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REPRESENTING PROPAGANDA: ANTI-TYRANNICAL ART OF THE GREEK,
ROMAN, AND FRENCH POPULIST AGENDAS

by

Katherine Norgard

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REPRESENTING PROPAGANDA:
ANTI-TYRANNICAL ART OF THE GREEK, ROMAN, AND FRENCH POPULIST
AGENDA

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University of Nebraska, 2016

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History is often shaped to fit certain agendas. Regular, flawed individuals become heroes and martyrs. The truth is often more complicated, as proven by the fact that Harmodios and Aristogeiton gained their fame by publicly slaughtering a well-liked ruler for encroaching on their pederastic relationship, Brutus gained his fame by murdering Julius Caesar for getting too close to his mother (and sister), and Jean-Paul Marat was exalted and worshiped for violence-inciting journalism.

Harmodios, Brutus, and Jean Paul Marat all serve as symbols of equalitarianism. Their public portrayals were crafted to be symbols that fit the [needs of] revolutionary agendas. As the traditions go: Greek tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, slew the Pisistratid tyrant Hipparchus to make way for democratic policy. Brutus and Cassius's assassination was an effort to preserve the republican tradition in Rome. Marat's martyrdom represented the evil of the opposing political factions. Art depicting these men were propagandized for the fight against tyranny.

This thesis will examine the kinds of "political spin" given to the memories of these men through art in order to further the respective revolutionary agenda. Examples from Greek, Roman, and French eras will demonstrate the artistic efforts that propagated

the political agendas. The art created to honor these figures provide an illustrated history of populist symbols. Harmodios and Aristogeiton were immortalized in the Athenian Agora in the form of honorific statuary and the Athenians erected statues of Brutus and Cassius near them to honor their actions against the dictator, Julius Caesar. The image of Jean-Paul Marat's murder was revealed in the courtyard of the Louvre after he was assassinated for his political convictions.

Examining the motivations and reception of each example reveals them as symbols rather than active agents of change shaping their respective political environments. Those symbols and the space in which they inhabited formed a propagandistic landscape that propelled the agendas of those that were responsible for their creation and placement.

Table of Illustrations	ii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Harmodios and Aristogeiton	4
Pisistratid Role	4
The Assassination	5
Alternative Motive of Harmodios and Aristogeiton	6
Alcmaeonids vs. Pisistratids	8
Dating	10
Location	12
Cleisthenes Motives	13
Conclusion	15
Chapter 2: Brutus and Cassius	16
Brutus and Cassius defend Equalitarianism	16
Alternative Motives	19
The Statues	21
Archaeological Evidence	22
Reception in Rome	24
Conclusion	25
Chapter 3: Marat	26
Marat's Role in the French Revolution	27
Marat's Death & David's Transition	30
Cult of Marat	32
David and the Death of Marat	33
The Martyrs' Legacy	34
Charlotte Corday	36
Conclusion	37
Chapter 4: Suggestive Symbolism	40
Summary	51
Images	54
Bibliography	83

Table of Illustrations

Fig. 1	Statuary group of Tyrannicides, Roman copy 2nd c.	54
Fig. 2	Jacques-Louis David, <i>Death of Marat</i> 1793	55
Fig. 3	Éduard Manet, <i>Execution of Emperor Maximilian</i> , 1868-9	56
Fig. 4	Francisco de Goya, <i>The 3rd of May 1808</i> , 1814	57
Fig. 5	Restored Plan of Agora, end of fifth c. BC	58
Fig. 6	Inscribed base fragment of Tyrannicide group	59
Fig. 7	Law against Tyranny stele, 337/6 BC	60
Fig. 8	Inscribed Marble Fragment naming <i>Quintus Brutus</i>	61
Fig. 9	Fifth c. Agora Plan w/ highlighted location of Section HH	62
Fig. 10	Charles Bance, Boullay <i>Martirs de la Liberté</i> , 1793-4	63
Fig. 11	Jacques-Louis David, <i>Marat, dead</i> 1793	64
Fig. 12	Jacques-Louis David, <i>Marie-Antoinette on the way to the Guillotine</i> , 1793	65
Fig. 13	Edvard Munch, <i>Death of Marat</i> 1907	66
Fig. 14	Edvard Munch, <i>Marat and Charlotte Corday</i> 1932-5	67
Fig. 15	Pablo Picasso, <i>La mort de Marat</i> , 1934	68
Fig. 16	Freaking News, <i>Putin and the Death of Marat</i> , 2014	69
Fig. 17	Joseph Roques, <i>Death of Marat</i> , 1793	70
Fig. 18	Paul André Basset, <i>La mort du patriote Jean Paul Marat</i> 1793	71
Fig. 19	Hubert Robert, <i>Der schlafende Marat</i> 1793/4	72
Fig. 20&21	Jacques-Louis David, <i>Oath of the Tennis Court</i> drawing & detail, 1791	73
Fig. 22	Tardieu, <i>Lepelletier de Saint-Fargeau</i> , engraving from David's composition, 1900-30	74
Fig. 23	Jacques-Louis David, Ref: Assassination of Lepelletier de Saint-Fargeau 18th c.	75
Fig. 24	Jacques-Louis David, <i>Death of Joseph Bara</i> 18th c.	76
Fig. 25	Attributed to the Tyszkiewics Painter, <i>Apollo in Gigantomachy stamnos</i> , 490-480 BC	77
Fig. 26	Attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, red-figure stamnos <i>Apollo and giant</i> , late Archaic	77

Fig. 27	Anonymous, Ill Letto di Policleto 1450-1500	78
Fig. 28	Edward Wright, <i>Vase relief</i> 1963	79
Fig. 29	The Plagues of Egypt, 1794-5	80
Fig. 30	François Bonneville & Claude Louis Desrais, <i>J.P. Marat</i> , 1793-5	81
Fig. 31	Struck bronze medal, Bust of Marat, 1793	82
Fig. 32	Cast bronze medal, Two busts of Lepelletier and Marat	82
Fig. 33	Finger-ring, Two busts of Lepelletier and Marat, 1793	83

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Introduction

Propaganda in art can often be tricky to recognize. In fact, propaganda could be characterized as visual rhetoric. Belfiore and Bennet characterize the arts as the “ethical vision” and a repository of human values.¹ The public puts their trust in artists and their ability to embody truth and morality. While artists and their patrons may be well intentioned and believe they are representing truth, there are instances when works, while furthering a popular cause, are representing altered truths.

Harmodios and Aristogeiton, Brutus and Cassius, and Jean Paul Marat all became symbols of egalitarianism through works of art. The Greek tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton slew the Pisistratid tyrant Hipparchus, Brutus and Cassius’s assassination was an effort to preserve the republican political traditions in Rome, and Marat died for his passionate, albeit violence-inciting, journalism. Seemingly, the honoring of these men’s brave actions was merited. Yet, the legacies of these men required a fair amount of “spin” before being worthy of aggrandizement. Furthermore, the depiction of the men in their action suggests a purer motivation than what might have been. In this discussion of anti-tyrannical art, I will examine the kinds of “political spin” given to the memories of these men through art in order to further their respective revolutionary agendas.

Many works of art are created to represent the history of revolution. However, the three examples to be discussed, the Harmodios and Aristogeiton statue group (Fig. 1), the Brutus and Cassius statue group, and the *Death of Marat* by Jacques-Louis David (Fig. 2), stand out as they not only represent defining moments of each society’s civic

¹ Belfiore and Bennett 2008.

identity (the institution of Athenian Democracy, the assassination of the dictator Julius Caesar, the French Revolution), but also were created in the midst of political turmoil that affected the respective revolution. Revolutionary art differs from art that was made during the revolutionary period, in that Revolutionary art responds directly to political circumstances.² These three pieces of Revolutionary art not only react to but help create the Revolutionary experience.

Aesthetically, these works stand out due to their isolation of the men being commemorated. Manet's depictions of *Execution of Maximilian* displayed the execution by firing squad of Emperor Maximilian (Fig. 3). This depiction of an event from a turn in Mexico's political history presented a dramatic scene, yet immortalizes the executioners as well as the executed. Similarly, Goya's *The Third of May 1808* (Fig. 4) depicts a martyr, but the canvas is crowded with the silhouettes of the triumphant soldiers. The three examples of this thesis differ in aesthetic character. The heroes depicted in the statue groups and the *Death of Marat*, while not portraits, present particular people in a narrative of revolution. The isolation of the men in these works of art allow the viewer to focus on one figure's effect on the history in which they are affecting.

The Athenian Tyrannicides, the Brutus and Cassius group, and *Death of Marat* present a spectrum of results for the impact of revolutionary art. In the case of the Greek statue group, the populist reform that was instituted was successful and popular. The Roman statue group, while its location speaks to the agenda of the Athenians well

² Rubin 1989, 83.

enough, was not successful in perpetuating a populist agenda. Emperor Augustus' exploitation of the apparatus of the Republic was sophisticated enough that the Athenian message would be managed with subtlety. The *Death of Marat* perpetuated populist success until the pivotal arrest of Robespierre.

The first three chapters of this thesis will outline the historical context. Opinions and rumors have developed over the course of history that suggest alternative narratives, which will be examined in each chapter. The final chapter will parse the persuasive elements of each of the artistic works created in the name of the populist agenda. These persuasive elements are outlined by propaganda theorist Jacques Ellul.

Each example shares similar events leading up to the conception of these works. Through the examination of the historical context and propagandistic strategies, I hope to acknowledge a theme of political “spin” on the legacies of martyrs before their propagandistic use as heroes.

Chapter 1: Harmodios and Aristogeiton

Harmodios and Aristogeiton were citizens of Athens who slew the tyrant Hipparchus. While their action had been viewed as a political act to dethrone a tyrant, the evidence suggests they were in fact, motivated by revenge. This discussion will examine the events leading up to, and the repercussions of, the tyrannicide, and then why the pair became exalted as heroes of democracy. There are few primary voices to depend on when piecing together the story of the assassination of 513 BC. The ancient sources for the assassination are Herodotus, Thucydides, and Aristotle, none of which witnessed the event personally. Much of the material they provide will be analyzed in the following chapter which outlines the historical context. A discussion of each ancient source's contributions results in a fluent report of the end of tyranny in Athens.

PISISTRATID ROLE

To set the context for the figures of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, one must also recount the history of their targets, the Pisistratids. The ancient sources, Herodotus, Aristotle, Plutarch and Thucydides tell of a popular ruler, Pisistratus. Pisistratus established the dynasty that Harmodios and Aristogeiton would attack. While Pisistratus was an archetypal example of a tyrant,³ he was “disturbing in no way the order of offices nor changing the laws, but governing the city according to its established constitution and arranging all things fairly and well” (Hdt. 1.59.6). This is corroborated by others, “Pisistratus' administration of the state was, as has been said, moderate, and more constitutional than tyrannic; he was kindly and mild in everything, and in particular he

³ The term “tyrant” does not definitively refer to a harsh way of rule. The basic definition of this term refers to the way in which the ruler took power, which is by force.

was merciful to offenders, and moreover he advanced loans of money to the poor for their industries, so that they might support themselves by farming” (*Ath. Pol.* 16.2). Thus, while Pisistratus is known as a tyrant, and took control by force; he remained a well-liked ruler.⁴

Pisistratus eventually solidified his control and became so established that his sons inherited the rule. His sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, garnered similarly favorable characterizations. They remained dedicated to civic beauty and respected the religion and laws established before their own reign. Thucydides explained: “they exacted only five percent of their incomes...embellished their city...provided sacrifices for the temples” (Thuc. 6.54.5-6). Hippias had a talent for politics and a natural sharp-wittedness. His brother, Hipparchus had an affection for the arts, as well as an unfortunate lack of restraint when pushed to anger. Aristotle seems to believe that it is Hipparchus’ short temper that lead to his death.

“For he fell in love with Harmodios, and when his advances were continually unsuccessful he could not restrain his anger, but displayed it bitterly in various ways, and finally when Harmodios's sister was going to be a Basket-carrier in the procession at the Panathenaic Festival he prevented her by uttering some insult against Harmodios as being effeminate; and the consequent wrath of Harmodios let him and [Aristogeiton] to enter on their plot with a number of accomplices.” (*Ath. pol.* 18.2)

THE ASSASSINATION

Regardless of Hipparchus’ feelings or proposed actions, he was slain by Harmodios and Aristogeiton. The series of events that culminated in the assassination of Hipparchus are corroborated by all contributing sources. The proceedings are as follows:

⁴ It should be noted that the remaining sources are often the elite voices of the time and are inclined to be favorable to the tyrant who they write about long after his death.

The assassination took place at the Panathenaic Procession in 514 BCE. Hipparchus' sexual advances toward Harmodios are dismissed and Hipparchus takes offense.

Harmodios' sister is invited to be a basket carrier in the festival but is dismissed due to claims of impurity. Hippias was on the Acropolis, receiving the procession. Harmodios and Aristogeiton saw one of their conspirators speaking with Hippias. Suspecting that the plot was being revealed, they acted without their confederates and killed Hipparchus as he was arranging the procession by the Leocoreum. Harmodios was killed by guards and Aristogeiton was taken into custody (*Ath. pol.* 18.3-4, Thuc. 6.56-8, Hdt. 5.55).

