice supports Misfortune, and below her Science crushes Ignorance and Error to open the book of learning. Boldly illuminating his main figures, Réattu gives his composition strong diagonal thrusts; at the same time, the influence of an antiquity imbibed during his stay in Rome and Naples (1791-3) remains potent throughout. (78)

Réattu's passionate drama contrasts with the more gracious and picturesque La France triomphante encourageant les Sciences et les Arts au milieu de la guerre offered by Meynier in the competition opened in 1793 by the Committee of Public Safety to all artists; unlike the patriot Réattu, Vincent's pupil, Meynier, could adapt his ideas and decorative style to the needs of the political moment. (79)

Not so David. His allegory of Le Triomphe du Peuple Français, designed in 1793 for the curtain of the Opera and revised in 1794, shows the great chariot of the French people riding over the attributes of royalty, feudalism and theocracy, while Victory floats in front above the sans-culottes who are about to thrust their swords into the bodies of the kings of Europe. (80) A seated Hercules is followed by an assortment of classical, medieval and modern heroes: Cornelia and her children, Brutus with his edict, Tell carrying his son, who holds the arrow and split apple, and a group of modern heroes like Marat, Le Peletier, Chalier, Gasparin, Beauvais de Préaux, Pierre Bayle and Fabre de l'Hérault, all exhibiting like Christian martyrs their wounds or instruments of death. (81)

Here we have an attempt to create an appropriate pedigree for the reborn nation and its leaders. Even more than America or England, whose symbolism of the seated goddess harked back to classical precedents, the patriot leaders of Revolutionary France felt the need to trace their ideals and aspirations to those of a prestigious ancestor-civilisation with which they felt a close ideological and cultural affinity. Like the citizens of Rome and Sparta, the citizens of the newly constituted nation of "France" had to be assured of the legitimacy of their ideals and leaders, but even more they had to be inspired to mobilise their energies for its protection and success. (82) By placing their modern heroes and martyrs

in the same republican tradition and line of ideological succession as a Brutus, Cato, Hector or William Tell, the Patriot artist could give to the fragile, newfound solidarity of the nation a depth and lineage which it felt it lacked.

PART THREE: STYLES AND IDEOLOGIES OF THE NATIONAL REVIVAL

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE RISE OF HISTORICIST STYLES

The latter half of the eighteenth century saw the triumph in the West of the principle of the nation as the overriding unit of social solidarity and political legitimacy. The causes of this momentous development were many; but among them cultural factors played an important and in some ways critical, role. In particular, the eighteenth century witnessed the growth of a new historical consciousness, and the first attempts to revive the spirit of a past that was deemed to be glorious and exemplary. In England, France, America, and to a lesser extent, in Germany, Italy, Denmark, Holland and Sweden, important sections of the educated public began to seek inspiration for their present predicaments in their respective national pasts, as well as in the general European past of classical antiquity. In this climate, more and more people began to feel that they belonged to a "nation" that was a political community of history and of destiny. (1)

What contribution could, and did, late-eighteenth painters and sculptors make to the new climate of ideas and assumptions that favoured the rise of the nation? Was the artist a mere follower and recorder of social and political change? Certainly, his peripheral status in



France, suggested that his role and contribution was marginal. Besides, by no means all artists of the period had radical sympathies or aimed to translate the fashionable ideologies of liberalism and republicanism into stone or paint; there is no correlation between artistic and political radicalism, and artistic innovators like Vien may well have regarded politics as a regrettable intrusion upon the serious business of art. (2)

But there is a deeper sense in which some of the artists of the period made an important contribution to the climate of beliefs and sentiments which favoured a more general patriotism and the growth of national aspirations. I am not thinking only of David and his (variegated) followers in relation to French republicanism, or even Reynolds and his associates as confirmers of Whig conservatism, though these elites had an artistic (and sometimes social) influence out of proportion to their size through their example and patrons. Our statistics in Part 1 clearly demonstrated the preference of artists and patrons for the more accessible genres of painting and sculpture - portraits, landscapes, low-life scenes. But what also emerges from a study of artistic developments in this period is that a small but influential group of painters and sculptors produced "history" works for enlightened patrons (including royalty and the state) which became touchstones of a didactic art intended to influence public morality, and accepted as such by the

rising middle classes.

Benjamin West and "historical mobility"

But how was this influence exerted, and by what means could artists hope to shape the inchoate aspirations for virtue and progress that circulated among enlightened aristocrats and bourgeois?

Largely through the principle of nationality and the ideals of patriotism. If the intellectuals of the period, the poets, historians, philosophers and essayists, proposed and elaborated the concepts of nationality and citizenship, it was the artists who put flesh and blood on this structure of aspirations and ideals. They above all were able to translate the ideals of autonomy, unity and identity which make up the ideology of nationalism, into popular and accessible images of public morality and so suggest how an active citizenry should be deployed. It was the artist who, through his visual lessons in heroism, generosity, courage, self-sacrifice and patriotism, could give form and substance to the new virtues of citizenship and the new morality of the nation.

Does this mean that the function of the artist was to crystallise, translate and amplify the new ideals and aspirations through his popular images? Undoubtedly, this was part of his task; but equally important were his

attempts to construct an appropriate cognitive framework of the categories and units within and for which this public morality was relevant. The contenance of a Scipio or Bayard was both a universal motif of human generosity, and particular examples in their individual historical milieux. The setting was needed to give the universal motif verisimilitude, but also to locate the action "somewhere and somewhen", and thereby stir the spirit of emulation. It was also important for "placing our own era" in a long series of epochs stretching back to distant roots and forward through eras of glory and heroism. So the artist was engaged in the task of constructing "maps" of place and time in which public moralities might be located.

The attempt to construct a classification of countries and periods into which each exemplum virtutis could be inserted in its historical milieu implied that acts of virtue were both universal and historical-national. The contenance of a Scipio, the zeal of a Mattathias, the devotion of an Indian widow, demonstrated not only the trans-national qualities of virtue, but also their historical character and national colouration, for the particular acts of virtue took their meaning from the experiences and assumptions of particular culture-communities and exerted their influence on the self-images and consciousness of that community. In trying to appropriate that exemplum, the artist had to

grapple with different ethno-national beliefs and assumptions, and to persuade his audience to accept this act of historical and ethnic recreation.

Perhaps the most striking example of this "historicism" can be found in the career of Benjamin West. His artistic oeuvre is a prime example of that "historical mobility" which Rosenblum claims to be a leading characteristic of the culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. West's production was certainly highly eclectic and historically "mobile", with settings that include ancient Persia, Greece, Rome, Saxon England, Norman England and France, Ireland and America. Perhaps only Fuseli rivalled him. (3)

But in all this movement, could West's contemporaries have discerned any cognitive framework or historical "map" in which to locate his many lessons in honour and virtue? Or was it just a hotch-potch of suitably affecting tales in keeping with current English fashions for literature and the antique?

According to Grose Evans, nothing could have been further from the truth. For Evans, West's aesthetic aims always dictated his styles, and usually his subjects. What were these aims? In the first place, a pure classicism such as Shaftesbury, Winckelmann and Mengs had preached and practised, a "stately" style in keeping with predominantly

antique subjects. Later West moved (after 1783) to a more emotional "sublime" manner ("the dread" mode), and after 1805 to a "pathetic" mode in which figures were used to stir the spectator's emotions, through a display of their own emotional states. In other words, a broad movement from a restrained classicism to an emotional romanticism, with little reference to subject matter or period. (4)

There is little doubt that West's subjects, as well as his styles, undergo changes during the last three decades of the eighteenth century, and that medieval subjects in a livelier style become more frequent after 1780. But, as Evans himself points out, the two pictures painted as "pendants" to his Quing Wolfe of 1769, the one classical of Epaminondas dying, the other medieval of Bayard's death, both done in 1771, are quite different in style and character at a time when, according to Evans, West operated in the "stately mode". Epaminondas certainly has that quality of "sedate grandeur" that appealed to Winckelmann (though it was not quite so restrained as he would have liked), but the Bayard is much more emotional and much lighter and livelier than adherence to any "stately mode" would permit, particularly for so lugubrious a subject. (5)

There are other problems with Evans' classification. Not all first-period subjects from 1763-83 are "stately"; notable exceptions include the Witch of En-Dor (1777) and

Hagar and Ishmael (1776), biblical subjects with different stylistic characteristics. Moreover, not all the medieval subjects in Evans' second, "Dread" manner, possess a terrible or sublime aspect; the Battle of Crecy (1788) might fit that description, but the Burghers of Calais (1789) is altogether statelier, in keeping with its subject-matter. The nearer in time to the present are West's subjects, the more does his style resort to matter-of-fact reportage, mixed with edifying period elements, as in Cromwell's dissolution of the Long Parliament in 1653 (1782) or William Penn's treaty with the Indians (1776). The latter certainly has "stately" elements; but they form part of an "ennobling" tradition of contemporary history painting, at some remove from a pure classicism. (6)

Part of the difficulty with Evans' temporal stylistic (or indeed any stylistic classification) lies in the elasticity and generality of the terms (stately, dread) employed. This is inevitable, once we recognise that subject-matter plays a more important role in determining stylistic conventions than Evans is prepared to admit. There are shades of stateliness, pathos and the sublime appropriate to different subjects, and West is responsive to gradations in all three, as well as combinations of them, suited to his subjects. He is also capable of other "modes" of painting, such as a devotional piety, a contemporary reportage, a florid romanticism and even a

mysterious archaism (though the latter is rare). How can we encompass this stylistic variety within a simple triple and temporal classification? But if, on the other hand, variations in style responded to every change in historical subject-matter, to provide images of public morality, how could they be said to furnish cognitive "maps" of mankind's historical development and teach posterity the lessons of a national history? In other words, was there any rhyme or reason to West's historical mobility and his stylistic eclecticism?

#### A classification of "historicist styles"

I think there was, and it emerges from a study of the historical periods into which his (and other artists') subjects could be grouped, and were grouped, by the educated classes of the period. Such an ordering was not immediate or universal; it could not be immediately derived from artistic or literary traditions of the Renaissance or Baroque. Artists and public alike had to grope their way towards such classificatory "maps" of history and morality, and in the profuse jungle of didactic subjects selected, we can expect to find many exceptions to any framework. But, while it may help modern spectators to group these often obscure subjects into categories like the "Neoclassic stoic" or "Neoclassic pathetic" (i.e. by type or general moral message), this does not necessarily correspond to the perceptions and

feelings of artists and public at the time. To a public gradually attuned to the well-known contrast between Ancients and Moderns, artistic styles acted as codes, or sets of signals, which served to locate the subject in particular categories within a general historical framework and so allowed them to grasp the universal moral through particular, historically-located, manifestations. Historical mobility could be taken for granted because it operated within, and reinforced, an increasingly accepted historical-evolutionary framework. (7)

According to this eighteenth-century schema, there were clear divisions between four main periods of historical development: the biblical, the classical, the medieval and the modern or contemporary. Despite problems of classification at the borders (for example, Roman Britain or Gaul) and the omission of "exotic" lands (such as India or Persia, perhaps the Red Indians), this fourfold typology provided a mental and developmental framework for assigning every national exemplum virtutis and grasping their specific characteristics. Such classifications answered deepseated human needs for order and for historical progression, and were in tune with the growing evolutionary outlook of the period. (8)

But were any styles naturally suited to different historical periods? Artistic traditions, if not nature, certainly suggested points of departure. Thus, from the



Renaissance on, religious subjects were usually depicted either as instances of the divine will, and hence sublime and fiery, in the manner of Michelangelo or the tenebrists, or as expressions of a human need and human devotion, and therefore in a manner that was quietist but intense, expressing a deep inner piety and devotion, in the manner of Raphael's Madonnas and the Bolognese school. West's biblical oeuvre illustrates both styles. The Witch of En-Dor (1777) is, as one would expect from such a fiery and macabre subject, in which the prophet Samuel is brought up from the netherworld to predict Saul's doom, evoked by an explosive chiaroscuro with whirling figures and a sinister atmosphere. Hagar and Ishmael (1776), on the other hand, is intense and quieter; the feeling of desolation felt by Hagar in the wilderness is conveyed through a diagonal recession of forms in an undefined space, but the modelling of the figures in their voluminous draperies near the picture surface is smooth in the Bolognese tradition. (9)

Again, from the High Renaissance on, Greco-Roman subjects had been usually depicted in a grandiose and monumental manner, whether by Mantegna, Titian or Michelangelo (for example, his Brutus), though a softer, sensuous approach had been adumbrated by Correggio. The seventeenth century had continued this monumental tradition in the work of Carracci, Le Brun and Poussin, and both Batoni and Mengs had returned to this tradition in reaction to a more

"feminine" treatment of classical mythologies, usually erotic, by Rococo artists. Thus Mengs' Parnassus had been greatly admired in 1761 for its references to Raphael and the antique, as well as Winckelmann's precepts, though by comparison with West's classical subjects it lacks real plastic monumentality. West himself was nevertheless merely following in this heroic classical tradition which seemed "natural" for the portrayal of incidents from Greco-Roman history and mythology (the two were often not distinguished clearly), when he produced such popular works as The Choice of Hercules (1764) and the more monumental Orestes and Pylades before Iphigenia in Tauris (1766) with its references to Roman processional reliefs. (10)

But this sculptural and monumental manner failed to cover the whole range of classical subject-matter. Some themes demanded greater drama, even when it was momentarily "frozen", as in Hamilton's Oath of Brutus (1765) or Gagneraux's more psychological Oedipus and his children (1784). Even earlier, Dance's violent Death of Virginia (1761) had shown how drama could be handled within a monumental format by recalling Poussin's example in the stage-like composition of clearly defined and gesturing groups and in the grandiose, enclosing Roman architecture which frames and supports the action; a formula repeated on a vaster scale by Lethière's Brutus Condemning his Sons (1788-95), a panoramic drawing which makes the surging

masses the protagonist of this violent Roman drama (11).

[Pls.52,53]

Even this measure of freedom did not suffice for all the themes in the Greco-Roman repertoire. Late eighteenth century artists felt it necessary to evolve a purer, more linear style with simplified forms for more archaic eras and personages. In a theme like Oedipus rejecting Polynices at Colonus (1777), Fuseli simplified his figures and gave them sharper, more angular movements; at the same time stronger use of shading helped to create a sense of awe and terror at the enactment of the next twist in an ancient family feud. Some of this windswept, elemental force is conveyed also in the engraving of Barry's sketch for his Philoctetes on Lemnos (1770). The painting for the Academy in Bologna is in the monumental tradition of classical sculpture, noble, restrained and full of pathos; but the engraving brings out all the pain, injustice and turbulence of Philoctetes' predicament, as the hero unbandages his poisoned foot, hair dishevelled and beard ungroomed, and rests wearily against a bare tree with finger-like branches, a dead bird at his feet. (12).

[Pls.1,2,9]

The classical or Greco-Roman rubric, therefore, contains at least two styles, the one noble, sculptural and monumental, the other pure, linear and simplified. The type of subject, and the medium of portrayal, dictate which of the two styles is likely to be used, and both continue actively into the next century, so that the trend

towards a more linear, abstract manner becomes only one among a number of artistic movements. In any case, what these two styles share is just as important as their differences: a stage-like setting, in a shallow space, a rejection of irrelevance and clutter, and an archaeological fidelity to period dress and accessories, all of which help to focus the spectator's attention on the historical drama and concentrate his understanding and emotions on the dramatic action, which exemplifies a public morality. (13)

There were fewer artistic precedents for medieval themes, which constituted the third great category. There had, of course, been plenty of medieval motifs, religious and literary, from Carpaccio's St. Ursula series to Tiepolo's frescoes of Rinaldo and Armida in the Villa Valmarana. But there were no general conventions for their depiction, except perhaps an understanding that a freer style was appropriate for subjects that lacked Greek serenity or Roman gravitas. This was evident in Natoire's otherwise classicising series of Clovis and the Franks, a most unusual subject painted for Comte d'Orry for his Chateau de la Chapelle-Godefroy in 1737, for they possess something of the monumentality of Baroque art, but with a clear lighting and a certain attention to vaguely "medieval" weapons and buildings. In this "courtly" and "chivalric" tradition stands also Angelica Kauffmann's portrayal of the popular Saxon theme of Vortigern and

Rowena (1770); it too is classicising as far as the figures and composition are concerned, with a horizontal stage-like setting, but landscape and accessories (harp, trees and castle on the hill, though hardly fifth century!) attempt a period flavour that is vaguely medieval. As the century proceeds, the medieval element in this chivalric-courtly style becomes more marked, and there is a more radical break with unified and monumental classical formats and figures in favour of more florid, picturesque, angular and unpredictable elements. West's series of Edward III, Hamilton's pictures of Thomas a Becket, Berthelemy's Entru of the French into Paris, 13. April 1346 (1787) and Suvée's Death of Admiral de Colignu (also 1787) all reveal this loosening of classical conventions for formats and figures that evoke an entirely different spirit and atmosphere. (14) [Pls.67,92,103]

Alongside this florid and chivalric style, there was also a more charming and sentimental manner that owed much to the now despised Rococo. The figures here tend to be smaller, their gestures are mannered and their deportment and clothes elegant, as in Kauffmann's Irenmor and Imbaca of 1773, and they are often set in sylvan glades, like Schall's odd Heroism of William Tell (1793-4), an almost troubadour account that presents a diminutive Tell looking furtively around in colourful garb, bow in hand - hardly the stuff of heroic legend, expected in those years of revolution. In Pine, Durameau, Lagrenée, even West, the

Rococo tradition lingers on in a literary medievalism, whose charm was rarely associated with serious histories and Greco-Roman exempla. (15)

But there were also themes, notably of medieval mythology, that neither the elegant-Rococo nor the florid-chivalric styles could handle. We meet the new "dramatic-archaic" approach mostly in drawings and sketches with their greater freedom, but it can also be found in a painting like Vincent's William Tell overturning the boat carrying Gessler (1795). It is a violent tale, and its setting is equally violent. The swirling billows and raging storm are conveyed by eddying shafts of light which cleave the large dark areas of menace and doom in the terrors of the deep; the turbulence of the elements is echoed by the muscular movements and heightened expressions and gestures of the protagonists. This is an extreme example, only hinted at in Vincent's earlier President Mole stopped by insurgents during the troubles of the Fronde (1779), and there are less violent instances. A painting like Girodet's mysterious, crystalline Ossian receiving Napoleonic Officers (1802), discussed earlier, uses a shimmering light and swirling composition to evoke a dream-like encounter between modern military reality and the romance of an archaic heroism. Whereas the more static version by Gerard relies on creating a misty atmosphere of archaic mystery through shafts of light piercing penumbra of darkness in a craggy wilderness, Girodet's extraordinary

vision is lucid, detailed and sharply lit, yet full of contemporary allusions to the Treaty of Lunéville which England still opposed; its archaizing romanticism, which looks forward to symbolist visions of the 1880s and 1890s, is conjured by a rich imagination that has been allowed to override the basic composition, which Girodet may have derived from Flaxman's drawing of the Seven Chiefs before Thebes, with its two groups of warriors approaching each other in unison. Whether this hallucinatory vision marks a "Gothic" recreation of allegorical history, or an isolated fantasy, even in Girodet's output, is beside the point: it belongs to a whole trend in medievalising historicist art, even if its execution is without parallel, a trend which sought in a "lunar" style of sharp lighting of forms in darkness to capture something of the mystery of a far-off heroic age of early European barbarism. (16)[Pls.65,71,88]

The last main division, the contemporary or modern, is rather less important stylistically, since it owes much to the styles of previous categories. Nevertheless, it can be distinguished overall by its concern with reporting everyday happenings around the singular event as factually as possible; this applies also to recent history of the seventeenth century, in some ways a borderline area. With only slight exaggeration we may speak of "modern prose" as opposed to the poetry of biblical and classical epic and medieval romance; reportage of events in living memory, and attention to the normal and ordinary surrounding

unusual happenings, gives this category its initial stylistic coherence. Pictures like Hamilton's early Dawkins and Wood discovering Palmyra (1758) or Copley's Brook Watson and the Shark (1778), though they record unusual events with admiration, do so in a spirit of fidelity to events, as far as they could be ascertained (obviously more so in the Copley example), and through an unencumbered (by allegory or idealisation) representation of those events. (17)

Other contemporary portrayals mix reportage with idealisation, in varying degrees. Copley's later productions like The Death of the Earl of Chatham (1779) or the Death of Major Pierson (1784) are, as we have seen, more or less accurate renderings of the events described, but they employ a larger format, a more grandiose manner and carry allusions to religious (Pieta) and classical (dying hero) motifs. Perhaps the best-known example of this "idealising" or "ennobling" variant of the contemporary category is West's Death of Wolfe (1769) which again mingles a not so accurate reportage in modern dress and accessories with the classical and religious themes appropriate to a modern act of self-sacrifice. (18)

[P1.95]

The same "ennobling" style of modern reportage was also used for allegories like Deshayes' Allegory of the Treaty of Paris (1763) or West's portrait of Guy Johnson (1776) with a Mohawk chief beside him to add a sense of dignity



through the juxtaposition of representatives of two civilisations so different in culture and location. The type can be said to reach its climax at the end of our period with the many allegorical representations of Napoleon, including David's equestrian portrait at the St. Gotthard, with its carved allusions to Charlemagne and Hannibal, and Ingres' icon of a sceptred, enthroned Roman-style emperor, both historicising and ennobling exempla in the classical tradition. (19)

Finally, we should mention a Rococo variant of the contemporary morality-makers. This is the way in which Penny reports The Generosity of Johnny Pearmain (1782) as a modern exemplum virtutis who restores to a poor widow, Mrs. Costard, her cow and goods, restrained by the tax-collector outside her cottage. As in Greuze, the figures are rather smaller, more rural and more restrained in gestures than their classical counterparts like Scipio or Marcus Aurelius; this is a middle-class, rural equivalent, but it stands nearer to Durameau's portrayal of the Contenance of Bauard in its Rococo elegance and smaller scale. The same Greuzian sentimentality and scale can be found in Francis Wheatley's Mr. Howard offering relief to Prisoners (1788) with its touching genre portrayal of the misery of English prisoners huddled together in a vault, or in Watteau de Lille's Departure of the Volunteer (c1792) with its allusions to Hector's leave-taking from Andromache and Astyanax, in what is

really an elevated genre scene in modern French republican dress, but with strong galant undertones and familial piety threatening to quench republican ardour. This may have been wie es eigentlich war or nearly so, but it was not how true patriots conceived it to be. (20)

To summarise so far; most history paintings and sculptures can be usefully divided into four main categories - biblical, classical, medieval and contemporary - and each of these categories can be further sub-divided into two or three cognate stylistic trends, depending on the type of subject-matter (and the medium of execution) chosen for portrayal. This gives us in all ten stylistic trends across the four categories, as follows:

1 BIBLICAL: religious intensity of sacred text

i "terrible-sublime" eg Witch of En-Dor (West), The Flood  
(Girodet)

ii "devotional-intimate" eg Hagar and Ishmael (West),  
The Prodigal Son (Drouais)

2 CLASSICAL: epic and heroic

iii sculptural- eg Orestes and Pylades (West),  
monumental Oath of Brutus (Hamilton),  
Belisarius/Brutus (David) cont...

iv linear-primordial eg Oedipus and Polynices (Fuseli),

Flaxman's drawings, Sabines (David)

3 MEDIEVAL: romance and the picturesque

- v rococo-sentimental eg Irenmor and Imbaca (Kauffmann),  
Continence of Bayard (Durameau),  
Heroism of Tell (Schall)
- vi florid-chivalric eg Rowena and Vortigern (Kauffmann),  
Burgers of Calais (West)
- vii dramatic-archaic eg Gessler and Tell (Vincent), Ossian  
and Napoleonic Officers (Girodet),  
Odin and Baldur's death (Fuseli)

4 CONTEMPORARY prose and reportage

- viii event reportage eg Dawkins and Wood (Hamilton), Brook  
Watson and Shark (Copley)
- ix idealised reportage eg Death of Chatham (Copley), Death of  
Wolfe (West), Marat (David)
- x genre morality eg Greuze, Johnny Pearmain (Penny)  
reportage Departure of volunteer (de Lille).

With these distinctions in mind, it is possible to explore in greater depth the differences in treatment of "classical" and "medieval" motifs, the two most important categories, to note some exceptions, especially in sculpture and drawings, and then relate this artistic

"map" to its moral and ideological purposes in England and France.

### Contrasting treatments of classical and medieval themes

For a discussion of the relationship between "history" works of art and ideological culture in late eighteenth century England and France, two of these four categories stand out for their relevance and importance: the classical and the medieval. But a word should be said about biblical and contemporary themes.

In this period, biblical themes with historical content are less common than classical themes. Exceptions are furnished by depictions of the Creation story and the Flood, those of Zedekiah's children being put to death by Nebuchadnezzar, Saul and the Witch of En-Dor, and the rising of the Maccabees. Clearly, it was the dramatic and "terrible-sublime" aspects that attracted artists of the period, along with an instance of Jewish nationalism against foreign tyranny. The latter was depicted by Lepicié in his Zeal of Mattathias (1783) with suitably fiery expressions against a Poussinesque background, and by Gros in his Antiochus and Eleazar (1792) where the indignant old priest refuses to eat pork, with a Michelangesque fury, against a Rembrandtesque background of chiaroscuro. The Creation story obviously lent itself to this "sublime" style; if de Louthembourg's portrayal is

full of turbulent majesty, Flaxman's has an otherworldly sublimity. The same note of sublimity and divine turbulence informs contemporary treatments of the Flood theme; we expect it in de Louthembourg, but it is equally evident in a drawing by Regnault, and in Girodet's Flood (1806) discussed earlier. In all these cases, it is the first of the biblical styles, the "terrible-sublime" recommended by Burke, that is most appropriate. Only in more meditative, grief-stricken scenes, does the devotional mode become apposite: Fabre's Death of Abel (1790), for all its classical pose and nudity has a strangely intense quality in the diagonal placement of the lifeless limbs of the first victim of murder, while Canova's plaster of Adam and Eve lamenting the dead Abel evokes the intimacy of family grief and anguish at this unnatural death. (21) [Pls.61,62,83]

Contemporary histories are also less significant stylistically, because their underlying motifs and treatments often derive from those of the stylistic trends in other categories, adapted to suit present-day needs. West, after all, for all his desire to be "modern", assumed that moderns were to be compared to the ancients, and that General Wolfe's sacrificial death was on a par with those of Hector, Germanicus or Bayard. Hence the frequent ennobling of otherwise plain reportage of present events and personages, and the secondary and derivative nature of many "contemporary" depictions; and so the innovations of

contemporary reportage are best viewed in relation to the more fundamental contrasts between the classical and medieval styles on which they build.

Perhaps the clearest way of grasping the contrasts is to compare "classical" and "medieval" portrayals of the same general motif; systematic and striking differences in stylistic trends would go some way to confirming the hypothesis that artists were engaged in the construction of cognitive "maps" as frameworks of understanding the public moralities which they sought to purvey through popular imagery.

The motif of the "suffering hero" which was explored earlier, is a case in point. Can we distinguish systematically between treatments of Greek mythical heroes like Philoctetes and Oedipus, and early medieval heroes like Ossian and King Lear? (Even if artists and public made no clear distinction between legendary and historical figures at this time, the comparison is facilitated by their mythological location, and by the tradition that all were old men and aggrieved worldly "losers"). The paintings of Philoctetes on Lemnos by Barry, Abildgaard and Lethière, all clearly belong to the same "sculptural-monumental" classical tradition of representation; though Barry's etched version is less ennobled, more dramatic and linear and elemental than the public, "cleaned up" painting presented to the Bologna

Academy by Barry in 1770. The portrayal of pain and suffering in the Abildgaard and Lethière versions is also of the muscular and plastic type, though Philoctetes' writhing body in the Abildgaard picture seems ready to break the frame. (22) [Pls.1,2,3]

By comparison, Abildgaard's portrayal of the Celtic bard in his Ossian singing (1785) is more elusive and picturesque. The size of the central figure has been reduced in relation to his environment, the windswept landscape is much more important, though far less clearly defined, and the sage, harp in hand, seems a rhetorical, shrill figure in a misty, brooding Northern world. Northern mists, crags and forests also feature in Runge's unfinished cycle of Ossian, while the harp marks out the bardic sage in Carsten's Ossian and Alpin (1788). In Girodet's later drawings, too, there is the same misty, ghostly atmosphere; Ossian's dream shows a prophetic figure appearing to the warrior amid a flurry of floating harpists, set in a barren, craggy and threatening landscape, felt to be an appropriate setting for the ancient Gaelic encounters. (23) [Pls.86,90]

Equally tragic, and much better known, were the parallel aged and suffering heroes, Oedipus and King Lear, protagonists of celebrated dramas of Greek myth and British legend. We have met Oedipus, self-blinded and humbled with his children, in Gagneraux's portrayal of the

last act of Oedipus Tyrannos in Thebes. He is already ennobled by tragedy, but years later, after his wanderings with Antigone, Oedipus comes to rest in the grove of Colonus near Athens; here Fulchran-Jean Harriet portrayed him seated on rectangular stone blocks, white beard and hair blowing, like his billowing drapery, in the wind, one hand clutching his chest, the other resting on an exhausted Antigone sleeping on his knees. Though there are hints of "Northern" elements in the dark landscape behind (pines, crows, crags) such as one might find in Ossian (in 1797-8 at the height of his popularity in France), the highly centralised and staged composition, the emphasis on the human protagonists, the monumentality of figures and architecture, the flowing Greek draperies and the more even light falling across the bodies of Oedipus and Antigone, place Harriet's Oedipus at Colonus firmly within the noble and heroic classical tradition. Equally classical, but more linear and simplified, as stated earlier, was Fuseli's Oedipus rejecting Polynices at Colonus (1777); the stark diagonal created by Oedipus' violent cursing gesture and answered by Polynices' shielding movement, in a narrow enclosed space pressed forward to the picture plane, is balanced and softened by the counter-pointed lesser diagonal of a weeping Ismene and rebuking Antigone trying to make peace between outraged father and rebellious son. Together with the noble muscularity and proportions of the protagonists, this contrapuntal symmetry emphasizes the human drama at



the expense of every other element; so that even the more linear and archaic or primordial style of classicism is quite unlike the more solitary cosmic evocations of medieval bards and warriors. (24) [P1.9]

Are the treatments of that other tragic figure and long-suffering hero of early medieval legend, King Lear, so very different? Not at first glance. Barry's The Death of Cordelia (1786) has a classical monumentality and size, a centralised human group and noble poses, especially of the dead Cordelia. But a closer look reveals incongruous elements: Edgar's armour and clothing is quite unclassical, there is an additional side scene of attendants taking away Edmund's body, a distant view of Dover castle, a darkened stormy sky full of foreboding, Lear's mane of white hair blowing wildly in the wind to match his gesture of despair, above all, the Stonehenge-like trilithon temple on the hill behind, all of which suggest an attempt by Barry to differentiate the early British tale from its counterparts in classical mythology. If anything, Fuseli's King Lear turning away Cordelia (c1786) has a more classical arrangement of groups, with Kent pleading before a wrathful Lear on his throne at the centre; only the mannerist contrapposto of a slim "Gothic" Cordelia, the raking light in the sombre palace chamber and Lear's ignoble rage, suggest an unclassical milieu and drama. This is even more evident in the engraving of West's Lear on the Heath (c1786); like

Mortimer's head of a choleric Lear, West depicts the outraged king braving the fearful elements with defiant outstretched arm, beard and hair flying in the wind, as Gloucester's torch picks out a cowering Fool and Poor Tom, and a guiding, pleading Kent, their garments blown about by the torrential storm. While the engraving increases the urgent drama and primordial quality of "unaccommodated" man, it is West, above all, who has found a pictorial equivalent for this pagan and elemental drama at the entrance to the hovel on the heath. But it is not an idealised classical paganism, however noble the afflicted king and his entourage may be, and even if some of the poses have classical sources. The hovel, the clothes, the grassy heath, above all the wildness and strangeness of a figure like Edgar as poor Tom, reveal a primeval and barbarian past of early British tribal kingdoms. (25) [Pl.17]

Nor is the figure of Lear an isolated instance. The Welsh bards, too, furnished lessons in public morality and an example of Northern atmosphere and primitivism. West, Fuseli, de Louthembourg, all depicted the last Welsh Bard with white hair and unkempt beard, harp in hand, high on a crag above the advancing English invaders in 1282, the last of his caste to die. In the version by Thomas Jones of 1774, the poet-sage holds his harp and ancient book and turns away from us under a barren tree in a windswept, dark and mountainous landscape with wheeling birds and

that northern symbol, the ruins of Stonehenge blasted by storms, behind. Jones has deliberately reduced the size of his bard and placed him to the right, to stress the relative insignificance of medieval man faced by hostile nature and circumstances. I know of no classical treatment which so completely subordinates man to a hostile nature and fate; even Banks' Falling Titan (1786) enlarges his victim-hero and place him at the centre of the drama that engulfs him, thereby enhancing his stature and dignity. (26)

A second motif which illuminates the contrasts between treatments of classical and medieval exempla is that of the chaste and virtuous woman. We have already seen how Kauffmann's Vortigern enamoured of Rowena at the banquet of Hengist (1770), painted in a "florid-chivalric" style, incorporates medieval accessories and background, though the horizontal frieze-like composition and Rowena herself in Roman vestments, are broadly classical and heroic (or nearly so), evidence of the domination of classicism in English art in the late 1760s and early 1770s. But by the 1790s, Rowena's classical pose and drapery and profile had given way to a more flowing, elongated type and manner, reminiscent of Gothic statuary, especially in the gentle turn of her body towards an enamoured Vortigern, in William Hamilton's Rowena and Vortigern. Rowena's hair, too, has become blond, long and flowing, sharply contrasting with the plaited coiffure and fillet of

Kauffmann's classical virgin; pure and bashful in long white dress and cloak, Hamilton's Rowena dominates the scene and increases its verticality, whereas Kauffmann's heroine is just another idealised Roman virgin linking Hengist to Vortigern in a decorative symmetrical arrangement. (27) [Pls.93,94]

Grace and purity are also the hallmarks of Blake's medieval women. Blindfolded Queen Emma led by a little boy across the coals is, like the king and court, a fusion of Grecian and Gothic in their flowing garments, broad shoulders and rigid poses; but the "medieval" elements which one might have expected from one who was working on the sepulchral monuments in Westminster Abbey, are confined to the expressions of the king and his bishop, the pleats of the drapery and the pointed-arch decoration of the palace chamber. There is perhaps a more pronounced feeling for the medieval atmosphere, and a greater tendency to look to a Gothic revival to convey it, in Blake's Penance of Jane Shore of the early 1780s. Though the soldiers' bodies remain broad and stocky, their claustrophobic clustering around the penitent woman, their hats and forest of halberds and spears, some of them tilting diagonally, help to break up the centralised classical format, while Jane's thin, elongated body clearly stems from Gothic statuary. In many ways, Blake had been anticipated by Penny's Penance of Jane Shore (1776). Here an elongated Jane carrying candle and

wrapped in a white cloak falls forward under the throng of hefty onlookers, as councillors and soldiers escort her through the city, while the Court looks on from a balcony of the castellated palace fronting the Cathedral. Though the apparent *melee* of the crowd conceals a symmetrical disposition with an even lighting and clear focus, this remains one of the earliest attempts to create a truly medieval atmosphere through buildings, accessories, dress and weapons; the ladies' headdress, the councillors' strange, peaked hats, the helmets, cross and stave, spears and candle, and the absence of nobility in the faces of the crowd and escort, herald the picturesque literary medievalism of the next century.(28) [Pls.91,99,100]

This becomes even clearer when we turn to the many treatments of classical heroines. Depictions of Andromache, Cornelia or Agrippina all share a classical format and that idealised generalisation suited to an heroic drama. West, after all, based his Agrippina returning with the ashes of Germanicus (1768) on a relief of the Augustan Ara Pacis to create a funereal procession echoed by the pedimented portico and arcading behind; Agrippina herself is just another virtuous Roman matron interchangeable with the others in this expression of collective grief. Admittedly, Hamilton's version of 1771 makes his heroine larger and more central on the stage (the landing stage) of Brundisium, but she is no more individualised; what individuality she possesses is

derived from weapons, buildings and the like to underline Roman gravitas and virtue. Similarly, the various versions of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi by Hallé, Kauffmann, Suvée and Hetsch among others, tend to be severe and staged, horizontal in format and "Roman" only in their austere clothes and architecture. True, Hallé's and Kauffmann's versions were more domestic and less severe; but even they stayed well within the moral limits of Valerius Maximus' edifying tale and convey Roman gravitas in their plain pilasters, urns and columns, while Suvée's version turns the whole story into an antique drama, declaimed for our moral benefit. As for Cornelia, she lacks all individuality; she is a mere peg on which to hang a moral. (29) [Pls.22,23,25,26,28]

Finally, the motif of the self-sacrificing and/or dying hero affords further insights into the contrast between classical and medieval treatments. Hector's parting from Andromache, an immensely popular theme in this period, reveals most of the elements associated with the more monumental and heroic classical style; in Gavin Hamilton's version, Hector gently pushes Andromache aside in favour of his duty to defend his city, while Romney's portrayal is, if anything, even more naive and playful as Hector marches off cheerfully along a Poussinesque Roman street. Only Kauffmann's earlier version (1769) hints at the intimacy and tender sorrow of the parting, but with little presentiment of death. It is left to Fabre's

powerful, centralised drawing, to capture the Homeric dilemma, as Andromache weeps on Hector's shoulder and the hero holds up his baby, Astyanax, before taking up helmet and spear. The very simplicity of the treatment, focussing only on essentials in a bare classical architecture, makes it so monumentally heroic. (30)

[Pls.43,44,45]

There was nobody to match Hector or Achilles in medieval history or literature, as it was then known and appreciated. But medieval French and English history did present self-sacrificing heroes like Bayard, Du Guesclin and the Burghers of Calais, or more mythically, Oscar. There are undoubted classical elements in West's Burghers of Calais (1789), particularly in the horizontal arrangement of the English and French. But the effect is far more medieval than classical, and this is due in part to the florid clothes and weapons and the view of Calais' castellated walls and towers seen through the opening of the hoisted tent, and partly to the answering semi-circular movement of the two groups and their more individualised features. A similar individualisation can be found in Brenet's Hommages rendus à Du Guesclin (1778), analysed earlier. Despite classical (a Roman conclamatio) and biblical (a Pieta) debts, and a spacious, noble composition, classical symmetry is broken by the advance of troops with serried lances from left below and the distant view of the crenellated walls and

towers of Châteauneuf-de-Randon, which the Constable was besieging in 1380. The florid, chivalrous style can be seen in the shields and armour, and in the contrasting dress and moods of the sorrowing page and the old man who gives up the keys, as well as the other soldiers. Besides, there has been no attempt to "arrange" the dead hero in the antique manner; he simply lies flat and still in his official dress at the entrance to his tent, and we are left to reflect on his patriotism and courage. Yet, despite the different atmosphere, we cannot yet say that the scene can only be an incident from medieval French history; it still owes too much to a dominant classical artistic language. So does even so far removed a subject as the Death of Oscar in Runciman's drawing of 1770-72. Like a Roman conclamatio, the recumbent Oscar is surrounded by his followers in Roman togas; but their movements and expressions are distinctly unclassical, and almost nightmarish, notably the central figure bending, arms akimbo, over Oscar and the two men at right and left with convoluted drapery and poses. To clinch matters, the baying hound and praying sage beneath a lowering sky, conjure the archaic barbarism of ancient family feuds in distant Caledonia, a world far removed from the sunlit ambiance of Greek mythology. (31) [Pls.66,75,85]



Even in the sterner world of self-sacrificing death of Greek and Roman historical figures, there was far less room for florid details and chivalry than in treatments of medieval heroism. Fuger's Death of Germanicus (1789) is typical of one trend, the "Baroque" treatment of swirling draperies and the diagonal axis of the composition; but it remains highly concentrated and centralised, with the dying hero laid out on his death-bed horizontally to the picture plane on a "stage" framed by Poussinesque pillars and hangings. Even more concentrated is a sculptural rendering like Bank's Death of Germanicus (1774); the action has been pared down to essentials, the smooth nudity of the dying hero's body standing out from the entourage of mourners and ministrants, beneath a temple with the emblem of a Roman eagle above it. The hero has little individuality; he could be any noble martyr for beliefs and country. Even the death of well-known philosophers like Seneca and Socrates, though always austere and elevating, makes no concessions to personal idiosyncracies or florid period details. Granted that David's early Death of Seneca (1773) still remains within the late Baroque tradition of rhetorical gesture, costume, billowing curtain and diagonal recession; but even here the huge columns at the right and the horizontal grouping give the scene a firm anchorage, while Seneca is only another old man displaying his lesson in philosophic virtue. By the time we reach David's Death of Socrates (1787), all these baroque concessions to the senses have

been replaced by an austere, geometrical drama in a gloomy, bare prison with rounded arch and stone slabs, plain, rectangular bed and bench, and frozen didactic gestures. It is the severity of antique virtue that interests David now, the ability of the true philosopher to surmount death with equanimity, rather than any passing atmosphere or gesture; any period romanticism is subordinated to an intellectual and moral idealism that rejects emotional displays. (32) [Pls.73,77,80]

Some exceptions: artistic medium and personality

Comparison of common motifs would appear, then, to confirm the hypothesis advanced here, that treatments of medieval and classical episodes of myth and history by the artists of the period, differed substantially and systematically, and that artists were intent on differentiating the manner in which they portrayed similar motifs in successive historical epochs.

This generalisation must, however, be qualified in three important respects. First, it holds most for history painting, less for drawings and even less for sculpture; the artistic medium not unexpectedly modifies the treatment of similar themes. Second, personal idiosyncrasy and training create some interesting exceptions, even within the field of history painting, or mix stylistic elements appropriate to different epochs. Third, because

of its headstart and immense prestige in our period, classicism dominated artistic perceptions of "appropriate" treatment and "spilt over" into portrayals of the medieval and contemporary epochs.

The medium may not be the message, but the limitations of sculpture undoubtedly influenced artistic approaches to medieval themes of virtue and honour. It is understandable, perhaps, that stories like Caractacus pleading before the Emperor Claudius in Rome (c1775) by Banks should, despite its early British subject-matter and its intended setting in the pantheon of "British Worthies" at Stowe, be conceived in largely Roman terms like a frieze, since it was taken from Tacitus, set in Rome and sculpted there. No wonder that some of the poses were taken from Roman sources, or Roman copies of Hellenistic originals, like the Belvedere Torso for Claudius' leaning pose, or the Orpheus and Eurudice relief at the Villa Borghese for the woman who descends the steps in the centre, leaving only a hint of Celtic "barbarism" in the rough garments and tousled hair of a heavily idealised Caractacus. (33) Nor should we be too bothered by the fact that a post-classical, Byzantine tale, that of Belisarius' unmerited disgrace and recognition, is treated by Chaudet in his bronze Belisarius (1791) as the epitome of a serene classical hero, rising morally above his circumstances. But when classicism invades so medieval an episode as that of Edward I and Eleanor of Castile

(1789-95) by John Deare, an oval marble relief, we begin to wonder; it might be a Greco-Roman exemplum of selfless conjugal virtue, to judge by the draperies, hangings, couch and Edward's finely proportioned chest, not to mention the sorrowing elder behind the couple in his toga. Calm, noble and stoic, Deare's treatment makes no attempt to conjure even period flavour, let alone the siege of Acre. (34) [Pls.16,64]

In fact, the number of strictly "medieval" sculptures before 1800 in France and England is limited. D'Angiviller's series of Grands Hommes suggests a growing interest in the heroes of French national history in their period setting; but the plastic and monumental components of traditional sculpture, tended to make it more suitable as a vehicle for classical themes, or to assimilate other themes like the Miltonian St Michael overcoming Satan by Flaxman to the classical canon of noble pose, proportion and grandeur. Even Flaxman's sculptural drawings for a series like the Acts of Mercur or the Flight of Satan from Paradise show a preference for classical forms, as do several of Blake's drawings before 1800. (35)

Nevertheless, the greater freedom and linearity of drawings and watercolours permitted a purer, simplified style that could capture both the primordial element of Greek myth (for example, in Flaxman's Theogony of Hesiod or Aeschylus' Oresteia series) and the picturesque or

archaic aspects of medieval literary or religious scenes. Fuseli's drawings for the Oath of the Rütli owe much to Italian Mannerism, and remain within a broadly classical tradition; but his drawing of the Confederates arriving at the Rütli (1770s) to sign the Oath of Everlasting Alliance of 1291 which marked the birth of the Swiss Confederation, though it has classical and Michelangelesque qualities, notably in the heaving, muscular figure of the oarsman, possesses a very unclassical atmosphere, created by sharp contrasts of light and shade and between the straight lines of the crags on lake Lucerne and the rounded forms of the boat and the human beings. Here the emphasis is on the elemental struggle between man and an often hostile nature, a motif even more to the fore in Fuseli's drawing of Odin receiving the prophecy of Baldur's death (c1776); we see a horrified Odin turn in almost impossible contrapposto to glimpse behind his raised arm and protective shield the awful apparition of the Prophetess from the underworld holding the lifeless body of his son in her arms, while at the edge of the chasm Odin's horse rears up in terror. All this is suggested in a few lines and with careful, atmospheric shading, and strong contrasts between rounded and square forms symbolising the gulf between natural and supernatural worlds. (36) [Pls.82,101]

Compared to this sinister scene of supernatural violence, even the passion of Romney's drawing of The ghost of

Clutemnestra rousing the Furies (1780) seems restrained and "noble"; not just Apollo, but even the declaiming ghost and semi-draped recumbent Furies seem carefully posed and harmoniously placed at the entrance to Apollo's Ionic temple. The classical "linear-primordial" style rarely lends itself to the evocation of that sense of mystery and picturesque romanticism that medievalising archaism could generate. We have only to compare Flaxman's and Fuseli's drawings of scenes from Greek mythology (Oedipus and Polynices, Meleager; Flaxman's Iliad and Odusseu, Theogony and Prometheus drawings) with Blake's Edward III and the Black Prince (c1780-5), Flaxman's picturesque Sir Cauline's Return (c1780) and his A Procession of Early British Saints (c1783) which evokes the imagined (by Chatterton) purity and simplicity of early British Christianity, or the mysterious and disturbing presence of Barry's depiction of those Miltonic forces of evil, Satan, Sin and Death (probably 1770s), to sense the gulf between the noble clarity and openness of treatment of even the most dramatic Greco-Roman scene, and the arcane mystery and primitivism, much of it odd or sinister, of medieval imagery and atmosphere. (37) [P1.7]

We must also make due allowance for the personal idiosyncracies and background of the artist even when he generally observes and furthers the fourfold stylistic categorisation by historical epoch. Fuseli's Swiss Enlightenment, but also medievalising background, and his

pronounced admiration for the Greeks interpreted from a deeply "Northern" literary perspective, produced some extraordinary fusions of classical and medieval, or even plain reversals. An example of fusion is his painting of Thor im Kampf mit der Midgardschlange (1790). It has all the characteristics of a classical Apollo slaying the Python, with a massively proportioned god-hero dominating the scene with his axe. Yet the spirit is far from Olympian; a flimsy boat tosses about in a dark and stormy ocean, a diminutive figure (Odin) sits in the clouds on the left, Thor's old giant companion Hymer cowers, and the huge coil of the Midgard monster, caught on Thor's hook and chain, looks set to engulf all, rather like the serpent in Burne-Jones' Perseus delivering Andromeda almost a century later. As for reversal, there is more of the Icelandic Edda than Homer in Fuseli's eerie archaizing Death of Achilles (1780); a distraught Thetis rises from the billowing sea to mourn over the huge corpse of her son, stretched on his shield, amid the barren crags of the shore, beneath a sky dark and terrifying with scurrying black clouds more expressive of Scandinavia than anything Mediterranean. Even the quieter Achilles sacrifices his hair on the funeral pyre of Patroclus (1800-5), with its elongated and silhouetted hero seen from behind against a menacing sky, seems to perform a Germanic or Celtic rite rather than anything described in the Iliad. (38)[Pls.42,81]

Another artist whose work is difficult to classify in

stylistic-historical terms is Jacques Gamelin. This Gascon painter showed a marked preference for classical subject-matter (Achilles, Andromache, Ulysses, Patroclus, Socrates, Diogenes, Camilla and Cato); but, apart from a more austere Death of Socrates, his antique scenes preserve a late Baroque aesthetic, not unlike Tischbein's and Fuger's in Germany, with a love of sharp diagonal recession, glaring colours and swirling draperies and movement. Perhaps this was the result of Gamelin's relative isolation from artistic developments in Paris, though he had been in Rome in the late 1760s and 1770s, when many of the innovations were being worked out. In Girodet, too, there are "inconsistencies"; his drawings for Virgil's Aeneid in particular, border on a florid treatment that is more medieval than classical. But, then, the same could be said for Benjamin West's beautiful and sensitive drawing of Belisarius brought to his family (1784) which has a florid charm more attuned to medievalism (did West place this Byzantine tale in its sixth century setting?); for Trumbull's rococo Brutus and his friends at the death of Lucretia (1777), and Mortimer's grotesque Sextus Pompeius and Erichtho (1771), which is treated more like a medieval horror-story than an incident from noble Roman history. (39)[Pls.12,79]

#### Historical classicism and literary medievalism

Despite these and other exceptions and qualifications, it



remains true that most "history paintings" and many "history drawings and sculptures" can be conveniently assigned in stylistic terms to one or other of the biblical, medieval, classical and contemporary historical divisions and their "appropriate" modes of portrayal. In particular, the distinction between a more intellectual, severe ethos of classical antiquity, and a more picturesquely romantic (in the original sense of a "romance") atmosphere of the European middle ages became fundamental to Western self-understanding in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It was associated with a tendency to characterise the middle ages as "feudal", and feudalism was increasingly disparaged by the aspirant middle classes, headed by the philosophes who detested the notion of personal dependence. (40) This in turn meant that medieval subjects had to struggle to win a measure of acceptance and understanding, particularly in France, where from 1773 d'Angiviller sponsored a medieval national-dynastic revival in the visual arts.

It also meant that classical subjects, and stylistic classicism, had a clear headstart over other epochs and traditions, with the exception of biblical subjects. The great prestige of classical learning, and the relative unfamiliarity of artists and educated public with much medieval subject-matter in comparison with classical mythology and history, gave artists a much larger classical terrain, and meant that they would have to grope

their way in forging an equivalent medieval terrain, and in distinguishing periods within the long "medieval era". Not only was the thematic breadth of the "classical terrain" greater- with some motif-areas like the conflict between family sentiment and republican duty which play a large role in classical subject-matter, hardly figuring at all in the artistic imagery of medievalism during the late eighteenth century - it was also much more vivid and clearly defined. Hector, Achilles, Oedipus, Heracles, Odysseus, or Socrates, Diogenes, Alexander, Horatius, Brutus, Coriolanus, Regulus, Scipio, Antony and Germanicus, were widely and well-known; their personalities and virtues leapt out of the pages of Greek and Latin authors - Plato, Homer, Sophocles, Plutarch, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Tacitus, Virgil - well-known to much of the middle classes, though often at second hand through English and French poets, playwrights and historians. The same could hardly be said for Vortigern, Elfrida, Eleanor, William Tell, Clovis, Arminius, Du Guesclin and Bayard; even if within their respective ethnic or national communities they enjoyed some popularity, many were rather shadowy figures at this time. So it became the purpose of the artist, together with the poets and historians of the period, to bring these vague and sometimes obscure medieval heroes to life, by putting flesh and blood on the bare chronicles of their lives. It was partly for this reason - to redress the balance between the classical and medieval - that artists were compelled to formulate styles

appropriate to a medieval subject-matter and atmosphere.

The dominance of classicism in our period, particularly in France, and the similarity of general motifs across historical periods selected by artists and their publics, has led some recent scholars to devalue the role of "style" in the late eighteenth century in favour of the "text", that is, the message behind the imagery; the narrative discourse as opposed to the visual means through which it is conveyed, they argue, became dominant at this time, the "signified" reducing the realm of the "signifier" to a mere reflection. But this is to misunderstand the purpose, and the intellectual conceptions, of artist and public in the late eighteenth century, which was increasingly dominated by comparisons between the ancient classical world and that of Western modernity, and which brought out the tacit evolutionary presuppositions of their conceptions of history and society. For, if the "moderns" were on a par with the "ancients", what was their relationship to classical Athens, Sparta and Rome? Did Western societies "evolve" from those classical republics, and if so, what of the long intervening period of medieval "barbarism" and "feudalism"? Perhaps, these "middle" ages possessed their own individual character, which was worthy of study and even emulation? (41)

The presence of these well-known intellectual and ethical conceptions and problems in the late eighteenth century, with their contrast between classical liberties and citizenship, and medieval serfdom and hierarchy, could hardly pass artists by. The idea that mankind had passed through certain stages of development from savagery to civilisation, and that after a period of rebarbarisation following the decline of the Roman empire, it had been able to create anew states and societies that could stand comparison with those of classical antiquity, was being popularised by the Scottish and French Enlightenments, and would become the keynote of revolutionary thought in France, England and America. Whatever their personal attitudes, few artists could have been unaware of these new intellectual currents, and the consequent need to formulate an artistic imagery that would take account of historical epochs and social development. This was particularly necessary for history painters and sculptors; a convincing portrayal of exempla virtutis demanded verisimilitude and an archaeological accuracy in relation to distinctive historical epochs.

This is why recent arguments about the domination of "text" over "style" and a promiscuous "historical mobility" fail to carry conviction. While it is true that artists like West and Brenet were historically mobile, it is not enough to highlight that mobility by showing with what ease they move from subjects like Scipio and Regulus

to medieval themes like the death of Du Guesclin or Bayard. Nor will it suffice to point to the similarity of "text" between a classical Contenance of Scipio and a medieval Contenance of Bayard; we have to be sure that artists and public really equated them in all respects. Or was the artist trying to convince his public that the medieval contenance was equivalent to, but not the same as, the classical contenance? Certainly, Durameau's version of the Contenance of Bayard (1777) is very different in feel and composition and atmosphere to Brenet's Contenance of Scipio (1788). In fact, the thematic similarities and historical mobility appear to reinforce the stylistic differences between historically separated subjects which aim to reveal an utterly different "spirit" attaching to separate historical epochs of mankind's development. (42) [Pls.47,48]

For the same reasons, it is misleading to suggest that French painting in this period was uninterested in a "didactic neo-antique manner", such as fascinated the Anglo-Saxons in the 1760s and 1770s. There are, as we have seen, important iconographical differences between French and English developments of the period, and the Anglo-Saxons do seem to enjoy a slight temporal priority in the choice of several neo-classical themes and the emergence of a "severe" neo-classical style; but the reasons for this slower development in France were stylistic and literary-political rather than

administrative and ideological, as Bryson argues. (43) It was not because successive Directeurs des Bâtiments from de Tournehem on were intent on creating a moralistic, didactic art, irrespective of "style", that French artists lagged behind their English counterparts, but because of the greater vitality of the preceding Seicento and Poussinesque styles, as well as the Rococo, in France, and because history rather than poetry and drama formed the staple literary diet of many artists and their public in a France which enjoyed a more centralised state education system for artists in Paris and Rome.

Thus the French counterparts of West, Kauffmann, Barry, Fuseli and Hamilton, artists like Doyen, Vien, Lagrenée, Halle, Deshayes, Le Barbier and Brenet, were no less imbued with classical literature and history (if anything they were more so), nor any less interested in finding appropriate stylistic modes of representing classical themes which they were encouraged to portray. But they felt they already possessed such a classicizing style, the manner of the Grand Siècle of Le Brun, Poussin and the Seicento. A picture like Lagrenée's The Spartan Mother (1770) is obviously transitional; the figures look fairly small and elegant, in the Rococo manner, but a new more severe style appears in the squared stone floor, Doric columns, simple table and shield which convey the spartan message more eloquently than any gestures. If Halle's Justice of Iraján (1765) looks sweet and mannered

by comparison with West's Orestes and Pulades a year later, Vien's Marcus Aurelius distributing Food and Medicine, also of 1765, sounds a more austere note, with simplified draperies and more imposing temples. By the time we reach Brenet's Caius Furius Cressinus accused of Sorcery (1777), a far more rigorous formula has appeared in French art; the agrarian primitivism and simplicity of early Rome is expressed in the rustic clothes and cattle amid bare Doric columns in a strongly unified and concentrated composition. (44) [Pls.31,102]

But earlier stylistic traditions were not the only reason for the divergences in English and French artistic developments in this period. More general cultural and political influences were at work. If the English were less burdened by previous artistic styles, and hence were free to experiment, they were more burdened by their literary heritage. A strong English literary tradition, especially in poetry, provided themes and models for the other arts; Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, and the playwrights and actors in the age of Garrick, provided painters with subjects and settings. Not that painters did not consult the historians of the age; Hume, Gibbon, Buchanan and others furnished them with atmospheric moral tales, particularly of Saxon and Norman England, but their imaginations were perhaps more powerfully stimulated by Milton, Shakespeare, Spenser, the Authorised version of the Bible, and more recently by Gray, Thomson's Seasons,

Bishop Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry (1765) or Chatterton's Battle of Hastings (1777). The titles of Royal Academy exhibitions' paintings and drawings show an increasing number of "literary" histories, especially literary medieval scenes - from Dante, Tasso and Ossian, as well as those named above - which dealt mainly with the early medieval period, especially in northern countries. Even the acquaintance of British artists with classical history was often second-hand, through translations of Homer and the Attic tragedians. In their reliance on predominantly literary and poetic sources for their knowledge of history as well as mythology, classical as well as medieval, English artists followed a different, even contrasting, path to that of their French counterparts, who looked to Greek and Latin historians like Diodorus, Plutarch, Livy, Appian and Tacitus and to French histories of Rome like Charles Rollin's Histoire Romaine, before the plays and essays of Voltaire, Rousseau, Jean-Paul, Marmontel and Lemierre, for their basic subject-matter and inspiration. This emphasis on the classical historians and philosophers was, of course, a result of the educational programme of the Academie and Ecole Francais in Rome, which from the late 1740s set out to produce a new generation of classically trained artists. There is no doubt that the strongly "Roman revival" which followed hard on the heels of the earlier gout grec and the Homeric revival of the early 1760s, owes much to this centrally planned programme of



artistic education, which sought to revive thereby the grandeur and nobility of the Grand Siècle so dissipated now by internal divisions and foreign set-backs. If this educational system sought to instil a moralistic and didactic outlook, it also prescribed the stylistic means; the new morality was Roman and republican, and it required a style that would convey the gravitas of Roman virtue, which Frenchmen, as worthy heirs of ancient Rome, should emulate.

In both England and France, however, artists were intent on formulating visions of history and its successive epochs that would make the development of mankind an intelligible process, and illuminate the heroic exempla which should guide mankind's progress in the future. To some extent, the means they employed for these purposes were similar; a basic classical artistic language, a severe and monumental style or its linear variant for more archaic eras, stage-like imagery and settings of archaeological fidelity, a more picturesque, romantic language for medieval episodes and a dramatic variant for more archaising subject-matter, and finally a more matter-of-fact, if ennobled, reportage for contemporary events. But, beyond these common purposes and styles, there were important differences between artistic developments in England and France, stemming from their respective stylistic and cultural-political heritages. A less centralised artistic establishment in England allowed

greater freedom for individual artists to innovate; there was greater openness to outside influences, whether of foreign artists who came to England or British artists who went to Rome; and the powerful English literary and poetic heritage encouraged artists to pursue a literary medievalism after a relatively brief Greco-Roman neo-classicism in the 1760s and 1770s. A more centralised artistic establishment in France, with a more rigorous classical educational system, together with a stronger diet of classical historians, tended to produce a generation of artists with a stronger Roman classicism; the didactic intent of their education was reinforced by a later, but stronger, espousal of a severely Roman style which lasted through the years of Revolution. These differences in French and English artistic trends can also be found in the theories of the art critics, to which we now turn.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

### EXEMPLARY HISTORY AND NATIONAL REGENERATION

The guiding thread in these discussions of the historical revival in late eighteenth century English and French painting and sculpture has been the pursuit by an influential minority of artists of a grand style in which to convey an heroic morality culled from ancient and medieval history. In this last chapter, I want to bring together the main themes of this artistic "historical revival" and relate them to the growing national sentiment and civic patriotism that manifested itself in the two countries. What I hope to show, through the writings of some art theorists and critics of the century, as well as some history-paintings, is that this revival formed an essential element in the wider movements of patriotism and nationalism, and helped to deepen and extend their intellectual and emotional range, as well as providing and popularising much of their imagery. Limitations of space prevent an extended discussion, but some major points can be made, which provide grounds for the more speculative generalisations with which I conclude.

A word needs to be said about the relationship of the writings of these art critics and theorists to artistic practice in our period. Care needs to be taken in any attempt to "read off" such practice from the work of any

theorist or critic, however influential. Even in the English case, where so many of the theorists were themselves practising artists like Richardson and Reynolds, theoretical precepts often diverge from artistic practice, or vice versa. In the French case, the gap between the precepts of the amateur art critics and the practice of so many French artists was often noted and much lamented. But, in fact, despite the minority practice of history-painting, its status during this period was actually enhanced, as religious painting declined; and strenuous efforts were made by several influential artists to follow academic precepts in matters of composition, expression, costume and choice of subject. While therefore we cannot use the maxims and exhortations of these art critics and theorists as evidence of artistic practice or even as detailed guides to that practice, we may expect to find considerable parallelism between theory and practice, based on some common perceptions of the moral purposes of art and its social role, to which most artists in theory subscribed; and on the widespread desire of the practitioners of art to raise the status of their profession by linking it, through the enhanced role of history painting and sculpture, to the quest for national prestige.

#### National prestige and native "history-painting"

The eighteenth century in Europe was undoubtedly an era

of intense competition between states. Though these states were of varying forms and extent, ranging from empires in the east to patrician city-states in Holland and Switzerland, duchies in Italy, and "nation-states" in France, England and Sweden, and though their regimes were similarly varied, they all aspired to take part in a concert of states held together by trade links, alliances and dynastic arrangements. These arrangements broke down as often as commercial interests diverged, and the ensuing frequent wars concluded by peace treaties (1714, 1748, 1763, 1783) helped to cement and institutionalise the inter-state system. (1)

It is tempting at this point to locate the "historical revival" in literature and the arts within the context of economic rivalries between states and their dominant classes. It is certainly true that economic factors were paramount throughout in dictating the volume and uses of "artistic production", mainly through State, aristocratic and bourgeois patronage replacing that of the Church authorities, but also in the wider sense of allowing the accumulation of capital which could be converted into commodities and luxury objects for the wealthy classes. Commercial wealth also encouraged urbanisation and the rise of elites educated in prestigious secular institutions, as well as the technology of printing and book and newspaper production and distribution, through which a rising bourgeoisie could become a critical and

discerning public, able to challenge the cultural monopoly of the State and aristocracy.

But these are factors of a long-term and general nature, the rise of capitalism and the bourgeoisie lasting several centuries in various European states and cities (and the technology of print-capitalism extending from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries). They cannot be invoked to explain the specific break in artistic consciousness and imagery that occurred in mid-eighteenth century England and France, or even the wider transition in moral and political ideals and values throughout Europe during this period. It is, in fact, doubtful whether any simple set of causal chains can be invoked to explain such complex transitions; or whether any simple correlations between economic and/or political activities and artistic values and imagery can be made. What may be suggested is some degree of parallelism between activities in different spheres of human endeavour; as for example, between the interventionism of the ancien regime's central administration in mercantile and technological activity, in France, and the educational role of the same state in the arts, as compared to the much looser controls exercised by a diffused governmental coalition of Whig aristocrats in all spheres in England.

Such "patterns" of cultural and economic regulation (or lack of it) or of class hierarchy go some way to

accounting for (some of) the differences between French and English responses to the crises of moral historicism and neo-classicism. What these "models" indicate is some argument from "mental structure" or underlying national cultural patterns, which are more suggestive and plausible than conclusive. Moreover, they fail to address the comparative issue; why at roughly the same time there should have been a major break in European moral and social consciousness and artistic imagery involving England and France. While the patterns of political activity are significant for the peculiar national mode of moral historicism and artistic imagination, we also need to invoke factors closer to the relatively autonomous spheres of communication and imagination in which artistic traditions are evolved. That is why, following Durkheim's dictum that "ideas once born, have a life of their own", it is necessary in the first place to look at the broader cultural context of artistic transitions rather than invoke more distant chains of economic causation or correlation. While for example military conflicts and state regulation condition English and French responses to the moral and artistic crisis, it was within this wider cultural and ethical context that such inter-state and identity relations operated to produce different varieties of national sentiment and patriotic response. (2)

In the process of inter-state bargaining, arguments of "national interest" and welfare began to find a place

among the more usual grounds of a traditional diplomacy and warfare. Even at the outset of the period, we find a sense of relationship with other "nations", and of what Lord Shaftesbury termed the "rising Genius of our Nation", in at least the more westerly of the European states. From the latter half of the seventeenth century, if not earlier, national distinctions and "national character" had become a subject of interest and preoccupation for educated Europeans; Spaniards, English, French, Russians and others became stereotyped "characters" whose political manifestations, for example their states' policies, might be deplored, but whose differences were widely assumed to be natural and/or God-given, well before Hamann, the inspiration of Herder. (3)

At this stage, no great distinction was made between states and nations, between the legal-administrative apparatus and personality of absolutist monarchies or oligarchies ruling over sovereign territories and the economic, cultural and political composition of the population(s) inhabiting those territories. In the same letter, Lord Shaftesbury ventures to prophesy that

"if we live to see a Peace any way answerable to that generous spirit with which this War was begun, and carry'd on, for our own Liberty, and that of Europe; the figure we are like to make abroad, and the increase of Knowledge, Industry and Sense at



home, will render United Britain the principal Seat of Arts; and by her Politeness and Advantages in this kind, will shew evidently, how much she owes to those Counsels, which taught her to exert herself so resolutely in behalf of the common cause, and that of her own Liberty, and happy Constitution, necessarily included". (3)

Clearly, for Lord Shaftesbury, the British people (recently united) and the state of Great Britain are in peace and war inseparable because they are undifferentiated with respect to "national prestige".

In fact, writers on both sides of the Channel were much preoccupied with national standing and national pride, even where they deplored its excesses. It was against this background of inter-state competition and comparisons between nations that art theorists and critics attempted to locate modern trends in culture, and more particularly the visual arts. But here a special problem presented itself. Emergent nation-states in Western Europe or rather their elites, were in the habit of comparing their achievements, not merely with rival nation-states, but also with "the ancients", that is, with Rome and/or the Greek city-states, notably Athens and Sparta. Indeed, a whole debate centred on the chances of modern nations and modern civilisation to achieve parity with, or perhaps surpass, the achievements of classical antiquity; and if

so, how this might be achieved. (4) But, in the case of the visual arts, the problem was compounded by the undoubted achievements of Italy during the High Renaissance, so that a "double standard", a dual set of references, operated to weigh down, or stimulate, the modern quest for national prestige in the arts. Raphael as well as (or instead of) Apelles, Michelangelo as well as Praxiteles, had to be taken into account; and it was hardly surprising therefore if seventeenth century artists in France, where the state under Louis XIV, in particular, encouraged the quest for cultural prestige, should look to Italy, in the first place, for their inspiration and guidance, even to the extent of making their Academie Royale de Peinture, a painterly counterpart of the Academie Francaise, look to the Accademia di San Luca in Rome. (5)

England, it is true, had to wait for a century to find the royal patronage for a similar Academy; but the institution of the Grand Tour, and the lure of Rome for artists and connoisseurs alike, as well as the use of a Palladian language in rural aristocratic architecture for the Whig gentry, underlined the English debt to Italy and its Renaissance standard, which filtered the ancient, predominantly Roman, achievement. (6) The Italianate landscapes of the early Richard Wilson pointed one way to the inclusion of England in the cultural concert of European nations; by adopting "Roman" and Italianate

perspectives and associations, English artists and architects might rival their French counterparts, and create a native school of art commensurate with England's wealth and military prestige. (7) Similarly, by adopting the methods and conceptions of the Italian High Renaissance, modern English artists could hope to emulate and rival the best achievements of ancients and moderns alike; for, in the words of Jonathan Richardson,

"Whatever Degeneracy may have crept in from Causes which 'tis not my present business to enquire into, no Nation under Heaven so nearly resembles the Ancient Greeks and Romans as We. There is a haughty Courage, an Elevation of Thought, a Greatness of Taste, a Love of Liberty, a Simplicity, and Honesty among us, which we inherit from our Ancestors, and which belong to us as Englishmen; and 'tis in These this Resemblance consists."

And he continues:

"...I will venture to pronounce (as exceedingly Probable) That if ever the Ancient Great and Beautiful Taste in Painting revives it will be in England; But not till English Painters, conscious of the Dignity of their Countrey and of their Profession, resolve to do Honour to Both by Piety, Virtue, Magnanimity, Benevolence and Industry; and a

Contempt for every thing that is really unworthy of them."

In many ways, these two passages presage the themes and concerns of artists and art theorists throughout the eighteenth century: the decline of modern art, the comparison of modern nations with the ancient Greeks and Romans, the enumeration of a nation's moral qualities, the inspiration and heritage of national ancestors, the desired revival of modern painting, the need for a national school of art, the link between a revived art and the prestige of the nation and of the profession, and the need for artists to cultivate a "Great Taste" through moral edification (rather than mere technical accomplishment).

But it is another theme of these passages that I wish to underline here: the idea that a national regeneration of culture requires the revival of "history-painting" in which may be displayed "the Ancient Great and Beautiful Taste in Painting". If this equation is not explicit in this passage, the rest of Richardson's Essay makes it clear that while "Face-painting" (in which "England has excell'd all the World in that great Branch of the Art...") is highly commendable, the highest branch of painting remains without doubt history-painting, since the artist's "business is to express Great, and Noble

Sentiments". (9)

Richardson's opinion was widely echoed by contemporary and later writers on art. Lord Shaftesbury in 1712, writing from Naples, clearly links the revival of the English nation in freedom, its rivalry with "our Neighbours the French" (in music), the growing public taste for Italian painting, and the desired renaissance of the "designing arts" in England, and notably of history-painting:

"Tho we have as yet nothing of our native Growth in this kind worthy of being mention'd; yet since the Publick has of late begun to express a Relish for Ingravings, Drawings, Copyings, and for the original Paintings of the chief Italian schools (so contrary to the modern French) I doubt not that, in very few years, we shall make an equal progress in this other Science. And when our Humour turns us to cultivate these designing Arts, our Genius, I am persuaded, will naturally carry us over the slighter Amusements, and lead us to that higher, more serious, and noble part of Imitation, which relates to History, Human Nature, and the chief Degree, or Order of Beauty; I mean that of the rational Life, distinct from the merely vegetable and sensible, as in Animals, or Plants; according to the several Degrees or Orders of Painting, which your Lordship will find suggested in this extemporary Notion I

have sent you." (10)

In this "Notion" (of the Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgement of Hercules), Lord Shaftesbury underlines the differences between each of these Orders of Painting in the hierarchy, arguing that:

"The merely natural must pay homage to the historical or moral. Every beauty, every grace must be sacrificed to the real beauty of this first and highest order (sc. of History)." (11)

Half a century later, Horace Walpole is making similar connections between the national revival and the state of the arts, notably history-painting, if not quite so explicitly:

"It would be difficult perhaps to assign a physical reason, why a nation that produced Shakespeare, should owe its glory in another walk of genius to Holbein and Van Dyck. It cannot be imputed to want of protection. Who countenanced the Arts more than Charles the First?...

"But whatever has been the complaint formerly, we have ground to hope that a new era is receiving its date. Genius is countenanced, and emulation will follow. Nor is it a bad indication of the

flourishing state of a country, that it daily makes improvement in arts and sciences. They may be attended by luxury, but they certainly are produced by wealth and happiness. The conveniences, the decorations of life are not studied in Siberia, or under a Nero."... (12)

The Preface goes on to make the "double standard", antiquity and the High Renaissance, point the way to an artistic regeneration:

"At this epoch of common sense one may reasonably expect to see the arts flourish to as proud a height as they attained at Athens, Rome and Florence. Painting has hitherto made but faint efforts in England. Our eloquence and the glory of our arms have been carried to the highest pitch. The more peaceful arts have in other countries generally attended national glory. If there are any talents among us, this seems the crisis for their appearance; the Throne itself is now become an altar of the Graces, and whoever sacrifices to them becomingly, is sure that his offerings will be smiled upon by a prince, who is at once the example and patron of accomplishments....When we abound with heroes, orators, and patrons, it will be hard if their images are not transmitted to posterity under graceful representations."

But it is history-painting, even more than portraiture, that will ensure national prestige:

"This is by no means to depreciate the artists we have, but to inspire emulation by those arising. Rysbrack, Roubiliac, Scheemaker, Wilton, would do honour to any country: but hitherto their skill has been in a manner confined to private monuments. When we have subjects for history, the people should read on public edifices the actions of the ancestors and fellow-citizens in bas-reliefs: busts and statues should reward the gallant behaviour of the brave and exhibit them as models. What made Rome more venerable than every street being an illustration of Livy? Painting has been circumscribed within as selfish bounds as statuary; historic compositions totally neglected. Reynolds and Ramsay have wanted subjects, not genius..." (13)

To Walpole, then, as to others of his time, history-painting is the most prestigious and glorious branch of painting; and even if his thoughts are directed more towards British subjects and English history, than Greco-Roman themes, the comparison with antiquity forms a lively undercurrent which gives a biting edge to his mixed feelings over the state of the visual arts in England in 1760. This "nativist" element which received its first



expression in the work of Hogarth and Hayman, as well as Hogarth's own stand against "foreign" importations and traditions, reappears in Walpole's praise of Hogarth's moral comedy which could flourish only under a free government (unlike that of France). At the same time, Walpole placed Hogarth "between the Italians, whom we may consider as epic poets and tragedians, and the Flemish painters, who are as writers of farce and editors of burlesque nature", and was highly critical of his attempts to become a history-painter, a walk "that called for dignity and grace". Here Walpole's literary critique, which was as sensitive to lesser native artistic virtues as Diderot's, returns to the same fundamental "double standard" and its essential moral purpose. (14)

Barry's ideas on the importance of history-painting for an English national revival are well-known. "History painting and sculpture", he wrote in 1775, "should be the main views of every people desirous of gaining honour by the arts. These are tests by which the national character will be tried in after ages, and by which it has been, and is now, tried by the natives of other countries". (15) Pleading for redirection of patronage away from collecting Continental works to the support of a native school of history painting, Barry went on to claim that great art and a free and healthy society are inseparable. It was a commonplace of the period, which may have owed something to Winckelmann's theory of the relationship between

classical Greek art and the free Greek city-states. (16) Less common was Barry's belief that a corrupt England could not support great art or preserve liberty, but that a young, free and vigorous America might become a haven for both. Certainly that is the message of his 1776 print of The Phoenix or the Resurrection of Freedom with its inscription about Liberty having "successively abandon'd thy lov'd residence of Greece, Italy and thy more favor'd England when they grew Corrupt and Worthless, thou has given them over to chains and despondency and taken thy flight to a new people of manners simple and untainted." (17). Much later Barry was to compare the corrupt condition of the arts in England with those enjoyed by David in France:

"And how much are you, David, to be envied, blest as you are amongst a public but little acquainted with this bear-garden business, and which, even in its worst times, was habitually exercised in honestly and urbanely meeting the efforts of art with an indulgence, estimation, and reception, so adequate and generous." (18)

This was rarely the opinion of French artists and art theorists themselves. Though the State actively encouraged talent and industry through the Academy and other institutions, at least from 1747 on, eighteenth century French artists and critics were haunted by the

memory and burden of le Grand Siècle which they contrasted with the present relative decline in the arts; with classical antiquity and the High Renaissance, it came to imply a "triple standard" of emulation. It was against the era of Poussin, Le Brun and Le Sueur that the Abbé Le Blanc, writing in 1747, measured the current state of the arts, and found that;

"D'un autre côté, les Arts semblent déjà renaître. En effet les Muses ont inspiré le chante de Fontenoy: Thalie vient de reparoître sur nôtre Théâtre avec de nouveaux charmes." (19)

But he warned that painters must imitate nature, like poets, and that the Academy like any elite must reject mediocre works from the Salon. Painters jealous of their reputations "ne pensent trop étudier l'Histoire, soit pour y decouvrir les nouveaux sujets, soit comme Le Poussin, pour y apprendre à traiter les Sujets connus avec plus de verité que les Peintres n'y en mettent d'ordinaire". (20)

Le Blanc spoke as a member of the official art establishment, being close to de Tournehem and his nephew, Marigny, and we should expect his much-vaunted patriotism:

"...je tiens à ma Patrie, et je n'ai de regrets que de ne lui pas être plus utile que je la suis".

":

"Je suis Francois...et ce qui me rend encore plus, c'est l'avantage de vivre sous un Prince, l'amour de ses Peuples, qui égale la douceur de sa domination à l'entendue de sa Puissance, et dont le Règne fait tout à la fois la gloire et le bonheur de la Nation Françoise". (21)

La Font de Saint-Yenne (whose pamphlet of 1747 *Le Blanc* had set out to answer, while sharing much common ground), on the other hand, was an obscure self-appointed amateur critic, whose belief in the revival of art in France, and more particularly of history-painting, was even more closely linked to an ardent patriotism. Speaking of the Grand Siècle

"Siècle heureux!" he exclaims, "où le progrès et la perfection dans tous les Arts avoient rendu la France rivale de l'Italie! Je suis cependant bien éloigné de penser que le génie Francois soit éteint, et sa vigueur entièrement énermée. Les peintres célèbres de notre Ecole que je viens de nommer, et qui ont égalé le siècle de Louis XIV à celui de Leon X dans les beaux Arts, et même surpassé par leur nombre, trouveroient encore aujourd'hui des émules, si le goût de la nation n'avait beaucoup changé..."

(22)

In a later letter, La Font expresses his love of art,

especially of history painting, "dont le but est d'élever l'âme du spectateur, de la remuer, et tout-au-moins d'exciter l'admiration, quand il ne peut instruire", and links it closely to his burning patriotism, which foreshadows the Revolution:

"Enfin un intérêt très-vif pour ses progrès parmi nous: mais pardessus tout, le zèle ardent et courageux d'un Citoyen, à exposer les abus qui déshonorent sa Nation, et contribuer à sa gloire, en proposant les moyens les plus prompts et les plus faciles d'y remédier." (23)

A similar fervour informs his belief in history painters, "qui tiennent le premier rang dans la Peinture", painters like Challe and Vien, who one day "could bestow great honour on our school", ("faire beaucoup d'honneur à notre Ecole")

"et dont le zèle n'a d'autre but que l'honneur de l'Ecole Françoise, et de sa patrie". (24)

This is because,

"De tous les genres de la Peinture, le plus grand, le plus noble, enfin le premier sans difficulté, c'est celui de l'Histoire. Le Peintre Historien est seul le Peintre de l'âme, les autres ne peignent que

pour les yeux. Lui seul doit sentir et exprimer cet enthousiasme, ce feu divin qui lui fait concevoir les Sujets d'une manière forte et sublime: lui seul peut former les Héros à la postérité, par les grandes actions et les vertus des hommes célèbres qu'il présente à leurs yeux, non dans une froide lecture, mais par la vue même des faits et des acteurs." (25)

This is a key passage to which we shall return, but, in a sense, it is quite traditional in its subscription to the academic hierarchy of genres laid down by the early Academie Rouale as recorded in Felibien's Conferences of 1669, notably its Preface, which placed religious history painting at the summit, and which became the standard position of eighteenth century French art theorists from Du Bos to Watelet. It was a hierarchy to which English art theory equally subscribed; when Reynolds advised his students that the "genuine painter",

"instead of endeavouring to amuse mankind with minute neatness of his imitations, he must endeavour to improve them by the grandeur of his ideas..."

and seek the gusto grande of the Italians, the beau ideal of the French, and the great stule, genius and taste among the English, his ideals, for all their different epistemological grounding, were in harmony with Diderot's

insistent quest for a grand goût in his Salon critiques, a grande manière that involves dignity and une grande idée that requires imagination, where

avant de se livrer à un genre de peinture, quel qu'il soit, il faudrait avoir lu, réfléchi, pensé; it faudrait s'être exercé à la peinture historique qui conduit à tout". (26)

### "Painters of the soul"

This emphasis on a strictly intellectual dignity and grandeur, that would enable artists to attain the national status of poets and raise painting and sculpture to the level of liberal arts, is particularly apparent in Reynolds's Discourses. Thus he took the opportunity of the move by the Academy to new, more beautiful premises in Somerset House in 1780, to hope that

"It will be no small addition to the glory which this nation has already acquired from having given birth to eminent men in every part of science, if it should be enabled to produce, in consequence of this institution, a School of English Artists. The estimation in which we stand in respect of our neighbours, will be in proportion to the degree in which we excel or are inferior to them in the acquisition of intellectual excellence, of which

Trade and its consequential riches must be acknowledged to give the means; but a people whose whole attention is absorbed by those means, and who forget the end, can aspire but little above the rank of a barbarous nation. Every establishment that tends to the cultivation of the pleasures of the mind, as distinct from those of sense, may be considered as an inferior school of morality, where the mind is polished and prepared for higher attainments." (27)

This idea, that "Taste, may, as it is exalted and refined, conclude in Virtue", which is the hallmark of the Neo-classical movement in culture, and that great art must "speak to the heart", and "strike the imagination", runs through his Discourses and derives from a broad consensus of classical Idealism in Italy, France and England.

The starting-point of this approach is the importance of subject-matter in art. Traceable to Alberti's treatise, it became the doctrine of the Academy in France, and of most writers on art in eighteenth century France and England. Basically, it claimed that the visual arts of painting and sculpture are imitative of nature: Du Bos, countering de Piles' insistence on the autonomy of painterly effects and purely visual qualities, admitted that "Un tableau peut plaire par les seuls charmes de l'exécution, independamment de l'objet qu'il représente:



mais...rôtre attention et nôtre estime sont alors uniquement pour l'art de l'imitateur". (28) Similarly, the Abbé Le Blanc claimed that "Ainsi que la Poésie, la Peinture n'est qu'une imitation, et elle n'entreprend d'imiter que ce que nous connaissons. On dit que les Poètes sont des Peintres, parce qu'ils doivent avoir comme eux pour objet l'imitation de la nature". (29)

But this literary theory of painting embraced a distinct hierarchy of subject-matter. Most of the eighteenth century critics directed artists to a highly selective view of nature. Richardson recommends the painter to improve nature, for

"Common nature is no more fit for a Picture than plain narration is for a Poem:... A Painter must raise his ideas beyond what he sees, and form a model of Perfection in his Own Mind which is not to be found in Reality: but yet such a one as is Probable and Rational" (30)

Half a century later, Reynolds warned his students against mere imitation:

"...that a mere copier of nature can never produce anything great: can never raise and enlarge the conceptions, or warm the heart of the spectator."

(31)

Later on in this Third Discourse, Reynolds supplies us with two main reasons for this disdain of pure imitation: the need to be universal and appeal to posterity, and hence disregard "prejudices in favour of his age or country", or "local and temporary ornaments"; and the need to appeal to the mind:

"If deceiving the eye were the only business of art, there is no doubt indeed, but the minute painter would be more apt to succeed: but it is not the eye, it is the mind, which the painter of genius desires to address; nor will he waste a moment upon those smaller objects, which only serve to catch the sense, to divide the attention and to counteract his great design of speaking to the heart." (31)

What is it that has such universal appeal and can so vibrantly "speak to the heart"? Reynolds, like most of his contemporaries, assumed that only paintings and sculptures which took their subjects from history and poetry (for Reynolds the line between the two was not always clear, for, as he put it: "In conformity to custom, I call this part of the art History Painting; it ought to be called Poetical, as in reality it is") speak to the heart:

"Invention in Painting does not imply the invention

of the subject; for that is commonly supplied by the Poet or Historian. With respect to the choice, no subject can be proper that is not generally interesting. It ought to be either some eminent instance of heroick action, or heroick suffering. There must be something either in the action, or in the object, in which men are universally concerned, and which powerfully strikes upon the publick sympathy."

"Strictly speaking, indeed, no subject can be of universal, hardly can it be of general, concern; but there are events and characters so popularly known in those countries where our Art is in request, that they may be considered as sufficiently general for all our purposes. Such are the great events of Greek and Roman fable and history, which early education, and the usual course of reading have made familiar and interesting to all Europe, without being degraded by the vulgarity of ordinary life in any country. Such too are the capital subjects of scripture history, which, besides their general notoriety, become venerable by their connection with our religion". (32)

These are the fields of the "epick Stile" practised by the Roman, Florentine and Bolognese schools of painting, and the best of the French school, Poussin, Le Sueur and Le

Brun (who may be said, "though Frenchmen, to be a colony from the Roman school"); theirs was the "great stile" which the Venetians, with their "ornamental" style aiming at elegance and dazzling effects, could not aspire to attain. For Reynolds,

"There is a simplicity, and I may add, severity, in the great manner, which is, I am afraid, almost incompatible with this comparatively sensual style".(33)

It is the same "great manner" to which a genuine sculpture must aspire, because of its "grave and austere character" and its single style, whose sole end is the expression of perfect beauty, as in the Belvedere Torso, and whose highest monuments are the "sublime" and "poetical" works of Michelangelo, without whose assistance "we never could have been convinced that Painting was capable of producing an adequate representation of the persons and actions of the heroes of the Iliad". (34)

Homer, as we have seen, had by 1790 become the object of a cult, as a sublime genius and poet of an archaic era of antiquity, whose simplicity and grandeur was a model for that "great stile" which art theorists on both sides of the Channel sought to revive. As early as 1757, the Comte de Caylus had asked:

"Que manque-t-il aux Tableaux d'Homère? Ils ont

l'agrément, la force, la justesse, les grands ressorts, la noblesse: enfin, tout ce qui conduit à l'héroïque le plus complet, et le principal objet d'un Art tel que celui de la Peinture". (35)

It is the "grandes images", "fortes idées" and "l'action continuelle de son Récit", which de Caylus feels must warm the genius of painting and give it ever new luminaries. (36)

But it was less in France than in England, or more precisely in Gavin Hamilton's Rome, that the Homeric revival took place, although Doyen, Deshayes and Halle also responded to de Caylus' call in the 1760s. (37) Rather, French eyes turned to classical history, seeking particularly in Roman antiquity those exempla virtutis that might "warm the genius" of painting. Here, French artists looked back to Poussin and Le Sueur, as well as academic theory from Felibien to Coypel; but the clearest expression of this point of view, namely that antique subject-matter was the field in which the grande manière would be best employed, because it revealed human passions and spoke universally to human imagination, can be found in the Reflexions (1747) and Sentimens (1754) of La Font de Saint-Yenne. We saw how he singled out for the highest praise history-painting because it expresses enthusiasm and the sublime, and because it alone can transmit to posterity the heroism and virtue of famous men in a single

scene. The history-painter, therefore, becomes "le Peintre de l'âme", and

"La Peinture est un art qui doit servir autant à l'instruction qu'au plaisir. Quel pouvoir n'a pas sur notre âme la vue des actions vertueuses et héroïques des grands hommes mises devant nos yeux par un pinceau savant et éloquent, pour nous inviter à les imiter!" (38)

This didactic view of art entails a careful choice of subjects, independent of their painterly charms, one which conduces to an ardent patriotism:

"Si la Peinture, outre l'amusement du plaisir et de l'illusion, doit être encore une école des mœurs et un orateur muet qui nous persuade la vertu et les grandes actions, ne devons-nous pas employer toute l'activité de notre esprit à démesler dans l'histoire les traits les plus pathétiques, les plus frappants, et les plus susceptibles des ces expressions animées qui portent dans l'âme le feu et le mouvement, qui l'élèvent au-dessus des sens et la rappellent à sa dignité primitive par des exemples d'humanité, de générosité, de grandeur de courage, de mépris des dangers et même de la vie, d'une zèle passionné pour l'honneur et le salut de sa patrie, et surtout de défense de sa religion?"

":

"Cherchons donc ces annales où les historiens ont mis comme en dépôt, pour instruire la postérité, ces faits illustres qui ont étonné l'univers et presque divinisé l'humanité." (39)

La Font goes on to ground his views on a psychological theory of emotions, which seems to foreshadow Reynolds' language, but leads away from that intellectual contemplation of pure beauty which the English painter and theorist especially prized. La Font's exhortations, looking back to a vision of the Grand Siècle's "Roman" art, and especially Poussin's modes and didactic painting, point towards an expressive, figurative and strictly historical art:

"L'âme désire fortement et sans cesse d'être attendrie et remuée, d'être tirée de ce repos, de cette langueur, source infallible de l'ennui...Les seules passions peuvent l'en délivrer. Elle aime à en partager le trouble, la fureur; et leurs plus violentes secousses sont souvent celles qui lui donnent le plus de plaisir. Il faut donc pour cet effet bannir des compositions pittoresques, tout épisode froid et oisif, qui amuse les yeux sans affecter l'âme, qui divise l'intérêt en détournant les regards du spectateur, et les empêche de se porter à l'objet essentiel. C'est ce que Raphaël, le Poussin et le Brun ont observé avec une sévérité

inflexible." (40)

Fundamentally, La Font proposes an ethical and social theory of art. Art must teach, it must speak directly of human passions which all can understand, and it must inspire in the spectator emulation of the heroism and virtue which it portrays. This is why history-painting is the supreme branch of art, and why it must be revived. It is also why we must prefer Poussin to the visual tradition of colour, harmony and grace of Flemish and Rococo painting, and Felibien to the purely visual effects of the "sublime" and "le Tout-ensemble" proposed by de Piles. (41) It is the severity of Poussin's choice of historical events, and the "savant ordonnance" and the expression of passions of Le Brun, that La Font holds up in a burst of national pride:

"Beaucoup d'étrangers ont été jaloux de la perfection de notre école sous Louis XIV, sur-tout dans les ouvrages de ce grand Peintre (sc. Le Brun)..." (42)

Given this didactic view of art, the question becomes a twofold choice: of historical examples, and of artistic means to convey the meaning of the chosen subjects. La Font's penchant for heroic exempla drawn from classical antiquity, was widely shared; so was his compositional means and artistic advice, and I want to focus on these



for the moment.

For La Font, as for Du Bos, painting is an essentially imitative art:

"La Nature a mis dans tous les hommes un penchant mécanique pour l'imitation, et un attrait pour tout objet bien imité. Voilà l'origine et le but principal de la Peinture". (43)

But, though he loves the pleasures of the senses to be found in genre or still-life painting, La Font feels that history-painting must speak to the soul and not merely the eyes. But, because the painter has only a single moment at his disposal, unlike the poet, he must carefully distinguish the principal subject and actor from the rest. Thus Van Loo's Conference of Donatist and Catholic Bishops at Carthage in AD 411 is confusing; we are not sure which of two protagonist bishops is St. Augustine.