ALTERNATIVE MOTIVE OF HARMODIOS AND ARISTOGEITON

While events appear cut and dry, sources suggest personal motivations which add to the story. Thucydides and Aristotle both allude to personal motives on the part of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Yet, they both mention confederates and co-conspirators. This has proven to be a conundrum for those analyzing this material in hopes to expand our knowledge of the fall of the Athenian tyrants. Many classicists, historians and ancient sources have sided with the personal vendetta account, citing the unrequited love story between Harmodios and Hipparchus. Less discussed is Hipparchus' insult to Harmodios's sister, which is likely the stronger argument (Thuc. 6.54.1-7, *Ath. pol.* 18.1-6).⁵ The murder could have been inspired by one or both of two causes: (1) unrequited love or (2) an insult to the Gephyraioi tribe.

⁵ Lavelle 1986, 318-31.

Thucydides bluntly states that “the daring action of Aristogeiton and Harmodios was undertaken in consequence of a love affair” (Thuc. 6.54.1). He details the list of events that lead to the assassination:

“To return to Harmodios; Hipparchus having been repulsed in his solicitations insulted him as he had resolved, by first inviting a sister of his, a young girl, to come and bear a basket in a certain procession, and then rejecting her, on the plea that she had never been invited at all owing to her unworthiness. If Harmodios was indignant at this, Aristogeiton for his sake now became more exasperated than ever; and having arranged everything with those who were to join them in the enterprise, they only waited for the great feast of the Panathenaea, the sole day upon which the citizens forming part of the procession could meet together in arms without suspicion. Aristogeiton and Harmodios were to begin, but were to be supported immediately by their accomplices against the bodyguard. The conspirators were not many, for better security, besides which they hoped that those not in the plot would be carried away by the example of a few daring spirits, and use the arms in their hands to recover their liberty.” (Thuc. 6.56)⁶

Harmodios’s family, the Gephyraioi, were immigrants from Boetia which contributed to their foreign status.⁷ Being offered the honor of Basket-carrier in the procession would have been a status lifting distinction for the entire family. Basket-carriers are chosen for their innocence and purity. A maiden’s sexual conduct was the single-most important publicly relevant issue affecting her and her family. The purpose of Hipparchus’ insult may have been to destroy the honor of the maiden, her family, and particularly her brother, who insulted him (Hipparchus) by rejecting his romantic advances.⁸

⁶ Aristotle makes a similar report but mentions a man named Thettalus. Thettalus was a younger brother of Hippias and Hipparchus, whose legitimacy was questionable. If it had been Hipparchus who was rejected by Harmodios, then it would be all the more likely that the murder was directly motivated by jealousy. Yet Aristotle’s naming of Thettalus instead of Hipparchus does not negate the theory, but merely makes the result of a murder of passion less direct (*Ath. pol.* 18.2).

⁷ Lavelle 1986, 319-20.

⁸ Lavelle 1986, 318-31.

ALCMAEONIDS VS. PISISTRATIDS

The question remains, “If this was a crime of passion, or at least personally motivated, how did murder become political fodder for democracy?” The answer is found in another family, one with a long history of standing up to tyrants and forever being plagued by it.

The Alcmaeonids, beginning with the 7th century BCE have a tradition of defending Athens from totalitarian administrations. Herodotus often states that the Alcmaeonids were “tyrant-haters” (Hdt. 6.123). Megacles II encountered the aspirant tyrant Cylon when he attempted a coup during Megacles II’s archonship (ca. 612 BCE). This incident would affect both families in later generations.

Cylon was a popular olympian, who attempted to take the city of Athens by force. Cylon and his forces took sanctuary in the temple of Athena. Megacles II persuaded Cylon to come down and stand trial, but not before Cylon and his followers fastened a thread to the image of the goddess to maintain their protection. The thread broke and Megacles and his fellow-archons seized them. All of Cylon’s men were killed, including those who took refuge at the altars (Plut. *Sol.* 12.1-2, Thuc.1.126.3-11, Hdt. 5.71). Due to their spilling of blood in the temple of Athena, the Alcmaeonid family was charged with sacrilege, exiled, and allegedly cursed for centuries (Thuc. 1.126.11). Decades later, the Alcmaeonids were welcomed back to the city during the archonship of Solon (Plut. *Sol.* 11.2).

The next generation was Megacles III, and wasting no time after his re-admittance to Athens, he went to work to eradicate the current tyrant, Pisistratus. Pisistratus came

into and out of power three times by the grace and force of Megacles III (Hdt. 1.60).⁹

The Pisistratid family shares a long history with the Alcmaeonids as the sources demonstrate. After Pisistratus' initial seizure of power in Athens, Megacles III of the Alcmaeonid family and Lycurgus of Sparta united to expel him.

Not long after, Pisistratus regained power through a pact with Megacles which involved Pisistratus marrying the daughter of Megacles. Megacles and Pisistratus show their willingness as well as their ability to manipulate the Athenian people when they devise a plan to bring Pisistratus back into the city together, in order to marry Pisistratus to Megacles' daughter. They dressed an exceptionally tall woman as Athena and drove her into the city with heralds proclaiming her welcoming and honoring of Pisistratus (Hdt. 1.60). Thus by (the faux) Athena's own approval and encouragement, the Athenian people accepted Pisistratus back into the city. It seems the Alcmaeonid clan had a capacity for the manipulation of the populace long before the time of Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

However, the union between Pisistratus and the daughter of Megacles III would not stand. Pisistratus cited the curse of the Alcmaeonids (brought about by the sacrilege within the temple of Athena in the 7th century) and refused to bare children with Megacles's daughter. With this knowledge Megacles began conspiring with the factions, and Pisistratus was forced out. Pisistratus began conspiring with his sons, and with the help of Argive mercenaries, men from Naxos, and others moved by the plight of

⁹ Peisistrus is driven out by Megacles and Lycurgus of Sparta and invited back to marry Megacles' daughter after being pressured by "factional strife" (Hdt. 1.60)

Pisistratus, he was able to take the city by force and the Alcmaeonid family was again exiled from Athens.

The generation following Megacles III and Pisistratus brings the narrative full circle as it is the generation of our main focus. The Alcmaeonids were driven from all lands near Athens and eventually settled to contract the building of the temple at Delphi (*Ath. pol.* 19.3). Delphi was a strategic place to be, as it was home to the Pythian priestess, and the Spartans were known to follow the Pythian priestess' instruction. The Alcmaeonids, while building the temple in Delphi, "bribed the Pythian priestess to bid any Spartans who should come to inquire of her on a private or a public account to set Athens free" (Hdt. 5.63.1). Cleisthenes is singled out as being the Alcmaeonid that bribed the priestess (Hdt. 5.66). With the aid of the Spartans, Hippias was at last eradicated from Athens. After the fall of the Pisistratid tyranny, and a factional battle with Isagoras,¹⁰ Cleisthenes gained the trust of the people of Athens and is from that point credited with establishing Athenian democracy in 507/6 BCE. Around the same time, a statue group was erected in the Agora to memorialize the two men that killed the first Pisistratid brother.

DATING

The date for the erection of the statue group is difficult to ascertain as the evidence is scarce and unstable. Pliny the Elder discusses the origin of the first statues in Greece and Italy. He believes the very first honorific statues erected in the Athenian Agora could be the group of Harmodios and Aristogeiton by the sculptor Antenor (Plin.

¹⁰ Both Aristotle and Herodotus discuss the political and military strategy of Isagoras and Cleisthenes. Hdt. 5.66-5.70, *Ath. pol.* 20.

NH 34.9). His account is often debated by scholars today due to his later contradiction of the artist of the statue group in a later chapter of the same book (Plin. *NH* 34.19).¹¹

In addition to Pliny, other ancient voices- Varro, Polybios, Cicero, give separate statements of date for the erection of the statue group.¹² These alternative dates suggest that the statues of the Tyrannicides were erected as part of the project to erect the first public buildings and to make the area a fully public space as the city's Agora.¹³

The date of 507 BCE for the erection of the statues fits the rhythm of the construction in the Agora. The ancient sources create an approximate span of time from 510 to 506 BCE that scholars generally attribute to the building of architectural projects in the Agora. The construction of the public buildings accounts for the span in years and the year 507 would be fitting as the statuary would be the final ornamental installations to a public space after the completion of larger architectural constructions.¹⁴

Antenor's bronze statue group was stolen by Xerxes when he sacked Athens in 480 BCE. Two sculptors, Kritios and Nesiotes, were commissioned to produce a new group. The Parian marble inscription dates the erection of this statue group in the year of Adeimantos (477/6 BCE) three years after the Persian siege.¹⁵ Cult temples were of the few public works that were ever restored in the antique age. The replacement of the stolen statue group suggests extraordinary importance to the city's civic identity.

¹¹ Pliny mistakenly assigns the statues to Praxiteles. This has caused many scholars to distrust Pliny's account.

¹² For details see Shear 2012b

¹³ Shear, J.L. 2012b, 33-35.

¹⁴ Shear 2012b cites Pliny, Varro, Polybios, Cicero and Cornelius Nepos to narrow the date. See Shear 2012b pages 33-35 for details.

¹⁵ Commentary on the Parian Marble (a.k.a. Parian Chronicle or the *Marmor Parium*) from Tod, M. 1948. Greek *Historical Inscriptions II* (no. 205), Oxford University Press: Oxford. The reliability of the Parian marble has been greatly contested, yet this is the only evidence pertaining to the date of Kritios and Nesiotes' Tyrannicide statuary group. Sture Brunnsåker argues its accuracy Brunnsåker 1971, 43-44.

Furthermore, the presence of the statues were of such great importance to the people of Athens that the statues were replaced in a mere three years.

The inaugural group was eventually returned. However, the party responsible and the date of its return is possibly the cloudiest yet. The sources for this are Arrian, Pliny, Valerius Maximus, and Pausanias (Arr. *Anab.* 3.16.8, Plin. *HN* 35.70, Val. Max. 2.10.1, Paus 1.8.5). Possible responsible parties for the return of the group are Alexander the Great, Seleucus, or Antiochus. The possible date ranges from 330-281 BCE.¹⁶ The specifics of this information is less relevant to the understanding of the symbolic value of this statue group, as there was a replacement already filling the space. In any case, by 281 BCE two groups of tyrannicides stood in Athens.

The possibilities of how two statue groups would have been used is an interesting topic to consider. The group could have possibly been re-erected in the Agora, next to the group of Kritios and Nesiotes from 477 BCE. It could also have simply been stored away, possibly reemerging to be rededicated to (and represented as) Brutus and Cassius in 43 BCE. The tyrannicides were also worshiped in the Kerameikos, suggesting that Antenor's group could possibly have been re-erected there. Regardless, neither statue group remain, both were likely melted down for recycled use.

LOCATION

The specific location of the group in the agora has little evidence from which to speculate with much accuracy. The American School of Classical Studies has been excavating the Athenian Agora since 1931. Leslie T. Shear, the first director of the

¹⁶ Further discussion see Brunnsåker, 44-45.

excavation, published the findings from excavations in 1973-1974.¹⁷ The information that he provided led Julia Shear to reassess Section P (Fig. 5) in order to pinpoint the ancient location of the tyrannicide statue group east of the Temple of Ares and north of the Odeon of Agrippa, as Pausanias states and where a fragment of an inscribed pedestal base for the tyrannicides was found (Fig. 6).¹⁸

Pausanias' detailed record of the views within the Agora follows his path through the Agora. Pausanias is walking southeast, toward the Acropolis:

“Near the statue of Demosthenes is a sanctuary of Ares, where are placed two images of Aphrodite...Hard by stand statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who killed Hipparchus. The reason of this act and the method of its execution have been related by others; of the figures some were made by Kritios, the old ones being the work of Antenor. When Xerxes took Athens after the Athenians had abandoned the city he took away these statues also among the spoils, but they were afterwards restored to the Athenians by Antiochus. Before the entrance of the theater which they call the Odeum are statues of Egyptian kings.” (Paus. 1.8.4)

This places the statue group somewhere in the center of the Agora, just west of the Panathenaic Way. He first encounters the Temple of Ares and then, moving southeast along the Panathenaic Way, sees the statue group, followed by a theater. This is in line with the location of the discovered statuary base remains (Fig. 6).¹⁹

CLEISTHENES MOTIVES

It has been presumed that Cleisthenes was the government official that commissioned Antenor to cast the bronze Tyrannicides. Although there has not been any solid evidence to support this, it is a likely theory. The artist Antenor was commonly commissioned by the Alcmaeonid family. Before the assassination of Hipparchus, when the Alcmaeonids were in exile in Delphi, the family contracted to build a temple. The

¹⁷ Shear Jr., T. Leslie 1975, 331-74.