"Faute importante dans la représentation d'un fait historique, où l'on doit distinguer sans peine le principal acteur, et celui qui en fait le sujet".  
(44)

Here La Font is drawing on a body of Academic theory, which regarded the unité d'action as the principal requirement in history-painting, following a rather

specific reading of Aristotle's Poetics by the Académie Française in the mid-seventeenth century. In Poussin's day, such a unity was sequential and causal: the spectator could "read" through the use of his reason the meaning of a picture by Poussin or Le Brun, moving from one episode to another in a logical sequence (and perhaps a temporal one also); by the mid-eighteenth century, so sophisticated a notion of l'unité d'action had given way to a simpler one, which required that the principal figure of the scene be given prominence in the composition by positioning, lighting and hierarchy of forms. Thus Dandré-Bardon recommended a triangular shape of figure-groups, so as to lead the spectator's eye back to the centre of the picture and its hero:

"Le concours des Groupes doit tendre à donner à l'ordonnance pittoresque une forme pyramidale...Un des principaux objets de la liaison des groupes est de conduire l'oeil du Spectateur sur le Héros du sujet. Il convient que cette operation se fasse par une marche diagonale". (45)

And in 1792 Watelet's Dictionary made l'unité d'action "la seule loi rigoureusement obligatoire de la composition pittoresque". (46)

This same adulterated but rigorous law of composition made its appearance in art criticism in England. Lord

Shaftesbury in 1712 gave it a generalised expression:

"Whatsoever appears in a historical design, which is not essential to the action, serves only to confound the representation and perplex the mind; more particularly, if these episodic parts are so lively wrought as to vie with the principal subject, and contend for precedency with the figures and human life..." (47)

Richardson goes further, urging painters to observe all three Aristotelian unities, of place, time and action; and though there may be "Under-Actions", "they must not divide the Picture, and the Attention of the Spectator"; "There must", declares Richardson, "be one Principal Action in a Picture ." (48)

"As it is required that the subject selected should be a general one, it is no less necessary that it should be kept unembarrassed with whatever may any way serve to divide the attention of the spectator."

"Thus, though to the principal group a second or third be added, and a second and third mass of light, care must be yet taken that these subordinate actions and lights, neither each in particular, nor all together, come into any degree of competition with the principal; they should merely make a part of that whole which would be imperfect without them."

Nothing must detract from the picture's central message; for "The great end of the art is to strike the imagination." (49)

In fact, not all late eighteenth century French and English paintings observed the unité d'action. Well before his Brutus (1789), David in his Death of Seneca (1773) divides the attention of the spectator and even places the dying philosopher partly in the shadow; our attention is first drawn to the grief-stricken, but nobly-clad lady on the right of this dynamic Baroque composition. (50) Similarly, in Deshayes' version of Achilles fighting the river Scamander (1765) (51), our attention is, necessarily, divided between an Achilles pulled back by Juno (top right) and an enraged river-god held away from the hero by Vulcan (bottom left) in a swirling diagonal composition. If the compositions of Gavin Hamilton preserve unity of action, as interpreted by the eighteenth century critics, even an early classical painting by West such as Pulades and Orestes before Iphigenia (1766) breaks formal unity by dividing our attention between the friends and Iphigenia, even though other devices, like the horizontal format, relief-like structure and bare, stage-like setting, compensate for the compositional break. Such a division is much more marked in a medieval history-painting like Pine's Quo Warranto where the two protagonists are placed far apart in Earl Warren's Gothic hall. Similarly, Suvée's Admiral de

Coligny (1787) is panned up by his assassin at the door of his house, at the extreme right of the shallow composition, while the flaming torch of the main assassin draws our attention away to the murderous group on the left. While the painters, therefore, tended to subscribe in theory (and much of their practice) to the ideal of unity of action, they felt free to depart from such constraints when the subject-matter and its message appeared to demand more unorthodox and imaginative solutions. (51) [Pls.6,35,77,103]

#### Antiquity and historical truth in France and England

So far English artists shared with their French (and other) counterparts an artistic and theoretical heritage stemming from a common regard for the "double standard" of classical antiquity and Renaissance Italy, and a common aim of reviving history-painting for national prestige as the highest branch of art, the only one able to impart morality and "speak to the soul". But, when we enquire further into the means of portraying the human passions and the historical exempla to be selected for this purpose, important differences of emphasis become apparent between English and French theory and practice.

Unlike France, England possessed no native tradition of "history-painting", and its early efforts in that direction owed more to literature than history. The

nativist stance taken by Hogarth, and the interest which he and Hayman took in portraying scenes from English drama, had little counterpart in France (the Rococo portrayals of Italian commedia dell'arte having a quite different aim). Free of the burden (and glory) of any Grand Siècle, English artists were not tied either to particular fields of historical exempla, or to specific modes of representation, as their French counterparts tended to be.

This is why Reynolds takes a much more liberal stance towards both the subjects of history-painting, and the spirit in which they are to be portrayed. Richardson had already argued that, just as Livy or Thucydides "made their Stories as Beautiful and Considerable as they could", so Raphael in the Vatican Stanze "improved" and embellished his religious histories, and so "A painter is allow'd sometimes to depart even from Natural, and Historical, Truth". Yet, he went on, "...in the main, Historical, and Natural Truth, must be observ'd. History must not be corrupted, and turn'd into Fable or Romance; Every person, and Thing, must be made to Sustain its proper Character; and not only the Story, but the Circumstances must be observ'd, the Scene of Action, the Countrey, or Place, the Habits, Arms, Manners, Proportions, and the like, must correspond. This is call'd the observing the Costume". (52) Reynolds now (in 1771) went on to argue that the artist "must sometimes

deviate from vulgar and strict historical truth, in pursuing the grandeur of his design." This is "taking an allowed poetical license", for "The general idea constitutes real excellence. All smaller things, however perfect in their way, are to be sacrificed without mercy to the greater"; and while "A painter of portraits retains the individual likeness; a painter of history shews the man by shewing his actions." (53)

Similarly Reynolds pays much less attention than his French counterparts to the actual subjects to be chosen, and in his eyes the poet will furnish as many subjects for the painter as the historian. His reverence for antiquity is mainly artistic:

"From the remains of the works of the ancients the modern arts were revived, and it is by their means that they must be restored a second time. However it may mortify our vanity, we must be forced to allow them our masters; and we may venture to prophecy, that when they shall cease to be studied, arts will no longer flourish, and we shall again relapse into barbarism." (54)

It is mainly because of their distance from our temporal concerns, and hence their "generality", that Reynolds recommends antique subjects; but his ambivalent attitude to Poussin (of whom he nevertheless thinks highly) and to

antique "simplicity" (which may fall into coldness and pedantry) suggests that "poesy" rather than any strict historical subject answers best to Reynolds' goal of capturing perfect, i.e. general beauty of form, as in the best antique sculpture. (55)

Richardson had been stricter. Though he shares the literary view of painting ("...the Painter must imagine his Figures to Think, Speak, and Act, as a Poet should do in a Tragedy or Epick Poem..."), he is more insistent on accurate historical representation and knowledge. Thus, "He that Paints a History well, must be able to write it". Further,

"But this is not sufficient to him, he must moreover know the Forms of the Arms, the Habits, Customs, Buildings, etc. of the Age, and Countrey, in which the thing was transacted, more exactly than the other needs to know 'em" (56)

Since the ultimate aim of the history-painter is to "excite proper Sentiments and Reflections", as does "a History, a Poem, a Book of Ethicks, or Divinity", the painter must choose elevating subjects:

"what I have hitherto said will be of little use to him who does not Fill and Supply his Mind with Noble images. A Painter should therefore read the Best



Books, such as Homer, Milton, Virgil, Spenser, Thucydides, Livy, Plutarch, etc., but chiefly the Holy Scripture...”,

so that, by frequenting the best company and cultivating virtue himself, he may become an inspired artist. "The way to be an excellent Painter is to be an Excellent Man." (57)

Compared to French art critics, however, even Richardson's advice seems vague and generalised. While praising Dumont Le Romain's portrayal of Mucius Scaevola putting his hand in the fire as a heroic antique tale "heureusement choisi", well composed and expressive in gestures and colours, the Abbé Le Blanc points out that the painter has not followed Livy's account closely enough, by giving to Porsenna a diadem on his head, which is "manifestement contraire à la vérité du fait qu'il représente. Scévola ne s'y feroit pas mépris, s'il eût eu cette marque de l'autorité Royale". This, and other small faults, do not in Le Blanc's eyes detract from the effectiveness of the picture or choice of subject-matter; but their mention does serve to introduce the French insistence on historical veracity. (58) No wonder that he singles out Poussin's histories:

"Dans ses Tableaux, un homme instruit reconnoît au premier aspect, si l'action représentée se passe en

Italie, dans la Grèce ou en Egypte. On y distingue aisément un Romain, d'un Grec ou d'un Gaulois. Ce soin qu'il a pris de s'en aider, de tout ce que l'Histoire a pu lui fournir pour caractériser chaque peuple, donne à ses Tableaux un mérite qui est senti." (59)

The same spirit of historical verisimilitude, albeit somewhat idealised, characterises the Comte de Caylus' descriptions of Homeric scenes and heroes which he recommends for portrayal by painters and sculptors. For example, the Orders of Greek temples must be respected, as laid down by Vitruvius, and each deity must be accorded his or her appropriate order. The likenesses of heroes, too, must be observed, especially of Achilles:

"Le figure d'Achille demande toute l'attention de l'artiste; il doit avoir présent à l'esprit que ce Héros étoit très-jeune; c'est à dire, qu'il n'avoit au plus que 20 ans. Il est d'autant plus nécessaire d'exprimer sa beauté...Ce Héros étoit de la plus grande taille..."(60)

Thirty years later, David sought expert advice on how to depict the final hour of Socrates, and consulted an Oratorian in his monastery. He received detailed advice on the protagonist:

:  
"Vous vous contenterez de donner le plus de noblesse possible à la tête de Socrate qui était une vraie tête de silène, comme ce philosophe en convenait lui-même en riant: nez camus et épaté, narines très larges, petits yeux. Il vous faudra ennoblir ces traits, sans les rendre méconnaissables; faire en un mot le contraire de ce qui se pratique dans les caricatures.".(61)

This emphasis upon an idealised historical verisimilitude in later eighteenth century French history-painting owed much to Poussin's example. Thus La Font de Saint-Yenne links Poussin's choice of antique subjects with his scrupulous regard for historical veracity:

"Je ne dirai qu'un mot en faveur du Poussin sur la sévérité dans le choix des Episodes, et l'observation du Costume. Rien n'étoit mis au hazard sur la scène de ses Tableaux, et sans une raison relative aux lieux, aux tems, aux moeurs, à la religion dans les sujets de l'Histoire qu'il exposoit aux regards. Les bâtimens, les Temples, les Idoles, les habillemens, tout parloit, tout instruisoit dans cette poésie muette qui n'a que le moment d'une action rapide, privée de circonstances précédentes et préparatoires, pour amener l'esprit du spectateur à l'événement que le Peintre a choisi et en éclairer le sujet. Sans la pratique de cette loi importante, l'Histoire en

Peinture, dont le but est d'instruire par l'agrément, devient un travail et une énigme pour le spectateur qui le fatigue et souvent le rebute". (62)

Unfortunately, today's painters fail to follow Poussin's example:

"La plupart de nos Peintres sont peu inventeurs, parce qu'ils sont peu studieux et rares lecteurs. L'ignorance est la fille de la paresse, et compagne inséparable de la médiocrité". (63)

Thus, in the Van Loo picture of the Donatist and Catholic conference at Carthage that was considered earlier, the architecture shows no definite scene, the tribune of the Emperor, Marcellus, who actually presided, is relegated to the corner, and

"Les habillemens des Evêques n'ont aucune conformité avec ceux de ces tems, et par-là blessent la loi inviolable du Costume". (64)

Worse still, modern painters are slovenly and indifferent to the importance of choosing genuine historical subjects, as opposed to mythologies:

"L'indifférence des artistes sur un choix si important, a toujours de quoi surprendre. Ils

s'enchaînent eux-mêmes dans les entraves les plus gênantes, ils s'obstirent à traiter les sujets froids, ingrats, usés, pendant qu'ils ont sous leurs mains des milliers d'événemens historiques et héroïques qui donneroient la chaleur et la vie à leurs personnages, et jetteroient le grand intérêt dans leurs compositions. Pourquoi s'attacher à la Fable dont les lieux communs sont si fort surannés? L'histoire n'a-t-elle pas dans ses annales une infinité de traits nouveaux propres à émouvoir le coeur, à élever l'âme et charmer les regards!" (65)

This antipathy to mythology, which Diderot shared (though inconsistently - consider his enthusiasm for Restout's picture of Oedipus in Hades to take Eurudice of 1763), leads La Font to look for an art of heroic morality "soit dans les histoires antiques, soit dans celles de ces derniers tems", but especially in the heroic deeds of Greek and Roman history, in the frugality of Agesilaus, the "fermeté" and "piété" of Socrates, the "zèle" and "dévouement pour sa patrie" of Alcibiades, the "mort héroïque et remarquable" of Epamirondas; in the Patriarchs, Prophets, Judges and Kings of the Bible, together with episodes from the histories of the Seleucids, Ptolemies, Pharaohs and Maccabees; in the actions of young Decius, Pyrrhus, Curtius, Vetturia and

Fabricius ("Quel modèle de vertu, de probité, de modération, de simplicité, de désintéressement!"), of "l'âme sublime de Regulus, ce héros du Paganisme, ce martyr volontaire de la fidélité à sa parole!", of the honourable Scipio ("O privilège inestimable des Grands et des Rois que celui de faire des heureux!"), of the accomplished general Hannibal, of whom "combien ses grandes actions et ses excellentes qualités bien représentées serviroient-elles à former nos jeunes François dans la profession des armes!", and of "Un Brutus qui condamne ses deux fils à périr pour avoir appuyé la tyrannie de leurs Rois, et les immole à la liberté de sa patrie". (66)

This is a veritable programme of an art of historical morality, and indeed these and many more antique heroes became familiar to the Salon-going public in late eighteenth century Paris. It is difficult to be sure how many artists, and how deeply, caught the patriotic fire which smouldered through La Font's and his fellow-critics' admonitions; but some of them certainly came to share his passion for antiquity, and especially republican Rome, even if they did not all endorse his idealised image:

"Une pauvreté volontaire et honorable, infatigables dans leur travaux, sobres jusqu'à l'excès, l'opulence

méprisée, la mollesse et l'oisivité en approuve. Pompe et magnificence inouïe et incroyable en public, simplicité et économie dans le particulier, sévérité inexorable dans la discipline, secret impénétrable dans les conseils, vainqueurs sans cruauté, généreux et bienfaisants envers les vaincus, une ambition noble et élevée qui ne vouloit être commandée que par les loix. Enfin un amour pour la gloire de la Patrie plus fort que le sang et la nature; il est vrai que chaque particulier ayant part au gouvernement, la bonne constitution de l'Etat devenoit son bien propre, et son intérêt personnel". (67)

The myth of a democratic and patriotic Roman republic, in whose government the citizens participated, would in the 1780s prove a potent weapon against the ancien régime. But for La Font, and his immediate successors, it seemed quite compatible with a patriotic monarchism, which looked back nostalgically to the noble kings and knights of medieval France:

"Un Charlemagne l'honneur des François, la gloire et salut de l'Empire. Un St. Louis rendant lui-même sous un chêne la justice à ses sujets. Les Anglois la terreur de la France chassés sous Charles VII par la valeur incroyable d'une seule fille. François I toujours brave vainqueur, vaincu, ou prisonnier. Armé chevalier par l'illustre Bayard. Quels faits de

bravoure et de justice à exposer dans ce dernier sa mort glorieuse et ses derniers paroles au Prince de Bourbon!" (68)

The common ground, not yet sundered by ideological and class divisions, is the glory of the French nation, which lauds Colbert and modern French heroes:

"J'approuve également ceux de ces héros de valeur et d'humanité, de ces généreux défenseurs de nos frontières et de nos fortunes, au mépris de leur sang et de leur vie; une Turenne, un Villars, un Maréchal de Saxe, qui a su reveiller l'ancienne bravoure de la nation méritant la confiance de nos troupes par la supériorité des ses lumières, et qui a porté la terreur et la vaillance du nom François chez les peuples qui la croioient éteinte dans la molesse et l'inaction d'une longue paix." (69)

It is this glory that artists must help to revive; the regeneration of art will contribute to the rebirth of the French nation.

This is a very different atmosphere and spirit from that obtaining in England at that time, and the artistic emphasis and methods were accordingly different, despite a shared theory of art and a common moral end. The English emphasis on poetry, ideal forms, mythology and High



Renaissance models, not to mention personages and events drawn from the English literary heritage, encouraged a more personal, even idiosyncratic, practice within a much looser classical framework. In France, what mattered for critics and artists was the reconstruction of a grand tradition, itself an expression of French glory and power, which was heir to both Renaissance Italy and classical antiquity. The problem was to recreate that tradition in modern terms by returning to the spirit and methods of Poussin and Le Brun, and above all by a careful and serious moral choice of subjects from ancient classical and medieval French history. For only antiquity, and the ancients, possessed the necessary severity and grandeur befitting a great community and nation. As Diderot put it, "Il faut parler des choses modernes à l'antique." (70)

#### Ethnic historicism and civic patriotism

The contrasts between the English and the French artistic traditions and experiences in the eighteenth century are often summed up as a crude opposition between a violent, often supernatural, literary romanticism and a severe, restrained, historical neo-classicism. Stylistically, we saw how the literary heritage and relative openness of British art led in different directions from the more centralised, classical-historical French tradition. But the undoubted differences must not be exaggerated, nor a static antithesis be allowed to obscure common currents

that modified Western European art in analogous ways.

One of the most important of these currents was the growing tendency to portray human affairs in social evolutionary terms. Broadly speaking, social evolutionary ideas can be traced back to the ancient Greek ideas of progress; but they came back into fashion in the late seventeenth century, as part of the contest of ancients and moderns, and received further backing from attempts to encompass and explain the "primitive", exotic civilisations which were being discovered by eighteenth century travellers like Cook. (71) The idea that we could range all civilisations in a serial hierarchy of progress, that earlier civilisations gave birth to later ones, and that each civilisation and culture followed definite laws of birth, growth, efflorescence and decline, was already common ground, before it began to be systematically applied to the arts. When in 1760 Horace Walpole tells us that the arts will flourish, refinements follow before "excess arrives, which is so justly said to be the forerunner of ruin. But all this is in the common cause of things, which tend to perfection, and then degenerate"; when the Comte de Caylus, speaking of the arts of various ancient peoples, argued that in any country the arts developed in the same general manner, according to the conditions of time and place, concluding that "On dirait à cet égard, comme à tant d'autres, la Nature fait constamment le même loi", they were expressing, before

Winckelmann's ideas became common currency, the same basic evolutionary view of social life and culture. (72)

Undoubtedly, Winckelmann's prestige and influence on Mengs, Herder, Diderot (to some extent), Watelet and Quatremère de Quincy, helped to popularise historicism as a theory of art in France, Italy, and Germany. (73) In England, however, Winckelmann's theories made little impact in the eighteenth century; yet it is in England, that a practical moral historicism made headway before its theoretical acceptance. Indeed, the attempt to revive English history in the arts, and to seek artistic and social regeneration by consciously returning to the medieval glories, and the Saxon (and British) origins, of England (and Britain), and thereby make a practical demonstration of the laws of ethnic history, began as early as 1760. When Pine painted his novel and dramatic The surrender of Calais to King Edward III (1760), one of the first medieval history-paintings in England, and Barry his St. Patrick converting the King of Cashel (1763), when Bishop Percy published his Reliques of British Poetry (1763) and Macpherson his Ossianic lays (1762-5), a new quest for historical rediscovery and national regeneration was announced. It was not long before the quest was taken up by Herder and Sulzer in Germany, though some time was to elapse before it received artistic expression by Carstens and Runge. Abildgaard in Denmark, and Sergel in Sweden, Fuseli in Switzerland and

then England, manifested the same historicist interests in the 1770s (even earlier in Fuseli's case); even in France, the first signs of interest in French origins appeared in Brenet's early St. Denis praying for the establishment of the faith among the Gauls (1763) and Vien's St. Denis preaching to the Gauls (1767), though it was not followed up until the French state gave its backing in the 1770s. [Pl.104]

A fully-fledged theoretical historicism, it is true, had to wait until the late 1780s, and only then did Winckelmann's theories about ancient art, and its links with political liberty, win wider acceptance. Only then did the feeling for the overall unity of an artistic tradition, and a sense of its physical and cultural causes, become widespread. (74) At this time, too, France became the ground where art was encouraged as a vehicle of liberty and equality, and the spirit of antique art conjoined to that of a regenerated France and its culture:

"Vénéralé antiquité!", proclaimed a popular artistic society, "inspire-nous le vrai caractère, le seul digne de représenter la liberté et l'égalité...Oh! siècle à jamais mémorable! il va donc se réunir à nôtre." (75)

Following Winckelmann's and Mengs' views on artistic decline in modern times since the High Renaissance,

critics like Quatremère de Quincy called on the modern artist

"...se regarder comme l'élève de quelques-uns de ces grands maîtres, s'emparer de leur style, leur goût, de leur principes, abandonner tout-à-fait les systèmes modernes, n'avoir les yeux que sur l'antique. Quand il ne serait que le continuateur de l'antique, cela vaudrait toujours mieux que d'être le suivant de Michel-Ange ou de Bernin." (76)

It was through the return to antiquity that many French critics and history painters sought that "l'amour de la liberté" and "régénération salutaire" which would restore French national prestige and return her people to their true origins and dignity. Antiquity provided an enduring example of the role that the arts could play in free societies, and of their necessity for the civic virtue that must sustain a free government; hence France, and French artists, must seek their spiritual roots in the civic patriotism of ancient Greece and Rome.

It is for these reasons that recent scholars like Mortier have re-emphasized the "neo-classical" qualities of French art and culture in the late eighteenth century, against the "questionable 'preromanticism'" espoused by others. And he also, correctly, underlines the wide emotional range of the grand goût which Diderot and others sought,

one has only to recall the drama and violence of Girodet's Death of Camilla (1785) or Vincent's President Moïé and the Insurgents (1779), and the mysterious darkness of Peyron's Cimon and Miltiades (1782) or Harriet's Oedipus at Colonus (1796). Thus a dawning civic patriotism embraces not only monumental simplicity and heroic grandeur, but pathos, mystery and violence. (77)

This suggests that, avant Winckelmann, French artists were groping their way towards a practical moral historicism, one which would focus increasingly on the cultural distinctiveness of peoples and their customs, above all, their own culture and history. La Font's insistence on accurate depiction of the "lieux", "tems", "moeurs" and "Religion" of historical subjects bore fruit in the 1770s and later, in the growth of an "ethnic historicism", which increasingly saw human history as the interrelated but separate development of historical cultures obeying their own "laws" of growth and decay, each with its own moral atmosphere, textures and personages, which it was the duty of the painter to portray as accurately as possible. So that the French arrived, by a different route, at a similar juncture of patriotism and historicism as their English counterparts, but with a separate "Roman" emphasis and within a different context.

There was another factor that helped to propel the

distinctive French and English developments towards some common ground; and that was the universal admiration of genius. We have already seen Lord Shaftesbury speak admiringly of the "Genius of the Nation" and Richardson compare the English with the ancient Greeks and Romans; this belief in the sublimity of genius extended into art, so that Walpole is able to predict the rebirth of modern art through the rise of "genius". And he adds:

"But the arts, when neglected, always degenerate. Encouragement must keep them up, or a genius revivify them." (78)

Reynolds, too, invoked the genius of a Michelangelo as the expression of the sublime, which "impresses the mind at once with one great idea; it is a single blow;..". (79) Similarly, Fuseli hailed the "genius, free and unbounded as its origin, scorns to receive commands, or in submission, neglects those it received." (80) And Blake in his Annotations to Sir Joshua Reynolds' Discourses penned about 1808, protested that "Ages are all Equal. But Genius is Always Above The Age.", and that "A History Painter Paints the Hero, & Not Man in General, but most minutely in Particular." Yet, though Blake despised Burke's Treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful for apparently mocking "Inspiration and Vision", yet he shared with Burke and even Reynolds an admiration for heroes and geniuses; and in his praise of the Ancient Britons as

"naked civilised men, learned, studious, abstruse in thought and contemplation; naked, simple, plain in their acts and manners; wiser than after-ages", there is that same note of visionary patriotism that appears in his Jerusalem and his Public Address of 1810:

"The English Artist may be assured that he is doing an injury and injustice to his Country while he studies & imitates the Effects of Nature. England will never rival Italy while we servilely copy what the Wise Italians, Raphael and Michael Angelo, scorned, nay abhorred, as Vasari tells us." (81)

In France, the return to ancient Celtic (Gallic) origins was as yet muted. It had made its appearance early in the century in the work of Dom Pezron, but it was not till the Revolution, with Siéyès' well-known pamphlet on behalf of the Third Estate and La Tour d'Auvergne's attempt to prove that the Gallic tongue was the original language of humanity, that this pre-Frankish period began to excite interest. Till then, the nobility tended to equate the French nation with their order through an appeal to their ancestry among the Frankish conquerors under Clovis; Boulainvilliers, Montesquieu, the Abbé Velly, the Paris Parlement, all invoked the Frankish myth of descent. (82) Yet little of this penetrated into the visual arts, which were dominated by the Roman republican myth, and to a lesser extent by a medieval monarchical vision. During



the Revolution itself, the leaders of the patriots from the Tiers Etat, David included, invoked the heroes of republican Greece and Rome; David compared the martyred Marat to:

"Caton, Aristide, Socrate, Timoleon, Fabricius et Phocion, dont j'admire la respectable vie, je n'ai pas vécu avec vous, mais j'ai connu Marat, je l'ai admiré comme vous; la posterité lui rendra justice." (83)

Clearly, the Roman myth of descent, an "ideological" and civic myth rather than a "genealogical" one, had temporarily excluded a purely ethnic historicism. Yet, even here, the immense emphasis placed upon the French language and literature at the expense of regional patois, heralded the arrival of more ethnic myths of descent. (84)

In England, the classical component was much weaker. Antiquity remained as an example, particularly in the arts and architecture; but it provided a challenge for a renascent England, rather than a myth of ideological descent. In a less centralised state, ruled by great Whig gentry families, relying on a navy for defense and trade for a living, the Roman (and Greek) military and political ideal had less meaning, though associations with antiquity and Italy certainly enhanced a family's prestige. But these associations played no part in a State ideology as

such; and it was therefore possible for other myths of descent, other conceptions of English historical development, to emerge and compete. Indeed, the picture presented by late eighteenth century English culture is in this respect highly varied. Instead of a dominant vision of English (or British) history and society conveyed in a single, classical style, we find several conceptions - Saxon, Briton, Norman, classical - conveyed in a variety of styles according to period and theme.

At the same time, classical antiquity provided a paradigm of both morality and taste. Its language and ideals coloured and informed other visions and styles, in all the states of late eighteenth century Western Europe. Though there was a disjunction between the civic patriotism of antiquity with its "neo-classical" ideals of republicanism, rigour, heroism and grandeur, and the ethnic historicism of archaic and medieval eras, with their mystery, romance and violence, there was also much interplay between them, and a profound influence exercised by antiquity and neo-classicism over the expression of that early ethnic historicism, if not its impulse. By 1800, certainly, the two modes of conception and expression had served to reinforce each other, deepening the earlier expressions of territorial patriotism at the beginning of the century.

For, while neither "neo-classicism" nor "pre-romanticism"

gave birth to patriotism and nationalism, the effect of the "historicism" which they jointly, but in different ways, encouraged, was to strengthen and deepen and extend these initial patriotic sentiments. The ardent civic patriotism of a David or Robespierre (so far from the early liberal territorial feelings of Lord Shaftesbury for his country's genius), and the burning ethnic nationalism of a Barry or Blake, were both fertilised by that historical and ethical vision which was born of a return to antiquity and to archaic eras, expressed and popularised in successive images of distant origins and golden ages, and which gave this vision its substance and resonance among the educated classes of Western Europe. In this respect, at least, the history painters and sculptors helped to define and crystallise, as well as propagate, the growing ideas of the nation and its sense of collective regeneration.

"History" and other types of painting and sculpture  
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YEAR		1746		1747		1748		1750	
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc
RELIGIOUS									
Jewish, anecdotal		2	-	2	-	4	-	6	-
historical		1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-
Christian, devotional		9	3	9	-	4	1	11	-
historical		10	2	8	-	5	-	4	1
TOTAL		22	5	20	-	13	1	23	1
ALLEGORICAL									
TOTAL		6	4	9	2	2	4	3	4
HISTORICAL									
Greek		2	-	3	-	-	-	-	1
Roman		3	-	2	-	-	-	2	-
Medieval		-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Baroque		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Contemporary		-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Other		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Historical Landscape		1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
TOTAL		7	1	6	-	2	-	3	1
MYTHOLOGICAL									
fanciful erotic		18	5	12	5	12	2	15	6
serious		3	-	2	-	2	-	1	-
TOTAL		21	5	14	5	14	2	16	6
LITERARY									
TOTAL		-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
PUBLIC ART									
TOTAL		56	15	51	7	31	7	45	12
PORTRAITURE									
GENRE		27	4	29	2	43	5	39	11
LANDSCAPE		11	-	5	1	5	2	6	1
STILL-LIFE		18	-	22	-	14	-	20	-
		6	-	16	-	15	-	23	-
TOTAL		72	4	72	3	77	7	88	12
UNCLASSIFIABLE									
TOTAL		-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
GRAND TOTAL		128	21	123	10	108	15	133	24
OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS									
Homeric - Iliad		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Odyssey		7	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
History/Ser. Mythol.		10	3	8	-	3	-	4	1
History/Relig. Hist.		18	1	15	-	7	-	9	2
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		27	7	26	2	11	4	13	6
Total Artists		36	8	40	7	32	5	36	7
Total Hist. Art.		8	1	8	1	5	1	6	2

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YEAR		1751		1753		1755		1757			
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc		
<b>RELIGIOUS</b>											
Jewish, anecdotal		-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-		
historical		1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-		
Christian, devotional		3	-	6	1	10	2	6	3		
historical		6	-	4	-	5	-	2	1		
----- TOTAL		10	-	12	1	16	2	9	4		
-----											
ALLEGORICAL		TOTAL		-	3	16	3	3	2	8	-
-----											
HISTORICAL		Greek		1	-	1	-	2	-	-	-
Roman		1	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	
Medieval		-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Baroque		-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Contemporary		1	-	1	-	3	-	1	-	-	
Other		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Historical Landscape		-	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	
----- TOTAL		4	-	5	-	8	-	5	-		
-----											
<b>MYTHOLOGICAL</b>											
fanciful erotic		9	2	5	7	17	5	11	12		
serious		2	-	6	-	3	1	4	2		
----- TOTAL		11	2	11	7	20	6	15	14		
-----											
LITERARY		TOTAL		-	-	1	1	1	-	1	-
-----											
PUBLIC ART		TOTAL		25	5	45	12	48	10	38	18
-----											
PORTRAITURE		29	1	57	4	64	2	39	10		
GENRE		6	1	13	-	17	-	17	-		
LANDSCAPE		11	-	22	-	11	-	19	-		
STILL-LIFE		20	-	28	-	16	-	16	-		
----- NON-PUBLIC ART		TOTAL		66	2	120	4	108	2	91	10
-----											
UNCLASSIFIABLE		2	-	2	-	1	2	3	1		
----- GRAND TOTAL		93	7	167	16	157	14	132	29		
-----											
<b>OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS</b>											
Homeric - Iliad		-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-		
Odyssey		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
-----											
History/Ser. Mythol.		6	-	11	-	11	1	9	2		
History/Relig. Hist.		11	-	10	-	13	-	8	1		
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		13	3	32	3	20	3	20	3		
-----											
Total Artists		35	6	43	8	37	7	40	8		
Total Hist. Artists		4	-	9	-	7	2	8	3		

"Historic" and other types of painting and sculpture  
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YEAR		1759		1761		1763		1765			
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc		
<b>RELIGIOUS</b>											
Jewish, anecdotal		1	-	-	-	3	-	3	-		
historical		1	-	-	-	6	-	1	-		
Christian, devotional		7	3	14	3	10	1	8	4		
historical		8	1	7	-	5	1	9	1		
-----		TOTAL		17	4	21	3	24	2	21	5
-----											
ALLEGORICAL		TOTAL		3	4	4	4	7	2	4	5
-----											
HISTORICAL	Greek	-	-	2	-	3	1	2	1		
	Roman	3	-	1	-	2	-	5	-		
	Medieval	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-		
	Baroque	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-		
	Contemporary	-	-	3	-	1	-	1	-		
	Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-		
Historical	Landscape	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-		
-----		TOTAL		3	-	7	1	8	2	15	1
-----											
<b>MYTHOLOGICAL</b>											
fanciful erotic		8	4	8	7	11	3	14	5		
serious		3	1	2	1	3	2	3	1		
-----		TOTAL		11	5	10	8	14	5	17	6
-----											
LITERARY		TOTAL		-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
-----											
PUBLIC ART		TOTAL		34	13	42	16	53	11	60	17
-----											
PORTRAITURE		41	6	21	12	45	15	39	19		
GENRE		16	-	13	3	26	1	29	2		
LANDSCAPE		11	-	14	-	15	-	38	-		
STILL-LIFE		16	-	18	1	15	-	15	1		
-----		TOTAL		84	6	66	16	101	16	121	22
-----											
UNCLASSIFIABLE		TOTAL		6	2	4	2	7	2	4	2
-----											
GRAND TOTAL		124	21	112	34	161	29	185	41		
-----											
<b>OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS</b>											
Homeric - Iliad		2	-	1	-	1	-	2	-		
Odyssey		-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1		
-----											
History/Ser. Mythol.		6	1	9	2	11	4	18	2		
History/Relig. Hist.		12	1	14	1	19	3	25	2		
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		18	6	20	6	29	7	32	8		
-----											
Total Artists		37	5	33	9	39	9	42	11		
Total Hist. Artists		8	2	8	2	10	3	13	3		

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YEAR		1767		1769		1771		1773	
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc
<b>RELIGIOUS</b>									
Jewish, anecdotal		2	-	1	-	3	-	1	-
historical		-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
Christian, devotional		7	1	8	4	11	2	7	3
historical		12	-	4	-	8	-	5	1
TOTAL		21	1	13	4	23	2	15	4
<b>ALLEGORICAL</b>									
TOTAL		14	5	6	8	5	11	10	14
<b>HISTORICAL</b>									
Greek		1	1	-	-	1	1	3	-
Roman		3	1	3	-	2	1	2	2
Medieval		2	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
Baroque		-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Contemporary		1	-	1	-	2	-	1	-
Other		2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Historical Landscape		1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL		10	2	6	-	9	2	16	2
<b>MYTHOLOGICAL</b>									
fanciful erotic		8	4	25	6	27	9	19	10
serious		3	-	6	1	1	3	1	3
TOTAL		11	4	31	7	28	12	20	13
<b>LITERARY</b>									
TOTAL		1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
<b>PUBLIC ART</b>									
TOTAL		57	12	56	19	67	27	61	33
<b>PORTRAITURE</b>									
GENRE		38	17	50	7	40	24	49	18
LANDSCAPE		27	-	34	-	62	-	40	-
STILL-LIFE		13	-	19	-	13	-	12	-
<b>NON-PUBLIC ART</b>									
TOTAL		115	20	143	11	151	24	126	19
<b>UNCLASSIFIABLE</b>									
TOTAL		13	3	6	1	5	7	9	1
GRAND TOTAL		185	35	205	31	223	58	196	53
<b>OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS</b>									
Homeric - Iliad		1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Odyssey		1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
History/Ser. Mythol.		13	2	12	1	10	5	17	5
History/Relig. Hist.		22	2	10	-	18	2	23	3
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		39	7	22	9	24	16	34	20
Total Artists		43	8	45	10	45	12	37	12
Total Hist. Artists		8	3	9	3	6	4	12	3

"Historu" and other types of painting and sculpture  
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YEAR		1775		1777		1779		1781			
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc		
<b>RELIGIOUS</b>											
Jewish, anecdotal		2	-	3	-	2	-	3	-		
historical		-	-	1	-	5	1	2	-		
Christian, devotional		13	2	7	-	9	1	14	-		
historical		5	3	3	-	8	-	12	2		
----- TOTAL		20	5	14	-	24	2	31	2		
----- <b>ALLEGORICAL</b>		TOTAL		10	4	8	4	4	6	8	8
----- <b>HISTORICAL</b>		Greek		2	-	4	2	6	1	2	-
Roman		3	-	10	3	13	2	8	-		
Medieval		1	-	3	-	2	-	2	-		
Baroque		-	-	2	5	3	6	7	4		
Contemporary		-	1	-	1	5	5	1	1		
Other		1	-	-	-	2	2	-	-		
Historical Landscape		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
----- TOTAL		7	1	19	11	31	16	20	5		
----- <b>MYTHOLOGICAL</b>		fanciful erotic		15	7	19	7	22	9	13	4
serious		4	2	7	2	5	1	10	3		
----- TOTAL		19	9	26	9	27	10	23	7		
----- <b>LITERARY</b>		TOTAL		1	-	2	-	3	-	1	-
----- <b>PUBLIC ART</b>		TOTAL		57	19	69	24	89	34	83	22
----- <b>PORTRAITURE</b>		35	21	34	25	30	16	37	27		
<b>GENRE</b>		55	3	54	-	35	2	24	1		
<b>LANDSCAPE</b>		73	-	34	1	24	-	68	-		
<b>STILL-LIFE</b>		9	-	11	1	14	-	12	2		
----- <b>NON-PUBLIC ART</b>		TOTAL		172	24	133	27	103	18	141	30
----- <b>UNCLASSIFIABLE</b>		4	2	9	2	6	6	8	-		
----- GRAND TOTAL		233	45	211	53	198	58	232	52		
----- <b>OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS</b>											
Homeric - Iliad		1	-	2	-	4	-	6	1		
Odyssey		1	-	4	-	1	1	3	-		
----- History/Ser. Mythol.		11	3	26	13	36	17	30	8		
History/Relig. Hist.		12	4	23	11	44	17	34	7		
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		26	10	38	17	53	24	52	18		
----- Total Artists		41	10	37	10	44	12	49	11		
Total Hist. Artists		8	2	12	3	16	2	15	3		



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YEAR		1783		1785		1787		1789	
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc
<b>RELIGIOUS</b>									
Jewish, anecdotal		1	-	-	1	1	-	4	1
historical		2	-	5	-	-	-	3	2
Christian, devotional		4	2	8	1	6	2	6	3
historical		4	-	1	-	3	-	7	2
TOTAL		11	2	14	2	10	2	20	8
<b>ALLEGORICAL</b>									
TOTAL		7	5	4	4	5	4	1	12
<b>HISTORICAL</b>									
Greek		2	1	6	4	12	2	6	4
Roman		8	1	12	2	12	3	12	5
Medieval		2	-	1	-	3	1	3	1
Baroque		3	10	2	6	6	3	5	6
Contemporary		1	1	1	4	-	3	5	6
Other		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Historical Landscape		-	-	-	-	4	-	7	-
TOTAL		16	13	22	16	37	12	38	23
<b>MYTHOLOGICAL</b>									
fanciful erotic		20	4	9	9	8	6	4	13
serious		13	4	12	3	5	4	11	7
TOTAL		33	8	21	12	13	10	15	20
<b>LITERARY</b>									
TOTAL		3	1	5	-	4	-	3	-
<b>PUBLIC ART</b>									
TOTAL		70	29	66	34	69	28	77	63
<b>PORTRAITURE</b>									
GENRE		53	30	46	26	57	24	38	33
LANDSCAPE		32	3	14	4	18	3	27	8
STILL-LIFE		44	-	57	-	69	-	60	-
		14	-	7	-	18	-	13	2
TOTAL		143	33	124	30	162	27	138	43
<b>UNCLASSIFIABLE</b>									
TOTAL		6	-	6	1	3	-	5	2
GRAND TOTAL		219	62	196	65	234	55	220	108
<b>OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS</b>									
Homeric - Iliad		8	1	4	2	3	1	4	3
Odyssey		2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
History/Ser. Mythol.		29	17	34	19	42	16	49	30
History/Relig. Hist.		22	13	28	16	40	12	48	27
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		46	22	44	23	50	20	60	46
Total Artists		47	15	44	18	46	17	53	22
Total Hist. Artists		15	6	16	10	18	8	20	8

"Historu" and other types of painting and sculpture  
at the Paris Salons, 1746-1800, according to the  
Salon Livrets

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YEAR		1791		1793		1795		1796	
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc
<b>RELIGIOUS</b>									
Jewish, anecdotal		6	1	7	-	3	-	2	-
historical		9	1	3	1	2	2	3	-
Christian, devotional		11	2	10	1	9	-	2	-
historical		10	1	9	-	1	-	1	1
TOTAL		36	5	29	2	15	2	8	1
<b>ALLEGORICAL</b>									
TOTAL		12	8	21	32	22	19	8	7
<b>HISTORICAL</b>									
Greek		23	3	12	5	11	1	15	1
Roman		18	5	22	6	20	2	18	2
Medieval		3	-	1	-	3	1	2	-
Baroque		2	2	1	2	-	-	-	-
Contemporary		13	29	20	22	14	11	13	2
Other		-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-
Historical Landscape		5	-	4	-	12	-	6	-
TOTAL		64	39	62	35	60	15	56	5
<b>MYTHOLOGICAL</b>									
fanciful erotic		32	12	33	29	30	14	29	10
serious		25	6	20	9	8	2	14	2
TOTAL		57	18	53	38	38	16	43	12
<b>LITERARY</b>									
TOTAL		3	-	10	-	7	4	13	1
<b>PUBLIC ART</b>									
TOTAL		172	70	175	107	142	56	128	26
<b>PORTRAITURE</b>									
GENRE		164	32	139	37	138	18	122	13
LANDSCAPE		68	8	113	24	68	8	104	6
STILL-LIFE		150	-	209	-	130	1	133	-
		27	8	23	12	22	4	16	2
NON-PUBLIC ART		409	48	484	73	358	31	375	21
UNCLASSIFIABLE		34	11	28	16	34	2	26	2
GRAND TOTAL		615	129	687	196	534	89	529	49
<b>OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS</b>									
Homeric - Iliad		6	4	8	1	4	-	3	-
Odyssey		5	-	4	2	1	-	-	-
History/Ser. Mythol.		89	45	82	44	68	17	70	7
History/Relig. Hist.		83	41	74	36	63	17	60	6
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		120	55	115	77	93	38	82	17
Total Artists		172	53	258	60	182	29	189	21
Total Hist. Artists		44	16	52	28	28	12	30	5

"History" and other types of painting and sculpture  
at the Paris Salons, 1746-1800, according to the  
Salon Livrets

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YEAR		1798		1799		1800	
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc
<b>RELIGIOUS</b>							
Jewish, anecdotal		-	-	-	-	-	-
historical		2	-	-	-	2	-
Christian, devotional		-	1	-	-	-	-
historical		1	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL		3	1	-	-	2	-
-----							
ALLEGORICAL		TOTAL		4	6	7	8
-----							
HISTORICAL		Greek		9	-	3	1
		Roman		7	1	10	3
		Medieval		-	-	-	1
		Baroque		-	1	-	1
		Contemporary		8	3	14	2
		Other		-	-	-	-
Historical Landscape		9	-	4	-	7	-
TOTAL		33	5	31	8	35	12
-----							
<b>MYTHOLOGICAL</b>							
fanciful erotic		21	14	21	6	22	4
serious		18	1	9	1	10	2
TOTAL		39	15	30	7	32	6
-----							
LITERARY		TOTAL		8	-	4	-
-----							
PUBLIC ART		TOTAL		87	27	72	23
-----							
PORTRAITURE		152	19	153	15	139	21
GENRE		78	3	53	2	61	1
LANDSCAPE		91	-	80	-	107	-
STILL-LIFE		18	2	14	2	17	3
-----							
NON-PUBLIC ART		TOTAL		339	24	300	19
-----							
UNCLASSIFIABLE		16	1	12	1	10	2
-----							
GRAND TOTAL		442	52	384	43	412	54
-----							
<b>OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS</b>							
Homeric - Iliad		4	-	3	-	5	-
Odyssey		3	-	-	-	1	-
-----							
History/Ser. Mythol.		51	6	40	9	45	14
History/Relig. Hist.		36	5	31	8	37	12
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		58	12	47	17	55	23
-----							
Total Artists		192	25	188	23	195	33
Total Hist. Artists		25	6	22	6	29	10

"History" and other types of painting and sculpture at  
the R.A. Exhibitions, 1769-1800, according to the  
R.A. Catalogues

YEAR		1769		1770		1771		1772			
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc		
RELIGIOUS											
Jewish, anecdotal		-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-		
historical		-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-		
Christian, devotional		1	-	6	1	3	-	4	-		
historical		1	-	-	-	1	-	2	1		
TOTAL		2	-	6	1	11	-	8	1		
-----											
ALLEGORICAL		TOTAL		2	-	-	1	1	-	2	2
-----											
HISTORICAL		Greek		-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Roman		1	-	2	-	4	1	2	-		
Medieval		1	-	1	-	2	-	2	-		
Baroque		-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-		
Contemporary		2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-		
Other/Ossian*		-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-		
Historical Landscape		-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-		
TOTAL		4	-	9	-	10	1	9	1		
-----											
MYTHOLOGICAL											
fanciful erotic		6	1	2	2	8	5	11	7		
serious		5	-	5	3	2	3	5	-		
TOTAL		11	1	7	5	10	8	16	7		
-----											
LITERARY		TOTAL		3	-	5	-	4	-	6	-
-----											
PUBLIC ART		TOTAL		22	1	27	7	36	9	41	11
-----											
PORTRAITURE		37	5	82	5	90	6	107	4		
GENRE		5	-	5	1	4	-	20	2		
LANDSCAPE		54	-	72	1	87	-	85	-		
STILL-LIFE		5	-	13	-	16	-	21	-		
NON-PUBLIC ART		TOTAL		101	5	172	7	197	6	233	6
-----											
UNCLASSIFIABLE		4	-	9	1	3	1	3	1		
-----											
GRAND TOTAL		127	6	208	15	236	16	277	18		
-----											
OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS											
Homeric - Iliad		4	-	3	2	1	2	2	-		
Odyssey		1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-		
-----											
History/Ser. Mythol.		10	-	14	3	12	4	14	1		
History/Relig. Hist.		5	-	9	-	15	1	12	2		
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		12	-	14	4	18	4	19	4		

\*Figures with an asterisk denote "Ossian only".

"History" and other types of painting and sculpture at  
the R.A. Exhibitions, 1769-1800, according to the  
R.A. Catalogues

YEAR		1773		1774		1775		1776			
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc		
RELIGIOUS											
Jewish, anecdotal		-	-	1	-	-	-	4	-		
historical		2	-	3	-	5	-	2	-		
Christian, devotional		4	-	3	-	7	-	7	-		
historical		-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-		
TOTAL		6	-	8	-	12	-	13	-		
-----											
ALLEGORICAL		TOTAL		3	1	7	-	1	1	6	2
-----											
HISTORICAL		Greek		3	-	4	-	5	1	1	-
Roman		4	2	2	2	1	-	2	1		
Medieval		1	-	4	-	2	-	3	-		
Baroque		-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Contemporary		2	-	1	-	3	-	2	-		
Other/Ossian*		2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-		
Historical Landscape		-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-		
TOTAL		12	3	12	2	11	1	13	1		
-----											
MYTHOLOGICAL											
fanciful erotic		15	4	14	3	10	6	12	4		
serious		5	4	4	1	3	2	1	-		
TOTAL		20	8	18	4	13	8	13	4		
-----											
LITERARY		TOTAL		5	-	6	-	12	-		
-----											
PUBLIC ART		TOTAL		46	12	51	6	49	10	57	7
-----											
PORTRAITURE		125	4	113	7	126	8	109	13		
GENRE		17	-	16	1	14	1	14	-		
LANDSCAPE		99	-	107	-	119	-	93	-		
STILL-LIFE		27	1	23	1	15	1	15	1		
-----											
NON-PUBLIC ART		TOTAL		268	5	259	9	274	10	231	14
-----											
UNCLASSIFIABLE		5	2	7	2	9	4	5	1		
-----											
GRAND TOTAL		319	19	317	17	332	24	293	22		
-----											
OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS											
Homeric - Iliad		4	-	-	-	3	-	1	-		
Odyssey		2	-	2	-	1	-	1	-		
-----											
History/Ser. Mythol.		15	7	18	3	14	3	14	1		
History/Relig. Hist.		14	3	16	2	16	1	15	1		
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		25	8	27	3	20	4	22	3		
-----											

\*figures with an asterisk denote "Ossian only"

"History" and other types of painting and sculpture at  
the R.A. Exhibitions, 1769-1800, according to the  
R.A. Catalogues

YEAR		1777		1778		1779		1780			
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc		
RELIGIOUS											
Jewish, anecdotal		1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-		
historical		1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-		
Christian, devotional		9	-	4	-	6	-	2	1		
historical		2	-	1	-	1	-	3	-		
TOTAL		13	-	7	-	8	-	6	1		
-----											
ALLEGORICAL		TOTAL		2	-	5	2	4	1	8	-
-----											
HISTORICAL		Greek		2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Roman		1	3	2	2	2	-	3	1		
Medieval		1	-	3	-	6	-	2	-		
Baroque		-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-		
Contemporary		2	-	1	-	5	1	14	1		
Other/Ossian*		-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-		
Historical Landscape		1	-	-	-	4	-	1	-		
TOTAL		7	3	8	2	17	1	23	2		
-----											
MYTHOLOGICAL											
fanciful erotic		16	5	14	7	6	8	3	2		
serious		3	1	-	3	6	1	6	1		
TOTAL		19	6	14	10	12	9	9	3		
-----											
LITERARY		TOTAL		6	-	16	-	6	-	17	-
-----											
PUBLIC ART		TOTAL		47	9	50	14	47	11	63	6
-----											
PORTRAITURE		151	22	148	12	154	7	167	7		
GENRE		20	-	13	-	31	-	17	-		
LANDSCAPE		112	-	96	-	88	-	118	-		
STILL-LIFE		13	3	24	2	22	-	24	-		
NON-PUBLIC ART		TOTAL		296	25	281	14	295	7	326	6
-----											
UNCLASSIFIABLE		10	4	21	3	10	5	3	3		
-----											
GRAND TOTAL		353	38	342	31	352	23	392	15		
-----											
OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS											
Homeric - Iliad		-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-		
Odyssey		-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-		
-----											
History/Ser. Mythol.		10	4	8	5	23	2	29	3		
History/Relig. Hist.		10	3	9	2	18	1	27	2		
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		15	4	14	7	28	3	41	3		

\*Figures with an asterisk denote "Ossian only"

"Historu" and other types of painting and sculpture at  
the R.A. Exhibitions, 1769-1800, according to the  
R.A. Catalogues

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YEAR		1781	1782	1783	1784				
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc
<b>RELIGIOUS</b>									
Jewish, anecdotal		-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1
historical		-	1	1	-	3	-	5	-
Christian, devotional		3	-	5	-	3	-	2	-
historical		1	-	1	-	1	-	2	-
TOTAL		4	2	7	-	8	-	10	1
<b>ALLEGORICAL</b>									
TOTAL		5	3	3	1	6	2	9	-
<b>HISTORICAL</b>									
Greek		-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-
Roman		3	1	1	1	1	1	4	-
Medieval		2	-	2	-	2	-	1	-
Baroque		-	1	-	-	2	-	1	-
Contemporary		8	-	10	-	13	-	14	-
Other/Ossian*		-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-
Historical Landscape		2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
TOTAL		15	3	14	1	21	2	22	-
<b>MYTHOLOGICAL</b>									
fanciful erotic		9	9	4	11	4	4	7	6
serious		8	1	3	2	2	-	4	4
TOTAL		17	10	7	13	6	4	11	10
<b>LITERARY</b>									
TOTAL		17	-	16	-	15	-	20	-
<b>PUBLIC ART</b>									
TOTAL		58	18	47	15	56	8	72	11
<b>PORTRAITURE</b>									
GENRE		187	16	228	19	178	10	204	17
LANDSCAPE		21	-	28	-	12	-	32	1
STILL-LIFE		124	-	124	-	89	-	131	-
		46	-	28	-	29	-	20	1
TOTAL		378	16	408	19	308	10	387	19
<b>UNCLASSIFIABLE</b>									
TOTAL		11	2	3	3	3	6	11	2
GRAND TOTAL		447	36	458	37	367	24	470	32
<b>OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS</b>									
Homeric - Iliad		2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Odyssey		1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
History/Ser. Mythol.		23	4	17	3	23	2	26	4
History/Relig. Hist.		16	4	16	1	25	2	29	-
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		29	7	22	4	35	4	42	4

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"History" and other types of painting and sculpture at  
the R.A. Exhibitions, 1769-1800, according to the  
R.A. Catalogues

YEAR		1785		1786		1787		1788	
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc
<b>RELIGIOUS</b>									
Jewish, anecdotal		5	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
historical		4	-	1	-	1	-	2	-
Christian, devotional		6	-	3	1	2	-	2	-
historical		2	-	3	-	1	-	1	-
TOTAL		17	-	7	1	5	-	6	-
<b>ALLEGORICAL</b>									
TOTAL		6	3	9	-	3	1	4	4
<b>HISTORICAL</b>									
Greek		1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Roman		2	1	3	1	2	1	-	1
Medieval		1	-	5	-	4	1	9	1
Baroque		1	-	1	-	4	-	1	-
Contemporary		7	-	8	-	3	-	6	-
Other/Ossian*		-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-
Historical Landscape		-	-	-	-	1	-	4	-
TOTAL		12	2	20	1	15	2	20	2
<b>MYTHOLOGICAL</b>									
fanciful erotic		15	2	14	3	15	10	16	6
serious		3	2	4	1	-	1	4	1
TOTAL		18	4	18	4	15	11	20	7
<b>LITERARY</b>									
TOTAL		28	-	33	-	32	-	21	-
<b>PUBLIC ART</b>									
TOTAL		81	9	87	6	70	14	71	13
<b>PORTRAITURE</b>									
GENRE		254	15	199	16	233	17	218	18
LANDSCAPE		46	1	45	-	40	-	48	-
STILL-LIFE		135	-	167	-	173	-	165	-
		29	2	35	-	29	-	26	1
NON-PUBLIC ART TOTAL		464	18	446	16	475	17	457	19
<b>UNCLASSIFIABLE</b>									
TOTAL		16	2	8	2	16	3	11	5
GRAND TOTAL		561	29	541	24	561	34	539	37
<b>OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS</b>									
Homeric - Iliad		1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
Odyssey		1	-	1	-	1	-	3	-
History/Ser. Mythol.		15	4	24	2	15	3	24	3
History/Relig. Hist.		18	2	24	1	17	2	23	2
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		27	7	37	2	20	4	31	7

\*Figures with an asterisk denote "Ossian only"



"History" and other types of painting and sculpture at  
the R.A. Exhibitions, 1769-1800, according to the  
R.A. Catalogues

YEAR		1789		1790		1791		1792	
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc
<b>RELIGIOUS</b>									
Jewish, anecdotal		-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
historical		1	-	4	-	7	-	4	2
Christian, devotional		3	-	3	-	4	-	14	-
historical		1	-	1	-	3	-	1	-
TOTAL		5	-	8	-	17	-	19	2
<b>ALLEGORICAL</b>		TOTAL		6	7	8	3	2	3
<b>HISTORICA</b>		Greek		1	-	2	-	-	1
Roman		6	2	4	-	4	-	3	1
Medieval		3	1	7	-	12	-	8	-
Baroque		1	-	3	-	3	-	-	2
Contemporary		2	2	12	1	3	1	7	-
Other/Ossianic*		1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Historical Landscape		2	-	2	-	2	-	-	-
TOTAL		16	5	30	1	24	2	21	3
<b>MYTHOLOGICAL</b>									
fanciful erotic		14	11	18	7	10	4	6	5
serious		3	4	3	2	3	3	3	1
TOTAL		17	15	21	9	13	7	9	6
<b>LITERARY</b>		TOTAL		24	-	31	-	34	-
<b>PUBLIC ART</b>		TOTAL		68	27	98	13	90	12
PORTRAITURE		237	10	253	13	274	16	267	12
GENRE		29	-	36	1	39	-	67	2
LANDSCAPE		175	-	203	-	160	-	214	-
STILL-LIFE		21	2	30	-	15	-	14	1
NON-PUBLIC ART		TOTAL		462	12	522	14	488	16
UNCLASSIFIABLE		9	6	4	5	4	1	7	3
GRAND TOTAL		539	45	624	32	582	29	647	31
<b>OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS</b>									
Homeric - Iliad		1	1	1	1	2	-	-	-
Odyssey		-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
History/Ser. Mythol.		19	9	33	3	27	5	24	4
History/Relig. Hist.		18	5	35	1	34	2	26	5
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		27	16	46	6	39	8	32	8

\*Figures with an asterisk denote "Ossian only"

"History" and other types of painting and sculpture at  
the R.A. Exhibitions, 1769-1800, according to the  
R.A. Catalogues

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YEAR		1793		1794		1795		1796	
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc
<b>RELIGIOUS</b>									
Jewish, anecdotal		2	-	1	-	-	-	3	-
historical		2	-	5	-	3	-	4	-
Christian, devotional		10	1	1	2	3	-	5	1
historical		1	-	2	-	2	1	2	-
TOTAL		15	1	9	2	8	1	14	1
<b>ALLEGORICAL</b>									
TOTAL		7	-	8	-	10	-	2	5
<b>HISTORICAL</b>									
Greek		1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Roman		4	1	3	-	2	-	5	1
Medieval		11	-	7	-	5	2	4	-
Baroque		-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Contemporary		5	1	2	-	14	-	7	2
Other/Ossian*		1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
Historical Landscape		1	-	4	-	1	-	2	-
TOTAL		23	2	18	-	22	2	20	4
<b>MYTHOLOGICAL</b>									
fanciful erotic		10	1	17	6	14	-	6	3
serious		3	1	8	1	1	-	6	-
TOTAL		13	2	25	7	15	-	12	3
<b>LITERARY</b>									
TOTAL		32	-	15	-	26	1	19	2
<b>PUBLIC ART</b>									
TOTAL		90	5	75	9	81	4	67	15
<b>PORTRAITURE</b>									
GENRE		313	14	257	8	305	1	313	3
LANDSCAPE		64	1	21	-	47	-	50	1
STILL-LIFE		206	-	142	-	164	-	230	-
		33	2	27	2	18	2	32	4
TOTAL		606	17	447	10	534	3	625	8
<b>UNCLASSIFIABLE</b>									
TOTAL		4	3	7	1	13	2	17	3
GRAND TOTAL		700	25	529	20	628	9	709	26
<b>OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS</b>									
Homeric - Iliad		2	-	5	-	-	-	1	-
Odyssey		1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-
History/Ser. Mythol.		26	3	26	1	23	2	26	4
History/Relig. Hist.		26	2	25	-	28	3	26	4
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		36	3	41	1	39	3	34	9

\*figures with an asterisk denote "Ossian only"

"History" and other types of painting and sculpture at  
the R.A. Exhibitions, 1769-1800, according to the  
R.A. Catalogues

YEAR		1797		1798		1799		1800	
TYPE OF WORK		Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc	Pa	Sc
RELIGIOUS									
Jewish, anecdotal		2	-	4	-	4	-	4	-
historical		4	-	8	-	4	-	6	-
Christian, devotional		8	3	5	-	8	-	13	5
historical		1	-	1	-	2	-	3	-
TOTAL		15	3	18	-	18	-	26	5
-----									
ALLEGORICAL	TOTAL	4	3	11	1	2	2	2	2
-----									
HISTORICAL	Greek	-	-	1	2	2	-	2	-
	Roman	2	-	1	-	2	-	-	-
	Medieval	6	-	4	-	6	1	3	-
	Baroque	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
	Contemporary	10	1	14	3	12	1	12	4
	Other	-	-	4	-	5	-	3	-
Historical	Landscape	1	-	2	-	3	-	3	-
TOTAL		20	1	26	5	30	2	24	4
-----									
MYTHOLOGICAL									
fanciful erotic		25	3	15	2	10	2	11	7
serious		6	-	2	-	-	-	3	-
TOTAL		31	3	17	2	10	2	14	7
-----									
LITERARY	TOTAL	34	-	33	-	28	-	29	-
-----									
PUBLIC ART	TOTAL	104	10	105	8	88	6	95	18
-----									
PORTRAITURE		414	18	354	5	398	8	363	7
GENRE		62	-	69	-	46	-	46	-
LANDSCAPE		324	-	266	-	348	-	353	-
STILL-LIFE		61	3	59	5	50	3	62	5
NON-PUBLIC ART		861	21	748	10	842	11	824	12
-----									
UNCLASSIFIABLE		7	2	8	7	5	6	5	6
-----									
GRAND TOTAL		972	33	861	25	935	23	924	36
-----									
OTHER CATEGORIES/TOTALS									
Homeric - Iliad		2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Odyssey		2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
-----									
History/Ser. Mythol.		26	1	28	5	30	2	27	4
History/Relig. Hist.		25	1	35	5	36	2	33	4
Hist./Alleg./Ser.M./ Rel. Hist.		35	4	48	6	38	4	38	6
-----									

"History" and other types of Painting and Sculpture at the  
Society of Artists Exhibitions, 1760-80. According to the  
Catalogues

Year	1760		1761		1762		1763		1764	
Type of Work	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.
Religious	2	2	3	2	1	1	4	-	4	-
History	5	4	6	5	4	2	11	2	3	-
Allegory	1	2	2	2	4	2	7	1	1	-
Mythology	3	10	1	4	5	3	3	5	3	8
Literary	9	-	7	-	9	-	4	-	6	-
Public Art	20	18	19	13	23	8	29	8	17	8
Portrait	36	7	87	12	76	4	66	4	60	3
Landscape	25	-	73	-	66	-	63	-	73	-
Genre	7	2	8	2	8	3	8	-	14	2
Still-life	8	4	12	1	22	4	22	1	27	1
"Non-Public" Art	76	13	180	15	167	11	159	5	174	6
Unclassifiable	2	1	3	-	2	1	1	-	2	-
TOTAL	98	32	202	28	192	20	189	13	193	14

"Historu" and other types of Painting and Sculpture at the  
Society of Artists Exhibitions, 1760-80. According to the  
Catalogues

Year	1765		1766		1767		1768		1768	
Type of Work	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.
Religious	4	-	5	-	8	1	7	-	7	-
History	3	-	5	3	8	3	4	1	10	6
Allegory	2	6	4	3	-	2	-	-	-	3
Mythology	9	8	4	3	5	4	10	4	9	5
Literary	8	-	12	-	6	-	2	-	4	-
Public Art	26	14	30	9	27	10	23	5	30	14
Portrait	75	3	108	8	117	6	116	6	67	6
Landscape	67	-	88	-	91	-	69	-	63	-
Genre	18	-	12	1	16	-	10	-	15	-
Still-life	24	2	17	2	11	-	19	2	12	2
"Non-Public" Art	184	5	225	11	235	6	214	8	158	8
Unclassifiable	14	1	15	1	5	1	34	2	1	5
TOTAL	224	20	270	21	267	17	271	15	189	27

"Historu" and other types of Painting and Sculpture at the  
Societu of Artists Exhibitions, 1760-80. According to the  
Catalogues

Year	1769		1770		1771		1772		1773	
Type of Work	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.
Religious	2	-	1	1	3	-	7	-	6	3
History	5	3	9	2	6	1	9	2	6	-
Allegory	1	-	3	1	2	-	4	-	5	-
Mythology	7	9	7	3	3	8	10	3	7	3
Literary	3	-	4	-	14	-	14	-	9	-
Public Art	18	12	24	7	28	9	44	5	33	6
Portrait	139	12	97	8	127	5	151	9	159	21
Landscape	85	-	78	1	103	1	89	-	116	2
Genre	16	-	10	1	15	-	26	-	37	1
Still-life	18	2	14	-	21	3	37	3	41	5
"Non-Public" Art	258	14	199	10	266	9	303	12	353	29
Unclassifiable	10	1	10	1	15	2	37	-	16	-
TOTAL	286	27	233	18	281	20	384	17	402	35

"Historic" and other types of Painting and Sculpture at the  
Society of Artists Exhibitions, 1760-80. According to the  
Catalogues

Year	1774		1775		1776		1777		1778	
Type of Work	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.
Religious	4	-	14	-	7	-	4	-	6	1
History	5	-	10	-	8	-	4	-	6	1
Allegory	6	-	3	4	-	-	2	-	-	1
Mythology	17	6	9	6	6	6	3	8	2	1
Literary	15	-	7	-	11	-	9	-	15	-
Public Art	47	6	43	10	32	6	22	8	29	4
Portrait	116	1	117	5	98	8	67	8	61	12
Landscape	86	-	97	1	101	-	124	-	122	1
Genre	28	-	26	2	11	1	11	1	8	2
Still-life	31	9	33	4	34	14	49	3	43	10
"Non-Public" Art	261	10	273	12	244	13	251	12	234	25
Unclassifiable	26	4	9	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	334	20	325	26	276	19	273	20	263	29

"History" and other types of Painting and Sculpture at the  
Society of Artists Exhibitions 1760-80. According to the  
Catalogues

Year	1780					
Type of Work	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.	pa.	sc.
Religious	3	2				
History	1	1				
Allegory	-	1				
Mythology	10	-				
Literary	3	-				
Public Art	17	4				
Portrait	58	12				
Landscape	140	-				
Genre	24	1				
Still-life	42	3				
"Non-Public" Art	264	16	N.B. I have omitted figures of			
Unclassifiable	-	-	"unclassifiables" for the last			
			four exhibitions.			
TOTAL	281	20				





Incidence of selected "history" themes in paintings and sculptures exhibited at the Paris Salons, 1746-1800

YEAR	1769	'71	'73	'75	'77	'79	'81	'83	'85	'87
<b>BIBLICAL</b>										
Abel/Flood	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-
Moses	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	1	5	-
Judges	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
David	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Esther	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maccabees	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
<b>MYTHOLOGICAL</b>										
Prometheus	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Argonauts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Heracles	1	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	2	1
Theseus	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oedipus	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Philoctetes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Achilles	2	-	-	-	-	1	3	3	1	2
Hector/Andr	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	4	1	-
Oresteia	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	2
Odysseus	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1
Aeneid	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	1
<b>GREEK HISTORY</b>										
Cyrus/Persia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sparta	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
Socrat./Alc.	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	2	2
Diogenes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Alexand./Sel.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
Purghus	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
<b>ROMAN HISTORY</b>										
Horatius/ii	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Brutus/Lucr.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Virginus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Early Rep'ns	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	3
Scipio/Reg.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Cornelia	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
Marius/Sulla	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Caesar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cato/Portia	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	1
Ant./Cleop.	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	2
Augustus	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Agrippina	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Seneca/Paet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Belisarius	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	3	-
<b>MEDIEVAL</b>										
Franks	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armin./Tell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Louis IX	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Du Guesclin	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Calais	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Bayard	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
Henri IV	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	3	1	1

Incidence of selected "historu" themes in paintings and  
sculptures exhibited at the Paris Salons, 1746-1800

YEAR	1789	'91	'93	'95	'96	'98	'99	1800
<b>BIBLICAL</b>								
Abel/Flood	2	1	2	-	1	-	-	-
Moses	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Judges	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
David	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Esther	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Maccabees	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>MYTHOLOGICAL</b>								
Prometheus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Argonauts	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Heracles	-	1	2	2	1	-	1	1
Theseus	2	1	7	1	-	1	1	2
Oedipus	2	2	3	2	6	3	2	-
Philoctetes	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Achilles	4	4	2	1	1	1	-	-
Hector/Andr	-	4	1	1	-	-	1	2
Oresteia	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2
Odysseus	1	4	2	1	-	2	-	-
Aeneid	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	2
<b>GREEK HISTORY</b>								
Cyrus/Persia	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Sparta	2	2	4	2	2	1	1	1
Socrat./Alc.	3	4	1	-	3	1	-	-
Diogenes	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Alexand./Sel.	2	1	3	1	-	1	1	-
Purchnus	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>ROMAN HISTORY</b>								
Horatius/ii	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Brutus/Lucr.	2	3	4	1	2	-	2	1
Virginus	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-
Early Rep'ns	1	1	1	5	1	-	2	-
Scipio/Reg.	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
Cornelia	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Marius/Sulla	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	1
Caesar	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Cato/Portia	-	-	2	1	1	-	2	-
Ant./Cleop.	3	-	3	1	1	2	-	-
Augustus	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1
Agrippina	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
Seneca/Paet.	1	1	3	1	3	-	-	-
Belisarius	1	2	-	1	1	-	1	-
<b>MEDIEVAL</b>								
Franks	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armin./Tell	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-
Louis IX	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Du Guesclin	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Calais	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bayard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Henri IV	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Incidence of selected "historu" themes in paintings and  
sculptures exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1769-1800

YEAR	1769	'70	'71	'72	'73	'74	'75	'76	'77	'78	'79
<b>BIBLICAL</b>											
Creation/Abel	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Flood	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Moses	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
David	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
<b>MYTHOLOGICAL</b>											
Heracles	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
Theseus	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Oedipus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Achilles	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	1
Hector/Andr.	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Oresteia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Odysseus/Tel.	1	-	1	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
Aeneid	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	1
<b>GREEK HISTORY</b>											
Sparta	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-
Socrates	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Diogenes	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Alexander	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>ROMAN HISTORY</b>											
Koratii/Virginia-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lucr./Brutus	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-
Early Repub'ns	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Scipio/Regul./ Hann.	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Cornelia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Caesar	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
Ant./Cleop.	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1
Agrippina	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
Sen./Paetus	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Belisarius	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
<b>MEDIEVAL</b>											
Caract./Boadicea-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ossian	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vortigern	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Elfrida	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Alfred	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Eleonora	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
The Bard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
St. Thomas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Ed. III/Bl. Prince-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Jane Shore	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Ed. IV/Margaret Elis. Grey/ Princes	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	1
Mary, Q. of Scots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Philip Sudneu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>MODERN</b>											
Cromwell/Rest.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wolfe	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-





NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

- 1 J. Barrell: The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt: "The Body of the Public", Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1986.
- 2 See the criticism by G. Reynolds of Barrell's book in the November 1986 issue of Apollo; I am indebted to Dr. Allan for drawing this to my attention.
- 3 T. Crow: Painters and Public Life in eighteenth-century Paris, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1985.
- 4 J. Loquin: La peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785, Henri Laurens, Paris 1912.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1: "HISTORY" PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURES AT THE  
PARIS SALONS

- 1 T. Crow: Painters and Public Life, Yale University Press, New Haven & London 1985, Introduction; cf. also U. van de Sandt: "Le Salon de L'Academie de 1759 à 1781", in Hotel de la Monnaie: Diderot et l'art de Boucher à David: Les Salons 1759-81, Ministère de la Culture, Editions de la Réunion des Musées nationaux, Paris 1984.
- 2 Actually from 1737. Before that, there had been only two Salons, in 1704 and 1725 (and before them, in 1699 and 1673, and earlier attempts at exhibitions, without any Livrets, in 1667 and 1665), cf. Crow, op.cit., ch.1.
- 3 For an earlier analysis of antique themes in the Salons of a somewhat earlier period, cf. H. Bardon: "Les peintures à sujets antiques au XVIIIe siècle d'après les livres de Salons", Gazette des Beaux-Arts 6e periode, LXI, 1963, 217-49.
- 4 Collection de Livrets des anciennes expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800, Liepmannsohn (et Dufour), editeur(s), Paris 1870.
- 5 On Greuze's career, cf. A. Brookner: "J.B. Greuze, I and II", Burlington Magazine 98, 1956, 157-62, 192-97. For some examples of provincial painters and their works, cf. B. Lossky (ed): Tours. Musée des Beaux-Arts: Peintures de XVIIIe siècle, Paris 1962.
- 6 For example, for the Salon of 1759, we have:  
No.164: M. Hutin: Plusieurs tableaux sous le même numero.  
No.118: J.B. Greuze: Deux Esquisses a l'Encre de Chine.  
In some cases, one can make a reasonable guess. Thus, under C-J. Vernet, in the Salon of 1757, we find a long list of landscapes, ending with item No.68: Autres tableaux du même Auteur, and here I have treated this as a single additional landscape item.
- 7 G.F. Koch: Die Kunstaussstellung: Ihre Geschichte von Anfangen bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts, Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin 1967, esp. pp.149-57 and 159 (note 358-9). For some other examples of mixed-item numbers or vague descriptions, cf. the Salon of 1798, where we find under  
No.284: Lonsing, né à Bruxelles, Tableau:  
Le médecin des urines. Une jeune fille et son amant le consultent et attendent avec inquietude la decision du docteur.  
Portrait de l'auteur peint par lui-même.



No.330. Périn (Lié-Loits).

Un cadre renfermant des miniatures.

And under the Salon of 1757, we find:

No.53: M. Bachelier:

Plusieurs petits tableaux du même Auteur, sous le même No.

- 9 The law throwing open the Salons (21 August, 1791) is published in J. Guiffrey: Collection des Livrets des anciennes expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800, Paris 1869-72, Vol.IV, 36, p.8. On these Salons, cf. the calculations in J.A. Leith: The Idea of Art as Propaganda in France, 1750-99, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1965, Appendix: and C. Caubisens-Lasfargues: "Les Salons de peinture de la Revolution francaise", L'Information de l'histoire de l'art a.5, no.3, 1960, 67-73.
- 10 The latter I have not subdivided, as Koch has done. On Felibien, cf. T. Puttfarcken: Roger de Piles' Theory of Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1985, ch.1, esp. p.27-9.
- 11 cf. Koch, op.cit, p.159: "Demzufolge werden unter der Rubrik "Historienbild" nur geschichtliche Themen ausser den christlichen und antiken Stoffen gefuhrt". Persian themes centre mainly on Cyrus' exploits, but there is also the curious theme of Scilurus, the Scythian king, and his sons, drawn from Plutarch's Moralia and painted by Noel Hallé in 1767 for the last king of Poland, Stanislas-Augustus Poniatowski, and exhibited in the Salon of that year.
- 12 On these mythologies, cf. Bardon, op.cit; on Caylus, cf. P. Conisbee: Painting in Eighteenth Century France, Phaidon, Oxford 1981, 16,93, and, in much more detail, A.D. Potts: Winckelmann's Interpretation of the History of Ancient Art in its eighteenth century context, Ph.D., University of London 1978, Vol.1, esp. 53-73.
- The distinction between "serious" and "erotic" mythologies is of course difficult to sustain, as the tales of Perseus and Andromeda, or the Homeric combat of Ares and Athene during the battle of the gods (Iliad, Book 20) illustrate. A good example of a border-line tale is Telemachus' search for his father in the Odyssey's opening books, an episode from which Lagrenée depicted in his charming Telemachus and Termodis, now at Stourhead, cf. M.Sandoz: "Paintings by J.L.F. Lagrenée the Elder at Stourhead", Burlington Magazine 103, 1961, 392-3 (which I have assigned to the "fanciful" genre).
- 13 Paintings of "Baroque" French subjects declined from 6 and 5 in 1787 and 1789 to 2, 1 and 0 in the Revolutionary years 1791, 1793 and 1795 (the latter

allows for the time-lag from commission of subject to their execution and display). "Baroque" sculptures showed a similar decline. For the attack on the aristocracy and later the monarchy, stemming from Siéyès' 1789 pamphlet, Qu'est-ce que le tiers état?, which took up the Comte de Boullainvilliers' distinction between the conquering Frankish aristocrats and the subjugated Gallic commoners, cf. J. Barzun: The French Race, Columbia university Press, New York 1932.

- 14 Eighteenth century public and critics (with significant exceptions like Diderot and La Font de Saint-Yenne) did not generally make such a sharp distinction between classical history proper and myths with an historical basis like the tales of Troy, since their aim was moral edification rather than intellectual accuracy, at least until the last two decades of the century. They did, however, like Diderot, distinguish "historical landscape" as a category separate from pure landscape, insofar as it provided a setting for some episode from classical myth or history, and could therefore elevate the spectator.
- 15 One must bear in mind the small totals for "history" sculptures and sculptures in general: 10 out of 18 sculptors in 1785 exhibited works with an "historical" content (as opposed to 16 out of 44 painters), but this includes sculptors of "serious" mythologies and the figures are too small to make statistical generalisations. Besides, the monumental nature of sculpture gives the "history" sculptor greater opportunities, if patronage can be secured.
- 16 These tombs, aiming at public display and often treated through public allegories, were often commissioned by the State and great nobles and demanded considerable explanation in the Salon Livrets.
- 17 F. Benoît: L'Art Français sous la Revolution et l'Empire, Paris 1897, 380.
- 18 The works on Voltaire and Rousseau exhibited were usually frontispieces to their writings. The contrast with England is striking (see chap. 2, 11)
- 19 As Diderot frequently complained, and Leith, op.cit. chh. 5-6 documents. On the return to Iliadic themes, which reappear in the 1760s and then again, on a larger scale, in the 1780s, cf. J. Loquin: La Peinture d'Histoire en France de 1747 à 1785, Henri Laurens, Paris, 1912, pp. 158-9, 162-4.
- 20 Again, tales from the Iliad, Odyssey and Aeneid are so intertwined that it is difficult to distinguish them according to epic source, and to the degree of their serious intent; thus in the Odyssey, Odysseus meets

Tiresias in Hades and learns from him the fate of various heroes in the Trojan War; book two of the Aeneid alludes to earlier Homeric events, as do Sophocles' Ajax and Philoctetes and Euripides' Trojan Women; not to mention his Iphigenia in Tauris and much of Aeschylus' Oresteia; all of which will provide artists of the period with dramatic themes.

- 21 The fact that there were only two "history" sculptures in 1773 confirms the atypical nature of the "history" painting figure for that year, inflated as it was by the Court commission for scenes from the life of St. Louis for the Chappelle Royale of the Ecole Militaire, on which see F. Cummings: "Painting under Louis XVI, 1774-1789", in Detroit Institute of Arts: French Painting, 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution, Wayne State University Press, Detroit 1975.
- 22 Benoit, op.cit., p.384, and he adds: "Aux Salons de la Révolution se pressent les héros appropriés en tête les Brutus, les Marius, les Catons, les Diogene, les Regulus et autres, modèles de civisme; puis les victimes de la "tyrannie", les Lucreces, les Virginie, les Senèques, les Aris et les Poetus, et aussi les mauvais citoyens, Coriolan, par exemple, un "émigré" de Rome". On these Salons, cf. the cited works by Caubisens-Lasfargues and Leith, Appendix, which employ different modes of calculation and categorisation.
- 23 This would include the goût grec introduced by Vien's genre classical scenes like the Marchande à la toilette (better known later as La Marchande d'amours) of 1763 or L'Amour fuit l'esclavage of 1789, as well as Valenciennes' classical landscapes.
- 24 The "Baroque" revival in sculpture starts in 1777 and peters out after 1789. With the exception of 1779 (when there were 5 examples), "Contemporary" themes were chosen by sculptors from 1785-95 and in 1800, with 29 in 1791 and 22 in 1793 and 11 in 1795, usually with commemorative busts of celebrated figures from the Enlightenment and Revolution.
- 25 The Greek history revival took precedence over the Roman in certain years: 1787 (where there were 12 each of Greek and Roman history themes), 1791 (23 Greek and 18 Roman), 1798 (9 Greek and 7 Roman) and 1800 (10 Greek and 3 Roman), while in sculpture the respective figures were nearly equal and much smaller. Specifically "Roman" years like 1779 and 1785, 1789 and 1793 and 1795, alternate with "Greek" years, but it is doubtful whether any inference can be made about the degree of austerity and severity of moral climate in "Roman" years, or a relaxation of mood in "Greek" years, except perhaps at the end of the century; "Greek" themes, after all, included quite stern

- moralities about Sparta, Diogenes or Socrates, though they also threw up quite a large number of Seleucid themes which turned on the anguish of unrecognised love (Antiochus and Stratonice) or trust in friends (Alexander's doctor).
- 26 cf. Cummings, op.cit , pp.33-5; also Loquin, op.cit., Part 1.
- 27 Paintings like Brenet's Hommages rendus à Du Guesclin (1777) or Vincent's President Mole arrêté par les Factieux (1779) were influential models of the kind encouraged by the Crown, and also forerunners of the medievalist cult which flourished in the next century. Once again, quantitative measures of the historical revival (this time medieval) need to be qualified by considerations of prestige and quality of particular examples.
- 28 In 1779, for example, there were 16 painters exhibiting "history" paintings, out of a total of 44, and 2 sculptors out of a total of 12. These figures rose to 20 out of 53 painters, and 8 out of 22 sculptors, but by 1799 they had dropped relatively to 22 out of 188 painters and 6 out of 23 sculptors (this relative proportional decrease actually begins in 1791, with 44 "history" paintings out of a total of 172). Even when we add in allegories, serious mythologies and religious histories, the overall "history" proportion remains at about a fifth of all paintings exhibited in 1791, and slightly less in 1793, (120 out of 615, and 115 out of 687).
- 29 Low-life genre scenes became popular already in the mid-1750s, as the career of Greuze illustrates, but rose to greater prominence after 1763 (26 examples), fluctuating thereafter from 14 (1785) to 55 (1775) with a relative decline in the mid-1780s, and a considerable increase in the 1790s (68 in 1795, 104 in 1796 and 61 in 1800): Boilly and Houel clearly answered to a need for a more relaxed and charming art under the Directoire, but also in 1793 with its 113 genre scenes out of 687 paintings.
- 30 In 1777 and 1779, there were 19 and 22 "erotic" mythologies, and 7 and 5 "serious" ones; even when the "serious" ones increased to 13 and 20 in 1781 and 1783, there were 13 and 20 "erotic" ones. In 1789, it is true, there were 4 "erotic" mythologies (paintings) (though 13 sculptures) and 11 "serious" mythologies (7 sculptures); but in 1791, the figures were 32 and 25 paintings (and 12 and 6 sculptures), and "erotic" mythologies retained their lead over the more "serious" ones throughout the 1790s, sometimes considerably. This would accord with Leith, op.cit , ch.5-6, in his

emphasis on the failure of many artists to respond to the critics' call for a noble and severe "history" painting and sculpture.

- 31 The numbers of Roman works from 1777-83 were:

	<u>1777</u>	<u>1779</u>	<u>1781</u>	<u>1783</u>
paintings	10	13	8	8
sculpture	3	2	-	1

There was also a small revival of Roman history painting in 1765 (5 examples) but no corresponding revival in sculpture.

- 32 On West's "historical mobility", cf. R. Rosenblum: Transformations in late eighteenth century Art, Princeton University Press 1967, p.33 (n.102); for him, as for his French counterparts, Greek, Roman and Jewish mythologies and histories were supplemented by Persian, Hindu, Red Indian and even Scythian legends and episodes, such as Halle's Scilurus, roi des Scuthes (1767) taken from Plutarch's Moralia.
- 33 These reforms are discussed by Loquin, op.cit., Part 1, and briefly summarised by P. Conisbee: Painting in Eighteenth Century France, Phaidon, Oxford 1981, 16-18, 91-94, 99-100; cf. also Crow, op.cit., 110-13, 115-18.
- 34 La Font de Saint-Yenne: Sentimens sur quelques ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture et Gravure, écrits à un Particulier en Province, Paris 1754 (Slatkine Reprints, Geneva 1970), 75-6; on La Font, cf. Leith, op.cit., 8-9, and Crow, op.cit., 6,7-8, 10-11, 119-21, 123-32, for La Font's growing political sympathies with the parlementaires.
- 35 Earlier in the century, these large "history" or religious paintings were hung high up like Doyen's St. Geneviève interceding for the Victims of the Plague and Vien's St. Denis preaching to the Gauls, both altarpieces being exhibited in the 1767 Salon, whose arrangement can be seen in Gabriel-Jacques de Saint-Aubin's watercolour of The Salon of 1767; later, after 1775, they were given first place at the Salons to emphasize their official status, but some like David's Moratii were still hung four rows up, as can be seen in Pietro Antonio Martini's engraving of the 1785 Salon; both are illustrated in Conisbee, op.cit., 21-3.
- 36 Loquin: op.cit., 152-7; on the English, German and Scandinavian artists and their influence in the 1770s, cf. N. Pressly (ed): The Fuseli Circle in Rome. Early Romantic Art of the 1770s, Yale Center for British Art, Yale University, New Haven 1979.

NOTES

CHAPTER 2: "HISTORY" PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURES AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY EXHIBITIONS

- 1 On which, see M. Hardie: Watercolour Painting in Great Britain, Batsford, London 1967, Vol II; cf. also F. Guillemard: "Girtin's Sketching Club", Connoisseur 63, 1922, 190.
- 2 Royal Academy Catalogues from 1769 onwards, printed by William Bunce, printer to the Royal Academy, London.
- 3 The same applies to the Society of Artists exhibition catalogues, which also list many miniatures (and several unclassifiables).
- 4 It would also have been possible to list this under "Medieval History"; but, apart from making it difficult to isolate this rather special aspect of the English historical revival, it also fails to suggest the very different style required (and often found) to convey the sense of an archaic and legendary Celtic stratum, which is much earlier than even early Anglo-Saxon, let alone Norman, English history. The fact, however, that even today we cannot easily assign a group of works of art to a precise historical period which would command instant agreement, only mirrors the uncertain groping nature of attempts by writers and artists of the time to formulate a classification of historical periods, each possessing their distinctive "characters" and motifs. On this, see further in chapter (11) below.
- 5 The same high level of "public" paintings is found in 1746 and 1747, mostly religious and mythological works, but this was before the Salon was opened up to a wider range of exhibitors, cf. Crow op.cit. ch.1, and Salon Livrets for those years.
- 5 This decline in the Salon exhibits of "public" sculpture runs: 1795 - 56; 1796 - 26; 1798 - 27; 1799 - 23; 1800 - 27. At the Royal Academy exhibitions, the numbers of "public" sculptures were; 1795 - 4; 1796 - 15; 1797 - 10; 1798 - 8; 1799 - 6; 1800 - 18. Thus the Paris figure shows one significant drop, followed by a stable entry figure, whereas the London figures fluctuate considerably, after a higher entry for the years 1787-9.
- 7 These figures, it must be reiterated, include many miniature portraits so popular in England at the time; these are only categorised separately in some of the later Royal Academy exhibitions, and therefore I have not separated them in the Tables at the end, but have given some idea of their importance in the table of "non-public" genres of paintings in the text of this

chapter.

- 8 The total number of portraits exhibited at the Salons between 1746 and 1789 fluctuated between 21 and 64 (usually around 35-50); in 1791 they leapt up to a total of 164, and remained 122-153 throughout the 1790s, out of some 300-375 (484 in 1793) "non-public" paintings, and some 384-615 (687 in 1793) total of all paintings.

Koch's comment is apposite: "In den Ausstellungen (sc. in London) herrschen die beiden Hauptgattungen der englischen Malerei, das Bildnis und die Landschaft, von allen anderen, die oft nur in geringerer Zahl antreten", G.F. Koch: Die Kunstausstellung, Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin 1967, 211, note 451.

- 9 17 religious works from Old and New Testaments, of which only six could be classified as "historical" in content, were exhibited in 1785. 17 were exhibited in 1791 (ten of which were "historical"), 19 in 1792 (mainly devotional New Testament works) and 15 in 1793 (again mainly devotional New Testament works). In 1796, there were 14 religious paintings exhibited, six of them "historical"; in 1797 there were 15, with five "historical"; in 1798 some 18 (9 "historical") and in 1799 also 18 (with only 6 "historical"). But in 1800 there were 26 religious paintings, mostly devotional New Testament works, but 9 were "historical" in character (there were also 5 devotional New Testament sculptures). This suggests a minor "religious revival" in officially sponsored art in the late 1790s.
- 10 On West's religious commissions for Windsor and Fonthill, cf. N. Pressly: Revealed Religion: Benjamin West's commissions for Windsor Castle and Fonthill Abbey, San Antonio Museum Association, San Antonio, Texas 1983.
- 11 Compared to the minor revival of religious works in London, there is a dramatic decline in such works at the Salons after 1791 (36) and 1793 (29). In 1795, there were only 15 (mainly devotional New Testament themes); in 1796 only 8 (2 devotional and 4 "historical"); in 1798 even fewer, 3 religious works, all of them "historical" in content; none at all in 1799 and 2 "historical" religious (Old Testament) works in 1800. On the English "religious revival", cf. D. Irwin: English Neo-Classical Art, Faber & Faber, London 1966, ch.4.
- 12 Actually, the highest number of allegories in any year during this period is 11, in 1798. Though a little more numerous towards the end of the period, no clear pattern or trend emerges in this area, but they rarely match the French figures (e.g. 16 in 1753, 14 in 1767,

12 in 1791, 21 in 1793 and 22 in 1795, with a marked decline thereafter).

- 13 On which, see W.M. Merchant: "John Runciman's "Lear in the Storm"", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 17, 1954, 385-7, where Runciman's ability to capture the content of Shakespeare's imagery in a single moment, is discussed.

The difficulty of assigning particular works to the literary, historical or mythological subcategories, can be seen, not only in the case of King Lear, but also of Greek tragedies like Sophocles' Oedipus trilogy, Philoctetes or Electra, or Euripides' Medea or Hippolytus (or, for that matter, Racine's Phèdre). In all these cases, the well-known myth pre-existed the literary representation, and so I have assigned them to the "mythology" subcategory.

- 14 It is also true that Scottish and Irish painters (Runciman, Gavin Hamilton, Barry) made significant contributions to British "historicism". On Fuseli's attraction, cf. C. Klemm (ed): Johann Heinrich Füssli: Zeichnungen, Kunsthaus Zürich 1986, esp. 7. On these "fantastic" painters, see G. Grigson: "Painters of the Abyss", Architectural Review CVIII, 1950, 215-20. On these literary revivals cf. Irwin, op.cit. ch.6.
- 15 The Baroque-Renaissance component is very small, with hardly any till 1780 (3 in that year). There are a few in the 1780s (2 in 1783, 4 in 1787) and the early 1790s (3 in 1790, 3 in 1791), but hardly any thereafter. In Paris, too, the Baroque component is a phenomenon (a somewhat larger one) of the late 1770s and 1780s (7 in 1781, 6 in 1787), but peters out in the early 1790s.
- 16 Though perhaps, as some claim, the distinction, at least in the 1760s and 1770s, should not be overdrawn (but, cf. chapter 11 below); see M. Florisoone: "The Romantic and Neo-Classical Conflict", in Arts Council: The Romantic Movement, London 1959, 21-6, and Irwin, op.cit. ch.4.
- 17 There were 4 paintings on themes from the Iliad, and one from the Odyssey, exhibited in 1769, and 3 Iliadic paintings in 1770, one in 1771 from the Iliad and one from the Odyssey, 2 each from both epics in 1772, and 4 from the Iliad and 2 from the Odyssey in 1773. Then the figures decline, although in 1775 there were 3 Iliadic and one Odyssean theme. Only in 1780 does the Iliad return as a motif for 4 paintings and again in 1781 (2 Iliad, one Odyssey). Thereafter, there are hardly any Homeric paintings (one from each epic in 1785 and 1786, 3 from the Odyssey and one from the Iliad in 1788). In 1791, there were 2 Iliadic and one Odyssean paintings, and the same in 1793. 1794 saw 5



themes drawn from the Iliad, and one from the Odyssey, but, though there were two drawn from each epic in 1797, there was no consistent or sustained revival. This resembles the situation in Paris until 1777, when the Homeric revival gets under way (6 in 1777, 5 in 1779, 9 in 1781, 10 in 1783; then, after a short decline, 5 in 1789, 11 in 1791, 12 in 1793, 5 in 1795, 7 in 1798 and 6 in 1800).

In England, architecture and the minor arts manifested a growing neo-classicism, associated with Adam, Wyatt, Thomas Hope, Chambers and Stuart, on which see J. Mordaunt Crook: The Greek Revival, John Murray, London 1972.