¹⁸ Shear 2012b, 27-55. Meritt 1936, 355-430.

¹⁹ Thompson and Wycherley, 1972, 155-183.

sculptor they chose to create the crowning pedimental sculpture was Antenor,²⁰ the same artist that would be commissioned for the first honorific bronzes of the Tyrannicides! Thus, the possibility remains that patronage is the strongest clue to the identity of the anti-Peistratid conspirators. Artists were often favored by noble families and their circles. It is quite possible that the Alcmaeonids, the opposition to the Pisistratid family, commissioned an honorific statue group of the men who set the fall of the Peistratids in motion.

Pausanias' account and archaeological evidence establishes that the bronze group was erected in the Agora. The Agora was a civic space and the structures in it were publicly funded. Therefore the pro-democracy government would have been making the decisions of patronage for public works such as the tyrannicide bronze group. Furthermore, Antenor had also been commissioned to decorate the "crowning pediment" for the temple at Delphi. Had the Athenian commission been heavily influenced by Cleisthenes, it would be likely that the artists chosen would be one that Cleisthenes was familiar with. Thus, if the initial tyrannicide group that stood in the Agora was not directly commissioned by Cleisthenes, it would have been heavily influenced by him.

Cleisthenes' motive behind commissioning such a work would be to install a democratic influence within a community that had so recently adopted democracy as their government. Having so recently won over the people with his populist style government, he wished to maintain that government and memorialize the dramatic event that set the larger scheme in motion.

²⁰ M. Collignon 1894, 301-313.

CONCLUSION

By examining the ancient sources, it is apparent that Harmodios and Aristogeiton acted out of revenge for personal insult and not with the intention of overthrowing tyranny and establishing democracy. The historical context establishes that the Alcmaeonids were strongly involved in the eradication of the Peisistratids. By combining literary and archeological evidence an approximate date of 507 BC and location between the Temple of Ares and the Odeon is confirmed. The date and location of the installation suit the family as its patriarchal member, Cleisthenes, would be encouraging the acceptance of his new democratic regimes. Harmodios and Aristogeiton find their vengeful act politicized to benefit the new democratic movement.

Chapter 2: Brutus and Cassius

The next example of figures used for propagandistic purposes comes nearly half a millennium later. Brutus and Cassius's conspiracy to assassinate Julius Caesar is one of the most retold stories from Roman history, and in most cases they emerge as the villains. Nevertheless, Dio reports that the Athenians erected statues in honor of Brutus and Cassius' deed in the Athenian Agora, next to Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Emperor Augustus's public relations apparatus secured a positive memory of Caesar, but the Athenians were a difficult audience as they favored defenders against tyranny. By examining the historical context surrounding Caesar's assassination, it becomes apparent that the events present a similar landscape to the Greek assassination. Brutus and Cassius are used as symbols for Greece's defensive agenda for democracy. Ignoring the possible alternative motivations for assassinating Julius Caesar, the Athenians exalted Brutus and Cassius the same way their ancestors had centuries before on behalf of their own tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

BRUTUS AND CASSIUS DEFEND EQUALITARIANISM

Julius Caesar had grown powerful from his military victories and used his power to take full control of Rome by military force, establishing him as a tyrant who overthrew the Republic. Historical tradition represents the senate being motivated by their obligatory duty as members of the Republic to oust any tyrant. Brutus and Cassius rallied the Senate to assassinate Caesar. Dio Cassius' *Roman History* and Cicero's correspondences with Atticus provide the most useful evidence dealing with the whereabouts and the activities of Brutus and Cassius after leaving Rome. Dio's account

establishes Brutus and Cassius's overwhelmingly positive reception in Athens, and is the only account that acknowledges the vote of the Athenians to erect bronze statues of Brutus and Cassius in the Agora.

Months after the assassination, Brutus and Cassius finally took the consideration of fleeing the city of Rome seriously. They were eventually given permission to leave the city by the offices of Antony, who had no love for the pair. The Senate, who benefited the most from the assassination, granted amnesty, but did not honor them. Brutus and Cassius were appointed to minor positions, which built further distrust in them.

Still in Italy in August, the pair penned a letter stating that they were prepared to live in exile as long as the Republic remained in harmony (Vell. Pat. 2.62.3). Weeks later Brutus set sail, eventually arriving in Athens where he was welcomed warmly. Greece seemed to be the place to go when seeking refuge from the Roman government. Caesar and Cicero retired during Sulla's dictatorship, Caesar to Bithynia and then to Rhodes, and Cicero to Athens. Cicero spent his second exile in 58 BC also in Greece. It is likely that Brutus planned to wait in Athens until the new year in which new consuls would appoint him to more suitable offices.²¹

Plutarch's *Life of Brutus* helps to fill in the gaps between the Ides of March and the Battle of Philippi (Plut. *Brut.* 24.1-5), specifically, Brutus' time in Athens. Dio's account illustrates Brutus' movements after the assassination, how Brutus spent his time in Athens, and the reception of the Brutus and Cassius statue group in Greece. Together Plutarch and Dio open a window into the intentions of Brutus and Cassius.

²¹ Raubitschek 1957, 5-6.

Brutus and Cassius were welcomed into Athens, Dio Cassius gives an account of the love that the Athenians had for the pair and makes the only surviving mention of the statues:

“The Athenians gave them a splendid reception; for, though they were honored by nearly everybody else for what they had done, the inhabitants of this city voted them bronze images by the side of those of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, thus intimating that Brutus and Cassius had emulated their example.” (Cass. Dio 47.20.4)

Brutus and Cassius are honored in Athens for their actions of assassinating a tyrant in Rome. Unlike Harmodios and Aristogeiton, this did not cause their deaths right away and Athens took this opportunity to announce their loyalties. While in Athens Brutus starts devising military plans in secret (Plut. *Brut.* 24.2).

In the year 43, Brutus spent the majority of his time in the Balkans. While there he heard of Cicero’s assassination and the formation of the second triumvirate. Certain of his enemy’s strategic plans, he ordered the death of Gaius Antonius²² and prepared for war. Brutus gathered soldiers from Macedonia and Cassius from Syria and Judea. The two met in Smyrna and campaigned toward Philippi to meet the second triumvirate.

Brutus and Cassius were ultimately unsuccessful in defending their republican government, and their actions against tyranny and dictatorship were in vain. Cassius’s suicide came first as he mistook Brutus’s supporting troops as enemy forces during the first battle of Philippi. Brutus’ forces held until the second battle when his troops had grown too few to stretch strongly against Antony’s large numbers. (Cass. Dio 47.37-49)

²² Who was the brother of Mark Antony and the current governor of the Roman province in Macedonia. Gaius Antonius posed too near a threat to Brutus for comfort.

ALTERNATIVE MOTIVES

Like the story of Harmodios and Aristogeiton possible alternative, personal motivations are present. Although, little is known of Gaius Cassius Longinus in the literary tradition. Brutus came from an aristocratic family within the social scene of Rome, therefore the happenings of his life were heavily documented. Cassius' early life is far less known, except for a short account from Plutarch reporting on Cassius' childhood. Cassius went to school with the son of Sulla, and Cassius "gave him a thrashing" when the boy boasted of his father's absolute power (Plut. *Brut.* 9.1). It would seem that even at a young age Cassius had no patience for dictators. Due to such few details from Gaius Cassius Longinus' life and background, a discussion of his possible alternative motives cannot be parsed.

The possibility that Brutus' inspiration to assassinate Julius Caesar for personal motives is not a new one. Ancient authors such as Appian and Dio entertain the possibility as well as later modern literature (App. *B Civ.* 2.16.111; Cass. Dio 44.1.1).²³ Many reports, ancient and modern suggest that the motivation was greed, envy, and jealousy. Other theories suggest far more familial reasons.

Suetonius records Caesar's last words as not the Latin "Et tu, Brute" but in the Greek "καὶ σὺ εἶ ἐκεῖνων; καὶ σὺ τέκνον," translated as "What! Art thou, too, one of them! Thou, my son!" (Suet. *Iul.* 82). The final word *teknon* is the Greek work for "son." This could, of course, be an expression of familiarity. However, the possibility of Brutus

²³ Münzer in "Reports" 1909 and 1910; Ronald 1980; Epstein 1987; Piccolomini 1991.

being the biological son of Julius Caesar is strengthened by other ancient sources, few as forthright as Plutarch:

“For while he was still a young man, as it seems, Caesar had been intimate with Servilia, who was madly in love with him, and he had some grounds for believing that Brutus, who was born at about the time when her passion was in full blaze, was his own son.” (Plut. *Brut.* 5.2)

Brutus’s mother, Servilia, was one of many lovers of Caesar. However, she was said to be his favorite. According to the reports of Appian and Plutarch, the timing of their affair coincides with the conception of Brutus. The generally accepted date for Brutus’ birth is 85 BCE, making Servilia 19 and Caesar 15 at the time of Brutus’ birth. However a number of scholars maintain that Brutus was born in 78 BCE, which would make Servilia 26 and Caesar 22, a much more likely age match.²⁴

Another possible motivation for Brutus to have been inspired by something other than defending the Republic touches on a familiar tone, one that, like Harmodios, had to do with an insult to Brutus’ family. Apparently, Servilia offered her daughter, Tertia, to Caesar for reciprocity after he gifted her a pearl:

“But the mistress he most loved, was Servilia, the mother of Marcus Brutus. for whom he purchased in his first consulship after the commencement of their intrigue, a pearl which cost him six millions of sesterces; and in the civil war, besides other presents, assigned to her, for a trifling consideration, some valuable farms when they were exposed to public auction. Many persons expressing their surprise at the lowness of the price, Cicero wittily remarked, "To let you know the real value of the purchase, between ourselves, Tertia was deducted:" for Servilia was supposed to have prostituted her daughter Tertia to Caesar.” (Suet. *Iul.* 50)

It was considered one of the possible reasons that drove Brutus to the assassination by the historian Appian, when he reflected by on the event:²⁵

²⁴ This is based on the theory that Cicero was biased, and his account (found in *Brut.* 324) has been corrupted. For more see: p. 464 of “Reports” 1909 AJP p.478 of “Reports” 1910 AJP, Münzer, F. 1920, 274, Münzer, PW s.v. Servilia (101), col. 1819-20.

²⁵ See also: Epstein 1987, 567.

“Whether Brutus was ungrateful, or ignorant of his mother's fault, or disbelieved it, or was ashamed of it; whether he was such an ardent lover of liberty that he preferred his country to everything, or whether it was because he was a descendant of that Brutus of the olden time who expelled the kings, he was aroused and shamed to this deed principally by people who secretly affixed to the statues of the elder Brutus and also to the tribunal of Brutus himself such writings as these, "Brutus, are you corrupted by bribes?" "Brutus, are you dead?" or "would that you were still alive!" or, "your posterity is unworthy of you," or, "you are not the descendant of that Brutus." These and many like incentives fired the young man to a deed like that of his own ancestor.” (App. *B Civ.* 2.16.112)

Thus, it is no surprise that future eras considered Brutus’ actions to be inspired by personal vendettas. With the combine insults of romantic encroachments on Brutus’ immediate family members, the possibility of him being the illegitimate child of Julius Caesar, and the all-encompassing insult to Brutus’ family history,²⁶ Caesar had been walking a dangerous path.

THE STATUES

The conception of the statues of Brutus and Cassius must be inspected to understand the propagandistic goals of commissioning the statue group in the Athenian Agora. Dio’s account remains the only literary record of the work. He states that “the inhabitants of this city voted them bronze images” (Cass. Dio 47.20.4). Thus, in this situation it was the people of Athens who were trying to represent their preference for democratic government and exalt those who defend it. Obviously the message was not heard, most likely ignored, but the statues were erected nonetheless.²⁷

Prior to his assassination, Julius Caesar had precarious relations with Athens, to say the least. Greece chose the side of Pompey in the Civil War of the 40s BC and

²⁶ As mentioned by Appian in his list of insults to Brutus by Caesar, Brutus’ ancestor, Lucius Junius Brutus, made many sacrifices in the name of the republic. For Caesar to put an end to the government that Brutus’ family instituted could be seen as an attack on the entire lineage of Lucius Brutus, thus merging the personal and political.

²⁷ As proven by the statue base discovered in 1936 presented by Raubitschek, 1959.

suffered devastation throughout Attica, though Athens was spared. After Pompey's defeat, Athens came to Caesar as suppliants, although the city still held disdain for the man as he was judged to be responsible for the devastation to the countryside.²⁸

Moreover, Julius Caesar had established himself as a dictator, and effectively a tyrant, titles that the Athenians held no respect for.²⁹ The Athenians had enacted a law in 337/6 BC to protect their city from a potential totalitarian government when they were defeated by Phillip II of Macedon. The decree forbade an antidemocratic coup and called for the acquittal of the murderer of a tyrant. This was immortalized on two stelai and were to be erected at the entrances of the Bouleuterion and the *ekklesia* (Fig. 7).³⁰ By assassinating Julius Caesar, the new tyrant and dictator, Brutus and Cassius had upheld an ancient Athenian law that was passed to maintain traditions of democracy. Thus, Athens was following their decree by acquitting Brutus and Cassius of their murdering a tyrant.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

For centuries the statement from Dio was the only evidence of any statuary of Brutus and Cassius in Athens. His words could be easily dispatched as merely recording the vote of Athenians to erect statues and perhaps nothing had ever come to fruition. That was until the discovery of a statuary base (Fig. 8) in section HH of the Agora (Fig. 9).³¹

An inscribed base was discovered in 1936 and features the praenomen and cognomen of *Quintus Brutus*, thus corroborating Dio's account of the Athenians erecting

²⁸ Hoff 2013, 560-70.

²⁹ While campaigning in Spain, Caesar was restored with honors and was appointed dictator after the victory over Cato. This entrusted him with the full authority of the state. This office was abolished with the death of Caesar and not revived under the Empire.

³⁰ Lang, Mabel. 1960, 2004, 19-20. See also: American School of Classical Studies. 2008. *Law Against Tyranny*.

³¹ Raubitschek 1959, 15-26.

a statue (of at least) Brutus in the Agora. The inscribed base displays the name *Quintus Brutus*.³² At first glance the location where the inscribed marble fragment was discovered contradicts the account from Pausanias stating the location of the Harmodios and Aristogeiton statues. However, it is common for inscribed stones to shift from their original locations post-antiquity and be used elsewhere.³³ Dio's account places the statuary of Brutus and Cassius next to the Greek tyrannicide group, which, as Pausanias and the location of the Harmodios and Aristogeiton inscription suggest, stood in the center of the Agora. As the location of Harmodios and Aristogeiton is attested by a number of primary sources it is logical to conclude that the fragment was moved since 44 BC and the original location of the Brutus and Cassius statue was, indeed, in the center of the Agora, and not in section HH, where it was found in 1936.

The location of the Brutus and Cassius group is highly noteworthy. The placement of statues next to Harmodios and Aristogeiton was the most distinguished place for honorary statues. There had been a prohibition on placing honorific statuary next to the Harmodios and Aristogeiton bronzes during the Hellenistic period.³⁴ Statues honoring civic heroes in the 3rd and 4th centuries BCE were given free range of placement in the Agora with exception to the space within the immediate vicinity of Harmodios and Aristogeiton.³⁵

³² Raubitschek 1957, 1-11.

³³ It is quite possible that the Brutus and Cassius statuary base (having been assumedly dismantled before the Greek tyrannicide group) would (to be used as spolia) travel farther than that of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. For more refer to Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 155-183.

³⁴ Ma 2013, 113. See epigraphical evidence in Wycherley 1957, 93-8.

³⁵ Wycherley 1957, 97. Specifically #278 I.G. II, 450, LINES *b* 7-12 & #279 I.G. II, 646, lines 37-40.

RECEPTION IN ROME

Questions that plague this theory center around reception or lack thereof. How or was the news of the statue group erected in Athens received in Rome? How did the supporters of Julius Caesar feel about the Athenians exalting the assassins of their ruler? Also previously mentioned, the existence of the Brutus and Cassius statues were and still are not well known. Emperor Augustus had a sophisticated public relations apparatus for dealing with matters like this.

It is reasonable to assume that the statue group did not stand for long.³⁶ The statues could have stood for as little time as until that spring, after the battles at Philippi and it was clear that a dictator would rule the empire.³⁷ The original archaeologists stated that the statues would have been promptly “whisked away, leaving Harmodios and Aristogeiton unique and alone once more.”³⁸ A quick removal suggests the Athenians feared any reaction from Rome for exalting the assassins of Rome’s dictator.

Honorific statuary became a custom, a trend founded in Greek agoras and sanctuaries, possibly beginning with the erection of the Harmodios and Aristogeiton statues (6th c. BC) as Pliny the Elder would believe it. Although, the trend may have been influenced by 8th century Delphi and Olympia, where Greek cities would dedicate the spoils of war against other Greek cities for all to see. The sanctuaries at Delphi and Olympia are examples of how public spaces became the battle grounds where *poleis*

³⁶ Thompson and Wycherley suggest the Greek Tyrannicides may have remained as long as 267 AD, as casualties to the Herulian siege: Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 158.

³⁷ The pedestal base was found in modern fill some distance from where the statues are suggested to have stood: Raubitschek 1959. This is also presented with the artifact card on the Agora website: <http://agora.ascsa.net/id/agora/object/i%203366>

³⁸ Thompson and Wycherley. 1972, 159.

made dedications in direct competition with each other and establish their identity and legitimacy on a public landscape.³⁹ Placing statuary of tyrannicides in the city center was a method of establishing a democratic identity for Athens in the 6th c. BC and again in the 1st century BC. This was such common practice that it was typically ignored by the 1st century BC. Thus the reception from Rome concerning the honorific statues of Brutus and Cassius (if news of them ever reached Rome) would likely warrant little attention.

CONCLUSION

The Athenians's distrust and dislike for totalitarian governments is made clear by their acceptance and their honoring of the assassins of Julius Caesar. The Athenians displayed their feelings for the assassins of tyrants through honorific sculpture. The responsible parties chose to overlook or ignore the underlying personal motivations in order to exalt the act. The Athenians had strong affinities for their democratic tradition. When the opportunity was presented for the Athenians to speak out against tyranny in defense of a democratic style of government they did so through their loudest medium, sculpture. The possibility that the assassination was motivated by hate, familial vengeance, or greed was ignored by the Athenians due to their need to heroicize tyrannicides.

³⁹ Scott 2014, 81-88; Hall 2014, 19; Osborne 2012, 254; Morgan 1990, 223-234.

Chapter 3: Marat

The third example this thesis will address is the assassination of Jean Paul Marat. He was a champion for the sans-culottes, the lower-class majority of the Parisian population, and the greater populist agenda during the French Revolution. His death in 1793 is the best documented of the three examples examined, and many primary sources exist to propel discussion of the topic. This example differs from the previous two in two principal ways. First, unlike the Greek and Roman examples, Jean Paul Marat was the assassinated, not the assassin. Second, Marat's political actions took place on the page, not in the physical realm. However, like the Greek and Roman tyrannicides, Marat's goal was to oust a totalitarian government in place of a constitutional one. The goal of the art depicting Marat was the same as the previous examples, to use Marat's memory to bolster a populist following for an egalitarian government.

The artist, Jacques-Louis David had a large role following the deaths of three Frenchmen, whose deaths are used politically in the years of 1793-4, Michel Lepelletier, Jean Paul Marat, and Joseph Chalier.⁴⁰ In some accounts Chalier is replaced with Joseph Bara as Chalier's death was somewhat unconnected because of his execution in Lyon.⁴¹ These men, Lepelletier, Marat, Chalier and Bara, were revolutionists whose deaths were used to rally the nation against the monarchy.⁴² On rare occasions all four would be

⁴⁰Herbert 1972, 95-112.

⁴¹ Like Lepelletier and Marat, David was to organize the funeral and paint a posthumous portrait of Bara. However, David was unable to finish the painting or put on a dramatic ceremony that met the standards of those for Lepelletier and Marat.

⁴² Imagery depicting the Martyrs of Liberty always portray Lepelletier and Marat, usually with Chalier or Bara.

portrayed together. Portraits of the four were printed and circulated during the last years of the second revolution, 1793-4 (Fig. 10).

As David Dowd aptly names him, Jacques-Louis David was the “pageant-master” of the French Revolution.⁴³ From designing clothes to arranging fantastic funerary tableaux David orchestrated the look and feel of the Revolutionary movement. Following Lepelletier, Marat, and Bara’s deaths, it became customary that David would arrange the funeral and paint a posthumous portrait, only one of which was finished and survived. David’s *Death of Marat* has a long and expansive history (Fig. 2).

MARAT’S ROLE IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Marat’s actions on behalf of the lower-class and “sans-culottes” place him amongst the leaders fighting despotism. Jean Paul Marat worked as a physician, scientist and during the Revolution, a journalist and political theorist. When the capital became short on supplies, artisans began suffering. Marat took it upon himself to acknowledge the issue and began his publication *l’Ami du Peuple*, which quickly gained great popularity among those experiencing hardship due to the capital’s shortages. Tensions in the city of Paris were growing strained and on October 4, 1791 Marat, through his publication, called for the people to arm themselves and march on Versailles. This march was due to the King’s repeated refusal to give his sanction to the Constitution which was being re-drafted.⁴⁴ Marat’s call helped the Constitution of 1791 be accepted by King Louis XVI. It also earned a warrant for his arrest from the Assembly, on the claim that his publication solicited violence and was the direct cause of many deaths.

⁴³ Dowd 1948; Dowd’s text *Pageant-Master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution* traces David’s role as head puppet master of the French Revolution.

⁴⁴ Mathiez 1962, 66-67.

This and other incidents forced Marat into hiding during the establishment of the Revolutionary government and eradication of the Monarchy. Marat often sought asylum in the sewers of Paris, where he contracted dermatitis herpetiformis.⁴⁵ This plagued him for the last three years of his life and confined him to his bathtub for long periods of time. Marat's bathtub would become a token of Marat. A symbol of his suffering on behalf of his passions.

Marat was arrested in April 1793 on charges of soliciting violence. Marat publicized his arrest in an attempt to politicize it. This helped him gain notoriety which led to an environment which elevated the possibility of a populist government by forcing democracy into the revolutionary debate.

Marat continued publishing his journal expressing both support *and* scorn for the 1789 Revolutionary government that was controlled by the Gironde. He often expressed that the reforms weren't going far enough. *L'Ami du Peuple* would often begin with a summary of the latest Assembly debates. Then Marat would explode with disapproval of the deputies. Until the second revolution of 1792 and the election of the National Convention, Marat refused to acknowledge the legitimate authority of Assembly politics. The deputies responded in common. *L'Ami du Peuple* made declarations of repressive legislation, culminating in its author's trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal for the aforementioned April 1793 arrest. Editors of other papers recognized that Marat had gone beyond the boundaries, even if they defended his freedom to publish.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Jelinek 1979, 251-2.

⁴⁶ Popkin 1990, 116-8.

Marat's disapproval was considered extreme, radical, and above all violent. In July of 1791 he expressed outrage over the Champ de Mars massacre in an onslaught, "if only the People's Friend could rally two thousand determined men," he would lead them to rip Lafayette's heart out, burn down the royal palace with the king and his ministers inside, and impale the National Assembly deputies in their seats.⁴⁷

It is important to understand Marat's position and reception within the political landscape at this time as it emphasizes the use of Marat as a symbol by the Jacobin club. Marat was employed briefly with the National Assembly in 1792-3 where he fought with the radical Jacobin political club against the Gironde. Marat was hated by the Gironde and yet was also often unsupported by his own party because of his paranoia and advocacy for murder. Marat's fiery demeanor and growing notoriety kept him monitored by both parties as well as the greater monarchist supporters.

The beheading of King Louis XVI intensified the dispute between the Jacobins and the Gironde, who wanted to spare the King's life. Much violence and political upheaval between the two factions were to follow. The murder of Louis-Michel Lepelletier, who cast the final vote that condemned the king, gave rise to civil unrest. His murder was committed almost immediately after the vote by a member of the royal guard on January 20, 1793.⁴⁸ The timing of the murder presented an opportunity for the Jacobins to present Lepelletier as a martyr.

⁴⁷ This was in response to the Champ de Mars massacre July 17, 1791. The event followed the Assembly's decree for King Louis XVI to remain king under a constitutional monarchy. *Ami du Peuple* no. 524, 20 July 1791. See also Conner 1998, 197.

⁴⁸ Herbert 1972, 95

Jacques-Louis David arranged a dramatic and distressing funerary exhibition to display the body of Lepelletier around the pedestal of the destroyed statue of Louis XVI at the Place Vendôme. The timing of Lepelletier's death, being immediately after the sentencing of the King, while tragic, served the Jacobins as an act of retribution from the Gironde and the royalists — an eye for an eye, the life of Lepelletier for the life of the King. Lepelletier became the first of a number of symbols that the Republic would rally around. The assassination of Marat would be used the same way in the summer of 1793.

MARAT'S DEATH & DAVID'S TRANSITION

The events surrounding Marat's death are well known. He was stabbed by Charlotte Corday in his tub, while he was bathing his diseased skin on July 13, 1793.⁴⁹ The claim was that Corday's actions were politically motivated as she was a Gironde supporter and Marat spoke often and loudly against the party. While the loss of a prolific writer was a tragic affair, the Jacobin club did not allow the crisis to go to waste. In the previous month, the Jacobins had executed a number of opposing Girondins; propagandizing Marat's death as a martyr of the Jacobin cause vindicated those deaths.⁵⁰

David was again directing the funerary honors, this time for a close friend. Their friendship is telling of David's developing political convictions. Marat and André Chénier were the leading voices during the revolution. Chénier was loyal to the Revolution of 1789, whereas Marat to the upheavals of the second Revolution of 1792. In the years before the Revolution, David was a close friend of Chénier. The two worked

⁴⁹ While the murder does not require debate, Corday's history and her motive, most definitely are. Most historians write her off as a Gironde supporter and her action can be portrayed as a contribution for the cause. While this could be true, I will omit this discussion here to move on to elements of fact. A discussion of alternative motives will take place in chapter 4.