- 18 There were 14 portrayals of contemporary events and persons in 1780 (but only one sculpture); 8 paintings and no sculptures in 1781; 10 paintings and no sculptures in 1782; 13 paintings (no sculpture) in 1783; 14 paintings (no sculpture) in 1784; 7 paintings (no sculpture) in 1785 and 8 paintings (no sculpture) in 1786. A second "contemporary" efflorescence apparently started in 1790 with 12 paintings (and one sculpture), but there was no follow-up, except for 7 paintings (no sculpture) in 1792. It was in 1795 that involvement in continental wars began to be reflected in Academy exhibits, with 14 paintings (no sculpture), 7 paintings (2 sculptures) in 1796, 10 paintings (1 sculpture) in 1797, 14 paintings (3 sculptures) in 1798, and 12 paintings in both 1799 and 1800 (1 and 4 sculptures, respectively).
- 19 There were 2 each in 1771 and 1773, 3 in 1783, 2 in 1786, 2 in 1792, and then 4 in 1798, 5 in 1799 and 3 in 1800. On these themes, see H. Okun: "Ossian in Painting", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 30, 1967, 327-56, who shows how British artists led the way in the 1770s with Ossianic themes (by Samuel Wale, Barry, Runciman and Kauffmann, and later Singleton and Stothard) with the Scandinavians and Germans, Abildgaard, Carstens and Koch, not far behind, but the French only after the Revolution (Gerard, Girodet).
- 20 "History" paintings in England rise into the twenties; in France, they fall from the sixties of the early 1790s to the thirties of the late 1790s (and late 1780s). But in England, the total number of Royal Academy exhibits rises from 624 to 924 paintings in the 1790s, while in France, the same decade witnesses an overall decline from 615 to 412 paintings.
- 21 The Society of Artists of Great Britain 1760-91, Catalogues, omitting the (small) amateur artists' sections.

- 22 16 per cent in 1760 and 1768, though the first exhibition had only a small number of total exhibits, and the second date represents a special exhibition, the second in that year, held in September (the first was in April), and the small number of portraits and larger numbers of histories and mythologies suggest that it may not be wholly representative; but cf. the 1763 exhibition figures.
- 23 But there were 11 "history" paintings in 1763 and 12 literary works in 1766.
- 24 Scandinavian artists also contributed to this exotic taste for mystery and horror, cf. N. Pressly (ed): The Fuseli Circle in Rome: early Romantic Art of the 1770s, Yale Center for British Art, Yale University, New Haven 1969, Introduction.

NOTES

CHAPTER 3: HEROIC CULTS AND THE NATIONAL REVIVAL

- 1 See C.J. Friedrich: The Age of the Baroque, Harper & Row, New York 1952, 14-30; and M. Kitson: The Age of Baroque, Hamlyn, London 1966, 11-12.
- 2 For the American case, see R.B. Nye: The Cultural life of the New Nation 1776-1830, Hamish Hamilton, London 1960, ch.12; on the conflict with "pre-Romanticism" in mid-eighteenth century Switzerland, see F. Antal: Fuseli Studies, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1956, chh.1-2.
- 3 See J. Sunderland: "John Mortimer and Salvator Rosa", Burlington Magazine 112, 1970, 520-31.
- 4 Especially in England, see G. Grigson "Painters of the Abyss", Architectural Review CVIII, 1950, 215-220; and Arts Council: The Romantic Movement, London 1959.
- 5 Interestingly, the historical theme of Esther, with its national overtones, was painted six times between 1753 and 1763 (three times in 1763) as a Rococo display piece, the moment chosen being Esther's pleading with Ahasuerus, which turns a public event into a private (and sentimental-amorous) encounter.
- 6 On the Oedipus tale in the 1790s and later, see J.H. Rubin: "Oedipus, Antigone and exiles in post-Revolutionary French painting", Art Quarterly 36, 1973, 141-171. The theme appears in the 1780s four times, and five times in the early 1790s (with sculptures in 1761 and 1771).
- 7 Again, the Medea theme is a Rococo one, such as de Troy attempted; painted in 1746, 1748 and 1759, it was not exhibited again till 1787 (as sculpture) and 1791.
- 8 This theme was painted by Doyen (Salon of 1759, no.119) and Brenet (1783, no.11), Lethière (1795, no.354, dessin) and Le Barbier (1795, no.306); see below, ch.7.
- 9 See Girodet's Death of Camilla, the Prix de Rome subject for 1785 and 1799 and taken from Charles Rollin's Histoire Romaine (16 Vols., Paris 1738-48), cited in Rosenblum 1967, 67-8.
- 10 On the theme of Brutus, see R. Rosenblum: "Gavin Hamilton's "Brutus" and its aftermath", Burlington Magazine 103, 1961, 8-16, and ch.7 below.
- 11 J-G. Drouais: Marius Prisonnier à Minturnes (1786) for which see Detroit Institute of Arts: French Painting, 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution, Wayne State

- University Press, Detroit 1975, no.52, (pp.400-3).
- 12 For examples of the latter theme, see Rosenblum 1967, 61-2, esp. n.42.
  - 13 Won by J-F.Sané; see J. Loquin: "Notice sur le peintre Jean-Francois Sané (1732-79)", Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'art français, Paris 1910, 42-60.
  - 14 On the general issue of social trends and artistic styles, see F. Antal: Classicism and Romanticism, and Other studies in Art History, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1966.
  - 15 "Judges" include here Joshua (1763), Jephtha (1765, 1785) and Samson (1791). Other "historical" subjects from the Old Testament include Judith (1757), battles with the Philistines (1777,1779) and Elijah (1791). It is difficult to know where to place such stories as that of Joseph and his brethren, a popular subject, or Susanna and the Elders. They are neither strictly "historical" nor really devotional; but I have included them under the latter category, since they are traditional narratives of the religious canon. Similarly with the fairly popular episodes of Hagar, Lot's wife and Tobias.
  - 16 cf. the two versions of St. Ours' Le tremblement de terre (1799, 1806), no. 231 of The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, (p.148), closely related to Flood imagery, although imaginary.
  - 17 The two subjects are The Zeal of Mattathias (by Lepicié, 1783) and Antiochus and Eleazar (Berthelémy, 1789), the latter subject also being entered by Gros for the Prix de Rome in 1792.
  - 18 For further documentation, cf. R. Rosenblum 1967, pp.64-5, and B. Lossky (ed): Tours. Musée des Beaux-Arts: Peintures de XVIIIe siècle (Inventaire des collections publiques françaises.7) Paris 1962, no.70. The two main subjects well illustrate the dual current of didactic heroism and picturesque Orientalism, which inspired the joint classicist-early romantic revival, but this time attached to a Jewish-Oriental theme.
  - 19 A similar duality is found in Suvée's Death of Admiral de Coligny (1787) and Menageot's Death of Leonardo da Vinci (1781), Renaissance Salon subjects which combined picturesque ornament and accessories with ennobling dramas.
  - 20 Ossian is included since a number of paintings depict Ossian himself as a suffering bard, or the death of one of the main characters of the saga, Oscar. Queen Margaret, too, is depicted as a sometimes victorious,

sometimes suffering queen, and the favourite episode in Mary, Queen of Scot's life is that of her abdication, and was popular with Scottish artists.

- 21 They account for nearly a sixth of all medieval Academy exhibits (25 out of 161). There was considerable controversy over the authenticity of MacPherson's collections at the time, and some like Barry were inclined to place Ossian in Ireland, rather than Scotland.
- 22 She was depicted 17 times in all, and 14 times between 1786 and 1793, particularly by Richard Westall.
- 23 The return of Marcus Sextus by Guerin (1799), an allegory about the plight of the emigres, ruined by the Jacobin State.

NOTES

CHAPTER 4: THE SUFFERING HERO

- 1 Lombardo's relief is reproduced in W.L. Pressly (ed): James Barry, The Artist as Hero, Tate Gallery, London, 1983, 53 (fig.9).
- 2 Barry's canvas 2.28 x 15.75m, 1770, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.
- 3 On these sources, see James Barry: Works, London 1809, I, 189-90; and D. Irwin: English Neo-Classical Art, Faber & Faber, London 1966, 39-40.
- 4 It is not clear how far Barry knew Lessing's or even Winckelmann's writings; but as a close friend of Burke, he was well acquainted with his theory of the sublime; cf. J. Wark: "A note on James Barry and Edmund Burke", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 17, 1954, 382-5.
- 5 For Barry's drawing, and subsequent etchings, of 1777 and c.1790, see Pressly 1983, nos. 11, 69, 70 (pp.63, 125-6); on his artistic sources, cf. also The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, 10.
- 6 Abildgaard's canvas, 123 x 173.5cms., s.N. Abildgaard/Malet: Roma, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen; see N. Pressly (ed): The Fuseli Circle in Rome, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven 1979, no.65.
- 7 Rosenblum 1967, 12-13, relates the contortions of Abildgaard's hero to Goltzius' northern Mannerist interpretations of Michelangelo's nudes.
- 8 Other versions were by Taillasson (1784, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris) and Baltard (Salon of 1810) and a sculpture by Gois (Salon of 1812) - also by Michallon (Salon of 1798, no.130) and by Boguet and Fabre whose gouache of Philoctète tuant unoiseau is in the Musée Sabatier.
- 9 Lethière's large canvas, 315 x 315 cm, Salon of 1798 (no.278), Cluny Museum (Saone et Loire); sketch canvas, 34 x 44 cm (Brest, Musée des Beaux-Arts), which has a goat instead of a bird, and Philoctetes' head in frontal position; cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, 538.
- 10 Pressly 1983, no.10 (p.62); pen and brown ink on Italian paper, 22.2 x 17cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- 11 Homer Iliad IX, 574 ff.
- 12 Fuseli: pen and washes over pencil, 36.3 x 53.8 cm,

- British Museum 1776-8, with other versions in National Museum, Stockholm; Kunsthaus, Zürich; and Breslauer Collection; cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.591 (p.344).
- 13 Menageot canvas, s. and d.1789, in 1791 Salon (now in Louvre).
  - 14 West canvas 100.5 x 126.5 cm, s. B. West 1766, Tate Gallery; cf. Irwin 1966, 50-1, and H. von Erffa and A. Staley: The Paintings of Benjamin West, Yale University Press, New Haven 1986, no.186 (pp.42-4, 260-1)
  - 15 A.U. Abrams: The Valiant Hero: Grand-Style History Painting, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C. 1985, 123-5.
  - 16 Ibid. 127-7; and von Erffa and Staley 1986, 261 on contemporary reactions.
  - 17 Romney drawing, pen and gray ink, wash over pencil, 38.4 x 57.1 cm, 1777-80, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, from Aeschylus' Eumenides Act I, scene I; cf. N. Pressly 1979, no.127 (pp.124-5), which suggests a debt to the Apollo Belvedere in Romney's Apollo; cf. also Irwin 1966, 85.
  - 18 Flaxman's drawing is in the Royal Academy, cf. Irwin 1966, 62.
  - 19 Fuseli canvas, 59"x 65.5", c.1780, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.
  - 20 Fuseli: Aphorisms No.89, cited in L. Eitner (ed): Neo-Classicism and Romanticism, 1750-1850, Vol.I, Prentice-Hall International Inc., London 1971, 90.
  - 21 Fuseli canvas, 145 x 165 cm, Washington, National Gallery of Art. There are also two drawings of this subject, done in Rome, c. 1774-8, in the British Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum; cf. Irwin 1966, 47.
  - 22 Gagneraux canvas, 122 x 163 cm, 1784, Stockholm, National Museum, acquired by King Gustavus III in Rome; the source is likely to have been Ducis' play, because the scene of the blinded Oedipus surrounded by all his children, as in this painting, takes place in the earlier tragedy (at the end), Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannos. For a related drawing, cf. Heim Gallery Ltd.: French Drawings: Neo-Classicism, London 1975, no.33.
  - 23 J.H.Rubin: "Oedipus, Antigone and exiles in post-Revolutionary French painting", Art Quarterly 36, 1973, 141-71.
  - 24 Brenet's painting of 1781 was the first, but there were two sculptures in 1761 and 1771, the first by Challes;

- for Harriet's canvas, 156 x 133 cm. (s.d.l.r. harriet fecit, an 6), Paris, Private Collection, see Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.97, pp.484-6, and J.Clav: Romanticism Chartwell Books, New Jersey 1981, pp.36-7.
- 25 See Appended Tables (No.4). A full account of the circumstances surrounding the publication of Marmontel's novel, and Lally-Tolendal's trial and execution in 1776 and subsequent rehabilitation, can be found in A. Boime: "Marmontel's Bélisaire and the pre-Revolutionary Progressivism of David", Art History 3, 1980; Procopius' original account only tells of Belisarius' disgrace as a result of Court intrigues.
- 26 Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.199 (p.670) citing coll. Deloynes XLIX, no.1333.
- 27 Ibid. p.871. Vincent canvas, 98 x 129cm, s.d.l.r. Vincent F 1776, (Salon of 1777, no.189) Montpellier, Musée Fabre: Bélisaire, réduit à la mendicité, secouru par un officier des troupes de l'Empereur Justinien.
- 28 Wright drawing, pen and grey ink and brown wash over pencil, 51 x 68.5 cm., Belisarius receiving Alms s. & d. Rome Feb 75 JW, Derby Museum and Art Gallery (bought 1981), reproduced with note in National Art-Collections Fund, Annual Report 1981, no.2919, pp.37-8.
- 29 Kauffmann drawing is in Frankfurt; The Blind Belisarius begging, charcoal with white, 275 x 221 mm.
- 30 West drawing, 16 3/8" x 18 3/4", s.B. West 1784, Philadelphia Museum; see the discussion of the (?) original drawing, and reproduction of this "replica", in von Erffa and Staley 1986, no.45 (pp.185-6).
- 31 West canvas, 67.5 x 47.5 cm., s.B. West/1802, Detroit Institute of Arts, in which Belisarius' head is covered with a hood, the placard is affixed to his helmet which the boy holds (and he does not point to the general); and West canvas, 61.5 x 45.5 cm., s.B. West/1805, Anthony Burton Capel Philips, where the placard is above Belisarius' head, and his head is unhooded; see Grose Evans: Benjamin West and the Taste of his Times, Carbondale, Illinois 1959, Southern Illinois University Press 1959, 90-1; and von Erffa and Staley 1986, nos. 42-4 (pp.183-5).
- 32 A.Pigler: Barockthemen II/3, Akademiai Kiado, Budapest 1974, records 26 examples of the Belisarius theme between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, starting with Veronese, Preti, Rosa, Giordano and an influential composition by van Dyck, on which cf. Boime 1980, 86 (Scotin's print of the painting attributed to van Dyck inspired Marmontel's novel, and several of the French examples); the eighteenth century examples include works



- by Van Loo, Jollain (1767), Durameau (1775), Vincent (1776), Peyron (1779), David (1781), Chaudet (1791), Vallin (1797) and Gerard (1800); and in England, Mortimer (1772), Hoppner, Hodges (before 1797) and West (1802, 1805); also Trumbull (1778-9), on which see H. Cooper (ed): John Trumbull: The Hand and Spirit of a Painter, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven 1982, no.3 (p.47), based on an engraving of Rosa's painting.
- 33 Peyron canvas, 93 x 132 cm. s.d.l.r. P.Peyron Pens. du Roy f. Roma/1779, Toulouse, Musée des Augustins; see Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.139 (pp.563-4); also two drawings in Vienna and the Louvre.
- 34 David Canvas, 288 x 312 cm., s. & d.l. David faciebat anno 1781, Lutetiae, Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Salon of 1781, supplement no.311; the study in ink, wash and gouache on paper, 45 x 36 cm. is in the Ecole polytechnique, Paris. For David's earlier small half-length picture of Belisarius and the Bow (in the Orangerie, Paris, perhaps, with another version at Montauban?), cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.30 (pp.364-5).
- 35 Apart from Detroit, op.cit. no.30, and The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.60 (pp.38-9), the Poussinist elements are discussed in L. Hauteceur: Louis David, la Table Ronde, Paris 1954, 55-61, A.Brookner: Jacques-Louis David, Chatto & Windus, London 1980, and, in relation to Peyron's painting and with a political interpretation, by Crow 1985, 198-209; cf. also Boime 1980.
- 36 Chaudet bronze, with black patina, 43 x 40 x 40, s.Chaudet, Musée de Malmaison; terracotta exhibited at Salon of 1791. See The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.339 (pp.220-1).
- 37 Barry etching and aquatint (brown ink), 56.9 x 75.6 cm., Yale Center for British Art, New Haven; see Pressly 1983, no.24 (pp.76-7), together with a chalk on beige paper drawing, ibid. no.25.
- 38 Runciman canvas, 44.4 x 61 cm., s.J. Runciman p.1767, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh; see D.Macmillan: Painting in Scotland: The Golden Age, Phaidon Press, Oxford 1986, no.72, pp.47-9, where the proto-Romantic quality of this early painting is stressed (the sea element perhaps suggested by lines in Act III, scene iv: "But if thy flight lay towards the roaring sea,/Thou'dst meet the bear i' the mouth"). cf. also Alexander Runciman's drawing of King Lear on the Heath, pen on paper, 27.9 x 48.9 cm., 1767, also National Galleries of Scotland Edinburgh, in ibid. no.44, pp.47-8. For an alternative interpretation of John Runciman's pictorial image of a "Blakean prophet"

apostrophising the elements, cf. W.M.Merchant: "John Runciman's "King Lear in the Storm"", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 17, 1954, 385-7.

- 39 West canvas, 271.8 x 365.7 cm., s.B.West 1788, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; also Priv. Coll., Cheltenham. Another smaller version, canvas, 52 x 70 cm., c.1788, Detroit Institute of Arts. See von Erffa and Staley 1986, nos. 210-211, (pp.272-3).
- 40 Fuseli canvas, 105" x 144", Toronto Art Gallery; for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery, which Fuseli regarded as a "nursery of history painting", cf. Irwin 1966, 128, 130 (and plate 139).
- 41 Barry canvas, 269 x 367 cm. 1786-7, Tate Gallery; see Pressly 1983, no.47 (pp.102-3); also ibid., no.5, (pp.56-7) for the 1774 version.

NOTES

CHAPTER 5: VIRTUOUS WOMEN

- 1 The Paris and Helen theme also attracted the leading neo-classical artists like Hamilton (Abduction of Helen 1784, Villa Borghese, Rome), Kauffman (Paris and Helen 1773, Sir Alec Douglas-Home Coll.) and David (Les Amours de Paris et d'Helène, 1789, Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris).
- 2 For example, Angelica Kauffmann's Penelope taking down the bow of Odusseus (1769, Saltram Coll.) or Flaxman's Odussey illustrations.
- 3 As opposed to a Roman view of the female role: see J. Gardner: Women in Roman Law and Society, Croom Helm, London 1986, esp. ch.12, where the contrast with the seclusion of women in ancient Greek and modern Victorian society is placed in a larger context of the economic dependence of most Roman women, with a few upper-class exceptions.
- 4 It is unclear how much they actually owed to Vergil's Aeneid Bk. IV; Fuseli: Dido on the Funeral Pyre (1781, Richard L. Feigin & Co., New York) and Reynolds: Death of Dido (Buckingham Palace); cf. also Tischbein's Aeneas and Dido (Kassel, 1773).
- 5 The Tischbein pair, Antony, fatally wounded, with Cleopatra and Augustus with the dying Cleopatra (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel, s. & d.1769), are reproduced in H.Hawley (ed): Neo-Classicism: Style and Motif, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland 1964, (plates 21-21) and show diminutive Rococo figures and heavy Baroque drapes and perspective, more graceful than elevating. The same is true of Angelica Kauffmann's Cleopatra adorning the Tomb of Antony (1770, Burghley) and later Antony and Cleopatra (1790), which combines severe, archaeological settings with erotic hints and delicacy. cf. also the Antony and Cleopatra by Andrew Casali (Canvas, 60 x 112", c.1770-1784, from Fonthill House); see Agnew: Neo-Classical Paintings at Agnew's London, 1972, no.20. Dance also painted a Cleopatra and dying Mark Antony (Knole House, before 1780).
- 6 Pigler, op.cit. II/3, lists 82 examples of the Suicide of Cleopatra and 15 of Octavian with Cleopatra between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, including examples by Poussin, Guercino, Batoni, Collin de Vermont (1746) and Perrin (1795).
- 7 See C.Duncan: "Fallen fathers: Images of authority in pre-Revolutionary French Art", Art History 4, 1981, 186-202.

- 8 Romney: Niobe's daughters weeping over Niobe's sons (30 x 25cm., Vassar College); Taillasson: The Death of Niobe (56" x 72").
- 9 Kauffmann: Death of Alcestis (R.A. 1791, no.214); Tischbein: Death of Alcestis (s. & d.1776).
- 10 Peyron: Death of Alcestis (327 x 325cm., 1785, Louvre, with drawings in Edinburgh, Paris and New York), cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, 562. Peyron does his best to make that private act into a public statement, by balancing the brightly-lit horizontal death-bed scene with the tall verticals of dark wall and columns (and curtain) behind, and by raising the bed onto a dais surrounded by Admetus and his family. cf. the comments in Crow 1985, 242-3.
- 11 See chapter 3; Comte de Caylus: Tableaux tirés de l'Iliade, de l'Odussée d'Homère, et de l'Eneide de Virgile, avec des observations générales sur le Costume, Paris 1757 (on Book XXIV of the Iliad).
- 12 Gamelin: Andromache mourning over the ashes of Hector (1798, Orleans); Taillasson's version is dated to 1800; while Angelica Kauffmann's painting of Andromache and Hecuba weeping over the ashes of Hector was exhibited at the Salon of 1772 (no.128, Lady Cicely Goff coll.).
- 13 For the date of Hamilton's painting, see E.K. Waterhouse: "The British contribution to the Neo-Classical Style", Proceedings of the British Academy XL, 1954, 57-74 (esp. p.69); cf. also Goodreau 1975.
- 14 Hamilton's painting was exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1762 (no.36), the first of his Homeric series ("my great plan in life") to be completed; cf. D.Weibensohn: "Subjects from Homer's Iliad in Neo-Classical Art", Art Bulletin XLVI, 1964, 23-37.
- 15 Irwin, op.cit. 36: and more generally idem: "Gavin Hamilton: Archaeologist, Painter and Dealer", Art Bulletin XLIV, 1962, 87-102.
- 16 On the influence of paintings like Poussin's Testament of Eudamides, Death of Germanicus and Extreme Unction, cf. Rosenblum 1967, 29-30, and Kenwood 1974, no.76, where Winckelmann's admiration for the "Grecian form" of Hamilton's heads is mentioned, (letter of 3 January 1763).
- 17 See above, n.12 and Rosenblum: op.cit. 41-2 and n.129. There is also an example by Johann Heinrich von Dannecker (1798, Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart).
- 18 David canvas, 275 x 203 cm., s. & d. L. David faciebat

- 1783, Salon of 1783, no.162, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, entitled La Douleur et les regrets d'Andromaque sur le corps d'Hector son mari; see J. Loquin: La peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785, Paris 1912, 175, 161, 242-3; cf. also Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no. 31 (pp.366-7) for the preliminary drawings.
- 19 Valerius Maximus IV, iv, introduction; also Plutarch, Lives of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, XXXIII.
- 20 Pigler, op.cit. II/3, lists 22 examples since the sixteenth century, including Zugno (1765), Loth, Zick (1794) and Camuccini.
- 21 West design (Salon of 1780, no.322); cf. von Erffa and Staley 1986, no. 20 (p.173); and for the Reynolds' engraving, cf. M.Davies: The British School (National Gallery Catalogues), London 1959, 84-5.
- 22 Kauffmann canvas, 40" x 50", R.A. 1786 (no.86); there is a similar combination of severity of setting with sweetly sentimental ladies and children in a canvas by Philipp Friedrich von Hetsch (112 x 136cm., s. & d. Hetsch 1794, Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart) painted during the French Revolution, cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.139 (pp. 91-2).
- 23 Halle canvas, 76 x 96cm., Salon of 1779, (no.1); other examples include Gauffier's painting mentioned earlier (1792), one by Bosio (1793, no.512); by Le Barbier (Salon of 1795, no.304, a drawing); and one by Avril (Salon of 1795, no.3010, engraving); and a few works after 1800 (by Fleury, Gaillot and Van Ysendyck), all listed by Rosenblum 1967, 62, n.42.
- 24 See Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.96 (p.482) citing Coup de patte sur le Salon de 1779 (coll. Deloynes XL, pp. 19-21).
- 25 Peyron canvas (1781, Toulouse, Musée des Augustins), cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, p.562.
- 26 Suvée canvas, 318 x 420cm., s.d.b.l. J.B. Suvée P./L'An 4, (1795), Salon of 1795 (no.458), Louvre, with smaller sketch in Paris (priv. coll.) and a different version in Besancon, Musée (131 x 196cm.).
- 27 For details of the commission, cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.170 (pp.620-1), which notes its studied simplicity and archaism.
- 28 Tacitus, Annals II, 71ff.; Germanicus died in Syria in A.D. 19, and was suspected of being poisoned through the agency of Piso, the governor of the province.

- 29 Pigler 1974, III/2, lists 9 seventeenth and eighteenth examples of the theme, including Poussin and Le Brun, Richard van Orley and Wagenschon.
- 30 Fuger canvas, 155 x 235cm., Vienna, Österreichische Galerie, Vienna, and a small study in the Albertina, cf. Rosenblum 1967, 30.
- 31 Banks, marble relief, 29" x 42", Holkham Hall, Norfolk, executed in Rome, 1773-4; cf. M.Whinney: Sculpture in Britain, 1530-1830, Penguin, Harmondsworth 1964, 176; and Irwin 1966, 56 and plate 58.
- 32 For some of these sources, cf. N.Pressly 1979, no.50 (pp.48-50). The complex interrelations of figures and fluidity of rhythms are unusual, even in Banks' oeuvre, but their specifically "Roman" qualities, underlined by the column bases and eagle above, link them to the figures in Banks' Caractacus and reveal a keen empathy for, and individual reinterpretation of, the moral grandeur of classical history.
- 33 Pigler 1974, III/2, lists 10 examples in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including Francesco Rosa, Hubert Gravelot, Julien (1777), Etienne d'Antoine, Rohde (1774), West and Hamilton; but these are mainly of Agrippina with the ashes of Germanicus. There was also a painting by Renou in the Salon of 1779 (no.76); see Loquin 1912, 157, n.9. For the clay sculpture by A.Trippel of The Widow of Germanicus with her children (1786, Kunsthau, Zürich) see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.455 (p.291).
- 34 Hamilton canvas, Royal Academy of 1772 (no.109), commissioned in 1765 by Earl Spencer, and now at Althorp; cf. Waterhouse 1954, 72-3 and Irwin 1966, 50.
- 35 Durno drawing, pen and brown ink, 33 x 39.7 cm., British Museum, c.1772; see N.Pressly 1979, no.80 (pp.79-81).
- 36 Runciman canvas, 101.6 x 127cm., Royal Academy 1781 (no.374), Viscount Runciman of Doxford; also pen and wash drawing, 42.3 x 55.2cm., c.1780, National Galleries of Scotland, on which see Irwin 1966, 80 and plate 95. Runciman's etching of c.1772 (14.6 x 10.1cm.) is in a private collection. All are discussed in Macmillan 1986, 59-60, which illustrates the etching and painting (plate 17).
- 37 West canvases, 164 x 240cm., 1768, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, and 165 x 239cm., 1770, s. B.West PINXII/1770, Philadelphia Museum of Art; also a preliminary oil sketch (34 x 48cm.) of c.1767, Philadelphia Museum of Art. All discussed and illustrated in von Erffa and Staley 1986, nos. 33, 34, 36, (pp.179-81). West also exhibited a "private" version

- in Agrippina, surrounded by her children, weeping over the ashes of Germanicus at the Royal Academy of 1773 (no.303), 203 x 143.5cm. The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Fla., cf. von Erffa and Staley 1986, no.37.
- 38 See G.Evans 1959, 5, 50-4; also American Art: 1750-1800; Towards Independence, Victoria and Albert Museum, London 1976, 82, and, in more detail, J.D.Prown: "Style in American Art: 1750-1800" in ibid. esp. 36.
- 39 On the "theatrical" elements, derived from changes in lighting of theatres in London at the time, cf. Abrams 1985, 135-8; for the use of the Ara Pacis Augustae cf. von Erffa and Staley 1986, no.3 (p.180). The ideal silence of ruins that Diderot sought can be seen in his comments on Hubert Robert in the 1767 Salon, cf. Hotel de la Monnaie 1984, no.101 (p.343).
- 40 cf. von Erffa and Staley 1986, 40ff.; but, as against Waterhouse 1954, and N. Bryson: Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Regime, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, ch.8, the evidence suggests that moral, if not stylistic, historicism emerged in England and France in the 1760s, particularly under the influence of Roman examples; see ch.11 below.
- 41 Gamelin canvas, 60.5 x 98cm., c.1789, Private Collection, Paris. For the incident of the wives, which became a practice, see Rosenblum 1967, 86, citing Journal inedite de Mme. Moitte ed. Paul Cottin, Paris 1932.
- 42 Plutarch, Camillus X; cf. P.Grimal: Hellenism and the Rise of Rome, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 1968, 107-8.
- 43 Brenet canvas, 1785 Salon (no.7), Fontainebleau; cf. Rosenblum 1967, 86.
- 44 Gauffier canvas, 82 x 114cm., Salon of 1791, (no.633), Poitiers, Musée des Beaux-Arts; see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.97, (pp.64-5), citing Le plaisir prolongé .. Paris 1791, 43; cf. R.Crozet: "Louis Gauffier", Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'art français 1941-4, Paris 1947, 100-13; and M.Sandoz: "Oeuvres de Louis Gauffier nouvellement apparues", La Revue des Arts, July-August 1958, 195-7.
- 45 Canvas of 1792, on which see Rosenblum 1967, 87, n.134, which lists other later examples by Camuccini, Giacomelli and Delacroix.
- 46 Gauffier canvas, 69 x 87cm., s.& d. L.Gauffier, Florence 1794, Charles Brockelhurst; see The Age of

Neo-Classicism 1972, no.98 (pp.65-6).

- 47 Lagrenée canvas, 110 x 86cm., s.& d. 1770, Salon of 1771 (no.20), National Trust, Stourhead, Wilts.
- 48 On Lagrenée's Rococo inheritance, cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.179 (pp.116-7); and M.Sandoz: "Paintings by J.L.F. Lagrenée the Elder at Stourhead", Burlington Magazine 103, 1961, 392-3.
- 49 Mengs canvas, August and Cleopatra 118 x 83 cm., 1760, National Trust, Stourhead; Mengs here continues the tradition of Benefiale and Batoni, in which the woman's role is mainly supportive, as in Batoni's Achilles comforted by Thetis or Aeneas abandoning Dido, both of 1747, on which see A.M.Clark: "Some early subject pictures by P.G.Batoni", Burlington Magazine 101, 1959, 232-6.
- 50 Le Barbier tapestry, 10'4" x 9'10", (1787), Messrs. Arditti & Mayorcas.



NOTES

CHAPTER 6: FAME AND MORTALITY

- 1 See chapter 3. Only Antony and Cleopatra could compete in popularity, with 22 portrayals in Paris and 11 in London. At the Salons, Socrates (22 times) and Alexander (18 times) were also popular.
- 2 In Paris, Aeneas and Dido appeared 25 times, Odysseus 15; in London the respective times were 16 and 15. Theseus was also quite a popular subject, with 17 exhibits at the Salons but only 5 at the Royal Academy.
- 3 The subject was taken from Pindar's first Nemean Ode; it was painted in 1786-8, and hangs in the Hermitage, Leningrad; see F.Saxl and R.Wittkower: British Art and the Mediterranean O.U.P., London 1948, 64-5.
- 4 Flaxman bronze, height 190.5cm., 1792, London, University College.
- 5 Boichot bronze, height 35", ca.1795, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, see Hawley 1964, no.42.
- 6 Fuseli drawing, pen and sepia wash, 28.5 x 20cm., 1798, Zürich, private collection, see Tate Gallery, Henry Fuseli, London, 1975, 85-6.
- 7 Lagrenée: Le Centaure Nessus qui enlève Déjanire: Hercule lui décoche une flèche 1755, Louvre, Lagrenée's morceau de réception.
- 8 In a letter, Canova tells how the French wanted to turn his statue of Hercules and Lichas into a political allegory, of France ejecting the monarchy, contrary to Canova's own wishes (letter of 7 May 1799), see Honour 1968, 78-9.
- 9 Canova: Hercules and Lichas marble, height c.350cm., 1795-1802, Rome, Galleria d'Arte Moderna.
- 10 Runciman drawing, pen and wash, 7 3/8 x 10 1/8", National Galleries of Scotland, print room; Fuger canvas, 44.3 x 31.2cm.; and Schadow drawing, pen and black ink, watercolour, 19.1 x 16.3cm., Stockholm.
- 11 West canvas, 101.5 x 122cm., 1764, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; see Saxl & Wittkower 1948, 65; and von Erffa and Staley 1986, no.143 (p.239).
- 12 See Irwin 1966, 50; other sources include Ricci and Paolo de Mathais, perhaps a Roman relief at the Villa Albani and John Smibert in early eighteenth century America, cf. Abrams 1985, 98-105.

- 13 Batoni canvas, 93.5 x 73cm., s.& d. P.B. 1742, Florence, Galleria d'Arte Moderna, see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, 13-14.
- 14 cf. Caylus 1757, passim; and D.Irwin (ed): Winckelmann: Writings on Art, Phaidon, London 1972, Introduction.
- 15 See S.Booth: "The early career of Alexander Runciman and his relations with Sir James Clerk of Penicuik", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes XXXII, 1969, 332-43.
- 16 On this cycle, cf. N.Pressly 1979, nos.4-7 (pp.8-11), where it is suggested that Runciman's unusual use of outline without wash was inspired by Barry's large drawing of The Birth of Pandora as well as recently published engravings after Sir William Hamilton's Greek vases. Runciman probably owed the conception of Pallas Athena in his related drawing of Achilles and Pallas (c. 1770, taken from the Iliad Bk.1, 11.188-98) to the pose of Barry's Eve (in his Adam and Eve) but his Achilles resembles the drawings for Sergel's Diomedes (also taken from the Iliad); cf. D.Macmillan; "Alexander Runciman in Rome", Burlington Magazine 102, 1970, 23-30.
- 17 Runciman drawing; pen and wash, 19 x 24.8cm., c.1770, s. AR inv., British Museum, see N.Pressly, 1979, no.6 and Kenwood: British Artists in Rome, 1700-1800, G.L.C., London 1974, no.82.
- 18 Banks marble, 1789, Victoria & Albert Museum.
- 19 J-B. Regnault: The Education of Achilles canvas, 261 x 215cm., Rome 1782 (Salon of 1783), Louvre; cf. also the version by Barry: The Education of Achilles (canvas 103 x 129cm., R.A. 1772, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven), on which see W.Pressly 1983, no.4 (p.56) who notes a Homeric tragic characterisation here.
- 20 Sergel: Achilles and the Centaur Cheiron terracotta sketch, height 49cm., Rome c.1772, Stockholm, National Museum (also his painting there).
- 21 Kauffmann canvas, 53 x 70", R.A. 1769 (no.62), Saltram, Devon; see Saltram House: The Saltram Collection, National Trust, The Curwen Press, London, 1967, no.83I (p.40); cf. also Hallé's Achilles recognised by Ulysses (1769, Limoges).
- 22 D.Weibensohn: "Subjects from Homer's Iliad in Neo-Classical Art", Art Bulletin XLVI, 1964, 23-37.
- 23 The dates of the individual pictures in this cycle, some of which are lost, are uncertain. The Andromache seems to have been painted first, by 1761, as it was exhibited in 1762 at the Society of Artists and engraved in 1764

- by Domenico Cunego. The Achilles mourning Patroclus and Achilles dragging Hector's corpse also appear to date from 1761-3, the latter being described as "superb" in Boswell's Italian Journal, see Irwin 1966, 37. The scene of Priam before Achilles was engraved in 1775, but the Briseis scene already in 1769, while Hector's Farewell also appears to be later c.1773-5; cf. Waterhouse 1954, 69-73; and Kenwood 1974, nos.76-7.
- 24 See Weibensohn, op.cit.; and Tiepolo: I Tiepoli a Villa Valmarana. Sadea Editore, Florence 1965 (the frescoes were done in 1757).
- 25 For example, J.H.Tischbein der Ältere: Quarrel of Achilles and The Departure of Briseis (1776, Hamburg) with colourful costumes and outdoor settings. Sergel's two scenes date from 1766-7 (Stockholm, National Museum) and Vien's The Departure of Briseis from 1781 (Angers).
- 26 Flaxman: Minerva repressing the fury of Achilles and Minerva restraining Achilles, both pen and wash drawings of c.1793; cf. Heim Gallery: John Flaxman, London 1976, nos. 2, 75.
- 27 On which, see Clark 1959; cf. also Carsten's aquarelle in Berlin of Greek Leaders in Achilles' Tent.
- 28 Banks marble, oval, 91.4 x 118.7cm., 1777-8, Victoria & Albert Museum, from Iliad Bk.XVIII, 11.35-68; cf. Saxl and Wittkower 1948, B2ff. and Irwin 1966, 56, citing Flaxman's Lectures on Sculpture 2nd ed., London 1838, 292 ("Address...on the death of Banks").
- 29 For the close relationship to Fuseli's drawings of Saul and the Witch of En-Dor (1777) and the Sarpedon and Shade of Patroclus drawings (dated to 1803 in Tate Gallery 1975, nos.57, 59), cf. N.Pressly 1979 no.53 (pp. 51-2) and Irwin 1966, 56-7 (n.1) who dates the version of the Sarpedon drawing in the Kunsthaus, Zürich, to 1778 (the later version coming from Zürich, Haus zum Rechberg).
- 30 Sergel: Achilles on the seashore terracotta sketch, height 32cm., Rome, c.1775, National Museum, Stockholm (also called The Rage of Achilles); see N. Pressly 1979, no.18 (pp.20-22). On Sergel's interest in subjects from the Achilles saga, cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, 190.
- 31 Runciman drawing, pen and wash 25.1 x 19cm., c.1770, British Museum, cf. Kenwood 1974, no.82 (ii); cf. also Kenwood 1974, no.63 (ii) for Flaxman's The Fight for the Body of Patroclus (Iliad Bk.XVII, 325). Mortimer also drew Ajax bestriding the dead body of Patroclus (pen and ink, 13 1/2 x 12 7/8", British Museum). On the Hamilton painting, which was done c.1761-3 (Cullen House), cf.

- Waterhouse 1954 and Macmillan 1986, 33-40.
- 32 Callet drawing, bistre wash over black and red chalk with opaque white, 14 1/2 x 17 3/4", c.1785, probably related to his painting at St. Omer; see Hawley 1964, no.39.
- 33 Gerard painting was formerly at Caen; Gamelin drawing: Achilles with the body of Patroclus black and red chalk, bistre wash, 370 x 452 mm., Detroit.
- 34 Banks terracotta, height 18 3/4", c.1777-8; see Kenwood 1974, no.55.
- 35 Deshayes canvas, 49 x 63cm., 1765, private collection; cf. also Runge drawing: Achilles and Skamandros pen, pencil and wash, 530 x 572mm., 1801, for the Weimar competition instituted by Goethe; Carstens: Achilles fighting with the Rivers; Runciman drawing: Achilles and the River Scamander pen and black ink, grey wash, 41.6 x 54.8cm., c.1770-2, a particularly violent scene in keeping with the text, cf. N.Pressly 1979, no.7, (pp.10-11).
- 36 The picture is known only from Cunego's engraving of 1766, cf. Macmillan 1986, 33-5, 38 (no.33) and Waterhouse 1954, 70, and Weibensohn, op.cit.
- 37 For the Runciman drawing, cf. Kenwood 1974, no.82; Gamelin canvas (Toulouse); Callet (1785, St.Omer); Flaxman (1793, Piroli engraving, plate 36).
- 38 Gamelin: Funeral pyre of Patroclus (Narbonne); Fuseli drawing, pen, ink and wash, 48 x 31.5cm., c.1795-1800, Zürich, Kunsthaus; see Honour 1968, 66-7, 197; and Klemm 1986, XXII, and Tate Gallery 1975, no.67.
- 39 David canvas, 94 x 218cm., s. & d. L.David f/Roma 1779, Salon of 1781 (suppl.no.314), National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin; cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, 360-1. The David drawing (pen and Indian ink, black chalk with white body colour on blueish paper, 26 x 153cm.) is inscribed in ink on the verso: Funeraille de Patrocle. L.David fecit Roma 1778 du cabinet de pecoul son beau pere no.294, etc., and is now at the E.B.Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento, California, cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no. 550 (pp.327-8).
- 40 Hamilton canvas, 64.5 x 100cm., c.1763-5, Tate Gallery, a small, preliminary version of the large painting, now lost, for Lord Mountjoy, and engraved by Cunego in 1775; see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.132 (pp.87-8) and Waterhouse 1954, 73.
- 41 Abildgaard canvas: Priam before Achilles begging for Hector's Body, 1760s, Fredensborg Castle, Denmark;

- Fuseli drawing, pen and brown grey wash, 263 x 365mm., Zürich, Kunsthaus. Weibensohn 1964, discusses another Abildgaard painting of 1780 in Copenhagen, in which Achilles averts his gaze from Priam, a pose taken from a relief in the Villa Borghese described by Winckelmann (Monumenta antichi inediti II, ii, pl.134) and comments on its stark, Poussinesque frieze-like simplicity.
- 42 Vien canvas, 1783, Musée d'Alger; also a drawing, pen and watercolour 52 x 67cm., s.& d. 1782; Masreliez canvas, 170 x 236cm., c.1785, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.189 (p.123).
- 43 Trumbull: Priam returning to his family with the dead body of Hector canvas, 62.9 x 93.3cm., 1785 (with two studies of 1784), Virginia Museum of Fine Arts; see Cooper 1982, no.153-5, pp.235-9, 246-7.
- 44 Flaxman drawing, pencil and grey wash, 1793, Royal Academy; the scene was omitted by Flaxman from his published illustrations of the Iliad, see Irwin 1966, 62.
- 45 Hamilton canvas, 325 x 280cm., 1782-4, Museo di Roma; cf. Irwin 1966, 37.
- 46 Fuseli drawing, ink and grey wash, 41.8 x 55.8cm., 1780 inscribed "London apr.80", Art Institute Chicago (from Odyssey XXIV, 47); see Tate Gallery 1975, no.64 (pp.77-8).
- 47 F.Giani: Hector attacking the ships of the Greeks ink and wash over light pencil on white paper, 19 1/2 x 14" Mr. & Mrs. J.Lewins, New York, see Hawley 1964, no.155; Guerin: Achilles killing Penthesilea sketch in Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, Conn., and Achilles on the Seashore pen and oil on paper, 327 x 235mm., Rouen, Bibliotheque; Ingres: The Ambassadors of Agamemnon... arrive at the tent of Achilles... canvas, 110 x 115cm., 1801, Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Paris; see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.142. (pp.94-5). On Thorvaldsen's reliefs, see ibid., no.446 (pp.286-7).
- 48 Flaxman drawing of Hector chiding Paris pencil and grey wash, 220 x 317mm., 1793; reproduced in Irwin 1966, plate 70. cf. also the drawing, Fight for the body of Patroclus pencil and grey wash, 1793, Royal Academy.
- 49 Caylus 1757: Iliad, Book VI, nos vi, vii; see Weibensohn, op.cit. Hector's life was the subject of 19 exhibits at the Salons and 9 at the Royal Academy (between 1746 and 1800).
- 50 Hamilton canvas, 102 x 158", Holyrood House, Edinburgh, c.1772-5; see Waterhouse 1954, 69, and Macmillan 1986, 33, 38, 188 (n.10, where two other examples from 1773,

by Antonio Cavallucci in the Accademia di San Luca, Rome, and Anton Lasenko in the Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow, are mentioned, as well as a sketch by David Allan who won the Concorso Balestra of that year, on this subject).

- 51 Kauffmann canvas, 53 x 70cm., R.A.1769 (no.61), Saltram, Devon; see Saltram 1967, no. 86T (p.41).
- 52 Romney canvas, 57 1/2 x 76", s. & d. 1779; a picture by West of this subject, so listed in R.A. 1771, (no.212) and now in the New York Historical Society, is probably Aeneas and Creusa see von Erffa & Staley 1986, nos. 163-7, 179 (pp.248-50, 256).
- 53 Vien canvas, 1787, Caen (with drawing in the Louvre); Sergel aquarelle in Stockholm, Nationalmuseum; Fabre's drawing is at Montpellier, Musée Fabre. There are also drawings around this episode from the sixth book of the Iliad, by Girodet at Montargis, and by Ingres at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris.
- 54 Flaxman pen drawing of 1793 for Plate 14 of Piroli's engravings of the Iliad (VI, 405ff.); Hartmann's canvas of Hector's Farewell of 1800 (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden) was one of the entries for Goethe's annual Preisaufgaben of 1799-1805, along with others by Kolbe, Nahl and Schnorr von Carolsfeld, see Rosenblum 1967, 6, 24-5.
- 55 Deshayes canvas, 1763, Montpellier.
- 56 Flaxman pencil and grey wash drawing of 1793 for Plate 39 of Piroli's engravings of Iliad (Bk.XXIV, 996), see Heim 1976, no.6.
- 57 Garnier canvas, 74 x 100cm., s.& d. Steph.Barth.Garnier Fac./Romae, 1792, Musée des Ursulines, Macon; and canvas, 420 x 596cm., 1800, Angoulême; see also drawing at Quimper ( The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.605 p.348 ). The Macon modello was no.21 at the Salon, of 1795, the final canvas being no.159 at the Salon of 1800, with minimal differences. The subject was taken from Iliad, Bk.22.
- 58 For further analysis, see Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.64, (pp.427-8).