⁵⁰ Herbert 1972, 98 see also Conner, 1998, 260.

together in 1791, collaborating on Chénier's poem on the Tennis Court Oath and David's painting of the event. Although Chénier was hesitant to follow when the revolution radicalized. The unshakable loyalty to principle, and a bloody political realm in the name of virtue was foreign and depraved to Chénier, who believed in moderation, limit, and restraint. David slowly joined the increasingly radical Robespierre followers. By 1792, David had become fully indoctrinated into the Jacobin club, introducing bills, conducting debates and in general being an active political figure.⁵¹ Marat, a leader of the Jacobin club, nominated David to a position in the National Assembly, and David's loyalties shifted to a more radical journalist, in line with his current political alignments for reform. David had visited Marat the day before his death to check his health, a testament to their friendship.

Following Marat's assassination, David did a pen drawing of Marat's head (Fig. 11).⁵² David began a transformation of Marat's unsightly image into an idealized rendition with this drawing. David was already transforming the man into a martyr.⁵³ Marat's image was reshaped from intimidating and deformed to a figure of veneration and adoration, a secular savior. This fit perfectly with the trend of de-Christianization and the shift to an Enlightened religion, which much of France was beginning to adopt.⁵⁴

David would organize the festival for Marat's funeral in a dramatic, romantic fashion similar to Lepelletier's. A torchlit procession wound throughout the streets of the capital for six hours, punctuated by a canon salute every five minutes.⁵⁵ A funeral

⁵¹ Roberts 1989, 70-75.

⁵² *ibid.* p. 81. Roberts suggests the drawing was completed just days after the murder, July 14-16.

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 81

⁵⁴ Soboul 1988, p. 131-145

⁵⁵ Conner 1998, 258

ceremony was held on August 18, 1793 in the Bonne-Nouvelle church. A description of the tableau David arranged remains:

"The image of Marat was displayed in the nave on a sarcophagus decorated with blue drapery sprinkled with stars; at each end were two antique candelabras; in front, on another tiered sarcophagus was the bust of Lepelletier: said sarcophaguses, draped with garlands of cyprus, with inscriptions containing the virtues of these great men. Behind Marat was the representation of his bathtub... [Marat was killed while bathing.] The principal altar of the church served as a throne for the figure of Liberty. The perimeter of the church was decorated with wide draperies in the national colors and with candelabras topped by girandoles. On top of the main door of the church was a transparency in the national colors, on which one read these words: "Entry to the *Temple of Liberty*.""⁵⁶

Marat's death inspired a new vitality to his influence and many proxies flocked to fill his place. The populist club, The Cordeliers,⁵⁷ claimed Marat's political legacy. The club embalmed and hung Marat's heart from the ceiling of their meeting hall and made efforts to print his unpublished work and resurrect his journal.⁵⁸ The rest of his remains were claimed by the Théâtre-Français and buried his body in the garden of the Cordeliers. Marat's ashes were moved to the Panthéon on September 21, 1794 by a symbolic march attended by the entire Convention.⁵⁹

CULT OF MARAT

Albert Soboul details and analyzes a new cultic religious movement that formed after Marat's death, the Cult of Martyrs of Liberty and the Cult of Marat. The cult was a spontaneous religious movement that represented the political and social ideals of the sans-culottes.⁶⁰ The Cult of Marat was a cultural expression of the sans-culottes' anti-

⁵⁶ *Bibliothèque Victor-Cousin*. ms. 117. Soboul 1988, 137 with notes on page 318. Details of Corday and the assassination discussed in Chapter 4

⁵⁷ Also known as The Society of the Friends of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

⁵⁸ (Conner, Clifford D. 1998) p 260

⁵⁹ Soboul 1988, 136. Less than 5 months after the move, Marat's ashes were again disinterred by the Thermidorians, the location of the ashes is unknown today (Conner suggest they were poured down drains). The placement of the ashes to the pantheon is seen as a reaction to a Thermidorian revolt. Conner 1998, 262.

⁶⁰ Soboul 1988.

clericalism as well as of their political and social ideals. It served as a secular rallying point for Jacobins and sans-culottes.

September 1793 saw a number of unveilings and ceremonies in honor of Marat and Lepelletier. On the 1st, the Fontaine-de-Grenelle section unveiled busts of Marat and Lepelletier. A ceremony in honor of both men was held on the 15th by the Moliere-et-Lafontaine section, now called Section Brutus, in the Saint-Joseph Church; the same day the “apotheosis” of Marat and Lepelletier took place. Soboul explains that these ceremonies were regularly held on Sundays in the churches where the general assemblies met: “thus a new form of worship was little by little supplanting the old, not without borrowing many exterior elements from it.” On the 22nd, the Panthéon-Français section created a true republican trinity, by joining Brutus to Marat and Lepelletier.⁶¹

DAVID AND THE DEATH OF MARAT

Art historians are well aware of the friendship shared between David and Marat. David rushed to the home of Marat to witness the scene. He began work on *The Death of Marat* almost immediately and complete the work just before the execution of Marie Antoinette (Fig. 12). David watched and sketched as Marie Antoinette was transported to the guillotine on October 16th, 1793. Later that day, David revealed his painting in the courtyard of the Louvre.⁶² While there, an account of the effect of the painting was recorded, “its effect was so terrifying that it was difficult to stand the sight of it for

⁶¹ Soboul 1988, 138. This would be a bust depicting Lucius Brutus, who defeated the Roman kings in the 6th century BC and the legendary founder of the Roman Republic. An ancient ancestor of Marcus Brutus of the 1st c. BC.

⁶² Weston and Vaughan 2000, 12.

long.”⁶³ A month later the painting was hung in the assembly hall of the National Convention of Deputies.

The scene of Marat’s assassination has remained relevant to artists who often used the famous scene to communicate their own frustrations with politics, to retrospectively comment on the event, or to pay homage to a beautiful work. Marat’s death has been portrayed in numerous artworks well into modern times, many baring an obvious resemblance to David’s masterpiece. Edvard Munch portrayed the scene at least twice, once in 1907 and again in 1932 (Fig. 13 & 14). Pablo Picasso also staged the scene in a true-to-style painting in 1934 (Fig. 15). And David’s painting is often parodied for use in commentary on contemporary politics (Fig. 16).

No work was as timely or had as profound an effect as David’s *Death of Marat*. Joseph Roques exhibited a similar work to David in Toulouse in 1793 (Fig. 17). Roques’ *Death of Marat* features a similar scene of Marat in his tub, using a wooden box to compose his publication, the wound in his chest staining the white cloth, and his pen lying higher on the canvas than the discarded knife used to end Marat’s life. Roques’ piece differs from David’s in the portrayal of Marat as a man who suffered the assassination of a politician and less the serene hero that David presented.

THE MARTYRS’ LEGACY

Many prints that came onto the market following the assassination included the assassin, Charlotte Corday (Fig. 18). Others were critical of Marat (Fig. 19). Hubert

⁶³ "Il est effectivement difficile d'en soutenir longtemps la vue [of the painting], tant l'effet en est terrible." *Exposition dans la cour du Louvre des tableaux de Lepelletier et de Marat*, 16 October 1793, in Bibliothèque Nationale, Estampes, Collection Deloynes, LIV, No. 1584. See also, Weston and Vaughan 2000, 13 and Rubin 1989, 90.

Robert's watercolor gives a negative perspective of Marat as he is seen lying in a disorderly room with wine bottles standing on the nightstand. Certain elements of Robert's work suggest that he was aware of David's motif. The pen still grasped in his hand, the draped arm and the writing on the sheet of paper on the table are indications that Robert has David's painting in mind when creating his own.⁶⁴

Before Marat's posthumous portrait, David included him one other time in his *Tennis Court Oath*, 1791 (Fig. 20 & 21). Unlike the other delegates shouting opinions in the painting, Marat stands in the balcony facing away from the crowd and writing *L'Ami du Peuple*. David admired Marat's active, documentary writing. In the *Tennis Court Oath* he equates Marat's pen with the swords of the soldiers by placing Marat's action of writing at the same height of the soldier's sword.⁶⁵ David will make the same pun in *Death of Marat*, the knife laying forgotten has been thwarted by the pen still held in the hand of Marat, the same pen that has named his killer and brought a city to revolution. It is possible that no one knew of Marat's presence in the large painting, making it a private reference between the two friends.

David began three major paintings in 1793-4 depicting martyrs and all in conjunction with festivals/funerals that he organized. Lepelletier de Saint-Fargeau was the first. The painting was left to Lepelletier's daughter, who had become a royalist. She destroyed the painting and nearly all the copies or engravings. Only a damaged engraving and drawing remain (Fig. 22 & 23). The Marat and Lepelletier paintings were

⁶⁴ Reichardt and Kohle 2008, 167-9.

⁶⁵ Roberts 1989, 64.

meant to be a pair, similar in size and when hung together, the martyrs faced each other on the wall, hung behind the speaker in the Convention hall.⁶⁶

The final painting of the trio of martyrs portrayed Joseph Bara, a young boy who refused to turn over his two horses to demanding counter-revolutionaries. David seems to have viewed Bara's death differently than he did Marat's and Lepelletier's. This work remains unfinished, although enough remains to show that it is clear that politics was no longer central to David's logic (Fig. 24). David presents Bara as an androgynous youth, lying horizontally on the ground, clasping a cockade in his hand, departing from the true circumstances of Bara's death.⁶⁷ The work remained unfinished and the funerary festival was never held. Historian, Warren Roberts, suggests this indicates a collapse within David's psyche. The artist had given out due to the pressures of living under the Revolution and his incomplete treatment of the Death of Joseph Bara was evidence of this.⁶⁸

CHARLOTTE CORDAY

Corday's story has been spun to suggest an apolitical motive. Neighboring countries such as Germany and Great Britain were producing plays that attempted to depoliticize her actions by suggesting she assassinated Marat to avenge a lover. Florence Withrow states to that point in her essay about women of France, that "With exalted ideals of patriotism her ardor was keen to avenge the assassination of her lover by the

⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 77-81.

⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 84-86.

⁶⁸ Roberts 1989, 90-91.

Terrorists...”⁶⁹ Edmund Eyre, the playwright of *The Maid of Normandy; or, the Death of the Queen of France*, follows along with this plot. In the play Corday and her lover are both Girondist sympathizers. Corday’s lover fakes his death, unbeknownst to Charlotte Corday. Thus, she blames Marat, plans, and executes his murder.

However, her motives were unequivocally politically driven. Edmund Eyre was well aware of his play’s historical inconsistency and assumed that his audience was as well. In an interview, Eyre explained why his drama took artistic liberties, “As most public stories, when represented on the stage, lose the power of pleasing from their want of novelty.”⁷⁰ Thus, not only was Corday’s motivation not romantically inspired, it was well known throughout the continent that her motives were purely out of support for her party and also likely her spite for Marat, as he was quite the hated man.⁷¹ Furthermore, evidence as well as her adamant testimony, during her trial, concluded that she had been conspiring with other Girondin leaders for some time.⁷²

CONCLUSION

Thus, the goal of the posthumous portrait was not to martyrize Marat, as he most definitely was. Corday opposed Marat’s political beliefs and convictions and this drove her to murder. Marat’s martyrdom was an action on behalf of the Girondists that ultimately benefited the Jacobins. Regardless of the true motives of Charlotte Corday,

⁶⁹ Withrow 1915, 336-42. Withrow was published frequently in the US and Canadian Public Health Journals. What seems to have started as a travel column transformed into an entertaining, pseudo-informal historical periodical.

⁷⁰ Nielsen 2006, 171-2.

⁷¹ It has also been suggested that Charlotte Corday’s brother was killed in the revolution and this is what drove Charlotte Corday to conspire to kill Marat. However, this theory fails poorly as well; Corday had two brothers. Jacques-François-Alexis died long after the revolution in 1809, and Charles-Jacques-François died after Charlotte as well in 1795.

⁷² Conner 1998, 253-4.

the memory of Marat was spun in such a way that the assassination would now benefit the revolutionary agenda.

Like the Greek and Roman examples the persuasive goal was to win the people's favor for a less totalitarian government, uniting the French in mourning, and advancing the Jacobin cause. After David's dramatic exhibitions, many who had formerly regarded Marat as a monster, rushed to worship him as a saintly martyr and birthed the Cult of Marat. Children were christened in honor of him, theaters, streets and squares were renamed after him, his heart was embalmed and hung from the ceiling of the Cordelier's club auditorium. The nationalist religious cult that formed around his martyrdom became a brutal test of loyalty.⁷³ A representation of Marat in one's home or business served as proof of one's patriotism, while the absence of any form of devotion to his memory was liable to cause one to be susceptible to violent scrutiny from Jacobins.

The French Republic enjoyed a long tenure from 1792 to 1804. However, the radical revolution that Jean Paul Marat and the like called for ended with the arrest of Robespierre. Following his execution, the political club that Robespierre, Marat, and David belonged to, the Jacobin club, was closed. The Girondists reclaimed their positions in the National Convention and drafted a new Constitution, reestablished freedom of worship, and initiated elections for a new legislative body.

Marat may have been hated by many in the political clubs, but he was beloved by the sans-culottes. Marat's death served as a rallying point for people of all classes to join

⁷³ The Cult of Marat was quite wide spread throughout France. The Isle of Boin was renamed the Isle of Marat, the city of Havre (200 km north of Paris) was renamed Havre-Marat, and many street names and squares were renamed to honor Marat. For more see Graham 1929, 140-1.

in their hatred for killing their “friend.” The painting evoked emotions ranging from revolutionary pride to disgust. David’s goal with every festival he organized was to unite the people of Paris against tyranny. Parading Marat’s image through the streets, displaying it to the public for a full month before placing it in the Assembly hall created a feeling of equality and solidarity with the public. These exhibitions were done in such a way to spin the grotesque memory that many had of Jean Paul Marat. In order to draw sympathy and unite the people against opposing factions, David needed to transform Marat’s memory as a violent aggressor into a passionate defender of liberty.

Chapter 4: Suggestive Symbolism

Theorists Jacques Ellul and Leonard Doob agree that for any propaganda to be successful it must be cognizant of society's conventions, perceptions, spontaneous myths, and broad ideologies.⁷⁴ Art that means to persuade must be timely and speak to contemporary events, possibly by alluding to the past, if it is to retain the audience's interest.⁷⁵ The following discussion will examine how the *Death of Marat*, Kritios and Nesiotes' *Tyrant Slayers*, and the absent statue group of Brutus and Cassius fulfilled these requirements or fell short (Fig. 1 & 2).

The timing for which these works of art were presented is paramount as it broadcasted a message while the conversation was relevant. Presenting propaganda too soon or too late, and the message is lost. The *Death of Marat* and the Athenian Tyrannicides were displayed at times when their respective movements were gaining momentum. Less is known about the Roman statue group in Athens.

Precise placement of occurrence is a difficult element to deduce for the statue group of Brutus and Cassius. The two samples of evidence, Dio and the pedestal block, do not state a dedication date.⁷⁶ Of course, Brutus and Cassius failed in their attempt to defend Rome's republican tradition, so assembling the group after the battle of Philippi would be unlikely, as it could have been perceived as an act of revolt against the new government. Thirty-one months fall between the death of Julius Caesar, March 44 BC, and the Battle of Philippi, October 42 BC. If the vote that Cassius Dio mentioned was not until Brutus was residing in Athens, that time would be shortened to twenty-seven

⁷⁴ Ellul 1965; Doob 1948.

⁷⁵ Ellul 1965, 38-44.

⁷⁶ pedestal fragment on which the statue of Brutus stood Fig. 8, Dio 47.20.4.

months. That leaves a little over two years to vote on, commission, create, and erect the installation.

A statue group erected in this time and paired with the knowledge that the hero depicted was currently dwelling nearby in the city must have brought the city of Athens wild excitement. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, honorific statuary of this nature was common practice in Greek poleis as a way of declaring their identity and even gloating to their enemies.⁷⁷ Furthermore, had the statue group been made to speak to the Romans it would have little weight because, as Ellul points out, the public may form an defensive attitude: “We believe *nothing* that the enemy says because *everything* he says is necessarily untrue.”⁷⁸

Had the *Death of Marat* been completed after the reign of terror, or during the rule of Napoleon, it would have been less politically or perhaps disallowed. Albeit an important historical painting, it no doubt it would have been admired, and hung to be critiqued and commented on, but had David not completed the masterpiece in months, the memory of Marat might not have benefitted the Jacobins so greatly, the Cult of Marat may not have developed, and the propaganda may not have been a significant variable of the revolution.

The painting’s scene resonates back to the tableau that David created for Marat’s public funeral, maintaining a connection for viewers to a time, place, and most importantly a feeling of unity. Marat’s body with its gaping wound, together with his

⁷⁷ As discussed in Chapter 2. See also, Scott 2014, 81-88

⁷⁸ Ellul 1965, 52-53.

bathhtub and inkstand was exhibited to a crowd in the Church of the Cordeliers.⁷⁹ Under the impulse of popular fervency as well as his own anguish, David completed his painting from a sketch he had made just after the assassination.⁸⁰

David's painting, *Death of Marat*, was announced October 14th and revealed in the courtyard of the Louvre on October 16th, 1793, just three months after Marat's death. The promptness of this work could not have been more effective. Just earlier in the day David had sketched Queen Marie Antoinette while she was escorted to the guillotine (Fig. 12). The momentum of the Republic was building and David did not let the people of France forget it.

Cleisthenes' democratic reforms began in 507/8 BCE, and the statue group of Harmodios and Aristogeiton went up in 507 BCE.⁸¹ The timing for presenting anti-tyrannical propaganda could not have been better fitted for Cleisthenes' new reforms. Like the *Death of Marat*, the Tyrannicide statue group reminded the people that there was a sacrifice made to allow for the democratic tradition that was currently being developed. This was Cleisthenes' way of declaring that democracy was for the benefit of the common people, the people that shared a class level with Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

Furthermore, the potency of the statue group is enhanced by the fact that the current construction project in the Agora was nearly complete. Greater attention would have been on the new additions to the city.

⁷⁹ Dowd 1948.

⁸⁰ *ibid.* p. 107.

⁸¹ as established in Chapter 1.

For any outlet of propaganda to be effective, be it artistic, verbal, or textual; it must be absorbed by those whose minds are meant to be changed. Even the strongest of opposition can be influenced by the effect of repetition. This is discernible in the cases of the Harmodios and Aristogeiton statue group and David's *Death of Marat*.

The location of the Harmodios and Aristogeiton group in the center of the Agora gained them a wide audience among all citizens and visitors of Athens. The Agora was the commercial, political and philosophical center of the city. The question isn't "who was?" or "how many?" were in the Agora each day, it is "who wasn't?". The presence of the statue in such a highly trafficked area created a continuity of association between the figures and democracy.

Similar to the French example, a cult was associated with the Greek martyrs. The cult proceedings for the Cult of the Tyrannicides took place once a year during the Panathenaic procession.⁸² As David's work became the icon of the Jacobins and aided in the progression of the Cult of Marat into a religious movement, the honorific statues would be the location of the cultic offerings. Furthermore, this annual tradition would help to sustain the significance of the tyrannicides for hundreds of years.⁸³

The *Death of Marat* occupied a prime location in the courtyard of the Louvre from October 16th to November 14th, 1793, where it could be seen by the Parisian

⁸² As discussed in Chapter 1 supported by Shear, 2012a.

⁸³ It would be presumptuous to suggest with any kind of confidence that the Brutus and Cassius group received any veneration in association with the Tyrannicide group. Brutus did have a revival of spirit much later, during the Renaissance. Donald Gordon published an essay in 1957 that illustrated the parallels of Lorenzino de' Medici's murder of his cousin Duke Alessandro to Brutus's assassination of Julius Caesar. Gordon 1986, 233-45. Lorenzino had a medal struck depicting himself as Brutus with a reverse of the liberty cap between two daggers. Lorenzino saw his deed as a re-enactment of the sacred moment when the hero kills the tyrant and, in his case, successfully liberates the land. Manfredi Piccolomini clarifies the period's mythologizing of Brutus and how literature and theater transformed into a symbol of the just and obliged citizen rebelling against the tyrannical dictator. Piccolomini 1991.

public. On November 14th, the work was presented to the Convention. The Convention declared that the two paintings (of Marat and Lepelletier) would hang on either side of the president's chair in the hall of the Convention. How striking it must have been to be a representative of the people with the physical reminder of the sacrifices made on the behalf of their liberty.

As Ellul and Doob outline, to maintain the interest of the public an artwork's propagandistic value is enhanced by alluding to the past. Allusions to antiquity take advantage of the Eurocentric attitude in the 18th century by creating an historical coherence to the nostalgic past. Intellectuals exalted the ancient Greeks and Romans and created patriotism by linking their own cultures to those of antiquity.

Volumes of books on elements of these works that resonate to the nostalgic past have been published. While the tyrannicide group itself *is* the classical past, the artists Kritios and Nesiotes still calculate a history of iconography associated with heroes. Harmodios' pose resonates with attic red-figure vases depicting Apollo battling giants (Fig. 25 & 26).⁸⁴ Furthermore the statues themselves became memorials of the past as they stood for 600 years, possibly more.⁸⁵ The statue base reads, "A great light rose for the Athenians when Aristogeiton and Harmodios killed Hipparchus made their father-land."⁸⁶ The text paired with the statue group establishes patriotism and civic identity by reverberating back to the time of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, when the

⁸⁴ Carpenter 1997, 171-9.

⁸⁵ We know that it at least stood until the time of Pausanias in the 2nd c. AD.

⁸⁶ Meritt 1936, 355-430; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 155-157; Wycherley 1957, 97-8.

“father-land” was a place of honor, when men fought for their freedom, and the freedom of their families.

The *Death of Marat* is so dense with classical allusion that one must remain concise in an analysis of the allusions that provide propagandistic value. That is, the allusions that would have been recognizable to the semi-educated Parisians of the 18th century. The French Revolution, itself evoked the power of antiquity as Lucius Brutus was highly referenced by anti-royalists alike.

To begin the laundry list of classical allusions, Marat’s position has a long lineage. Paralleling with Michelangelo’s *Pieta*, the gaping wound evokes a Christ-like attitude. The spilling of blood from Marat’s chest emphasizes the connection to Christ through sacrifice. Marat’s limp form and the arm draping over the side of his bathtub, again emulates the motif of the *Pieta*, and several other Renaissance works such as Raphael’s *Entombment*, and an antique tie with the well-known *Pasquino* group in Rome. A number of sarcophagi featuring Meleager share the motif of ‘hero on the bed’ which has also been depicted in relief from the Villa Giustiniani and Palazzo Mattei in Rome (Fig. 27 & 28).⁸⁷ David’s intent on portraying Marat as the tragic hero is managed by equating Marat to ancient heroes depicted in antiquity, as well as more recent Renaissance and Baroque recreations of ancient heroes.

David’s presentation of Marat as a saint-martyr played perfectly into the religious shift in France. The sans-culottes of Paris began a transference of sanctity from Christian icons to the “martyrs de la liberté”. Marat’s paper, *l’Ami du Peuple* was immortalized in

⁸⁷ Krufft 1983, 604-7.

engravings and a reminder of this, as well as a demonstration of cult worship, is found in an anti-Jacobin etching, *The Plagues of Egypt* (Fig. 29). In this etching a youth can be seen kneeling and lighting incense in front of a bust of Marat. Although the etching was meant to be satirical, statues of saints were indeed being replaced by statues of Marat throughout France. The proclamation was that Christ and Marat were of equal standing, and Marat was the modern counterpart of the son of God. While the middle and upper classes were receiving an increasingly secular education during the Enlightenment, the mass of ordinary supporters of the Revolution were in favor of the process of de-Christianization by means of replacing the old symbols with new ones; performing the same traditional ceremonies, but with new ritual objects.⁸⁸

Images of Marat were imprinted on brochures and pamphlets and struck to medals. A Jacobin draughtsman, Claude Louis Desrais and François Bonneville produced a number of portrait prints throughout the years of 1793-1795 (Fig. 31). These portraits would often bare the phrase, “Peuple voit ton Ami qui pour la Liberté / Jusqu'au dernier soupir la dit la Vérité” - “People see your friend of Liberty, who until the last breath said the truth.” David’s drawing was printed by a number of draughtsman and distributed (Fig. 30). Medals depicted the profile of Marat, as well as medals in which he is accompanied by other Martyrs of Liberty (Fig. 31 & 32). By far the best evidence of the regular sighting of a depiction of Marat and the Martyrs of Liberty is a silver finger ring with gold applied to a low-relief portrait of Marat and Lepelletier (Fig. 33).

⁸⁸ Reichardt and Kohle 2008, 168-9.

These small, mass produced items helped to spread the cult, but David's festival, paired with the painting had an overwhelmingly persuasive effect on the propagation of Marat's memory as a friend of the people and message in the political center of the nation. Like Lepelletier's ceremony, David created a tableau, and that tableau fueled the propagandistic power of David's *Death of Marat*.