NOTES

CHAPTER 7: FAMILY HONOUR AND REPUBLICAN DUTY

- 1 For the story of Greuze's rejection, see A. Brookner: "Jean-Baptiste Greuze", Burlington Magazine XCVIII, 1956, esp.161-2; E. Munhall; "Greuze and the Protestant Spirit", Art Quarterly XXVII, 1964, 3-22; cf. also Bryson 1983, esp.138-45, for an interpretation that highlights Greuze's "neurotic" anxiety in the "presence of the virile male".
- 2 Dio Cassius LXXVII, 14, as retold by Rollin, Histoire romaine pp.642-3, Greuze canvas 48 3/4 x 63", Salon of 1769 (no.151), Ancient Collection of the Academy, The Louvre; cf. Hawley 1964, no.33, and Bardon 1963, 224, fig.1.
- 3 Chaise canvas, Salon of 1793 (no.260); Lafitte canvas, Salon of 1795 (no.261). For Diderot's attitude, see Hotel de la Monnaie 1984, no.69 (pp.253-8); and for the idea that Greuze's painting was "premature", see Bryson 1983, pp.205 ff.
- 4 The artists are Van Loo, Lagrenée, Halle and Vien; for the latter, see Hotel de la Monnaie 1985, no.122 (pp.416-9) and Rosenblum 1967, 56-7; on the commission, see Locquin 1912, 23ff., (Louis XV did not find these didactic Roman paintings to his taste).
- 5 The theme of Scipio and Hannibal appears seven times at the Salon, and nine times at the Academy (but the latter includes earlier "Carthaginian" episodes like Regulus); the story is taken from Valerius Maximus IV, iii, 1. Restout canvas, 1750 (no.11); Lemoine canvas, engraved by Levasseur, 1769, (no.255); Renaud canvas 1800 (no.446).
- 6 Brenet canvas 129 x 179cm., s.d.1788 (Salon of 1789, no. 4), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg; see the Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.38 (p.25).
- 7 The tale is told by Combes: Eloge de Pierre Terrail, dit le Chevalier Bauard, Dijon 1769; cf. Guy de Berville: Histoire de Pierre Terrail dit le Chevalier Bauard sans peur et sans reproche, Paris 1760. Three examples of this theme were exhibited at the Salons before 1800.
- 8 Durameau: Le Contenance de Bayard canvas, 323 x 227cm., Salon of 1777 (no.22), Grenoble, Musée de Peinture et Sculpture; for a full account of the subject, and contemporary reactions, see Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.55 (pp.408-10); and especially M.Sandoz: "Le Bayard de Durameau", Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français 1963, Paris 1963, 105-119.

- 9 West canvas, 100.5 x 133.4cm., Society of Artists 1766 (no.179), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; cf. von Erffa & Staley 1986, no.18 (pp.171-3). The Beaufort canvas was painted in 1781 (Salon no.108) and is at Marseilles, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
- 10 See Pigler 1974, II/3, 353-442, who lists some 175 examples of the Contenance of Scipio theme from the 15th to 18th centuries, including examples by Giulio Romano, Veronese, Dürer, Carracci, Cortona, Tiepolo, Batoni, Zugno (1765), Camuccini, Rubens, van Dyck, Poussin, de Troy, Lemoyne (1727), Vermont (1757), Uien, Menageot (1787), Brenet, Rode (1779), Zick and Reynolds (1789).
- 11 Pigler, op.cit., lists 50 examples, including Giulio Romano, Abate, Carracci, Guercino, Solimena, Pellegrini, Tiepolo, Giaquinto, Rembrandt, Lastmann, Poussin, de Troy, Fragonard and Le Barbier.
- 12 Val. Maximus IV, iii, 5-6 (De abstinencia et continentia); Pigler, op.cit., lists 26 examples, including Holbein, Schiavone, Cortona, Rembrandt, Flinck, Bols, Steen, Vouet, Ricci, Gagneraux (1776), Platzer, Rode and Zick.
- 13 Peyron's morceau de reception was exhibited at the Salon of 1787 (no.153) and is now at Avignon; Caraffe painted a version for the 1795 Salon (no.67).
- 14 Fuseli drawing, red chalk, pen and wash, Zürich, Kunsthau, and another drawing in British Museum, from Roman sketchbook, c.1774.
- 15 Lagrenée canvas, Salon of 1777 (no.2), Musée René-Princeteau, Libourne; cf. the drawing by Moreau le jeune in the Salon of 1783 (no.310). Pigler, op.cit., lists only 7 examples of this event from the 16th to 18th centuries, including Giulio Bonasone, Rosso Fiorentino, G.B.Langetti, J.W.Baumgartner, Lagrenée and Zick.
- 16 M.Sandoz: "Louis-Jean-Francois Lagrenée dit l'ainé (1725-1809), peintre d'histoire", Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français 1961, Paris 1962, 115-36.
- 17 Commissioned by Dr.Trioson for his house at Bourgoin, Girodet's canvas was exhibited belatedly at the Salon of 1814 (no.45); the canvas 99.5 x 135cm., s.& d.: A.L.Girodet à Rome 1792, is now in the Ecole de Medecine, Paris. There are also at least two studies, one at the Musée Fabre, Montpellier, another (the drawing) at the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne; see Girodet: Girodet 1767-1824 Musée de Montargis, 1967, nos.14-16. The subject was taken from the Abbé Barthelemy's Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce (1788), Vol.1, Paris 1788,



and Girodet thought the subject "une des plus beaux de l'antiquité, tant par la vénération attachée à Hippocrate, que par le bel exemple de patriotisme et désintéressement dont il offre le tableau", see Rosenblum 1967, 88.

- 18 Peyron canvas, 98 x 136cm., s.& d. P.Peyron.f.Ro.1782, Louvre; commissioned in 1780 by d'Angiviller, with its pendant (now lost), Socrate détachant Alcibiade des plaisirs de la volupté, and drawn from Val. Maximus V, iii,3 and iv,2, and exhibited during the last days of the 1783 Salon; see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.209 (p.135) and Crow 1985, 202.
- 19 Brenet canvas, Salon of 1779 (no.31), Nîmes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, taken from Appian IV, 42; see M.Sandoz: "Nicolas-Guy Brenet, peintre d'histoire (1728-92)", Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'art français 1960, Paris 1961, 33-50 (esp.44-5).
- 20 Livy III, 44-58, and in Aubert de Vertot d'Aubeuf's Histoire des révolutions arrivées dans le gouvernement de la république romaine, Paris 1719. Pigler *op.cit.* lists 43 examples from the 16th to 18th centuries, including Botticelli, Gimignani, Spranger, Cornelisz van Haarlem, Elsheimer, Zoffany, Errante (1790), Cammuccini (1793), Kohl (1769), Zick, Bergler (1779), Doyen (1759), Brenet (1783) and Fuger (1800).
- 21 On which see P.Walch: "Charles Rollin and early Neo-Classicism", Art Bulletin XLIX, 1967, 123-4.
- 22 Doyen (Salon of 1759, no.119, Pinacoteca, Parma); Brenet (Salon of 1783, no.11, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes); Lethière (Salon of 1795, no.354, dessin; Salon of 1831, no.1384, canvas now in Louvre); Le Barbier (Salon of 1795, no.306); Callet drawing, black chalk and brown wash, 27.3 x 27.3cm., Print Room, Berlin; Mengs drawing Virginus shows Appius Claudius the dagger with which he killed Virginia, pen in brown with grey washes and white, 243 x 362mm., Albertina, Vienna; Fuger canvas (1800, Stuttgart).
- 23 Dance canvas, Society of Artists exhibition of 1761 (no. 25); the canvas is lost, but J.G.Haid's mezzotint of 1767 survives, as does the preliminary drawing in a letter of 28 July, 1959, sent by Dance to George Dance the Elder from Rome; see Dance; Nathaniel Dance 1735-1811, G.L.C. Kenwood, 1977, no.3a & b., and Kenwood 1974, no.58. (The letter with the drawing (pen, ink and wash, 14 x 18.9cm.) is in the British Museum). cf. also Dance 1977, no.14 i for a study of Virginus himself, and more generally B.Skinner: "Some aspects of the work of Nathaniel Dance in Rome", Burlington Magazine 101, 1959, 346-49, and D.Goodreau: "Nathaniel Dance: an Unpublished Letter", Burlington Magazine 114, 1972,

712-5.

- 24 See note (22) above for details of the Doyen and Lethiere paintings, and the Callet drawing. On Doyen's animated but classicising study for his painting, see M. Sandoz: "The drawings of Gabriel-Francois Doyen", Art Quarterly 34, 1971, 149-78; and idem: "Gabriel-Francois Doyen, peintre d'histoire", (1726-1806)", Bulletin de la Societe de l'histoire de l'art francais 1959, Paris 1960, 75-88.
- 25 Berthelemy canvas, 3.28 x 2.66cm., s.& d. 1785, Salon of 1785 (no.63), Tours; taken from Livy VIII, 7, and Val.Maximus U, viii, 3 and VI, ix, 1; see Lossky 1962, no.3. (Torquatus was consul in 235 B.C.). Though he had commissioned the painting, d'Angiviller wrote to Lagrenée that "la plupart des peintres d'histoire avaient adopté des sujets noirs" for the 1785 Salon, (letter of 6 February 1786, cited in Hautecoeur 1954, 83); the public, he wrote, had complained about the grim nature of the subjects in the 1785 Salon.
- 26 Salon of 1791 (no.241). The subject was chosen for the 1799 Prix de Rome competition, of which two paintings survive, one by Mulard (Musée d'Alger) and the other Auguste Alphonse Guadar de la Verdine (1780-1804), whose spare dry canvas (3'9" x 4'9") is now in the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, reproduced in J.Clay: Romanticism, Chartwell Books, New Jersey 1981, p.40.
- 27 Lemmonier (Salon of 1787, no.214); Fortin (Salon of 1798, no.308, sculpture); also Bouillon (Salon of 1804, no.55).
- 28 West canvas, 138.5 x 185.5cm., s.& d. B.West PINXIT/1768, Royal Academy 1770 (no.197), but originally at the Society of Artists special exhibition in honour of the king of Denmark in 1768 (no.122), Tate Gallery, taken from Plutarch, Vitae Agis and Cleomenes XVI; see von Erffa and Staley 1986, no.13 (p.169).
- 29 Saint-Ours canvas, 1785, Schleissheim, Galleria; see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, 147-9, on Saint-Ours.
- 30 Brenet (Salon of 1779, no.32); Demarne (Salon of 1795, no.122); and also J.Gensoul (Salon of 1799, no.133). Saint-Ours' sketch of Cincinnatus (sur carton, à l'huile, 0.23 x 0.35m.) is in Geneva (Coll. E.Duval). The subject is taken from Livy III, 26-9; Pigler, op.cit. lists 19 examples, including Cortona, Rosa, Ricci, Tiepolo, Le Sueur, Brenet, Avril, Bestieu and Rode.
- 31 Livy I, 24, and Val.Maximus VI,3; Pigler, op.cit. lists 14 examples including Giulio Romano, Bordone, Floris,

- d'Arpino, Bosse, Troost, A.Stech, Le Barbier, but without the paintings by Gamelin (canvas, 31.5 x 40cm.) or Fuger or David (drawings or painting).
- 32 Callet canvas, 3'10" x 4'10", 1785, Rhode Island School of Design; Girodet canvas 111 x 148cms., 1785, Musée de Montargis; see Girodet 1967, no.1, and Rosenblum 1967, 67-8. The prize was won by Potain.
- 33 David drawing, pencil with pen and grey wash, 27.5 x 38.7 cm., 1781, Graphische Sammlung, Albertina, Vienna; see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.551 (p.328); and for the later commission of 1783, ibid. no.62, (p.40).
- 34 This was apparently David's first idea for the Koratii painting, but was criticized as too literary by Sedaine, the playwright and former guardian of the artist. David drawing, pen and black crayon, china ink, 21.7 x 29.2cm., 1783, Louvre; see Crow 1985, 212-3.
- 35 Livy II, 4-5; Val.Maximus U, 8; and Plutarch VI, 6. Pigler, op.cit. lists 11 examples, including Tommaso Laureti (1530-1602), Antonio Campi, one ascribed to Caravaggio, Rembrandt (1626), G.B.Marcola, Charles Eisen, Jan van Bannik, Fuger and Wicar, but not David or Lethière.
- 36 Cochin file (Salon of 1741, sketch for Rollin illustration, not numbered, but listed between nos.127 and 128); Wicar (drawing of 1788); Vignaly (Salon of 1791, no.705); also Dardel sculpture of 1799.
- 37 Lethière drawing, Musée de Pontoise, 1788, exhibited at Salon of 1795, (no.353), and at Salon of 1801 (no.229); canvas, 436 x 762 cm., 1811 Salon, Louvre; see Rosenblum 1967, 77, n.34. cf. Lethière's drawing (pen and grey wash and ink, 235 x 398 mm, undated) of The Sons of Brutus going to execution, Heim Gallery Ltd., French drawings: Neo-Classicism, London 1975, no.98.
- 38 C.Duncan: "Fallen fathers: images of authority in pre-Revolutionary French Art", Art History 4, 1981, 186-202.
- 39 On Siéyès and the cahiers de doléances, see B.Shafer: "Bourgeois nationalism in the pamphlets on the eve of the French Revolution", Journal of Modern History X, 1938, 31-50; cf. also R.Palmer: "The national idea in France before the Revolution", Journal of the History of Ideas I, 1940, 95-111.
- 40 Carmontelle, Gorsas and others made the connection between anti-monarchical nationalism and David's heroic history paintings from 1785 onwards, as shown by I.Crow: "The Oath of the Koratii in 1785: painting and pre-Revolutionary radicalism in France", Art History 1,

- 1978, 424-71; and Crow 1985, ch.7.
- 41 David canvas, 325 x 425cm., Salon of 1789, (no.88), Louvre (and a smaller version, probably by David, Wadsworth, Athenaeum). The full title is: J.Brutus, premier consul, de retour en sa maison, après avoir condamné ses deux fils qui s'étaient unis aux Tarquins et avaient conspiré contre la liberté Romaine: des licteurs rapportaient leurs corps pour qu'on leur donne la sépulture.
- 42 For a detailed analysis of the sources, artistic and political, of David's Brutus, see R.Herbert: David, Voltaire, Brutus and the French Revolution: an essay in art and politics, Allen Lane, London 1972.
- 43 On the radical break with academic insistence on unité d'action, see T.Puttfarken: "David's Brutus and Theories of Pictorial Unity in France", Art History 4, 1981, 291-304.
- 44 Grimm, Friedrich Melchior von, and Diderot, Denis (Tourneux, Maurice, ed.): Correspondance litteraire, philosophique et critique par Grimm, Diderot ...Paris, 16 vols., 1877-82, Vol.15, pp.535ff., cited in Herbert 1972, Appendix (128-9) which reproduces in translation David's letters and several of the Salon (and other) critiques of the Brutus and to which much of the following analysis is indebted.
- 45 Lettre de graveur de Paris (Coll. Deloynes 16, no.426) in Herbert 1972, Appendix.
- 46 Pithou: Le Plaisir prolongé, le retour du Salon, Paris 1791 (Coll. Deloynes 17, no.437), in Herbert 1972, Appendix (pp.129-30).
- 47 Comte de Mende Maupas (Coll. Deloynes 16, no.414), in Herbert 1972, Appendix (p.127); and see Crow 1985, 247-54 (esp.253-4).
- 48 Anon., Lettres critiques sur les tableaux du Salon de 1791, Paris 1791 (Coll. Deloynes 17, no.441), in Herbert 1972, Appendix (p.130-1); and Crow 1985, 253-4.
- 49 David, Letter to Wicar, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, in Herbert 1972, Appendix, (pp.123-4).
- 50 Herbert, op.cit. 43.
- 51 As David states in his letter to Wicar, in Herbert, op.cit. but, for a different interpretation, cf. Crow 1985, 247-54.

NOTES

CHAPTER B: PRO PATRIA MORI

- 1 First Book of Maccabees II, 23-5; it provided the theme of the 1754 Prix de Rome competition, cf. J.Guiffrey and J.Barthelemy: Liste des pensionnaires de l'Academie de France à Rome de 1663 à 1907, Paris 1908, p.35. cf. the Halle canvas (85.5 x 13.5cm.) of Antiochus falling from his Chariot (c.1738), now in a private collection in London and exhibited at Heim Gallery Ltd: Aspects of French Academic Art 1680-1780, London 1977, no.15 (and cf. Halle's lost Antiochus after his Fall, known from an etching of 1738). The subject is taken from II Maccabees, ch.9.
- 2 Salon of 1785, no.5, now at Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts, cf. B.Lossky (ed): Tours. Musée des Beaux-Arts: Peintures du XVIIIe siècle, Paris 1962, no.70. Rosenblum 1967, 74, discusses the picture and theme, and suggests that Jewish "religious zeal might be considered the Orientalising counterpart to the virtues of Republican Rome extolled by Livy or Valerius Maximus". Yet, late 18th century artists seem to have preferred the virtues of the "Roman Republic" to the zeal of ancient Israel. Was this simply a consequence of enlightenment paganism, or their predominantly classical training, or of the secular nature of the intelligentsia's patriotism, to which Rome's secular-seeming patriotism seemed better attuned? Whatever the reason, it was really Rome which provided the ancestral "myth of descent", albeit an ideological rather than a genealogical one; perhaps we have here echoes of the old Frankish myth of Trojan descent, cited in A.Borst: Der Turmbau von Babel, Stuttgart 1957-63, 460-1, and S. Reynolds: "Medieval origines Gentium and the community of the Realm", History 68, 1983, 375-90.
- 3 Second Book of Maccabees VI, 18-31. Both stories mingle religious and nationalistic zeal in a manner approved by Rousseau, but alien to the enlightened absolutism and rationalist temper of most eighteenth century statesman and thinkers; cf. S. Baron: Modern Nationalism and Religion, Meridian Books, New York, 1960, ch.2.
- 4 Gros, Prix de Rome competition of 1792, whose winner was Landon; the painting is now at St.Lô, Musée. Another "national" Old Testament theme, Belshazzar's Feast, was rarely painted before 1800 in France; but see the canvas (114 x 144cm.) by J-B. Pierre of c.1733, in Heim 1977, no.17.
- 5 Berthelemy Canvas, Salon of 1789, no.67, now at Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers; also black and white chalk drawing on blue paper, 401 x 315mm.

- 6 West canvas 41 x 54", s.& d. 1770, Royal Collection, Kensington Palace, cf. Irwin 1966, 51; the painting is sometimes taken to mark the beginning of West's more "Baroque" phase with its greater use of diagonals and landscape settings, cf. G.Evans 1959.
- 7 Fuseli canvas, (26 x 21 1/4") The Captive: the Daughter of Caractacus... Coll. C.L.Bollag, Zurich; Banks: Caractacus in the presence of the Emperor Claudius (1774-77), R.Academy 1780, now at Stowe School; marble, 91.5 x 192.4cm. (and a terracotta model, Sir John Soane Museum, London). cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, 294 (pp.189-90). Banks' relief was one of a series of "British Worthies", who already occupied a temple in the grounds of Stowe Park, the seat of George Grenville, (later first marquess of Buckingham), who commissioned it in 1774. It was loosely based on Tacitus: Annals XII (recording events of 43-50 A.D.) which was quoted in Carte's History of England 1748, (as well as Mason's play Caractacus of 1759); and on the style of ancient sarcophagi, cf. Irwin, op.cit. 56. There were also earlier works on a patriotic theme by Francis Hayman (engraved by Grignion in 1761), Gaetano Manini (1762) and William Pars (1764), the last two paintings for the Society of Artists, cf. N.Pressly 1979, no.51 (p.50).
- 8 A full account of Fuseli's Swiss background, political and literary, is given in F.Antal: Fuseli Studies R.K.P., London 1956, chs. 1-2; cf. also Irwin, op.cit. 44-8.
- 9 These early works are catalogued and discussed in G.Schiff: Johann Heinrich Füssli. 1741-1825, Verlag Berichthaus, Zürich 1973, esp. nos.2, 3, 222-4, 264-5, 413.
- 10 Schall canvas, 45 x 54.5cm., engr. Girard in 1797, s.d. F.Schall, l'an 2e, and now at Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
- 11 For these details, see Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no. 163, (pp.603-5).
- 12 Vincent, Salon of 1795, (no.528), commissioned in 1791, now at Musée des Augustins, Toulouse.
- 13 For Vincent, generally, see Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, 669-70. Vincent seems more interested in a "pre-Romantic" drama of atmosphere and the picturesque than in didactic moralising about the virtues of liberty and patriotism, though his depiction owes as much to Lemierre's play as does Schall's; cf. also Crow 1985, 192-7.
- 14 The West paintings are still at Windsor, rolled up in

store, together with a third, The Consecration of the Statues of the Order of the Garter; they all measure 9' x 15'; cf. also chs. 9 and 11 below.

- 15 On this, see D.Irwin, op.cit., 95-7; and von Erffa and Staley 1986, nos. 56, 58, 67, 71.
- 16 West canvas, 1 x 1.53m., 1789, Windsor; another version at Detroit; cf von Erffa and Staley 1986, nos.64 and 65. All these medieval histories owe much to Hume's History of England, published in 1763 in complete form and a popular source book for painters; - the trend was also encouraged by the premiums offered by the Society of Artists for English history themes. See also ch.11 below.
- 17 Loquin, op.cit., 157, n.9.; this was part of the Anglophilia diffused by prints on the Parisian market, especially after 1763; Loquin shows how many themes and motifs were copied from British models by French artists in the 1770s and 1780s.
- 18 Berthelemy canvas, 383 x 262cm., Salon of 1787, not in catalogue, being submitted late; now at Versailles, Musée National; it was one of the two subjects on the Anglo-French Wars suggested by Berthelemy.
- 19 For more details, see Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.2, (pp.312-13); it was one of a series to serve as models for tapestries for a Tenture de l'Histoire de France ordered by d'Angiviller in 1784, three of the ten episodes being by Berthelemy, and including the St.Eustache (now at Laón). The Jeanne d'Arc episode hardly appears yet.
- 20 For Lotto, Lucretia was a courtesan figure. Pigler, op.cit., lists 64 examples from the 15th to 18th centuries, but these are mostly of the Rape of Lucretia.
- 21 Livy, I, LIX, 1-21; the most important analysis is that of R.Rosenblum: "Gavin Hamilton's "Brutus" and its aftermath", Burlington Magazine 103, 1961, 8-16.
- 22 Salon of 1759, (no.33), engraved by B.L.Henriquez in 1761.
- 23 Engraved by Pierre Tardieu in 1762, for de Pretot's projected History of Rome; cf. Rosenblum 1961.
- 24 Hamilton canvas, 208.3 x 270.5cm., engraved by Cunego in 1768 and now at Drury Lane Theatre, London. It was ordered by James Hope in 1763, cf. Abbé Peter Grant's letter of 12 September 1763. For the Italian critic's opinion, see Gazette littéraire de l'Europe I, 56, 28 March 1764, cited in D.Irwin, op.cit., p.38; cf. Honour, op.cit., p.147.

- 25 Waterhouse 1954 and Kenwood 1974, nos. 72-3, discuss the various versions of the picture (Hamilton painted three or four), and Rosenblum 1961 analyses Hamilton's novel treatment and the shift towards the "martial" compact.
- 26 Beaufort's painting was controversial; the critics of 1771 thought it Shakespearian in its sublimity, simple in style and exhibiting a very Roman virility, cf. Rosenblum, op.cit.
- 27 R.Rosenblum: "A source for David's "Horatii"", Burlington Magazine 112, 1970, 269-73.
- 28 This includes a Mort de Calamis (1779) and a Mort de Bauard (1781), as well as an earlier painting in the St. Louis series of 1773; cf. R.Rosenberg and A.Schnapper: "Beaufort's "Brutus"", Burlington Magazine 112, 1970, 760, for the study of Brutus in Coll. M.André Marie in Rouen, whose measurements (64 x 80cm.) and technique are similar to the London sketch (Coll.Barnett Hollander).
- 29 West canvas, 229.1 x 304.1cm., 1770, R.A. 1771, (no.209), H.M. The Queen, Kensington Palace, London; Rosenblum, 1967, 69 (fig71) and von Erffa and Staley 1986, no.17 (pp.170-1). (From Livy Bk.XXI). D.Irwin, op.cit. 50, comments on the influence of Poussin, notably the second version of the Confirmation which West may have known from prints. Pigler, op.cit. lists 11 examples from the 16th to 18th century, mainly the latter, including Pellegrini, Pittoni, Rode and Kohl.
- 30 This is one of the main arguments of E.Wind: "The Revolution in History Painting", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes II, 1938-9, 116-27.
- 31 The Rathaus picture celebrates the Everlasting Alliance of 1291, solemnly sworn on the Rütli meadow in 1291 between Uri, Schwyz and Nidwalden (Unterwalden):

"The people of the valley of Uri, the community of the valley of Schwyz, and the community of Nidwalden, seeing the malice of the times, have solemnly agreed and bound themselves by oath to aid and defend each other with all their might and main, with their lives and property, both within and without their boundaries, each at his own expense, against every enemy whatever who shall attempt to molest them, either singly or collectively".

Cited by G. Thürer: Free and Swiss Oswald Wolff, London 1970, 25. The Oath goes on to detail the judicial arrangements within the three communities; and one clause, the well-known "judges' clause", contains a typical ethnicist sentiment:

"We have unanimously decreed that we will accept no



judge in our valleys who shall have obtained his office for a price, or who is not a native and resident among us. Every difference among the confederates shall be decided by their wisest men; and whoever shall reject their award shall be compelled by the other confederates." Ibid. 25.

J. Steinberg: Why Switzerland?, Cambridge University Press 1976, 13-15, discusses the historical and sociological background to this pact, and argues that this (possibly later) clause is the only one that differentiates it from several similar leagues and treaties in the same era; this alliance was confirmed in 1315 at Brunnen, this time in German (the first treaty is in Latin, and mostly in the third person), Thürer, op.cit., 29.

- 32 F. Antal: Fuseli Studies, R.K.P., London 1956, 71-4; and D.Irwin, op.cit. 99-100 (though the date is 1291, not 1307). cf. the preparatory drawing in pen and sepia heightened with brown and grey, 41.4 x 34.5cm. (Zürich, Kunsthaus) of 1779, and The Confederates arriving at the Rütli, 1778, a dramatic scene full of suspense, in pen and sepia wash with white highlights, 27.4 x 38.7cm. (DrW.Amstutz, Zürich), both in the exhibition catalogue of Tate Gallery: Henry Fuseli, Tate Gallery, London 1975, nos.16-17, (p.57); also Klemm 1986, no.IX (p.34).
- 33 Trumbull canvas, 100.3 x 124.4cm., 1777, Yale University Art Gallery; cited in Rosenblum: "Gavin Hamilton's "Brutus"...", op.cit.; cf. Cooper 1982, no.2 (pp.44-5).
- 34 Caraffe canvas, 88 x 114cm., s.d. A.C.Caraffe, Anno MDCCXCI, now at Arkhangelski Museum.
- 35 For reproduction and details, cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.18, (pp.334-5).
- 36 The translation of the Septem was that of R.Potter: The Tragedies of Aeschulus, Norwich 1777 (they had already been translated into French by Le Franc de Pompignan: Tragedies d'Eschule, Paris 1770). For its affinities with David's Horatii, cf. D.Irwin, op.cit. 164; but Flaxman's communal gestures, recalling the declamations of a Greek chorus, evoke a much more remote and primitive world by the use of linear abstraction. But then, the line between myth and history was ill-defined.
- 37 Girodet drawing, blacklead 18.7 x 29cm., Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts de Paris, cf. Girodet 1967, no.89. In 1816, Gerard painted the Oath of Achilles to avenge Patroclus (and again in 1836).
- 38 Such as David's Oath of the Tennis Court (1791) and Oath of the Army after the Distribution of Eagles (1810);

Charles Steuben's Oath of the Three Swiss (1824); Joseph Anton Koch's Oath of the 1500 Republicans at Montecassino (1797); and Pietro Benvenuti's Oath of the Saxons to Napoleon (1812). To which list of Rosenblum's (1961), we may add Chaudet's Dévouement à la Patrie, a relief under the portico of the Pantheon, and Appiani's Oath of the Federation of the Cisalpine Republic of 29 June 1797 (Milan, Castello Sforzesco).

- 39 E.Kedourie: Nationalism, Hutchinson, London 1960, chh.2-3.
- 40 F.Barnard: Herder's social and political thought, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1965, discusses Herder's populism and concept of Kraft.
- 41 For this "Jacobin" belief, see S.Avineri: The social and political thought of Karl Marx, Cambridge University Press 1968, ch.7.
- 42 E.Durkheim: The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, tr.J.W.Swain, George Allen & Unwin, London 1915, 387.
- 43 Ibid. 427; and ibid. 346.  
"The real reason for the existence of the cults,..... is not to be sought in the acts they prescribe, but in the internal and moral regeneration which these acts aid in bringing about."
- 44 Contrat Social IV, 8, cited in S.Baron: Modern nationalism and religion, Meridian Books, New York, 1960, 26-7.
- 45 Considerations sur le gouvernement de Pologne, in C.E.Vaughan (ed): Political Writings of Rousseau, Cambridge University Press 1915, Vol.II, esp.431.
- 46 Durkheim, op.cit. 214; also p.428 on the need for ritual celebrations and acts to keep alive "new ideas" and "new formulae".
- 47 G.Simmel: Conflict, and the Web of Group-Affiliations, Free Press of Glencoe, Macmillan, 1964, esp.p.88.
- 48 Notably the critic of the Mercure de France (coll. Deloynes 348, XIV, 758-9) and Anon: Supplement du Peintre Anglais au Salon, Paris 1785, who found David's picture strained, stiff, awkward, obvious, blunt and cold; see I.Crow: "The Oath of the Horatii in 1785....", op.cit. esp.425-35.
- 49 See The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.62, (pp.40-41); and Crow 1985, ch.7.
- 50 For the criticism of David's "invention", see Lettres analitiques critiques et philosophiques sur les tableaux

du Sallon, Paris 1791, 54: on the conflict between Crown and Parlements, cf. T.Crow, op.cit., chs.6-7, and G.Lefebvre: The Coming of the French Revolution, Vintage Books, New York 1947; also R.Palmer: The Age of the Democratic Revolution, 2 vols., Princeton University Press 1958-64.

51 Rosenblum 1967,68. On the sources of David's Horatii, cf. E.Wind: "The Sources of David's "Horaces"", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes IV, 1940-1, 124-38.

52 On their nationalism, see H.Kohn: Prelude to Nation-States: the French and German experience, 1789-1815, van Nostrand, New York 1967; and Kedourie, op.cit., chh.1-3.

53 On which Durkheimian enthusiasm and fête, see Herbert, op.cit., esp. chh.3-4; and D. Dowd: Pageant Master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the Revolution, University of Lincoln Press, Nebraska, 1948.

54 On the masculine-feminine split, T.Crow, op.cit., cites and anti-Rococo (and anti-monarchical) statement by Brissot: "Cette pente générale vers la douceur est une marque de la prépondérance des vices et un défaut de caractère dans une nation. Je tiens donc qu'en tout l'homme vertueux doit être sévère...ni affecter un modération dangereuse." (Examen critique des voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale de M. Marquis de Chatellux, London 1786, 127-9).

Questions of style and colour are examined in Observations sur le Sallon de 1785, Paris 1785, pp.4-5.

55 Observations, op.cit. p.4, cited in Crow, op.cit.

56 This is argued by Honour 1968, 36-7, who suggests too that David may have looked at Giotto "whose monumental groupings, clarity of composition and calm serenity of tone reflects a similar depth of conviction"; in fact, Giotto was being rediscovered at this time by Canova, Flaxman and Seroux d'Agincourt, whom David knew in Rome.

57 For this sequence, cf.A.D. Smith: Nationalism, A Trend Report and Annotated Bibliography, Current Sociology 21, 1973, Mouton, The Hague & Paris; on the secret societies in Europe, see J.Talmon: Political Messianism, Secker & Warburg, London 1960.

58 This is documented for writers by H.Kohn: The Idea of Nationalism, 2nd rev. ed'n, Collier-Macmillan, New York 1967, esp.chh.5-8. T.Crow, op.cit., using the writings of Carmontelle and David's paintings (and those of others), suggests the same was true of the artistic community.

- 59 Rosenblum 1967, 28sqq.; cf. Honour 1968, 146-59 on the secularisation of the concept of death, with posterity and the hero taking the place of paradise and the saints.
- 60 In A.D. 19 by Piso, the governor of Syria, according to Tacitus: Annals III, 1-2, the same source for the story of his virtuous wife, Agrippina, who returns to Brundisium and Rome with his ashes.
- 61 Poussin's Death of Germanicus of c.1627 is in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. On Poussin's relevance, cf. Weibenshoen 1964.
- 62 See ch.5, n.30; the painting is briefly discussed in Rosenblum 1967, 30 (plate 26); a preparatory drawing of 1789 (the painting was the artist's reception work for the Vienna Academy) is listed in The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.586, (p.343).
- 63 See ch.5, n.31; and Whinney 1964, 176; and, on the Roman circle of Transalpine artists, see N.Pressly, 1979.
- 64 West canvas, 89 x 121", 1769, H.M.The Queen, Kensington Palace; see von Erffa and Staley 1986, no.10 (p.168) and Abrams 1985, 146-53; there are also versions by Pecheux (1772) and Lepicie (1779).
- 65 Taken from Plutarch's Gaius Gracchus 17; pen and ink with red wash 36.2 x 47cm. (c.1776), British Museum. Another drawing of the same subject comes from Fuseli's Roman Sketchbook (no.28) now at the British Museum.
- Fuseli did other "Roman" drawings, including Dentatus, Romulus and the popular Gaius Marius and the Cimbrian soldier motif; pen and ink with grey wash, 12 x 19 1/2", city of Auckland Art Gallery, done c.1764-5, (taken from Lucan's Pharsalia XI, 75-86). Other examples of this subject include Drouais' famous painting of 1786, cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.52 (pp.401-3), Girodet, and Fabre (1796, drawing of 1809-10).
- 66 See Rosenblum 1967, 29 (fig.24).
- 67 Pen and indian ink, black chalk heightened with white body colour on a blueish paper, 26 x 153cm., inscr. on verso: funeraille de Patrocle. L.David fecit Roma 1778 du cabinet de pecoul son beau père no.294, E.B.Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento, California, cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.550, (pp.327-8).
- 68 West canvas 222.2 x 179.4cms., s.& d. 1773, H.M.The Queen, Kensington Palace; see Evans 1959, 44. Pigler, op.cit. lists five examples of the death at Mantinea of the great Theban patriot, mostly of the 18th century -

- including Isaak Walraven (1726), Valentine Green (1739-1813), Laurent Pecheux (1795) and West; the fifth is a bas-relief by David d'Angers of 1811.
- 69 David canvas 392 x 533cm., 1814, Louvre; there is a large study (40.6 x 54.9cm, black chalk, squared) in the Metropolitan Museum; the subject is taken from Herodotus VII, 198-239.
- 70 cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.556, (pp.331-2), for the various sources of the drawing.
- 71 West canvas 221.6 x 179.1cm., s.& d. 1772, H.M.The Queen, Kensington Palace; see von Erffa and Staley 1986, no.77, (p.203), and Irwin 1966, 148; and the painting of Beaufort on the same subject of 1781 (Marseilles, Musée des Beaux-Arts), cf.Loquin 1912, 157, n.9.
- 72 Brenet canvas, 317 x 224cm.; the original version was that of 1777 (Salon no.18, now at Musée National, Versailles), that of 1778 is horizontal and at Dunkirk; cf. also Uafflard's The Governor surrenders the keys to Du Guesclin (Salon of 1806, no.509). It was commissioned by d'Angiviller (along with Durameau's Contenance of Bauard ), See Loquin, 1912, p.51.
- 73 Villaret: L'Histoire de France depuis l'établissement de la monarchie jusqu'au règne de Louis XIV. XI, Paris 1763, pp.54-63; also Guyard de Berville: Histoire de Bertrand Du Guesclin, Paris 1767. For Brenet's historical paintings, cf. M.Sandoz: "Nicolas-Guy Brenet, peintre d'histoire (1728-1792)" Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français 1960, Paris 1961, 33-50. The full title of Brenet's work is significant: Trait de Respect pour la vertu: Honneurs rendus au Connetable Du Guesclin par la ville de Randon. Brenet has indeed sought to fulfil the aim of d'Angiviller and Pierre, "to revive virtue and patriotic feelings" through the large "history painting" commission of 1775-6, which was intended to restore the honour due to that Poussinesque category, cf. F.Cummings: "Painting under Louis XVI, 1774-1789", in Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, esp. pp.34-5.
- 74 Detroit, op.cit. no.15, (pp.337-9), for details of the commission and the generally favourable reactions of the critics, including the faithful realisation of the dress and characters (Mercur de France, coll.Deloyne X, 191, 1084-5, for example); cf. also Rosenblum 1967, 32-4, and Crow 1985, 191-3 for the political context.
- 75 Abildgaard painting in Stockholm; taken from Ossian, "Temora", Book I. The Runciman drawing (14 x 19 1/2", pencil, pen and wash) of 1773 is in Edinburgh.
- 76 For the Ecole Militaire Chapel commission, cf.

F.Cummings in Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, 32-3; Beaufort's picture was exhibited at the 1773 Salon.

- 77 On which, see Tate Gallery 1975, nos.142-7, pp.113-15. The watercolour of Kriemhild throwing herself on the corpse of Siegfried of 1805 (pen, ink and brown wash, 7 1/2 x 12") is in the Auckland City Gallery.
- 78 The Dumont is reproduced and discussed in P.Conisbee: Painting in Eighteenth Century France, Phaidon, Oxford 1981, 93, 95; canvas, 165 x 192cm., Besancon, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
- 79 The Deseine sculpture is in the Louvre; the Appiani drawing (pen, wash on grey paper, 265 x 528mm.), a very "Roman" crowded "relief"-style drawing, of c.1813, for the Sala della lanterna, Palazzo Reale, Milan (along with four other "Roman" drawings) is now in the Gabinetto di disegni, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.
- 80 Gamelin's drawing (round, 173mm. diameter, pen, china ink and wash, s.d. 1792) is at Rhode Island; the Guerin painting (111 x 144cm.) won the Grand Prix de Rome in 1797 and is at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris. The other first prizes on the same theme were awarded to Pierre Bouillon and Louis-André-Gabriel Bouchet, with Louis Hersent placed second, see Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.93 (p.478).
- 81 Notwithstanding this "failure", Pigler, op.cit. lists 36 examples from the 16th to 18th centuries, including Guercino, Giordano, Tiepolo and Cignaroli, Ribera, Loth, Rottmayr, Lebrun, Lemonnier (1785), Lethière, Bouchet and Hersent (not Guerin or Bouillon); Robespierre's praise of Cato comes in a eulogy of benefactor-martyrs in one of his letters of 1792, letter no.VII., p.334, cited by Rosenblum 1967, 79.
- 82 Hallé: Death of Seneca (c.1750), Canvas, 1.53 x 1.22m. Heim Gallery, cf.Heim 1977, no.16 (from Tacitus, Annals XV). For David's painting, and the 1773 competition, cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.57, (pp.36-7); David's canvas (123 x 160cm) is in the Musée de Petit-Palais, Paris; Peyron's painting is lost, but a drawing and engraving exist.
- 83 Pigler, op.cit. lists 39 examples in the 17th and 18th centuries, including Guido Reni, Guercino, Pittoni, Rubens, Honthorst, Rembrandt, Loth, Zick, LeBrun, Jacques Vaillant (d.1691), Challes, Peyron and David (not Hallé).
- 84 There is also a drawing by David for his Death of Seneca in the Petit-Palais; cf. C.Saunier: "Le Mort de

"Senèque par Louis David", Gazette des Beaux-Arts XXIII, 1905, 233-6.

- 85 Peyron: there are drawings at the Gueret Museum, and the William Hayes Ackland Center, University of North Carolina (233 x 310mm., pen and ink, bistre wash with gouache), exhibited also at the 1785 Salon; cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, p.562. There is also Vincent's Alcibiades receiving lessons from Socrates (in the Salon of 1777); a watercolour (47 x 67cm.) of 1793 by Carstens of Alcibiades Crowning Socrates, cf. The Age of Neo Classicism 1972, no.528 (pp.319-20); and a drawing in pen, brown ink and grey wash (146 x 197mm.) by Appiani of Socrates and Alcibiades in conversation with Aspasia (in Amsterdam).
- 86 Canova, plaster bas-relief, 110 x 138cm., 1797, Passagno, Gipsoteca, (taken from Plato's Symposium); see Classici dell'Arte Rizzoli: L'Opera Completa del Canova, ed. M. Praz, Rizzoli Editore, Milano 1976, no.106, (p.103).
- 87 Taken from Plato's Apology; Canova plaster bas-reliefs, 124 x 256cm., 1792; 124 x 258cm., 1787-90; 121 x 260cm., 1787-90; 122 x 249cm., 1790-92; all at Passagno, Gipsoteca; see Rizzoli, op.cit. nos.59-60, 63-64, (p.97).
- 88 Plato: Crito 50-51, in R. Livingstone: The Trial and Death of Socrates, Oxford, Clarendon Press 1938, esp.pp. 62 sqq.. Of course, it was not an argument for revolution, but could be interpreted as that of a martyr for a higher justice which the revolution would institute on earth.
- 89 Kedourie, 1960, esp. chs.2-3; cf. H.Reiss (ed.): The Political thought of the German Romantics, 1793-1815, Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1955.
- 90 Pigler, op.cit. lists some 35 examples from the 17th to 19th centuries, including Salvator Rosa, Cignaroli, Biagio Martini (1790), Dufresnoy, Bertin, Dandré-Bardon (1753), Challe (1761), J-B.Alizard (1762), Sané (1762), Gamelin, Peyron (1790), David, Caraffe, Rode, Zick, J.N. Schopf, Abel (1800), Joseph Bergler d.Jüngere (1800), Kauffmann, West, Kohl (1801) - so a theme clearly favoured by the late 18th century.
- 91 West canvas 34 x 41", c.1756, painted at the age of eighteen for William Henry of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, cf. J.Flexner; American Painting, the first flowers of our Wilderness, Houghton Mifflin, Boston 1947, 183. It was probably taken from Gravelot's illustrations, and is now in the Collection of Mrs.Thos.H.A.Stites of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, cf. Abrams 1985, 54-9, and von Erffa & Staley 1986, no.4, (p165).

- 92 On Sané, cf. J. Loquin: "Notice sur le peintre Jean-François Sané, (1732?-1779)", Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français 1910, 42-60. The subject was also chosen by the Dijon Academy for its Prix de Rome competition of 1780. The Gamelin painting is at Carcassonne, Musée.
- 93 cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.893, (p.954).
- 94 Carlsberg Glyptotek (c.1784); the Schick drawing is in Stuttgart.
- 95 Fabre canvas, 124 x 184cm. (cf. Burlington Magazine 117, 1975, p.155); formerly in Diodati-Le Fort Collection, Geneva cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, p.410. Peyron's Mort de Socrate is in a private collection in Denmark (with a drawing in the Albertina, Vienna), cf. ibid. p.562.
- 96 For these anachronisms, cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.63, (pp.41-2). David's painting, now in the Metropolitan Museum (129.5 x 196cm.), was no.119 at the 1787 Salon; in 1785, René Milot presented an untraced sculpture of this theme (no.254).
- 97 E. Bonnardet: "Comment un oratorien vint en aide à un grand peintre", Gazette des Beaux-Arts XIX, 1938, 311-15; Phaedo 117 (ed. Livingstone, op.cit. p.197):
- "At the same time, he handed the cup to Socrates, who very cheerfully and without the least tremor or change of colour or feature, glancing upwards and looking the man full in the face, Echecrates, as his manner was, took the cup and said: What do you say about making a libation out of this cup to any god? May I, or not? The man answered: We only prepare, Socrates, just so much as we deem enough. I understand, he said; but I may and must ask the gods to prosper my journey from this to the other world - even so - and so be it according to my prayer. Then raising the cup to his lips, quite readily and cheerfully he drank off the poison." (There follows the account of Phaedo's weeping, and the grief of Crito and Apollodorus, which Socrates silences).
- In fact, the David painting conflates three moments: when the jailer bursts into tears before bringing the cup, the moment of raising the cup for a libation, and the moment after the drinking, when the disciples are unable to restrain their grief. cf. David's early drawing in Lille museum which shows 15 disciples, all nude, with Xanthippe fainting.
- 98 Apology 41 (ed. Livingstone, op.cit. p.47): "In another world they do not put a man to death for asking questions; assuredly not".



- 99 For some further comments on David's use of his theme, and the favourable reactions of the critics (including Reynolds), cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.32, (pp.367-8); and also Rosenblum, 1967, 74-6.
- 100 As in Von Deutscher Art und Kunst, Hamburg 1773, Philipp Reclam Jun. Stuttgart 1773; cf. I.Berlin: Vico and Herder, Hogarth Press, London 1976.
- 101 For this "realism", see W.Friedlander: Caravaggio Studies, Princeton University Press 1955; R.E.Spear: Caravaggio and his followers, rev. ed'n, Harper & Row, New York 1975.
- 102 For the background, cf. A.Andrewes: Greek Society, Penguin, Harmondsworth 1978; and N.Fisher: Social Values in Classical Athens, Dent, London 1976.
- 103 Socrates speaks of his daimōn several times, e.g. in the closing speech of the Apology, but Socrates' daimōn does not initiate action like the Kantian good and free will, only inhibits it.
- 104 Plato's simile occurs in Book VI of the Republic; for cultural nationalism, cf. Barnard, op.cit., ch.1; and E. Shils: "Intellectuals in the political development of new states", World Politics 12, 1960, 329-68.
- 105 Salon of 1796, (no.450), 1.57 x 1.95m., Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours, (oil sketch at Musée Ingres, Montauban, 0.46 x 0.55m).
- 106 Other versions of this story in painting were by A.E.Fragonard (1793), Lafond le jeune (1796), and Gros (1798), only they took as their theme the episode of the murder of Timophanes; see Rosenblum 1967, 92, n.154.
- 107 Ibid. 92-3.
- 108 The growth of such a "vernacular" intelligentsia in Europe is charted by Gouldner (1979), A.D.Smith (1981, chs.5-6) and Anderson (1983).