Marat's nudity, pale skin tone, and idealized image liken him to the sculpture of classical champions and tragic heroes. The typical block lettering on the wooden box next to the tub echoes the classical style from ancient Roman letterforms. The funeral tableau whose memory David attempted to maintain through his painting was also in the antique mould. Marat was crowned with a laurel wreath and carried by twelve boys and girls dressed in white, carrying branches of cypress. Furthermore, Marat received a secondary funeral at Ste. Geneviève, which had been renamed the Pantheon, emphasizing further the obsession of the republican tradition with reinventing the Roman ideal.⁸⁹ By the time of this second ceremony on September 21, 1794 the Cult of Marat was in full bloom and the funerary procession demonstrated that. The priests of Marat were present, chanting hymns and canticles, followed by relics, and then the corpse, contained in a

⁸⁹ Greenhalgh 1989, 171. The Meleager relief or so called "Letto di Policleitò" shares a striking similarity to *Venus and Adonis* by Titian in 1554 or Peter Paul Rubens of 1635. The twisting form of Venus shares an almost identical posture to the woman from the ancient relief. The dangling arm of Adonis mirrors that of the previously mentioned paintings. Furthermore, the figures of Adonis and Marat share similar virtues and flaws which lead them both to their deaths. Neither man can deny themselves a hunt. David, who is clearly drawing from examples of tragic heroes, no doubt saw the parallel when recalling Rubens or Titian's work. David took on this scene as well. A simple outline drawing exists at the Harvard Art Museum (<http://www.harvardartmuseums.org/art/294006>). For further comparanda see The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database: http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC_search/subcats.php?cat_1=5&cat_2=167&cat_3=887&cat_4=1276&cat_5=2329&cat_6=1839&cat_7=884

porphyry bath from Versailles, covered with a bloody sheet and an arm from the anatomy school -complete with pen in hand.⁹⁰

The bathtub itself was a step away from truth in order to align the image of Marat with a more traditional perception. The boot-shaped bath that suited Marat's medical needs, in which Marat actually died (Fig. 18), must not have invoked the appropriate expression of heroism, thus a traditional tub was substituted. Lastly, the moment on display is that of Marat's death, not of his actual dead corpse. He is in the action, the process of dying which echoes pathetic Hellenistic sculpture such as the *Laocoön* and the *Dying Gaul* from the Victory Monument of Attalos I in Pergamon.

Of course, there is no evidence to analyze the iconographic connections for the Brutus and Cassius group, as it no longer exists and no copies remain. However, while the location in Athens prevented the Athenians' message from reaching the Roman public, its location next to Harmodios and Aristogeiton shouts a clear message. The mere association by locus establishes the nostalgic ties to the exalted past. As it has been mentioned, it was decreed that the space within the vicinity of Harmodios and Aristogeiton was never to be encroached upon. The space around the statue group was to remain vacant to preserve the glorified prestige of the Greek Tyrannicides and now it shared that space with men who also acted on behalf of a people's government.

To speculate on the appearance of the Brutus and Cassius statue group Neo-Attic sculptors began a renaissance phase of sculpture in response to Roman rule. Hellenistic artists were eager for the past, when Athens was the center of the world. Thus the last

⁹⁰ Greenhalgh 1989, 167-8. Marat's body had been cremated by this time.

decades of the 1st century BC saw a return to the style used in Kritios and Nesiotes' tyrannicide group.⁹¹ It is not without reason to suggest that the statue group of Brutus and Cassius emulated the same style of the men they were so honored to have their images in company with.

The similar use of communication through location, timing, and iconography creates a connection between these three works. The message that each of these works is sending revolves around a resolution to equalitarianism. The memory of the figures used to propagate that message had been altered in order to keep the message pure, which provided a stronger motivation to the population. Harmodios and Aristogeiton's images were used to motivate Athens to embrace democracy. David's painting was used to build passion for the growing Jacobin movement. Brutus and Cassius's images were represented as heroes to strengthen Athen's pride in their identity as a city free of tyranny and home to democracy.

The population's motivation relied on a sense of unity. The fact that the people leading their cause were willing to act so passionately, freely, and purely encouraged a feeling of solidarity. The common people wished for their own sacrifices to be effective for the cause, the same cause which their leaders made sacrifices for, and a cause that would benefit a large population that had felt ignored, neglected, and cheated.

The tyrannicide statue groups featuring Greeks and Romans and the posthumous portrait of Jean Paul Marat provided the respective publics with rallying symbolism. Those responsible for the production of the works disregarded and shrouded the impure

⁹¹ For discussion of the Hellenistic styles see: Havelock 1970; Ridgway 2001; Pollitt 1986.

motivations and negative reputations in order to provide heroes for the public.

Representing and politicizing the actions and deaths of these men developed a historic tradition that favors governments similar to those that these men fought for. To properly understand the reality of these men's impacts on history, we must look beyond manipulative facades and face the imperfect truth.

Summary

Harmodios and Aristogeiton, Brutus and Cassius, and Jean Paul Marat were all men that acted in their state's revolutions. These men were commemorated for their roles through art. In this discussion of anti-tyrannical art I acknowledged a theme of "spin" enacted on the memories of these men in order to further the populist agenda. This thesis has established the historical context for the three assassinations and the commonality of spin amongst each example. Finally, the propagandistic symbolism that perpetuated each cause was parsed.

Harmodios and Aristogeiton killed Hipparchus, which led to the overthrowing of the tyrannical dynasty of the Peisistratids. Yet their motives were revealed to be less for the benefit of the state and more for their own personal vendettas. Regardless of their motives, their images were employed as symbols of Athenian Democracy which was currently being instituted by Cleisthenes and his clan, the Alcmaeonids.

Brutus and Cassius conspired and assassinated the tyrant and dictator Julius Caesar. While Brutus' motives were inspired by a number of incentives, the Athenians honored the action to communicate their preference for an egalitarian government.

Jean-Paul Marat's journalism inspired hatred from the opposing political factions as well as his fellow Jacobins. Yet when he was assassinated, Jacques-Louis David heroicized his memory to invigorate the republican push amidst the French Revolution.

With the exception of the location of the Brutus and Cassius group, the perpetrators of the populist agendas exhibit the key elements of propaganda as outlined by Jacques Ellul and Leonard Doob. These works were cognizant of society's

conventions, perceptions, spontaneous myths, broad ideologies, and spoke to contemporary events, while alluding to the past.

Erected during the time of the Cleisthenic reforms, the statue group commemorating Harmodios and Aristogeiton helped Athenian democracy to be embraced by the city. While unseen by Romans, the Brutus and Cassius group promoted Athenian values by harkening to the actions of Brutus and Cassius' Athenian predecessors during a time of civil strife between the governments of dictatorship and republicanism. David's *Death of Marat* was attractive to those on the fence about the Jacobin agenda and helped to extend the Republican government. The numerous allusions to the past from all three works appealed to the interests of the audiences and added to the persuasive value of the works.

These men's memories were carefully crafted in order to further a cause, and art being the crowning emblem of the message of sacrifice for a non-totalitarian or absolute form of government. Location, iconography, speaking to relevant issues, and at the same time resurrecting old, familiar ideals build a persuasive influence that guides the audience to the propagandists' intentions.

These three examples of public, populist, anti-tyrannical propaganda utilized memories of men that required altering before gaining a worthy status, which could then become symbols for their respective agendas. The persuasive power of the arts is a powerful tool for which artists and politicians alike can move an audience and shape nations. Harmodios and Aristogeiton, Brutus and Cassius, and Jean-Paul Marat are three

examples of the ways in which key propagandistic elements can affect the future of a nation.



Fig. 2 Jacques-Louis David, *Death of Marat*, 1793. Oil on Canvas, 165 x 128 cm. Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium.
From ARTstor
ID Number: 40-11-16/62
<http://library.artstor.org/library/iv2.html?>

Fig. 1 Statuary group of Tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Roman copy

Images



Fig. 3 Édouard Manet, *Execution of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico*, 1868-1869. Oil on Canvas. 252 x 302 cm. Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim. From ARTstor
ID Number: 40-11-06/11
<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=%2FThWdC8hlywtPygxFTx5TnkgXX0sew%3D%3D&userId=hzJNfTEk&zoomparams=>

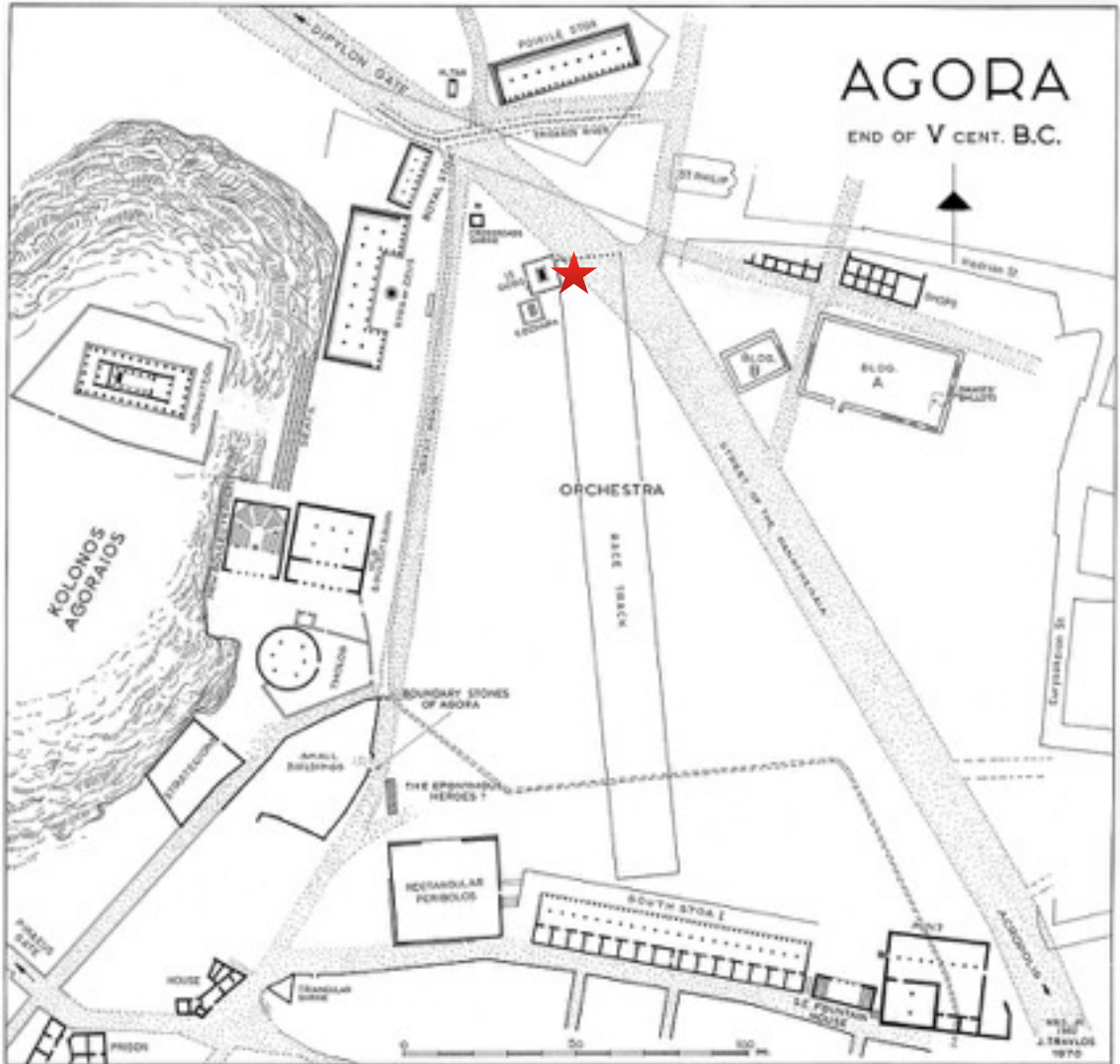


Fig. 5 Restored plan of the Agora at the end of the 5th century B.C.
 From the American School of Classical Studies in Athens
 Archive Number: 2002.01.0873



Fig. 6 Inscribed fragment from the base for the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton.
From the American School of Classical Studies in Athens
Archive Number: 2007.01.0906



Fig. 1 Law against Tyranny with a relief of Democracy crowning Demos (the people of Athens), 337/6 BC
From the American School of Classical Studies in Athens
Archive Number: 2007.01.0967 (LCT-148)

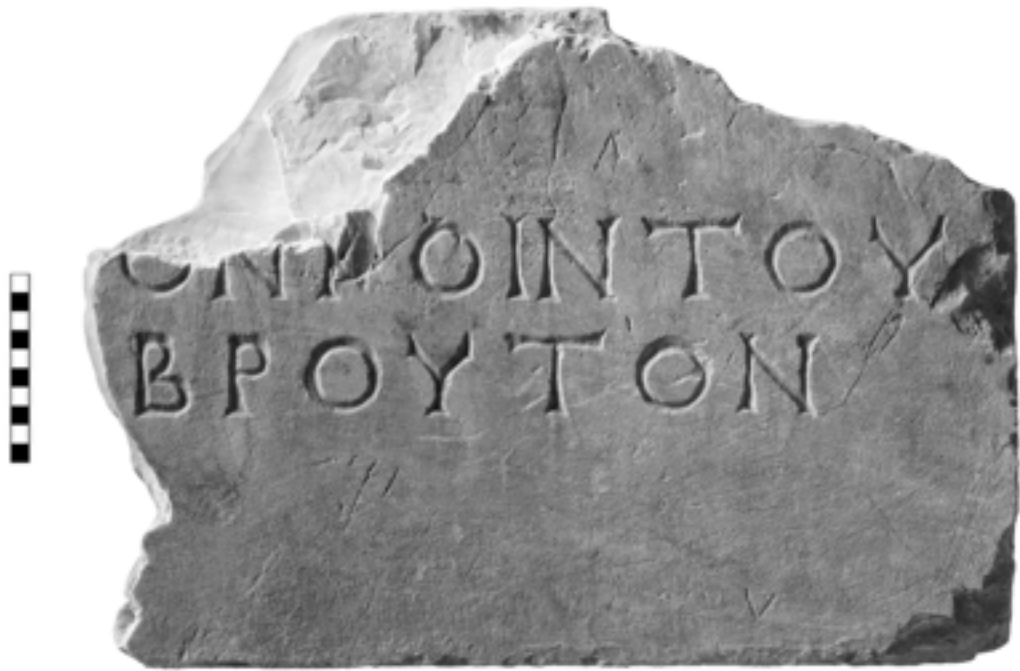
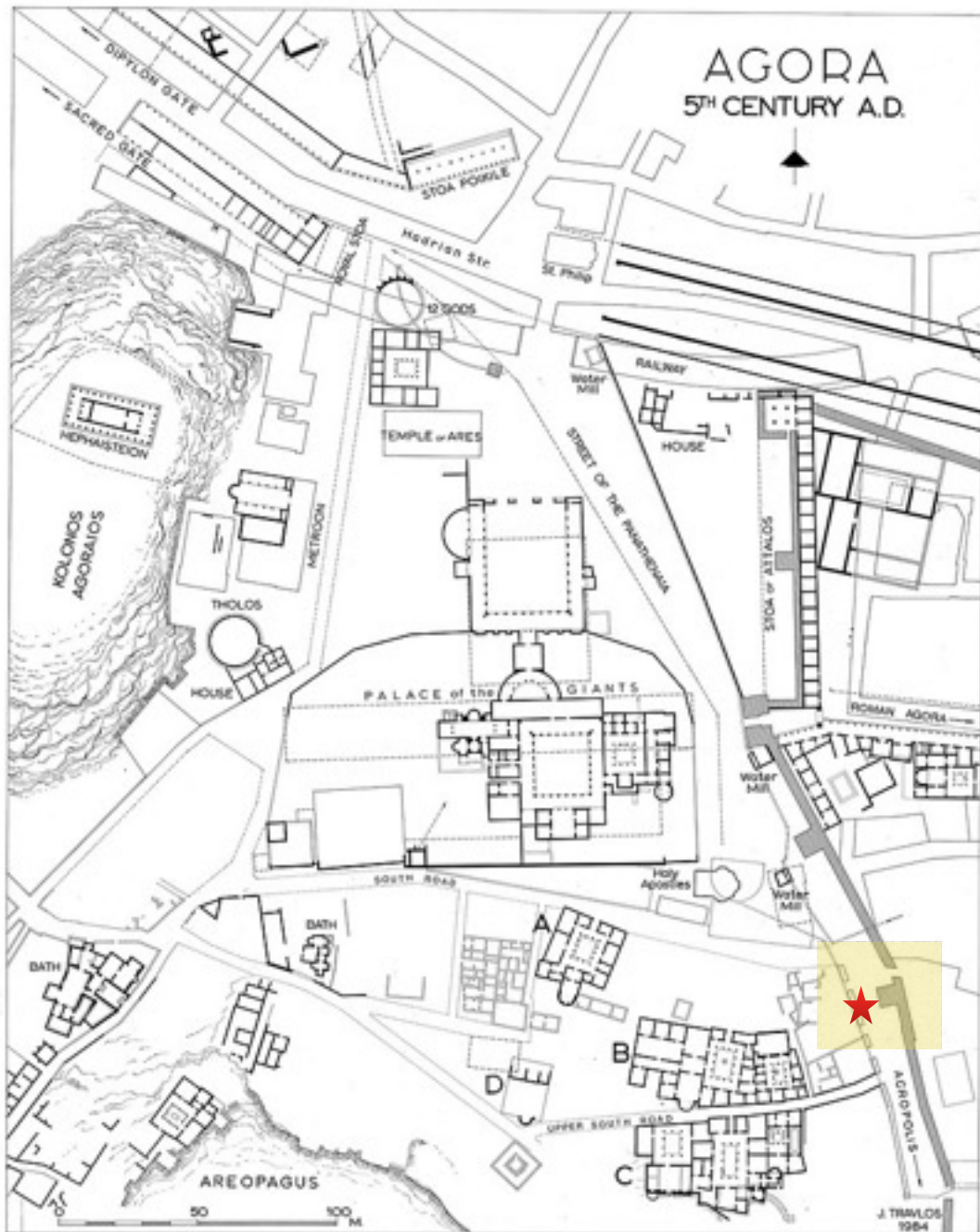


Fig. 4 Inscribed Marble Fragment naming *Quintus Brutus*
From American School of Classical Studies in Athens
Archive Number: 2010.01.0407



From, *Agora*, pp. 75-76

Fig. 5 Section HH highlighted and specific location of discovery starred.
 From the American School of Classical Studies in Athens
 Agora: State plan



Fig. 10 Charles Bance, Boullay *Martirs de la Liberté*, 1793-4. Paper 106 x 73 mm.

From the British Museum. <http://www.britishmuseum.org> (Accessed 4/15/2016)



Fig. 11 Jacques-Louis David, *Marat, dead*, 1793. Pen, 26.8 x 21.5 cm. Castles of Versailles and Trianon From ARTstor. <http://library.artstor.org>(Accessed April 4,2016)



Fig. 12 Jacques-Louis David *Marie-Antoinette on the way to the Guillotine*, 1793. Pen, brown ink. Louvre.
From ARTstor <http://library.artstor.org>
(Accessed 4/15/2016)



Fig. 13 Edvard Munch, *Death of Marat*
1907. Oil on Canvas, 152 x 149 cm. Oslo's
art collections.
From ARTstor <http://library.artstor.org>
(accessed April 15, 2016)



Fig. 14 Edvard Munch *Marat and Charlotte Corday*, 1932-5. Oil on canvas, 80 x 120 cm. Munch-museet, Oslo. (Photo: ReprArt)



Fig. 15 Pablo Picasso, *La mort de Marat*, 1934. Monoprint/drypoint on Japan nacrépaper 191 x 135 cm. From ARTstor <http://library.artstor.org> (Accessed 4/15)

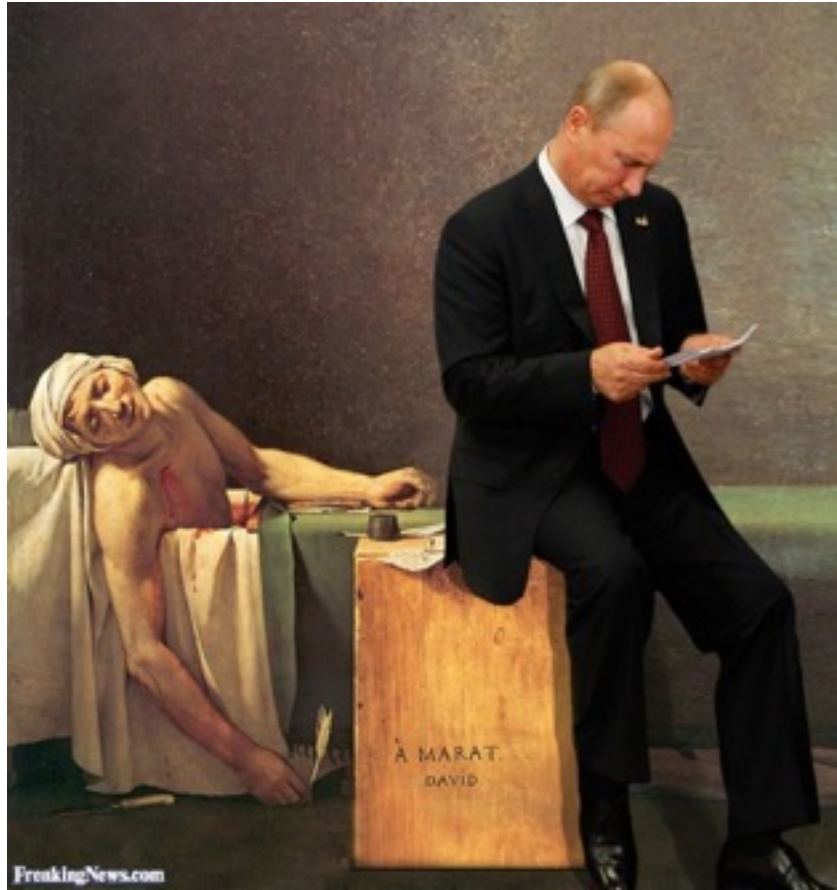


Fig. 16 Freaking News *Vladimir Putin and the Death of Marat*. Posted July 5, 2014: commentary "Oh Marat, you've been writing..Let's see what do we have here." (Accessed 4/15/2016)



Fig. 31 Joseph Roques *The Death of Marat*, 1793. Oil paint on canvas. 163.2 x 128 cm.

From Musée des Beaux-Arts de Toulouse



Fig. 18 Paul André Basset, *La mort du patriote Jean Paul Marat*, 1793. Paper and ink, 204 x 293 mm. From the British Museum. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online (accessed April 4, 2016)



Fig. 19 Hubert Robert, *Der schlafende Marat*, 1793/4. Pen and black and brown ink, watercolor over lead pencil sketch, 23 x 34 cm.
From Albertina. <http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at> (Accessed: April 4, 2016)



Fig. 20 & 21 Jacques-Louis David, *Oath of the Tennis Court*, 1791, and detail. Pen drawing with sepia wash, 65 x 105 cm. National Museum of the Castles of Versailles and Trianon.
From ARTstor. <http://library.artstor.org> (accessed April 4, 2016)



Fig. 22 Pierre Alexander Tardieu *Lepelletier de Saint-Fargeau* / gravure de Tardieu, d'après la composition de David. December 1792. Image Retrieved from the Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lepelletier-David_1.JPG. (Accessed April 13, 2016.)



Fig. 23 Jacques-Louis David, Ref.:
*Assassination of Lepelletier de Saint-
Fargeau*, 18th c. 30 x 33 cm, pencil.
Museum des Beaux-Arts de Dijon.
From ARTstor <http://library.artstor.org>
(Accessed April 1, 2016)



Fig. 24 Jacques-Louis David, *Death of Joseph Bara*, 18th c. Oil on canvas, 118 x 115 cm. Museum Calvet. From ARTstor, <http://library.artstor.org> (Accessed April 2, 2016)



Fig. 25 Attributed to the Tyszkiewicz Painter, red-figure stamnos Apollo in Gigantomachy. Attic, 490-480 BCE, 35.56 cm.

Registration number: 1849,0620
From the British Museum, <http://www.britishmuseum.org> (Accessed date: January 14, 2016)

Fig. 26 Attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, red-figure stamnos Apollo and giant, Attic, late Archaic. Louvre C 10478. "Harmodios and Apollo in Fifth-century Athens: What's in a Pose?" *Athenian potters and painters: the conference proceedings*. By Thomas Carpenter. Oxbow Books, 1997. 173. Painted ceramic.





Fig. 27 Anonymous *III Letto di Policleto*, 1450-1550 in Palazzo Mattei, Rome. Relief. plate 143; *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1964)



Fig. 28 Edward Wright *Vase Relief*, formerly in the garden of the Villa Giustiniani, Rome. From "Antique Model for Marat," *The Burlington Magazine*. By Hanno-Walter Kruft. 1983. 605. Engraving.



Fig. 29 *The Plagues of Egypt*, engraving and etching, 24.6 x 29.4 cm, 1794-5. From Reichardt, Rolf, and Hubertus Kohle. 2008. *Visualizing the Revolution: Politics and the Pictorial Arts in Late Eighteenth-century France*; p. 168.



Fig. 30 François Bonneville, Claude Louis Desrais, *J.P. Marat born of Geneva, Deputy of the National Committee, 1793-5*. Paper, 88 x 72 mm.

From the British Museum. <http://www.britishmuseum.org>
(Accessed 4/15/2016)

Fig. 31 Struck bronze enface medal with attached loop. Bust of Jean Paul Marat, 1793. Bronze, 22 mm.
From the British Museum <http://www.britishmuseum.org> (Accessed 4/15/2016)



Fig. 32 Cast bronze medal. Two busts, Lepelletier(left) and Marat(right) with halos, divided by a pike surmounted by a liberty cap. Identical reverse. Bronze, 35 mm.
From the British Museum. <http://www.britishmuseum.org> (Accessed 4/16/2016)





Fig. 30 Finger-ring, 1793. Silver, gold; low relief, engraved, 1.2 cm.

From the British Museum. <http://www.britishmuseum.org> (Accessed 4/16/2016)

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