NOTES

CHAPTER 9: RUDE ORIGINS. NOBLE DESCENT

- 1 Flaxman drawing, grey wash, 234 x 251mm., reproduced in Heim Gallery Ltd: John Flaxman, London 1976 (no.24).
- 2 D.Irwin: John Flaxman, 1755-1826, Studio Vista, Christie's, Cassell Ltd., London 1979, 108-110, and fig. 143. The drawing is undated, but, in view of the Michelangelesque influence, may have been done in Rome in the 1790s, along with a drawing from Genesis 5,24, of Enoch raised to Heaven (1792, pen, ink and wash, 252 x 230mm.), also illustrated in ibid., 107 (fig.139). (Flaxman returned to this "archaic" subject in 1821, immediately after the first Book of Enoch, in the Apocrypha, had been translated into English).
- 3 Flaxman drawings: Irwin, op.cit., 90-93, discusses the Hesiod series, probably begun after 1805 and published in 1817.
- 4 Flaxman drawing; Heim, op.cit., (no.21), pencil and grey wash, 128 x 163mm. Others in the series were exhibited (the final drawings in pen and ink) at The Age of Neo-Classicism exhibition in 1972, no.577 (p.339), and another bound volume is in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
- 5 Flaxman drawings, Heim, op.cit., (nos.22, 23); and cf. Saturn and his children, reproduced in Irwin, 1979, 93 (fig.117, engraving by William Blake after Flaxman).
- 6 Barry: Fall of rebel Angels, drawing, Ashmolean; Satan flees..., pen and wash, 50.8 x 39.8cm., Nelson Gallery, Atkins Museum, Kansas City, Missouri; Neptune with Titans and other attendant figures, 18" x 21 1/2", M.Barclay.
- 7 Flaxman drawings: Heim, op.cit., (no.27, 130 x 209mm., pencil with sepia wash); Irwin, op.cit., 102-3 (fig.133, pen and ink, 18 x 26cm.), dated to 1793 (Hope commissioned 109 illustrations for Dante's Divina Commedia in 1792, after Henry Boyd's complete translation of 1785); and also 91, 93 (fig.118, pen and ink, 15 x 14.3cms). Flaxman also drew Satan fleeing from the touch of Ithuriel's Spear (Paradise Lost), pen and ink, 17 x 24cms. illustrated in Irwin, op.cit., 104-6, (fig.136).
- 8 Fuseli: Satan (1794-6), canvas, 126 x 101cm., Zürich, priv.coll., from Paradise Lost II, 1010ff.; Deluge (1796-1800), Kunstverein, Winterthur, Canvas, 158 x 119cms., Paradise Lost XI, 742ff.; cf. Tate Gallery 1975, 89 (no.91), and for Prometheus, ibid., nos. 73,78.

- 9 Carstens: Battle of Titans and Gods (1795), pen and aquarelle, 315 x 226mm.; Chronos, pencil and chalk, Kunsthalle, Bremen.
- 10 F. Novotny: Painting and Sculpture in Europe, 1780-1880, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth 1971, 53 (fig.27) reproduces and discusses this pencil drawing (745 x 985mm.) in the Schlossmuseum, Weimar, and dated to 1795. Carstens also did a drawing of Theseus and Oedipus with the Eumenides (presumably from Sophocles' last play, Oedipus at Colonus), cf. W. Vaughan: Romantic Art, Thames & Hudson, London 1978, 71-2 (fig.45). For the Atropos of 1794, cf. Novotny, op.cit., 390 (fig.315), a plaster fragment now in the Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main.
- 11 Banks: Falling Titan, marble, height 88.9cm., 1786, Royal Academy of Arts, London. Banks may have been influenced by Fuseli, when both were in Rome, since Banks' daughter, Mrs. Lavinia Forster wrote to Cunningham later that they "used to be very fond of comparing figures from five points placed at random... It is probable that one of these (sketches) first suggested to him the idea of The Fallen Titan". See Annals of Thomas Banks, ed. C.F. Bell, Cambridge 1939, 68, cited in N. Pressly, 1979, no.54 (pp.52-3).
- 12 On this, see H. Weston: "Prud'hon: Justice and Vengeance", Burlington Magazine 117, 1975, 353-63, especially for the influence of David's Brutus, and Fabre's Death of Abel, and the Orestes motif; and Prud'hon's own description in his letter of 23 June, 1805.
- 13 For Prud'hon's drawing, cf. Heim Gallery Ltd.: French Drawings: Neo-Classicism, London 1975, nos.103, 104, (brown, grey and white chalk, on grey paper, 279 x 328mm.), and note.
- 14 Fuseli canvas, 122 x 157cm., now in Zürich, Kunsthaus (Alcmaeon driven by the Furies of his mother, Eriphyle); and cf. his earlier drawing (1810) of The Erinues beside Eriphyle's Corpse, black chalk and ink with grey wash, 20 x 24.3 cms., Zürich, Kurt Meissner, reproduced in Tate Gallery, op.cit., no.74, (p.82).
- 15 For some of the Girodet drawings for the Aeneid, done between 1811 and 1824, cf. Heim 1975, nos.55-62.
- 16 Abildgaard: Baldur and Nanna, sepia and wash drawing, Stockholm; Ymir or Odhumbla or Audhumbla, drawing in Stockholm, and canvas, 33 x 45.5cms., State Museum for Art, Copenhagen.
- 17 Romney: Descent of Odin, Royal Institution, Liverpool, based on the large volume of drawings done in Rome,

- c.1776, now in Truro.
- 18 Romney's Persae pair are in Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, (black chalk, 101 x 126.4cms.); so is the Orpheus series, cf. Irwin 1966, 85-6.
  - 19 Fuseli canvas, 131 x 91cm., 1792, Diploma work, Royal Academy, from Mallet's Northern Antiquities II, 134 (1770); see Tate Gallery 1975, no.125 (p.105); and Irwin 1966, 100 (pl.119).
  - 20 For the Oath of the Rütli, cf. G.Schiff: Johann Heinrich Füssli, 1741-1825, Verlag Berichthaus, Zürich 1973, no.359; and above, ch.8.
  - 21 Schiff: op.cit. no.485, Bistre and washes over pencil, on joined pieces of paper, 28.2 x 39.5 cm., 1776, British Museum; cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.597, (p.346). Fuseli also exhibited a painting of The Descent of Odin: For Du Roverau's new Edition at the Royal Academy, taken from Gray's poem, which in turn was derived from Bartholinus' Latin translation of the Icelandic legend.
  - 22 See Kenwood 1974, no.71 on Fuseli's drawing. For this example of Fuseli's Aphorisms on Art, cf. G.Grigson: "Painters of the Abyss", Architectural Review 108, 1950, 215-20; and F.Antal 1956, ch.1.
  - 23 Girodet canvas, 4.31 x 3.41m., Salon of 1806, Louvre (the study, 1.465 x 1.150m., also in oil, is in the Musée, Montargis). On the connection with Fuseli's Deluge (n.8 above), cf. J.Rubin: "An early Romantic polemic: Girodet and Milton", Art Quarterly 35, 1972, 211-38.
  - 24 Fabre canvas, 1790, Musée Fabre, Montpellier: cf. P.Bordes: "Francois Xavier Fabre, peintre d'histoire", Burlington Magazine 117, 1975, 91-8, 155-62.
  - 25 Barry canvas, 233 x 183mm., 1767-70, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. Blake: pen and watercolour, 49.7 x 40cms., 1808, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Cf. W.Pressly: James Barry, the Artist as Hero, The Tate Gallery, London 1983, no.1, pp.51-2. Barry chooses Milton's version rather than the Bible, perhaps for nationalistic reasons, and depicts the approaching storm that will, like Adam's action, destroy this primordial harmony. On Blake, cf. Tate Gallery: William Blake, London 1978, nos. 220, 221, 223, pp.114-5.
  - 26 Heim 1976, no.90; Flaxman drawing, pencil and sepia wash, 262 x 322mm., private coll.(Germany), and pencil sketch in the Fitzwilliam Museum.
  - 27 For Flaxman's early The Golden Age, pen and ink and

- wash, 22.6 x 16.4cms., cf. Irwin, 1979, 33-4, (fig.39); for his later Ages of Man series, ibid. 91-2. For some of the Pandora series, cf. Heim Gallery: op.cit., nos.18-20.
- 28 West canvas, oval 65.5 x 76.5cms., 1776, Tate Gallery; West: Etruria, oil on paper on wood, 20 1/2 x 25 1/4", 1791, Cleveland Museum of Art; Graces Unveiling Nature, canvas 150cms. diameter, The Four Elements, canvas, 109 x 185cms., 1779-80, Burlington House.
- 29 Barry canvas, 110 x 205", 1804 (started before 1790), Manchester City Art Gallery (drawing, 279 x 521mm, British Museum); cf. Pressly 1983, no.85, 141-3.
- 30 For the commission, see A.Cunningham: Lives of the most eminent British Painters, London 1830, II, 60. For Barry's description, see J.Barry: An Account of a series of pictures in the Great Room of the Societu of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce at the Adelphi, London 1783.
- 31 Barry sketch (13 1/2 x 14 1/2") for this picture is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Gilbert West's Dissertation is part of his Odes of Pindar, 2nd Edition, London 1753; cf. F.Cummings and A.Staley (eds): Romantic Art in Britain, paintings and drawings, 1760-1860, Philadelphia 1968. For Barry's letter, see J.Barry: A Letter to the Society of Arts, London 1793, esp.31, cited in D.Allan: "The Progress of Human Culture and Knowledge", The Connoisseur 186, 1974, 100-109; and on Barry's praise of Poussin (in his Royal Academy lecture "On Design"), see Saxl and Wittkower 1948, 64-5.
- 32 On these styles, see J.Wark: "A Note of James Barry and Edmund Burke", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes XXVII, 1954, 282-5. Other accounts of the series, and its significance, can be found in Allan 1974 and Irwin 1966, 42-3 (figs.21-2), as well as W.Pressly 1983, no.28 (pp.79-85), and Pressley 1984.
- 33 On Barry's conception of the artist-hero, and the need for a national school of painting for any truly "great" and free nation, see the essay by W.Pressly, "The Artist as Hero", in idem 1983, 21-40; and the comments in Saxl and Wittkower, op.cit., 64-5; also J.Barrell: The Political Theory of Painting from Reunolds to Hazlitt, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1986, ch.2. The links between an evolutionary universalism and a nationalist myth of descent, antique or medieval, can be traced in much neo-classical art and literature. The tensions generated by these coexisting aspirations (universalist and ethnic) are inherent in the neo-classical ideal and the middle class national revolution which it inspired and guided; see H.Kohn: The Idea of Nationalism, Macmillan, New York 1967 (2nd ed.),

- chs.5-8, and A.D.Smith: The Ethnic Origins of Nations, Blackwell, Oxford 1986, chs.6-8.
- 34 Brenet's painting of 1777 is in Toulouse, Vincent's at Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts. It was exhibited at the Salon of 1798 (no.425); for details, cf. Rosenblum, 1967, 93-4, n.161.
- 35 Rosenblum, op.cit., 93, n.160, mentions two works on similar themes, a drawing by René Gouzien (Salon of 1796, no.199) and one of Greuze's last paintings (Salon of 1801, no.159) now in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow.
- 36 West, Drawing: The Bard (pen, sepia ink and wash, 8 3/8" x 4 3/4") and canvas (29.4 x 22.8cm), both 1778 in Tate Gallery; Fuseli's drawing is in the Reinhart collection at Winterthur; de Louthembourg: drawing of the early 1780s (20.7 x 27.3mm.), painting in the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff. Also John Saunders: The Bard, Vide Gray's Works, Ode ii, a stained drawing, Royal Academy 1778, no.2.
- 37 Romney's drawing is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Mortimer's pen and ink drawing of 1774 (exhibited 1775 at the Society of Artists, no.182) is known from an etching by Robert Blyth of 1781, in a private collection, cf. John Hamilton Mortimer, 1740-1779, Towner Art Gallery, Eastbourne and Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, London 1968, no.41; cf. Richard Westall: Homer reciting his Poems, canvas 36" x 43", c. early 1790s after Lawrence's version of 1791 (R.A.no.180) and cf. the drawing on this theme by William Hamilton (Victoria and Albert Museum); see Agnew 1972, no.15.
- 38 Carstens drawing, pencil and chalk, 31.5 x 41.3cm., (1796), Nationale Forschungs und Gedenkstätten der Klassischen Deutschen Literatur, Weimar, cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, 920 (no.530), and ibid., 431 (no.839) for Thorvaldsen's black crayon copy (78.5 x 97cm.); David's painting of 1812 (canvas, 83 x 100cms.) is in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass; Lethière's is in Nottingham (canvas, 78 x 97cms., s.& d.1816, Rome); and Ingres' Apotheosis of Homer, no longer archaic or rude, is in the Louvre (canvas, 386 x 515cms. and dated to 1827).
- 39 Ossian was apparently the last survivor of a tribe killed off at the battle of Gabhra in AD 252 (or 283), and in the Irish epic cycle of the 11th century, he is depicted as a Homeric bard, old, blind and wandering, singing the deeds of his tribe and its generations of heroes, and his own youth; cf. H.Okun: "Ossian in painting", Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes 30, 1967, 327-56. Macpherson actually published his first "fragments of ancient poetry,

- collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse language", in Edinburgh in 1760, followed by "Fingal" in 1761 and "Temora" in 1763, the full Works of Ossian appearing in 1765.
- 40 D.Macmillan: "Alexander Runciman in Rome", Burlington Magazine 112, and N.Pressly 1979, nos. 4-7 (pp.8-10).
- 41 S.Booth: "The early career of Alexander Runciman and his relations with Sir James Clerk of Penicuik", Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes XXXII, 1969, 332-43; cf. Kenwood 1974, no.82, and above, ch.6.
- 42 D.Macmillan: "'Truly National Designs"; Runciman's Scottish themes at Penicuik", Art History 1, 1978, 90-98; cf. W.Ross: A Description of the paintings in the Hall of Ossian at Pennicuik near Edinburgh, Edinburgh 1773, for a contemporary description.
- 43 Macmillan 1978, 93; the Scoti Chronicon was published in Oxford by Thomas Gale in 1722, and in Edinburgh by Thomas Goodall in 1759, another example of the growing tide of historicism during the eighteenth century.
- 44 Macmillan 1978; for Herder's "cultural populism" and his insistence on authentic native experience against foreign contrivance, cf. I.Berlin: Vico and Herder, The Hogarth Press, London 1976.
- 45 Okun, op.cit., Pt.I, and Macmillan 1978, 97. (Malvina, in the Macpherson poems, was the surviving daughter-in-law of Ossian and wife of the slain Oscar).
- 46 Apart from Ross' description (see above, n.42), there was a late nineteenth century guide by John Gray: Notes on the Art Treasures of Penicuik House, (Midlothian 1899). The Death of Oscar (1772), (from Book I "Temora" of Ossian's works), pencil, pen and wash, 14 x 19 1/2", is in Edinburgh, Print Room of the National Gallery of Scotland, as are the two etchings, and another sketch (pen and wash, 17 3/4 x 22 3/8") The Hunting of Cathloda. For The Finding of Corban Carglass, c.1772, cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.782, p.415, (etching, 14.6 x 8.8cms.), now in the British Museum, and Macmillan 1986, no.55 for a related etching.
- 47 Kauffmann canvas, 50" x 40", R.A. 1773; cf. Irwin 1966, 99 (pl.117). Her picture, whose subject comes from Fingal, Book VI, is now in the possession of Sir Alec Douglas-Home, The Kirsal, Coldstream; the style resembles that of her post-classical "epic" illustrations, e.g. Gualtherius and Griselda at Kenwood House, London. She painted another Ossianic scene in 1799.
- 48 cf. Irwin, op.cit., 98-9; Barry regarded Ossian as an

Irish bard.

- 49 For Abildgaard's Ossian Singing (c.1785), see N.Pressly 1979, n.69, and Okun, op.cit., Pt.II. Abildgaard returned to Ossianic themes several times: two drawings, undated, of Ossian and of The Death of Oscar. Malvina mourning the dead Oscar (canvas, Stockholm); a sketch and painting of Fingal's ancestors appearing to him by moonlight (c.1783), a painting of Ossian and Alpin's Son of 1799, in which Berrathon is depicted as a classical, dignified youth in strange "northern" garb in a friezelike setting; and also Ossian: the Ghost of Culuain appearing to his mother, (canvas, 24 1/2 x 31 3/4", c.1794, Stockholm, National Museum), see J.Clay: Romanticism, Chartwell Books, New Jersey 1981, 113.
- 50 Okun, op.cit., Pt.II; the later painting was done in Rome in 1796, and is far more Michelangelesque in spirit and in its figures.
- 51 Ibid.; Koch also painted Dina-Morul. Wedding scene. His illustrations had none of Flaxman's editions' success.
- 52 Runge painted eight pictures of Cath-loda and one of Starno and Swaran before Loda's cliffs; Okun, op.cit. lists Dürer, Weidewelt, Carstens, Flaxman and Daniel Chodowiecki among Runge's influences. Other Ossian drawings, 41 in all, were done in 1805-7 in a simple, stylised manner by Ruhl. Weitsch's dark Death of Comala was exhibited in Berlin in 1802 and widely discussed; Friedrich Rehberg painted an Ossian and Malvina in 1804 in Berlin; and Christian Gotlieb Kratzenstein-Stub painted Ossian and Alpin's Son in 1816 and many earlier drawings on Ossianic subjects.
- 53 M.Rogers: "John Trumbull's "Scene from Ossian's Fingal"", The Art Quarterly 22, 1959, 171-6; Trumbull canvas, 12 x 14", Toledo Museum of Art; there is a version of 1809 at Yale University Art Gallery.
- 54 Okun, op.cit., Pt.I. The aim of the Club was originally to "establish by practise a School of Historic landscape", cf.F.Guillemard: "Girtin's Sketching Club", Connoisseur 63, 1922, p.190. Turner's Ben Lomond (1802) had the poetic subtitle Vide Ossian's War of Caros. There is also a small painting by C.R.Ruley: Oscar bringing back Annir's daughter - a subject from Ossian, exhibited 1786 (Tate Gallery).
- 55 cf. A.Graves: The Royal Academy of Arts. a Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904, London 1906, 139. The Spirit of Cathmor is no.253 in the R.A.exhibition of 1794. The Royal Academy exhibitions of 1769-1800 displayed sketches and paintings on Ossianic themes by James Barralet (1771, nos.9,10), Maria Cosway (1782, no.



- 2; 1783, no.192), C.R.Riley (1782, nos.390, 397; 1786, no.141, 144; 1789, no.124), H.Richter (1792, nos.419, 420), H.Singleton (1794, no.253), R.Westall (1796, no.427), J.J.Kalls (1798, no.289), R.M.Paye (1798, no.552), S.Shelley (1798, no.739), Miss M.A.Flaxman (1799, nos.505, 506, 507,508), J.D.Fleury (1799, no.858), W.Artaud (1800, no.145).
- 56 Okun, op.cit. Pt.III; (on the Primitifs, cf.W.Friedlander: David to Delacroix, Harvard College 1952, 46-50).
- 57 Ibid. Part III, and Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.68 (pp.434-5); Gerard canvas, 184.5 x 194.5cm. 1801, Hamburg, Kunsthalle, originally for the "Salon doré" at Malmaison for Napoleon (another earlier version was lost in a shipwreck), and another copy at Malmaison.
- 58 For a full analysis, cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.80 (pp.455-7); Girodet canvas 92.5 x 184cm., Salon of 1802, (no.907), Rueil-Malmaison, Musée National du Château; cf. also Girodet 1967, no.26 (and sketch, no.25).
- 59 Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, p.455; and Okun, op.cit. Pt.III; the painting was not well received.
- 60 Ingres canvas, 348 x 275cms, Musée Ingres, Montauban; cf.J.Whiteley: Ingres, Oresko Books, London 1977, Plate III, 34-5, for reproduction.
- 61 Girodet: Fingal recueille le dernier soupir de Malvina, canvas, 1.13 x 1.47m, c.1801-6, Varzy, Museum; Dream of Ossian, paper on canvas, 0.45 x 0.38m., Musée Magnin, Dijon. There is also a drawing of Ossian playing his harp at the Musée Girodet, Montargis; see Girodet 1967, no.66, for a Projet pour Ossian (22 x 31cm.)
- 62 Barry: The Baptism of the King of Cashel by St. Patrick, canvas, National Gallery of Ireland (and later sketch (oil on paper on canvas, 62 x 63cms., An Taisce) of c.1799-1801) was bought by members of the Irish Parliament and presented to the House in Dublin, and was thought to have been destroyed when the House was burnt in 1792. See W.Pressly; "James Barry's "The Baptism of the King of Cashel by St. Patrick"", Burlington Magazine 118, 1976, 643-6. Barry, thinking it destroyed, executed the later sketch, cf. W.Pressly 1983, no.87.
- 63 Flaxman drawing, cf. Irwin 1979, 16 (fig.18), pen and ink and wash 47 x 66cms., 1783, Fitzwilliam Museum. Runciman's drawing (30 x 40") shows a landscape on the east coast of Scotland, and is now in the A.Kay Collection, Edinburgh. Another representation by J.Barney of Caractacus brought prisoner before Aulus Didius, vide Mason's Caractacus, was exhibited at the

Royal Academy in 1791 (no.16), and yet another by S.Woodforde: Caractacus before Claudius in 1793 (no.311).

- 64 Irwin, op.cit., 17, (fig.20); Flaxman drawing, pen and ink and wash, 47 x 66cms., Fitzwilliam Museum; Irwin also reproduces the much later medieval incident of The Punishment of John de Cobham, sentenced unjustly as a traitor by Richard II and recalled by Henry IV, also drawn by Flaxman in this early period (fig.17).

Another popular theme was that of the conversion of Britain to Christianity. In the very first Royal Academy exhibition of 1769, Samuel Wale exhibited a sketch of St.Austin preaching Christianity to King Ethelbert and Queen Bertha in the isle of Thanet (no.117, painting exhibited in 1774, no.309); the subject was also painted by H.Tresham for the Royal Academy of 1795 (no.19) and by H.Singleton in 1799 (no. 311).

- 65 For a discussion, cf. D.Bindman: Blake as an artist. Phaidon Press Ltd. Oxford 1977, 14-16 (plates 1 and 2)

- 66 cf. K.Raine: William Blake, Thames & Hudson, London 1970, 13-17.

- 67 Bindman, op.cit., 24, thinks these two watercolours are two halves of a single composition and, being processional in form, that they reflect the influence of the reliefs on Trajan's column. In accepting the poetic account of British antiquity, Blake seems to have been following Milton and Spenser.

- 68 Bindman, op.cit., 23, Royal Academy exhibition of 1780, no.315, one of several watercolours in the British Museum.

- 69 Fuseli drawing; Death of Cardinal Beaufort (1772), pen and wash, 25 1/2 x 33 1/4", Walker Art Gallery, cf. Antal 1956, ch.2; for the Edward and Eleanor, see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.508, (pp.311-2), for the engraving of 1793, and Tate Gallery: William Blake op.cit., no.18, (p.35) (line engraving, 30.8 x 45.9cm., British Museum).

- 70 Bindman, op.cit., 26, plate 15; now in the Victoria & Albert Museum. There is a little evidence of Banks' artistic, and perhaps political, influence on Blake; both were radicals during (and before) the French Revolution.

- 71 Mortimer: St.Paul (1764), no.123; the huge painting (10' x 12') was presented by Dr. Bates to a church in High Wycombe, and is now in the Town Hall there. St.Paul preaching to the Britons; pen and ink, 19.5 x

- 28cm., c.1775-8, Priv.coll. (provenance Iolo Williams), The lost completed drawing of 1777 was no.347 in the Society of Artists exhibition, cf. John Hamilton Mortimer 1968, nos 39, 40 (p.30).
- 72 Ibid., no.37 (p.29), Society of Artists 1776 (no.69), canvas 43.2 x 59.7cms. (priv.coll.).
- 73 Ibid., no.38, (p.29), canvas, 45.1 x 62.2cms. (priv.coll.), no.203 in the Society of Artists exhibition of 1779.
- 74 Ibid., no.42, (p.31), no.210 in the 1779 exhibition of the Royal Academy, as "The death of Sir Philip Sidney, a design for a picture, a sketch".
- 75 cf.J.Sunderland: "Mortimer, Pine and some political aspects of English history painting", Burlington Magazine 116, 1974, 317-26; and D.Bindman, op.cit., 25.
- 76 Fuseli drawing, pen and wash, Bollag coll., 1769. This is listed in Schiff, op.cit., no.334, as Die Begegnung von Vortigern und Rowena auf dem Bankett des Sachsenfürsten Hengist, pen and wash over pencil, 385 x 501mm., Zürich, Kunsthaus, from M.de Rapin Thoyras, Histoire de l'Angleterre I, Basel 1740, 29.
- 77 Kauffmann: Vortigern, king of Britain... canvas, 60 1/2 x 84 1/2", exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1770, no.116, Saltram House, cf. The Saltram Collection. The National Trust, Curwen Press, London 1967, no.92I, (also drawing of 1770 in Bregenz) A Sacrifice to Vortigern, canvas, 60 3/4" x 49 1/2", Stourhead, listed in the National Trust booklet (Curwen Press, London 1975) as A Sacrifice to Minerva (no.309), p.29, showing the interchangeability, stylistically, of the classical and medieval revivals in this early phase; cf. Irwin, op.cit., 88 for a similar comment and reproduction (plate 108).
- 78 Bindman, op.cit., 22 (plate 11); Mortimer canvas, 17 1/2 x 24", R.A. 1779, (no.204).
- 79 W.Hamilton, canvas, 79" x 59", c1793 (coll. Brian Leary); 1790s; cf. J-F. Rigaud: Vortigern and Rowena, or the first settlement of the Saxons in England, 1788, R.A. no.135.

- 80 West: King Alfred, canvas, 228.5 x 279cm., R.A. 1779, (no.341), Stationer's Hall; William de Albanac presents his three daughters (naked) to Alfred, the third king of Mercia, with the following words: "Here be my three daughters, chuse to wife which you list: but, rather, than you should have one of them to your concubine, I would slau her with mine own hand". (Leland's Itin., vol.viii, p.58), the above being the description of the 1779 Royal Academy exhibition catalogue; canvas, 147.5 x 208.5cm. destroyed; see von Erffa and Staley 1986, nos. 47,48 (pp.186-88); cf. also Irwin, 1966, 96. (Fuseli's drawing of the 1780s is in the Reinhart Collection, Winterthur).
- 81 West: The Intercession of the Queen Mother with Richard I to pardon his Brother John, canvas 218.5 x 152.5cm., 1792-4, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri; The Citizens of London offering the Crown to William the Conqueror, canvas 198 x 152.5cm., c.1792-7, with its anachronistic flying buttresses and 14th century windows on Westminster Abbey, is now in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool; see von Erffa and Staley 1986, nos 50, 52 (pp.188-9). Two other paintings of Richard I, an unusual choice of theme, were done by Thomas Stothard and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1791: Richard First returned from Palestine (no.72), and Richard First's treatment of Isaac, prince of Cuprus (no.108).
- 82 See Saltram 1967, no.88T, (p.41) for the Edgar and Elfrida (canvas, 60 1/2" x 84 1/2"), Saltram House, exhibited at the R.A. in 1771, (no.113), the engraving by Ryder being extremely popular and raising Angelica's reputation in England to its highest point (Lady Victoria Manners and G.C. Williamson: Angelica Kauffmann, London 1924, 38); The tender Eleanora sucking the venom out of the wound which Edward I, her royal consort, received from an assassin in Palestine, Rapin's Historu, Vol.III, p.179, being the full title as listed under no.155 of the R.A. exhibition of 1776 (canvas, 70 x 90cm., s.& d. 1775, and a drawing in the British museum), engraved by Ryland in 1780, cf. Agnew 1972, no.2 and Bindman 1977, 22. John Deare: the drawings appear in an Album of Roman Studies c. 1770-90 (E260 and E332, 30 x 41cms, Victoria and Albert Museum), and are related to his relief sculpture of 1786 (plaster, 87.6 x 99.7cms., inscr. J.DEARE fecit.Roma 1786, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, with other plaster versions at Ince Blundell and at Lyons, County Kildare). The marble version, commissioned by Sir George Corbett, (now priv.coll.) may have been shown at the R.A. exhibition of 1788, (no.603); see Kenwood 1974, nos. 34 and 59. cf. also C.Rossi's version in R.A. 1795 (no.734).
- 83 Irwin 1966, 100; Fuseli canvas, 76 x 64cms., 1799, Ulrich coll., Zürich. cf. also the painting by J.Northcote, R.A. elect: Sir William Walworth, mauor of

- London, A.D. 1381. in the presence of Richard II. then 15 years old. kills Wat Tuler. at the head of the insurgents who are appeased by the heroic speech of the king. the full title of R.A. 1787 (no. 154). There is also S.Wale: The conviction of St. Thomas, R.A.1777, (no.35).
- 84 See Antal 1956, and W.Robson-Scott. The Literary Background of the Gothic Revival in Germany, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965.
- 85 Tate Gallery 1975, no.146 (p.115); Fuseli watercolour over pencil, 50 x 38.4cms., inscr. "Sept.1807", Zürich, Kunsthaus, cf. Schiff, op.cit., no.1396, and for this and other scenes, cf. the illustrations in Tate Gallery 1975.
- 86 On Fuseli's ambivalent attitude to medievalism and the Gothic, Antal, op.cit., 20-21: "Fuseli liked the fantastic, feudal world of chivalry which Spenser evoked but not the "primitive barbarism" of Ossian. This anti-gothic, anti-mystic bias was to remain characteristic of him throughout his life, and fundamentally separate him from Blake in spite of so many points of contact"; and on p.57: "Fuseli's liking for mannerism was a substitute for gothicism, a kind of latent gothicism". Yet, in terms of motifs and atmosphere, the Middle Ages held a strong appeal for Fuseli, and so did the more primeval Eddic mythology; though the Gothic (and Byzantine) style(s) lacked proportion and exalted forms, the medieval era from his earliest Swiss period of illustrations of Swiss history to those of the Nibelungenlied provided fertile soil for his dramatic, atmospheric art.
- 87 Natoire canvas, 266 x 300cms., 1737, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Troyes; cf. P.Conisbee: Painting in Eighteenth-century France, Phaidon, Oxford 1981, 88-90, fig.71. Natoire usually painted mythologies and some episodes from Homer or Roman history such as Coriolanus, Cleopatra and the Peace of Taranto between Octavian and Antony, the Rococo drawing being illustrated in Royal Academy of Arts: France in the Eighteenth Century, Hillingdon Press, Middlesex 1968, no.486 (fig.165).
- 88 Conisbee, op.cit., 59-62, (figs.44,45), and colour sketch no.3, p.56 (canvas, 100 x 61cms., Musée Bonnat, Bayonne) of the St. Geneviève).
- 89 Miracle des Ardents (1767), canvas, 665 x 400cms., Eglise St.Roch, Paris. The episode occurred in 1129 under Louis VI, St. Geneviève's intercession putting an end to the burning plague. (There is another sketch in the Louvre); cf. M.Sandoz: "Gabriel-François Doyen, peintre d'histoire", Bulletin de la Société d'histoire de l'art français 1959, 75-88.

- 90 Conisbee, op.cit., 62: canvas, 665 x 400cms., Eglise St. Roch, Paris, 1767. Both St. Denis and St. Geneviève were "national" saints; but there is little evidence of a "medieval patriotism" either in the works themselves or in the commission by the cure of St. Roch, Jean-Baptiste Marduel, who seems merely to have wanted to rival the building and decoration of St. Sulpice on the Left Bank. There is also an early painting by Brenet of St. Denis priant pour l'établissement de la foi dans les Gaules (1763) for St. Denis d'Argenteuil.
- 91 Greuze drawing, india ink wash over chalk, 49 x 64cm., c.1768, Musée Municipal, Chaumont; see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.631 (pp.358-9), citing E.Munhall: "Les dessins de Greuze pour Septime-Sevère", L'Oeil, April 1965, 23 (fig.3). The subject is taken from Tacitus, Annals IV, 6.
- 92 The cults of Vercingetorix and Jeanne d'Arc had to await 19th century researches; on the latter, see M.Warner: Joan of Arc, Penguin, Harmondsworth 1983.
- 93 See L.Poliakov: "Racism in Europe"; in A.de Reuck & J.Knight (eds): Caste and Race, Ciba Foundation 1967.
- 94 L.Poliakov: The Aryan Race, Meridian Books, New York 1974, ch.2; and J.Barzun: The French Race, Columbia University Press, New York 1932.
- 95 R.Palmer: "The national idea in France before the Revolution", Journal of the History of Ideas I, 1940, 95-111; and A.Cobban: History of Modern France, Penguin, Harmondsworth 1957, Vol.I.
- 96 On myths of descent in the early medieval era in Europe, see S.Reynolds: "Medieval origines Gentium and the community of the realm", History 68, 1983, 375-90; on the use of "genealogical" myths by aspirant lower classes in Germany, see G.Mosse: The crisis of German ideology, Grosset and Dunlap, New York 1964; and on both kinds of ethnic myths of descent in the modern world, see A.D.Smith: "National identity and myths of ethnic descent", Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change 7, 1984, 95-130.
- 97 For Ledoux, Stuart, Chambers, Soane and Laugier, see the analysis of late eighteenth century architectural primitivism in Rosenblum 1967, 119-29, 139-45.
- 98 Natoire canvas, 282 x 236.2 cms., 1750s, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York; preceded in France by Tournières (1716, Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts) Raoux (1734) and Baudouin (before 1769).
- 99 Mortimer drawing, 1770 (no.16 in Boydell's exhibition);

for Ravenet's 1771 engraving, see John Hamilton Mortimer 1968, no.47 (p.32); Runciman canvas, 24" x 44 1/2", 1771, Clerk Collection, Penicuik; see R.Rosenblum: "The Origin of Painting: a problem in the iconography of Romantic Classicism" Art Bulletin XXXIX, 1957, 279-90; and idem 1967, 21 (n.57).

- 100 Allan canvas, 38 x 30.4cms., 1773, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh; see Honour 1968, 112-3, 201 and Irwin 1966, 79. Wright canvas, 41 x 50cms., 1782-4, Coll.Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia; see Rosenblum 1967, 21 (and fig.16) and Irwin 1966, 80, (the Wright painting being bought by Wedgwood).
- 101 Suvée canvas, 267 x 131cms., Salon of 1791 (no.730), Groeningemuseum, Bruges (Salon of 1793, 145 x 97cms. and other variants); see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no. 244 (pp.154-5).

NOTES

CHAPTER 10: THE TRIUMPH OF THE NATION

- 1 M.Howard: War in European History, Oxford U.P.1976, ch.4.
- 2 C.Navarri: "The origins of the Nation-state", in L.Tivey (ed), The Nation-State, Martin Robertson, Oxford 1980; and C. Tilly (ed): The Formation of National States in Western Europe, Princeton U.P. 1975, Introduction.
- 3 Deshayes; grisaille sketch 60 x 87cms.. This and the other sketch for Minerva presenting Peace to the City of Paris are in the Carnavalet Museum, along with Hallé's sketches, (40 x 27cms). Hallé's canvas is at Versailles.
- 4 Penney: R.A.1772;cf. also Zoffany's later William Watts negotiating the Treaty of 1757 with Mir Jafar (canvas, Mrs.Watts Coll'n), done in 1780s, when Zoffany went to India (1783-9). On such documentaries of "memorabilia", cf. E.Wind: "The Revolution of History Painting", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes II, 1938-9, 116-27.
- 5 Peale canvas, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1781. A copy of this painting (25 x 33 3/4", and larger than the better-known version) was auctioned at Christie's on 18 June, 1976, cf. picture and report by Philip Howard in The Times, 5 June 1976.
- 6 Trumbull: Bunker's Hill, canvas, 20 x 30", 1784, Yale University Gallery of Fine Arts; Death of Montgomery, canvas, 20 x 30", Yale (do.) The other paintings in the series, all of roughly the same size, are also at Yale. Trumbull witnessed the Battle of Bunker's Hill from a distance, but his composition of 1784 owes much to Copley's Death of Major Pierson, especially the central death group and the fleeing figures to the right, the diagonals of smoke and banners, and the brilliant red uniforms. But there is also a surging, atmospheric proto-Romantic "Baroque" quality in the handling of paint and the cross-cutting rhythms. A similar excitement pervades the Death of Montgomery: there is an element of immediate shock in the explosion that killed the general and two aides as they led the assault, absent from West's Death of General Wolfe, despite the many debts to that work, e.g. the tripartite composition, the slumping central figure, the Indian. A more brilliant palette and spontaneous brushwork give this scene a less contrived and posed quality, cf. American Art: 1750-1800: Towards Independence, Yale University Art Gallery 1976, 98-9.
- 7 Trumbull, canvas 20 1/4 x 30", 1786-93, Yale University



- Gallery of Fine Arts; Rotunda replica 1818, installed 1824.
- 8 See I. Jaffe: Trumbull: The Declaration of Independence, Allen Lane 1976, for a full account of the painting's genesis and context. On the possible sources including Raphael's Disputa and Brenet's Générosité des Dames Fomaines of 1785, ibid. 75-7; on the architectural errors and Jefferson's role in the painting's genesis, ibid. 64-73, especially Edward Savage's painting of Congress Voting Independence in 1776, done between 1796 and circa 1817, and Joseph Sansom's (?) drawing of circa 1819 which shows the correct west wall, and which Trumbull used in his third (Hartford, Connecticut, Trumbull Gallery) series of 1832.
  - 9 Wille canvas, 162 x 129mm., s.d.P.A.Wille 1781, Salon 1781, no.169, Blérancourt, Musée National du Chateau. The large watercolour, s.d.1776, is also at Blérancourt. The Salon review, Garçon de bonne humeur, commented: "Sensible and honest souls are delightfully moved by these touching scenes, whereas they rebel at the sight of a father cursing his son, because he became a soldier", (Coll.Deloynes XII, no.264) cited by Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, 681.
  - 10 Copley canvas 32 1/2 x 44", 1781, Tate Gallery. The study for the central group, in black and white chalk on gray-blue paper, 1779, is in the British Museum, and is reproduced in American Art, op.cit., 8.
  - 11 Ibid, 89. In fact, Copley took considerable liberties with the scene: the ceremonial red robes were not worn during debate, Pitt did not die on the spot, as the title suggests, and the vantage point which gives the scene its clarity and heightened effect is a physical impossibility, cf. Jaffe, op.cit., 40.
  - 12 Copley drawing, black and white chalk on gray paper, 1779-80, The Boston Athenaeum, reproduced in American Art, op.cit. 88. The finished painting was exhibited privately in 1781, and 20,000 people paid one shilling to see it during a six-week period, though it was refused by the London Court of Common Council as too radical and realistic. Since C.W.Peale's mezzotint of Pitt in 1770, Copley had admired in Chatham "that great Man, in the most exalted carrator human can be dignified, that of a true Patriot vindicating the rights of Mankind", as Copley wrote to Peale, Boston, December 17, 1770 (cf.Copley: Pelham's Letters 100-101 for draft), cited by J.Prown: John Singleton Copley, Harvard University Press, Camb.,Mass. 1966, II, 268sq.
  - 13 Recorded in Cunningham's Eminent Painters IV, 151 and cited in Prown: op.cit. 270, in connection with his wish to paint "The Installation of the Order of

St.Patrick", a commission in fact given to John Keyse Sherwin in 1783.

- 14 Prown, Ibid. Major Pierson: canvas, 92 x 144cms., 1784, Tate Gallery. The French invaded Jersey in 1781, but Major Pierson refused to surrender, rallied the dispersed English troops and repulsed the invading French (who nearly won), but was mortally wounded. cf. American Art, op.cit., 89. The Siege of Gibraltar (canvas, 18' x 25') is now in the Foundling Hospital, Greenwich. Other artists to portray the scene included William Hamilton, James Jefferys and John Sherwin.
- 15 Prown, Ibid. II, 308-10. Trumbull already in 1784 "began to meditate seriously the subjects of national history, the events of the Revolution, which have since been the great objects of my professional life", cf. Reminiscences on his own Times from 1756 to 1841 by Col.J.Trumbull, New York 1841, 93, cited in J.H.Morgan: Paintings by John Trumbull at Yale University of Historic Scenes and Personages prominent in the American Revolution, Yale University Press, New Haven 1926.
- 16 Wind: op.cit. Perhaps exile and culture clash sharpens the sense of political identity. cf. also Abrams 1985 on West.
- 17 cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, 681.
- 18 Rosenblum 1967, 88-9, on Watteau's painting, and ibid. (n.142) on Wicar's.
- 19 Penney canvas 24 1/2 x 29", Coll. John Wyndham, Petworth; canvas, 39 x 47", Ashmolean, both 1764. for Wilton's monument, cf. M.Whinney: "Flaxman and the Eighteenth Century", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 19, 1956, 269-82.
- 20 Barry canvas, 148.6 x 236.2cm., R.A. 1776, New Brunswick Museum; See W.L. Pressly: James Barry: The Artist as Hero, Tate Gallery 1983, no.8, (59-61), Pressly conjectures that Barry's Portraits of Barry and Burke as Ulysses and a Companion fleeing from the Cave of Polyphemus, also of 1776, may likewise contain an allusion to their opposition to government repression in America; ibid. no.20, (71-2).
- 21 Irwin 1966, 148,150. Romney's early version was taken to India, and is now lost.
- 22 West canvas, 143.7 x 213.2cms., 1770, National Gallery of Ottawa; (cf. Irwin, op.cit. for the angel in the Wilton monument). There is another version in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen, commissioned by George III in 1771, after he had refused to buy the first version because of the modern dress and it was

acclaimed at the Royal Academy exhibition of 1771.

- 23 Wind: op.cit. and C.Mitchell: "Benjamin West's "Death of General Wolfe" and the popular history piece", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes VI, 1944, 20-33, who claims that West needed no sense of distance to achieve wide popularity, as the Wolfe theme was close to the pride of Englishmen in their origins and liberties and to what Joseph Wharton, in his essay on Pope, called "Our Harrys and Edwards" (J.Wharton: Essau on the Genius and Writings of Pope, 1756, London 1764, 219-220). Moreover, the rejection of Romney's lost Death of Wolfe for second prize in the 1763 Society of Artists competition suggests that the obstacle was not contemporary dress per se, but the depiction of contemporary history in modern costume.
- 24 J.Galt: The Life, Studies and Works of Benjamin West, Esq., 2 Vols, London 1820, II, 47-9, though both Irwin 1966, 148, and Abrams 1985, ch.1, question the accuracy of Galt's report of West's (much later) recollections.
- 25 See American Art 1976, 36, 83; Mitchell, op.cit. and Grose Evans 1959, esp.100; for the derivation of the Cherokee Indian from the monument in Westminster Abbey by Robert Adam to Colonel Roger Townsend (who died at Ticonderoga in 1759, another colonial hero like Wolfe), cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.271 (pp.172-3).
- 26 See nn.10-12, and 14 above, and Mitchell, op.cit.; for the pose of Major Pierson, and the commemorative aspects, see Prown, op.cit II, (though officialdom did not like it, and it was painted for John Boydell).
- 27 Zoffany canvas, 136.5 x 185cms., 1779, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich; see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.286 (p.183) and C.Mitchell: "Zoffany's "Death of Captain Cook"", Burlington Magazine 84, 1944, 52-62. There is also John Webber's Death of Captain Cook on which see Wind, op.cit.
- 28 Menageot canvas, Salon of 1781 (no.151), Musée de L'Hotel de Ville, Amboise; cf. the earlier version of Angelica Kauffmann, Royal Academy of 1778 (no.174), the undated drawing of Cosway (at Truro County Museum), and Gades' etching with preparatory drawing of 1783; Harriet (Salon of 1800, no.182); Monsiau (Salon of 1804, no.325); and Bergeret (Salon of 1806, no.24); on which, see Rosenblum 1967, 35-6 (nn.107-8, 110).
- 29 Chodowiecki canvas, 1767, Berlin, Deutsches Museum; see Rosenblum 1967, 74, fig.77.
- 30 R.Herbert: David, Voltaire, Brutus and the French Revolution, Allen Lane, London 1972, 68, 70, 81-6 (and nn.78, 80-4), citing the July 1791 issue of the

Chronique de Paris.

- 31 Lagrenée drawing, 1791, Carnavalet Museum, with Etienne Gois' plaster design of Voltaire's monument. On Celerier, see Herbert, op.cit. 81-4.
- 32 Durkheim 1915, 375.
- 33 David canvas of Le Peletier de Saint-Fargeau March 1793, destroyed, engraved Tardieu; see Friedlander 1968, 23, fig.12. For David's speech, and the anonymous print, see Herbert, op.cit. 92, 96-7, (the print in Revue de Paris no.185, 226, 24 Janvier 1793).
- 34 David canvas, 118 x 155cms., 1794, Musée Calvet, Avignon. This is the suggestion of Rosenblum 1967, 84-5; but perhaps, as Hautecoeur (1954, 129-30) contends, this is a picture of another patriot-martyr, Joseph-Agricola Viala who was killed beside the river Durance in similar conditions and whose ritual funeral Robespierre asked the Convention to celebrate.
- 35 J.C.Sloane: "David, Robespierre and the "Death of Bara"", Gazette des Beaux-Arts LXVII, 1969, 143-60, argues that the heroic acts of Bara and Viala were Robespierre's fabrications to revive Revolutionary fervour, and that Barère read a letter from General Desmarres, Bara's patron in the Vendée, commending this "brave boy" for preferring death to surrender and handing over his two horses to the "brigands". Nevertheless, an enthusiastic Convention accepted Robespierre's subsequent proposal, no doubt in the heat of a patriotic crisis of war.
- 36 David: Marat, canvas, 165 x 182cms., 1793, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels; given by David to the Convention on 14 November 1793 and exhibited in 1793-4 in the Convention's Assembly Hall. See The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.68 (pp.45-6) and no.554 (p.330) for David's drawing of The Head of the dead Marat, pen and black ink, 27 x 21cms., inscribed "A Marat, L'Ami du Peuple, David", 1793, Musée National du Chateau de Versailles. The extract of David's speech is quoted by Rosenblum 1967, 83 (n.113).
- 37 For details of Marat's death and funeral staging, see Dowd 1948, 104ff., and A. Brookner: Jacques-Louis David. A Personal Interpretation, Oxford University Press, London 1974; cf. also Friedlander 1968, 24.
- 38 For a full description, see Hautecoeur 1954, 128-9, and for the words of Milizia, cf. Honour 1968, 156. There is also a painting of David's school, Pompe funèbre de Marat, in the old church of the Cordeliers, 16 July 1793, Carnavalet Museum, See Brookner 1974, 14; also busts of Marat by Beauvallet and Deseine, cf. Herbert

- 1972, 98 (and n.101).
- 39 See G.de Blatz: "History, Truth and Art: the Assassination of Marat", Art Quarterly 4, 1945, 249-60; cf. Rosenblum 1967, 82-4, who mentions other portraits of Marat by Joseph Roques and Jean-Jacques Hauer of 1793.
- 40 Le Barbier canvas, Salon of 1795 (no.303), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy; drawing in Musée Carnavalet, Paris; see Leith 1965, 103 (and reproduction) and Rosenblum 1967, 91 (also fig.93).
- 41 David canvas, 386 x 203cms., s.& d. 1799, Louvre, exhibited at the Palais National des Sciences et des Arts, re-exhibited at Salon of 1808 (no.146); see R.Rosenblum: "A new source for David's Sabines" Burlington Magazine 104, 1962, 158-62.
- 42 Suvée canvas, Salon of 1796 (no.442); see Rosenblum 1967, 89.
- 43 Ferrey canvas, Salon of 1796 (no.164); cf. ibid. 89-90.
- 44 Guerin canvas, 217 x 244cms., Salon of 1799, Louvre; see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.125 (pp.83-4).
- 45 James Barry: The Paintings by James Barry in the Lecture Hall or "Great Room" of the Royal Society of Arts, London 1783, abridged, fourth picture, east wall (canvas, 142" x 182", 1777-83, R.S.A.); see Pressly 1983, no.280, and Allan op.cit.
- 46 For this competition, see Irwin 1979, 163, with Tatham's design, (and fig.229): Flaxman drawing, pen and ink, with pencil, 30 x 48.2cms., Princeton, Art Gallery; see Rosenblum 1967, 160, (fig.188).
- 47 Barry print of Pitt, etching and aquatint (brown ink), 45.5 x 36.7cm., British Museum; see Pressly, op.cit. no.27. Barry: Act of Union drawing, pen and brown and grey ink and grey wash over black chalk mounted on heavy paper, 70.9 x 52.4cm., c. 1801, Ashmolean Museum (and later version, do., 69.6 x 49.7cm., 1801, British Museum); see Pressly, op.cit. nos.88, 89 (pp.144-6).
- 48 For this radical circle, see Bindman 1978, chh.1-2. On Barry's patriotic radicalism, see Pressly 1983, 23, 73-8, and 101-2. I have omitted mention of later British monuments to Nelson and Lord Howe, which belong to a later period. But there were also British representations of General Paoli, the Corsican nationalist hero, after he sought refuge in England when France took over Corsica from Genoa in 1768 and suppressed the Corsican independence movement, on which see P.Thrasher: Pasquale Paoli, Constable, London 1972.

Flaxman did a portrait bust of Paoli in 1798; Cosway did a portrait (Royal Gallery, Florence) and Henry Bembidge painted General Pascal Paoli, the Corsican General, being informed that the remnant of his troops retreating from Ponte Nuovo, had been caught by the cross fire of French and his own Genoese troops on the Bridge over the river Golo, May 1769 (canvas, 47 1/2 x 33 3/4", Leger Galleries, see The Connoisseur 144, 1959, 264). There is also Westall's Patriotism of a Young Corsican as related by General Paoli, R.A. 1790 (no.533).

- 49 F.H.Sommer: "The Metamorphoses of Britannia", in American Art 1976, 40-9; many of these designs, inspired by Hollis and sometimes the work of Cipriani, are in Houghton Library, Harvard University, the Jennings painting being in the J.F.du Pont Winterthur Museum, Delaware, as is the emblem designed by Harris.
- 50 Houdon bust, terracotta 1786, Louvre, and statue in the Capitol, Richmond, Virginia (Houdon also did a marble bust of Jefferson in 1789, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.385, p.249). Wertmuller canvas, 65 x 53cms., s.&d. A.Wertmuller, Philadelphia 1795, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (the original painted in 1794, with three replicas); Hetsch canvas, 109 x 88cms., s.& d. Hetsch 1793, Stoutgard, Sammlung Georg Schafer, Schweinfurt, the scroll of music held by the seated woman at left inscribed: Trenton 21 Ap 1789, when the United States Constitution was inaugurated with Washington its first President; Canova Bozzetto, height 76cms., Gipsoteca di Possagno. On these see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.324 (p.209) for the Canova, no.270 (p.171) for Wertmuller, and no.138 (p.91) for Hetsch. On the 18th century cult of commemorative busts and statues of contemporary (or recent) heroes, see Honour 1968, 83.
- 51 Trumbull canvas, 1790, City Hall, New York, and also full-length portraits of Washington at Yorktown (1790, H.F.du Pont Winterthur Museum) and at Trenton (1792, Yale University Art Gallery), see Cooper 1982, nos.41, 42 (pp.118-21); Savage: stipple, coloured, 1798 (done in 1789), Yale University Art Gallery; Pealle canvas, 95 x 61", s. C.W.Peale pinxit 1781, Yale University Art Gallery. On these see American Art 1976, 138 (fig.64), nos.82-3 on Savage, and ibid., no.29 (pp.92-3), and Young America, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia 1975, no.31 (pp.14-15).
- 52 Stuart canvases, Vaughan portrait, 1795, National Gallery of Art, Washington; Athenaeum portrait, 1796, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Landsdowne portrait, 1796, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, see Young America 1975, no.39 (p.36) and American Art 1976, 109 (figs.53-5).

- 53 Pigalle marble, 147 cms. high, 1770-76, Louvre; see Honour 1968, 120-1.
- 54 cf. the painting by Hubert Robert (canvas, 62.2 x 81.3cms., s.& d. H.Robert 1794, National Gallery Dublin) with its base inscribed: *Icy repose l'homme de la nature et de la verité*: the companion night scene is in the Musée Carnavalet, see Royal Academy: France in the Eighteenth Century 1968, no.593 (fig.336). See Rosenblum 1967, 116-7, no.39.
- 55 For this print, see Herbert 1972, 111-2 (fig.58). The idea of a "surrogate religion" is taken from M.Weber: The Sociology of Religion, Methuen, London, 1965.
- 56 Houdon: Dumouriez, terracotta bust 63 x 45 x 26cms., 1792, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers: Barnave, do., 59 x 52 x 32cms., c.1790, Musée de Peinture et Sculpture, Grenoble, see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, nos. 393-4 (pp.254-5); Boze canvas, 215 x 126cms., 1790, Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence, see Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.13 (pp.333-4).
- 57 Laneuville canvas, 130 x 98cms., 1793, Bremen, Kunsthalle, see Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.117 (pp.523-5); cf. also Labille-Guiard's portrait of Robespierre (canvas, 100 x 75cms., 1791, private collection), on which see Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.113 (pp.518-9); and also Ducreux's 1793 portrait (Salon no.107).
- 58 Robert canvas, Salon of 1789 (no.36), Carnavalet Museum; and Le Barbier canvas, Salon of 1789 (no.99); also Charles Thévenin: Prise de la Bastille et arrestation du marquis de Launay, Salon of 1789 (no.541), Carnavalet Museum.
- 59 Vestier canvas, Salon of 1789 (no.111), Carnavalet Museum: see Herbert 1972, 63-4 (fig.32) and Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, p.658.
- 60 Robin canvas, Salon of 1787 (no.180), but excluded by the government at the last moment and exhibited at the Salon of 1789 (no.157), the words on Tollendal's petition reading: "Mon père n'étoit pas coupable". Later the son supported the King against "intimidation", on which see Herbert 1972, 59-61 (and note 45).
- 61 David drawing, pen and brown ink, bistre wash, 65 x 100 cms., s.& d. J.L.David faciebat anno 1791, Salon of 1791 (no.132), Musée National du Château de Versailles; see Leith 1965, 104.
- 62 On the political circumstances surrounding the Oath, see Herbert 1972, 68, and A.Cobban: A History of Modern France, Penguin, Harmondsworth 1963, Vol.1, 1715-99,

- 143-7, and G.Lefebvre: The Coming of the French Revolution, Anchor, New York 1947.
- 63 For David's studies for the Serment, see Virginia Lee: "Jacques-Louis David: The Versailles Sketchbook, I", Burlington Magazine 111, 1969, 196-208, (esp.201), and A.Brookner: Jacques-Louis David: A Personal Interpretation, Oxford University Press, London 1974. The Roman appearance of the participants in the Oath, despite a life-like realism, is traceable to some drawings in the Versailles sketchbook of Roman soldiers with swords, helmets and shields, but otherwise nude, alongside other sketches of gesticulating naked men. Here David combines the tradition of Hamilton, Beaufort and Fuseli Oaths, with the contemporary reportage in modern dress of Copley and West.
- 64 On the commission's wording, see Friedlander 1968, 23. (David had just painted a portrait of the patriotic mayor of Nantes in 1790 (23 March), see D.Dowd: "Jacobinism and the Fine Arts: the Revolutionary careers of Boucquier, Sergent and David", The Art Quarterly 16, 1953, 195-214). On the re-exhibition of David's paintings, see Rosenblum 1967, 82, n.109, and The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.553 (pp.329-30) and D.Dowd: Pageant-master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution, University of Lincoln Press, Nebraska 1948, 36-41.
- 65 For these examples, see Rosenblum 1961; for the Giani panel (38 x 53cms., 1797, Museo di Roma), see Arts Council 1959, no.184 (pp.146-7) and the Appiani Giuramento della Federazione della Repubblica Cisalpina. 29.6.1797, is in Castello Sforzesco, Milan.
- 66 Desfont's canvas, Salon of 1793 (no.595); cf. also Balsac's Triomphe de la Liberté. Salon of 1793 (no.531). Bertaux's canvas was also exhibited in the Salon of 1793 (no.125) and is at Versailles Musée.
- 67 Gerard drawing, pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white body colour, 67 x 91.4cms., Musée du Louvre, s.FG: see The Age of Neo-Classicism 1792, no. 611 (pp.351-2); cf. also two figure studies for the drawing in pencil, 217 x 172mm., in Heim Gallery 1975, nos. 44, 45.
- 68 There is also The Triumph of Marat by Boilly (canvas 81 x 121cms., on paper mounted on canvas, c.1794, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille) showing a triumphant Marat, acquitted of a pro-Girondin summons to the Revolutionary tribunal in April 1793, carried aloft in the neo-classical Salle des Pas-Perdus in the Palais de Justice; and a portrait of Marat by Boze in the Musée Carnavalet, and anonymous plaster busts of Marat and Le Peletier. cf. also Hubert Robert's canvas (32 x 40cms.) of Camille Desmoulins in



- Prison s.H.Robert Pinxit, 1794, Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, Connecticut, on which see Arts Council: France in the Eighteenth Century 1968, no.594 (fig.335).
- 69 For the scene, see Herbert 1972, 70-1, and for the celebration of the first anniversary of the Jeu de Paume Oath, cf. Cobban 1963, 168-9, and cf. Lee, op.cit., esp. 200. Paintings include: P.de Machy: La Fête de la Federation, Salon of 1793 (no.159, as La Federation des Francais - le 14 Juillet 1790): anon., of the same event; and another anon.: Serment de la Fauette à la fête de la Federation, sur l'autel de la Patrie (canvas, 100 x 81cms.), all in Carnavalet Museum, Paris, and all relating to the celebration of the Champs de Mars.
- 70 See Herbert 1972, 87-8, citing Jules David: Le peintre Louis David, 1748-1825, souvenir et documents inedits, Paris 1880, 109ff.
- 71 For these symbols and cults, see Leith 1965, 108-9, 121-2; and for the republican fêtes, ibid. 123-4 and Dowd 1948, passim, and cf. the canvas (48 x 75cms.) by P. de Machy: Fête de L'Unité, célébrée le 10 Août 1793 sur la place de la Révolution.
- 72 On the cult of the Supreme Being, see G.Rudé: Robespierre, Collins, London 1975, 122-6, reproducing P. de Machy's painting, Fête de l'Être Suprême, 8 June 1794, Carnavalet Museum; cf. Herbert, 1972, 111-2.
- 73 Jeaurat: C-J. Gelé: Tableau Révolutionnaire peint et présenté par Jeaurat, avec la description de l'allégorie offerte et prononcé par Gelé, à la Convention nationale le 20 Messidor l'an II de la République, Paris n.d.; see Leith 1965, 108.
- 74 F-A.de Boissy d'Anglas: Essai sur les fêtes nationales suivi de quelques idées sur les arts et sur la nécessité de les encourager adressé à la Convention nationale, Paris, l'an II; for a full discussion, see Leith 1965, 109-11. For the role of language in forging national unity and patriotism, see J-Y.Lartichaux: "Linguistic politics during the French Revolution", Diogenes 97, 1977, 65-84.
- 75 For these titles, see Leith, op.cit., Appendix, 175-6, all being exhibited at the Salon of 1793. cf. the vigorous neo-classical drawing by Augustin Felix Fortin: A Father places his sons under the protection of Mars, pen and grey ink with grey wash, 299 x 400mm., s.Fortin a Parisiis 1788, inscr. below, Un père met sous la protection de Mars deux fils qui vont combattre; exhibited at Salon of 1789 (no.303), see Heim 1975, no.31; its severe drawing and shallow space owe much to Fortin's friend (recently died), Drouais.

- 76 Leith, op.cit. 176-7, lists these sculptural (and engravers') allegories for the Salon of 1793.
- 77 Regnault canvas, 60 x 49cms., s.d.Regnault l'an 3eme, Salon of 1795, (no.424), Hamburg, Kunsthalle; a larger version in the same Salon (no.421) was deposited in a provincial museum in the mid-19th century, but its present whereabouts are unknown; see Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.150 (pp.580-1).
- 78 Réattu canvas, 98 x 130cms., c.1793-8, New York (private collection); see Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.147 (p.576) and pp.574-5.
- 79 Meynier canvas, 65 x 74cms., 1793, Bibliothèque Marmottan, Boulogne-Billancourt, see Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.127 (pp.544-6).
- 80 David drawing, pen and black chalk and china ink, 210 x 438mm., unfinished, 1793, Musée Carnavalet; and an earlier drawing, cf.Jules David, op.cit. 657.
- 81 On these figures, see Rosenblum 1967, 80-1, (figs.79, 81) and Herbert 1972, 110-111 (figs. 56,57).
- 82 On this, see Poliakov 1974, ch.2.

NOTES

CHAPTER 11: THE RISE OF HISTORICIST STYLES

- 1 The basic study of this ideological transformation remains H.Kohn: The Idea of Nationalism (1944), 2nd ed'n, Macmillan, New York 1967, but there are important recent surveys by H.Seton-Watson: Nations and States, Methuen, London 1977 and J.Breuilly: Nationalism and the State, Manchester University Press 1982.
- 2 On Vien, cf. Detroit: French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution, Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, 35-6, 110-111, 659-662; and more generally on artists' political affiliations, cf. Honour 1968, 69-80, and Leith: op.cit.
- 3 Rosenblum, op.cit. 33-4 (esp.nn.102, 106) and passim.
- 4 G.Evans: Benjamin West and the Taste of his Times, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale 1959.
- 5 Evans, op.cit., ch.1; cf.D.Irwin 1966, 148 (and n.5); Epaminondas: canvas, 87 1/2 x 70 1/2", and Bauard likewise, both in Kensington Palace, London, cf.ch.8, (nn.68, 71).
- 6 Evans, op.cit., ch.1; Irwin, op.cit. 145-6 on Penn's Treaty, which measures 25 x 30" (oil) and is now in Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia; cf. also John Russell's Portraits of Micoc and her son Tootac. Esquimaux Indians. brought over by Commodore Palliser, exhibited in the first Royal Academy exhibition (1769), but whose present whereabouts are unknown. On West's medieval series of Edward III for George III at Windsor, done between 1787-89, cf. Irwin, op.cit. 95-6, and Galt, op.cit. II, 72.
- 7 For a critique of this evolutionary metaphor and framework, cf. R.Nisbet: Social Change and History, Oxford University Press 1969, esp. ch.8; for the idea of intellectuals engaged in the construction of "maps" of historical change, cf. A.D.Smith: The Ethnic Origins of Nations, Blackwell, Oxford, 1986, ch.8.
- 8 Lagrenée painted two "exotic" pictures: The two widows of an Indian Officer (1783, at Dijon, Musée des Beaux Arts) and the Fidelity of a Satrap of Darius (1787, at Aurillac, Musée Hippolyte-de--Parieu); as well as a Death of Darius' Wife (1785, at Angers, Musées). Wright painted an Indian Widow in 1785 (Derby, Museum and Art Gallery); and West chose the unusual theme of Curus liberating the family of Astuages in 1770 (Kensington

- Palace, London). On the ways in which ideologies can satisfy human needs, cf. C.Geertz: "Ideology as a cultural system", in D.Apter (ed): Ideology and Discontent, Free Press, New York 1963.
- 9 Evans, op.cit., ch.2 for the Hagar and Ishmael: for the Witch of En-Dor and his later Death on a Pale Horse (1784), cf. Irwin, op.cit. 51, 138.
- 10 Mengs, as a pupil of Benefiale who along with Batoni had returned to the classics, in contrast to the "common nature" of Baroque art, was most influenced by the Bolognese Academy's view of High Renaissance art and the antique (generally late Hellenistic and Roman art); West met Mengs and Gavin Hamilton on his visit to Italy in 1760-3, and imbibed their conception of the arts as purveyors of the "godlike, heroic order of nature", cf. Evans, op.cit., 16. West's early Choice of Hercules (1764, now at Osterley House, Middlesex) retains the small scale of Mengs' figures, though radically simplifying the composition; only after his Orestes and Pylades of 1766, does the increased scale and "Doric" or severe heroism become evident, as in his The Banishment of Cleombrotus (1768, Tate Gallery).
- 11 The black chalk drawing by Lethière is at Château Gontier, cf. also Heim 1975, no.98. The canvas (which measures 436 x 762cms.), is in the Louvre. For Dance's Death of Virginia, see ch.7 (n.23), and Dance 1977 (no.3), and Kenwood 1974, no.58 (the painting is now lost, but Haid's mezzotint of 1767 survives); cf. also Rosenblum, op.cit. 65-6.
- 12 See above ch.4 (nn.2,4-5) and Kenwood, op.cit. no.56, which points to the influence of Salvator Rosa on Barry's more dramatic engraving of 1777; W.Pressly: James Barry. The Artist as Hero, Tate Gallery, London 1983, no.69 (p.125) stresses the greater emotional impact of bringing the figure forward and enlarging the stormy sky; for the later engraving of c.1790, ibid., no.70 (p.126), with the gnarled tree, and for the painting, ibid. no.2 (p.52), with its reference to Antonio Lombardo's classicising sixteenth century relief, as well as the Laocoon and Belvedere Torso. Barry also drew a preparatory sketch (1770; 8 3/4 x 11 1/4", Private Coll.) in a horizontal format, cf. Pressly, op.cit. no.11 (p.63). cf. also, for the painting, The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.13 (p.10). For the Fuseli drawing, cf. Irwin, op.cit. 47 (British Museum, and Victoria and Albert Museum). Romney's drawings of Aeschylean subjects also required a more linear and "primordial" style (c.1777-80), cf. Irwin, op.cit. 85; cf. A.Crookshank: "The drawings of George Romney", Burlington Magazine XCIX, 1959, 43-8.

- 13 For the trend towards linear abstraction, cf. Rosenblum, op.cit., ch.4. On the trend towards archaeological fidelity, cf. Hawley, op.cit., Introduction. David's Sabine Women (1799) illustrates the growing linear tendencies of an art that looked increasingly back to what were taken to be "Greek" (i.e. vase-painting) models; but a more plastic "Roman" tendency reappeared in his art under Napoleon, as well as in that of Fabre, Taillasson and Gros.
- 14 cf. Conisbee, op.cit. Other "medieval" subjects were at this date drawn mainly from romances of the Crusades, and a favourite was the story of Rinaldo and Armida, painted by Poussin and later by Tiepolo, alongside the story of Achilles, in the Villa Valmarana. At this point (1750s), there was little attempt to differentiate "medieval" from "classical" subject-matter, as Tiepolo's identical handling makes clear, cf. Tiepolo 1965. The two Rowena paintings by Kauffmann at Saltram and Stourhead still betray strong classicising tendencies, notably the later (1774) version, cf. Saltram 1967, no. 92T (and Stourhead 1975, pp.29-30). For Suvée's Coligny cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, no.169 (pp. 618-20); there were earlier examples of this episode by de Troy (1728) and Gravelot (1768), but without any focus on Coligny's death, only the massacre of St.Bartholomew of 1572. But in 1750 Cochin and later Charles Monnet (in a drawing) turned it into a night scene, as did Moreau the Younger (1785); but they all lacked the national drama of a hero unjustly put to death, which Suvée's picture conveys in response to his source, Voltaire's Henriade (1723).
- 15 On Schall, cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, 603-5; the rococo tradition also lived on in classical literary themes, like the Odyssey, as in Lagrenée's Telemachus and Termodis (1771), on which cf. M.Sandoz; "Paintings by J.L.F.Lagrenée the Elder at Stourhead", Burlington Magazine 103, 1961, 392-3; on Pine, cf. J.Sunderland: "Mortimer, Pine and English History Painting", Burlington Magazine 116, 1974, 317-26. Hamilton's series of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the popularity in France of Henri IV (paintings by Suvée, Danloux, Garnier, Ingres and Hersent), all attest the persistence of this "rococo" tradition and its continuity with the "troubadour" style that emerged in the early nineteenth century.
- 16 Not really so isolated in view of Girodet's own Dream of Endymion (1791) and Dream of Atala (1808); cf. J.Pruvost-Auzas: Catalogue de l'exposition Girodet and introduction by Laclotte to Girodet 1967 (esp.no.26); Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, 452-8 (esp.no.80) and

- ch.9, nn.58-9, 61. Some of Runge's paintings share Girodet's crystalline mystery, but the dream-like curvaceous, glassy quality comes into its own in the late Victorian era, notably in Art Nouveau (Mucha, Bilibine, Urubel, Delville, de Feure, Moreau, as well as Burne-Jones, Crane and Rossetti); see Royal Academy of Arts: Post-Impressionism, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 1979.
- 17 On Copley, cf. Prown, 1966, II, 266. On Hamilton, cf. Kenwood, op.cit., no.75 (44.5 x 52.7cms., engraving); canvas, 10'2" x 12'9", on loan to Glasgow University; Roman togas and oriental boots show Hamilton's failure at this early date to provide a convincing modern treatment for a contemporary event, despite its classical setting. (The event took place in 1751, and the painting commemorates it, being commissioned the year after Dawkins' death in 1757).
- 18 There is also Zoffany's Death of Captain Cook (canvas, 136.5 x 185cms., National Maritime Museum, Greenwich) of 1779, whose figures are modelled on classical statues, for example the Dying Gaul for Cook's pose, and the Discobolos for the bending figure to the right; though Zoffany did follow closely contemporary reports of the event, cf. The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.286 (p.183), ch.10, (n.27); on West's Wolfe cf. ch.10, (nn. 22-5); on Penny's, ibid. (n.19).
- 19 On the David and Ingres representations, cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, pp.161-2; they are in the same ennobling genre as the "Roman" portraits of Washington by Trumbull and Stuart, or West's Apotheosis of Nelson (1807). On Ingres' portraits, cf. R.Rosenblum: J.A-D. Ingres, Thames & Hudson, London 1974.
- 20 True patriots were conceived more in the style of a sculptural "Roman" drawing by A.Fortin: A Father places his Sons under the protection of Mars (299 x 400mm.) exhibited at the Salon of 1789 (no.303), cf. Heim 1975, no.31. For the Penny and Wheatley paintings, cf. Rosenblum, op.cit. 59, 96; Watteau's painting is also discussed in ibid. 88-9. The smaller figures of both medieval and contemporary exempla indicate their lesser stature in the hierarchy of historical genres.
- 21 On the Maccabees, cf. ch.8, (nn.1-5); for the Creation and Flood, cf. ch.9, (nn.1-2, 23); for the Death of Abel, ibid. (n.24). Cf. Canova's small plaster at Possagno of Adam and Eve mourning the death of Abel and de Louthembourg's painting of The Creation (canvas, 129.5 x 104.1cm, S.B.Rosenberg, Esq.) s.& d.1800 (but could this portray Moses with the tablets?), cf. Philippe Jacques de Louthembourg. RA. 1740-1812, G.L.C.,

Kenwood, London 1973, no.70. Both Fabre and Girodet depicted the strange theme of Zedekiah's children killed by Nebuchadnezzar, in 1787.

- 22 On this, cf. ch.4, (nn.1-5), and Pressly, op.cit. no.2, 11, 69-70. Barry also did an etching of another celebrated suffering hero, Job; his Job reproved by his friends (56.9 x 75.6, 1777, Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven) is classical in its monumentality and centralised composition, as well as the weight and toga-like vestments of its hero and his friends; only Job's wife strikes a discordant, fiery note, cf. Pressly, op.cit. no.24 (p.76-7) for a political interpretation, in which Pitt and Burke counsel a suffering nation led into an unjust war with America which brings ruin. Job is also depicted by Blake; but French artists of the period seem to have neglected the theme, though Deshayes painted a Job sur le fumier in 1751.
- 23 cf. ch.9, (nn.49-52): esp. Okun, op.cit.
- 24 cf. ch.4, (nn.6-12); on Harriet's painting, cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, pp.483-5. There is also a very classical grisaille painting by Appiani: The Death of Oedipus at Colonus, reproduced in the handbook of the Villa Carlotta, Lago di Como, where it hangs with two other Appiani grisailles of the Death of Pentheus and Priam supplicating Achilles: a weak and seated Oedipus on the left is accompanied by a priestess who holds one arm as she places a branch on an altar, while Oedipus' daughters cower in awe under the protection of Theseus, and an old man below lifts his arms in praise, with other old men behind, all suitably draped in toga-like cloaks; the scene has all the sedate grandeur that Winckelmann would have liked.
- 25 cf. Pressly, op.cit., no.47, (canvas, 269 x 367cms.), who emphasizes the classicized Stonehenge "in order to associate the ancient Britons with the nobility and grandeur of Greco-Roman civilisation". So even here, classical civilisation and classicism remain the touchstone of virtue and progress; as yet (and for Barry) the early middle ages possess no specific virtues of their own. cf. also Pressly, op.cit., no.5 for Barry's concentrated earlier version of 1774, (canvas, 101.5 x 128cm.), where the main characters (Lear, Cordelia, Kent) are forced up close to the picture plane by a sharp cutting off of the frame, increasing the emotional intensity of the last scene of King Lear, which Barry, unusually for the period, depicted as Shakespeare wrote it; the 1786 version enlarges this scene by adding Albany Edgar, Edmund, etc., and the landscape, for the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery, cf. also

- his etchings of 1776 and c.1790 (Pressly, op.cit., nos. 63-4). For the Fuseli and West versions, cf. Irwin, op.cit., 129-30 (the Fuseli painting is in Toronto Art Gallery, 105 x 144", and the West is in Boston Athenaeum); West also did paintings of King Lear and Cordelia and The Meeting of King Lear and Cordelia (1783), (the first in Central Picture Galleries, New York, the second at McCormick College, Chicago).
- 26 On the Welsh Bard, see ch.9, (n.36); cf. the drawing by de Louthembourg of the early 1780s ( Louthembourg 1973, no.61) and measuring 20.7 x 27.3cms. Sandby (1760), West (1786), Blake (c.1794), Fuseli (c.1800) and John Martin (1817) portrayed the theme. There are strong biblical elements in the figure of Louthembourg's Bard, as Gray's poem mentions (in his footnotes) that Gray took Raphael's Ezekiel and Parmigianino's Moses as his models. The Jones version is discussed and reproduced in C.Chippindale: Stonehenge Complete, Thames & Hudson, London 1983, 109,111.
- 27 On Rowena, cf. ch.9 (nn.76-9); cf. Irwin, op.cit., 88; actually, Kauffmann's later (1774) A Sacrifice to Vortigern at Stourhead is more classical than her earlier scene at Saltram; perhaps it shows the influence of Reynolds' Lady Sarah Bunbury sacrificing to the Graces (1765).
- 28 On Emma and Jane Shore, cf. ch.9 (nn.69-70); medieval portrayals are increasingly characterised by "awkwardness" and picturesque "angularity" as opposed to a smooth and voluminous classical "beauty".
- 29 cf. ch.5 (nn.21-30, 35, 37-9); while the different versions of Cornelia conform to the general neo-classical trend from lighter to more severe representations, those of Agrippina do not, Runciman's later drawing (c.1780) being more cluttered and lighter-textured.
- 30 cf.ch.6 (nn.50-53): Weibensohn, op.cit.
- 31 On West's Burghers of Calais, cf. George III. Collector & Patron, The Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace 1974-5, no.51; and ch.8 (nn.15-16), and for Brenet and Runciman, ibid. (nn.72-5); the latter is reproduced by Irwin, op.cit., 99 (plate 115) and Macmillan 1986, no.53 (pp.54-5).
- 32 On Germanicus, cf.ch.8 (nn.60-63); on Seneca and Socrates, ibid. (nn.82-4, 100-103), and A.Schnapper: David. Témoin de son Temps, Bibliotheque des Arts, Paris 1980, ch.2.



- 33 cf. ch.8 (n.7); and Irwin, op.cit. 56, and The Age of Neo-Classicism 1972, no.294.
- 34 cf. Honour, op.cit. 143-4, 204; cf. A.Blunt: The Art of William Blake, Phaidon, London 1959, (plate 5b) for the earlier treatment by Angelica Kauffmann, at Saltram (no. 88 in Saltram 1967). Wright's Belisarius (c1775, Derby Art Gallery) is also a severely classical large-scale drawing, quite unlike West's romantic treatment.
- 35 D.Bindman (ed.): John Flaxman, R.A., Royal Academy of Arts, London 1979, nos.147-50, (ill.14); M.Pointon: Milton and English Art, Manchester University Press 1970, 77-83.
- 36 cf.ch.8 (nn.31-2), and ch.9 (nn.20-22) for the Rütli drawing; and G.Schiff, op.cit., nos.359, 485.
- 37 cf.ch.9 (nn.6-7, 63-4); also Bindman, op.cit., nos.9-11; and M.Pointon, op.cit. 100-104.
- 38 cf.ch.9 (n.19), and ch.6 (nn.38 46); cf. Tate Gallery, 1975, nos.64, 67.
- 39 On Gamelin, cf. Detroit Institute of Arts 1975, 425-6; on Sextus Pompeius, cf. John Hamilton Mortimer, ARA, 1740-79, Towner Art Gallery, Eastbourne 1968, 9-10 (plate 3); on West's drawing and paintings of Belisarius, see ch.4, nn.30-1.
- 40 See R.Anchor: The Enlightenment Tradition, Harper & Row, New York 1967; and cf. A.Cohler: Rousseau and Nationalism, Basic Books, New York & London 1970.
- 41 R.Bryson: Word and Image: French painting of the Ancien Regime, Cambridge University Press 1983, 239 sqq.
- 42 Ibid. 240-3; Rosenblum, op.cit., ch.1.
- 43 Bryson, op.cit. 209-18.
- 44 For the Cressinus, cf. Rosenblum, op.cit. 60; for the Lagrenée at Stourhead, cf. Sandoz, op.cit. 392-3.

NOTES

CHAPTER 12: EXEMPLARY HISTORY AND NATIONAL  
REGENERATION

- 1 See C. Tilly (ed): The formation of national states in Western Europe, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1975, Introduction; and M.Howard: War in European History, Oxford University Press 1976, ch.5-6.
- 2 Fully discussed in A.Kemilainen: Nationalism. Problems concerning the Word, Concept and Classification, Kustantajat Publishers, Yvaskyla 1964; and H.Kohn: The Idea of Nationalism, 2nd Ed., Macmillan, New York 1967, ch.5, 7.
- 3 Lord Shaftesbury: A Letter concerning the Art. or Science. of Design written from Italy, on the occasion of the Judgment of Hercules to My Lord..., Naples 1712, 397-8.
- 4 On which, see R.Nisbet: Social Change and History, Oxford University Press 1969; cf. also D.Irwin (ed): Winckelmann. Writings on Art. Phaidon, Oxford 1972, Introduction, on the "Greeks versus Romans" controversy in the eighteenth century.
- 5 Through Poussin and Felibien, cf. I.Puttfarken: Roger de Piles' Theory of Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1985, ch.1, esp. 18-19.
- 6 On the uses of Palladianism in England, cf. J.Ackerman: Palladio, Penguin, Harmondsworth 1966, 75-80.
- 7 For Wilson's links with the Italianising Whig aristocracy, cf. D.Solkin: Richard Wilson. The Landscape of Reaction, Tate Gallery, London 1982, esp.ch.2.
- 8 J.Richardson: An Essay on the Theory of Painting, 2nd Ed'n, London 1725, 222-24.
- 9 On "face-painting", ibid. 39; on the business of history-painting, 34.
- 10 Shaftesbury: op.cit. 399-400.
- 11 Lord Shaftesbury: A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules. (according to Prodicus, Lib.II, Xen., de Mem. Soc.), 1713, in B.Rand (ed): Shaftesbury's Second Characters, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1914, 54.
- 12 Horace Walpole: Anecdotes of Painting in England with some account of the principal artists, 3 Vols., Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co., London 1888, Preface,

- xi-xii. For Burke's praise of the English school of painting in 1789, and the general admiration of Shakespeare's "genius" see T.S.R.Boase "Illustrations of Shakespeare's plays in the 17th and 18th centuries", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes X, 1947, 83-108, (esp. pp.89, 96).
- 13 Ibid. xiii-xiv.
- 14 Walpole: Anecdotes of Painting in England, op.cit., Fourth Volume of the Original Edition, printed 1771, published London 1780, ch.XX.
- 15 J.Barry: An Inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England, London 1775, in The Works of James Barry, London 1809, II, 248.
- 16 For a brief resumé of Barry's belief in the history-painter as hero, cf. W.L.Pressly: James Barry, Tate Gallery, London 1983, The Artist as Hero, and section XI, p.155.
- 17 Pressly: op.cit., no.21, pp.73-5.
- 18 Ibid., no.101, pp.156-7 (A Letter to the Dilettanti Society, 1797).
- 19 Abbé Le Blanc: Lettre sur l'exposition des Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, etc. de l'Année 1747, Paris, August 1747, 174.
- 20 Ibid. 164.
- 21 Ibid. 46. For other patriotic critics of this period, cf. Leith: op.cit., ch.1; and Crow: op.cit., passim.
- 22 La Font de Saint-Yenne: Reflexions sur Quelques Causes de l'état présent de la Peinture en France, et sur les Beaux Arts, Paris 1747, in idem: L'Ombre du Grand Colbert. Le Louvre et la Ville de Paris. Dialogue, Paris 1752, 199-200.
- 23 La Font de Saint-Yenne: Lettre sur la Peinture de l'Auteur des Reflexions A Monsieur . . ., in ibid., 305-6.
- 24 La Font de Saint-Yenne: Sentimens sur Quelques ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture et Gravure, écrits à un Particulier en Province, Paris 1754, 8, 11, 55.
- 25 La Font de Saint-Yenne: Reflexions, op.cit., 195.
- 26 Sir Joshua Reynolds: Discourses on Art, ed. R.Wark, Collier-Macmillan, London 1966, III, 43-4; J.Seznec and J.Adhemar(eds): Les Salons de Diderot, 4 Vols.,

- Clarendon Press, Oxford 1957-67, III, 268, cited in R.Mortier: Diderot and the "Grand Gout". The Prestige of History Painting in the Eighteenth Century, Clarendon Press Oxford 1982, 14.
- 27 Reynolds: op.cit. IX, 149, 151.
- 28 Abbé J.D.Dubos: Reflexions Critiques sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture, Paris 1719, I, 71, cited in Puttfarken: op.cit. 128.
- 29 Abbé Le Blanc: Lettre. op.cit. 135.
- 30 Richardson: Essay. op.cit. 172; "Life would be an insipid thing indeed if we never saw, or had Ideas of any thing but what we Commonly see; a Company of Awkward, and Silly-looking People, doing what is of no Consequence but to Themselves in their own Little Affairs; and to see Such in Picture can give no great Pleasure to any that have a True, and Refin'd Taste", ibid. 183.
- 31 Reynolds: Discourses. op.cit. III, 43; 49, 50-51.
- 32 Ibid. IV, 55-6, 57-8; for Shaftesbury( Notion. op.cit. 59-60), too, painters should study "moral and poetic truth" to display the manners and sentiments suitable to a "nobler species" of humanity.
- 33 Ibid. IV, 60.
- 34 Ibid. X, 156; and XV, 242, on Michelangelo.
- 35 Le Comte de Caylus: Tableaux tirés de l'Illiade. de l'Odusée d'Homère. et de l'Eneide de Virgile. avec des observations générales sur le Costume, Paris 1757, Avertissement xxx.
- 36 Ibid. Avertissement xv.
- 37 For the argument that the Homeric revival, and Neo-Classicism as an artistic movement, began with Gavin Hamilton in Rome around 1760, see E.K.Waterhouse: "The British Contribution to the Neo-Classical style in Painting", Proceedings of the British Academy XL, 1954, 57-74. But cf. chapter 11 above for an amendment in France, and also Goodreau 1975, who stresses the role of Dance and Hayman in England.
- 38 La Font: Sentimens. op.cit. 51. For the Abbé Le Blanc (Lettre 130), "Le but d'un Peintre est d'exciter et de faire naître les mêmes passions qu'il représente."
- 39 La Font: Sentimens. op.cit. 75-6.
- 40 La Font: Reflexions. op.cit. 245-6.

- 41 On the theory of de Piles, cf. Puttfarcken: op.cit., chs. 2-5; on other theorists of the social and didactic school, cf. Leith: op.cit., chs. 1-3.
- 42 La Font: Reflexions. op.cit. 248; expression of human passions is the spiritual, and hence most sublime, aspect of painting.
- 43 La Font: Sentimens. op.cit. 5.
- 44 Ibid. 16.
- 45 M.-F. Dandré-Bardon: Traité de Peinture, Paris 1765, 107ff., cited in Puttfarcken, op.cit. 131; and idem (Puttfarcken, ch.1) for the Aristotelian and causal-sequential Academic meanings of l'unité d'action (and ch.6 for its later simplified versions).
- 46 C.H.Watelet and P.C.Levesque: Dictionnaire des Arts de Peinture, Sculpture et Gravure, Paris 1792, I, 425, in Puttfarcken, op.cit. 132.
- 47 Shaftesbury: A Notion. op.cit. 52-3.
- 48 Richardson Essau. op.cit. 56-7; 62.
- 49 Reynolds: Discourses IV. op.cit. 56-7.
- 50 On David's break with unité d'action cf. I.Puttfarcken: "David's Brutus and Theories of Pictorial Unity in France", Art History 4, 1981, 291-304.
- 51 Another painting that breaks this formal unity is Vincent's Tell leaping from Gessler's ship (1795), though here there is a causal unity of action. It may be that eighteenth century painters sought in such formal divisions the means of expressing violent tension, and in that sense preserve, or return to, l'unité d'action.
- 52 Richardson: Essau. op.cit. 42, 49, 51-2; the history-painter must "make himself Master of it (sc. the History) as delivered by Historians, or otherwise; and then consider how to Improve it, keeping within the Bounds of Probability". (p.42)
- 53 Reynolds: Discourses. op.cit. IV, 56-8.
- 54 Ibid. VI, 96. Reynolds shared the general belief that modern art was in decline, and that the superiority of ancient arts was due to their proximity to nature's simplicity, which the veil of modern fashion has hidden, (ibid. III, 50).
- 55 Reynolds: Discourses. op.cit. VII, 112, where

- Poussin's Perseus and Medusa's Head is criticised for its excessive dispersion and confusion (which was in conformity with Poussin's theory of modes); and VIII, 131, 133-5, on simplicity as a negative virtue, a corrector of excess which may conduce to pedantry, as in Poussin at times.
- 56 Richardson: Essau. op.cit. 17-19; "Painting is a sort of Writing, it ought to be easily legible" (ibid. 74).
- 57 Ibid. 10-11, 34, 201; cf. also 209ff. for the desirable moral qualities of artists, especially history painters, for example, a sweet and happy turn of mind!
- 58 Le Blanc: Lettre. op.cit. 48, 51-2.
- 59 Ibid. 161-2. This ties in with the activity of de Caylus and others of distinguishing the art of different ancient peoples, especially Greeks, Romans, Etruscans and Egyptians, on which see A.Potts: Winckelmann's Interpretation of the History of Ancient Art in its Eighteenth Century Context, Ph.D., Warburg Institute, University of London 1978, 53ff.
- 60 de Caylus: Tableaux. op.cit. Avertissement xcvi; though possessing the proportions of "l'Apollon du Vatican,.." "Je représenterois Achille avec plus de fierté...que la colère laisse...sur le visage".
- 61 E.Bonnardet: "Comment un oratorien vint en aide à un grand peintre", Gazette des Beaux-Arts 19, 1938, 311-15 (p.312).
- 62 La Font: Reflexions. op.cit. 249-50.
- 63 Ibid. 243: "Tous les fameux Peintres en Histoire n'ont ravi le titre de grands hommes et l'immortalité, que parce qu'ils ont tous été amateurs du sçavoir. Leurs ouvrages sont des livres ouverts, et une langue intelligible à toutes les Nations, où tout parle, tout instruit." (p.244).
- 64 La Font: Sentimens. op.cit. 12-13.
- 65 Ibid. 64; mythology painting is an abuse of our talents, "si l'objet de l'instruction est de corriger nos penchans vicieux" (p.71).
- 66 Ibid. 71, 76-89, 92-100.
- 67 Ibid. 91-92.
- 68 Ibid. 106.

- 69 Ibid., 136; "Quel est le françois qui ne contemplât encore avec transport les traits de Colbert; et ne souhaitait que sa statue fut exposée, comme chez les Romains, à la vénération publique?"
- 70 Diderot: Salons, op.cit., III, 239, cited by Mortier: op.cit., 12; cf. also his maxim, Peindre comme on parlait à Sparte, (Pensées détachées sur la Peinture Paris 1776-7); on Diderot's morality of energy and his return to primal energy for human and artistic regeneration, see Starobinski: Diderot dans l'espace des peintres", in Hotel de la Monnaie: Diderot et l'Art de Boucher à David: les Salons 1759-81, Editions de la Réunion des Musées nationaux, Ministère de la Culture Paris 1984, 21-40, esp. 32.
- 71 R.Nisbet: Social Change and History, Oxford University Press 1969.
- 72 Walpole: Anecdotes, op.cit., Preface, xii; de Caylus: Recueil d'Antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises, Paris 1752-67, vol.1, cited in Potts; Winckelmann, op.cit., 71-2.
- 73 For a detailed exposition of Winckelmann's theories of ancient art, and of their influence in Italy, France and Germany in the late eighteenth century (much less in England), cf. Potts: Winckelmann, op.cit., esp. Section IV, 278ff. and V, 468ff.
- 74 Potts: Winckelmann, op.cit., Section VI, 508ff.
- 75 A. Detournelle: Aux armes et aux Arts! Peinture, Sculpture, Architecture, Gravure, Journal de la Société Populaire et Republicaine des Arts, Paris 1794, 158, cited in Potts: Winckelmann, op.cit., 514.
- 76 Quatremere de Quincy: "Notice sur Canova", Archives Littéraires Vol. III, Paris and Tubingen 1804, 13, cited in Potts: Winckelmann, op.cit., (cf. also his Considérations sur les Arts du Dessin Paris 1791, 521, for his blueprint for the reform of the Academy).
- 77 Mortier: Diderot, op.cit., 12-13; and Starobinski: Diderot, op.cit., 32. This emotional range is superbly brought out by Rosenblum: Transformations, op.cit., chs.1-2.
- 78 Walpole: Anecdotes, op.cit., III, ch.19, 316.
- 79 Reynolds: Discourses IV, 62, and XV.
- 80 H.Fuseli: Aphorisms on Art, London 1831 (completed 1818), no.30, in L.Eitner ed: NeoClassicism and Romanticism, 1750-1850, Vol.I, Prentice Hall International Inc., London 1971, 91.

- 81 W.Blake: Annotations to Sir Joshua Reynolds' Discourses (c.1808), in Eitner: NeoClassicism. op.cit. 124; W.Blake: Descriptive Catalogue no.V, The Ancient Britons, and Public Address (1810), excerpts, in Eitner: NeoClassicism. op.cit. 152-7.
- 82 L.Poliakov: The Aruan Muth, Meridian Books, New York 1974, ch.2.
- 83 Cited in R.Rosenblum: Transformations. op.cit. 83, from A.Bougeart: Marat. l'amí du peuple II, Paris 1865, 281-2.
- 84 J-Y.Lartichaux: "Linguistic politics during the French Revolution", Diogenes 97, 1977, 65-84; and H.Kohn: Prelude to Nation-States. the French and German Experience. 1789-1815, Van Nostrand, Princeton 1967, Part I;; on ethnic myths of descent, cf. A.D.Smith: "National identity and myths of ethnic descent", in Research in Social Movements. Conflict and Change VII, 1984, 95-130.



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